CALENDAR

OF THE

STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND

AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

1547-1603.

PRESERVED IN THE

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND ELSEWHERE IN ENGLAND

EDITED BY

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VOL VII.

A.D. 1584—1585

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF
HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE DEPUTY CLERK REGISTER OF SCOTLAND

H. M. GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE
EDINBURGH
1913

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

In accordance with the principle which guided the Editor in writing the Introductions to the previous volumes of this Calendar, he proposes to abstain from making comments on the historical value of the documents contained in this volume or drawing inferences. 1584. —

His object is to lay before the reader a summary of the chief incidents which are set out in the text.

Many documents which are dealt with in this volume have been calendared very fully as they contain matters of great interest.

From the 1st of January 1583–84 to the 30th of June 1585 is the period embraced in the present volume, and an examination of its contents will show that many of the documents have been passed over in silence by historians. They are now, through the means of this Calendar, made more convenient for those who desire to investigate the history of Scotland more thoroughly, and it is hoped that they may be of service to historical scholars.

As this Calendar is intended for the use of students, only a few general remarks will be made on the contents of what seem to be some of the most important documents.

For further details the Editor refers the student to the Index.

Mary remained at Sheffield till 2nd September 1584, when she was removed to Wingfield under the charge of Sir Ralph Sadleir, to whose custody she had been remitted by Elizabeth in consequence of the accusation made against her by the Countess of Shrewsbury that there had been immoral relations between her and the Earl of Shrewsbury.[1]

Shrewsbury wrote to Burghley, 25th August 1584, complain-

[1] P. 295.

1584. — ing bitterly that his son Gilbert Talbot had combined with the Countess of Shrewsbury, who was at that time imprisoned in the Tower, in making these defamatory statements concerning him. With regard to Gilbert Talbot, Shrewsbury wrote that he thought it better for his own security to estrange himself from intermeddling with him until such time as by due repentance and obedience he had washed away such faults as he had committed.[1]

Sir Ralph Sadleir arrived at Sheffield 18th August 1584, and was told by Shrewsbury that he had determined to remove Mary on 27th August, as he had been so commanded by the Queen of England. Sadleir had received no instructions that Mary was to be removed to Wingfield, and begged Shrewsbury to postpone the removal of her till he received Elizabeth's command. Writing to Walsingham, 25th August, Sadleir told him he would rather choose to keep Mary at Sheffield with sixty men than at Wingfield with three hundred. The openness of the country about Wingfield and the greatness of the house, compared with the straitness of Sheffield Castle, were great disadvantages and would add to the difficulties of her custodians.[2]

The orders issued by Shrewsbury, 29th August 1584, for the sure keeping of Mary show that he kept forty soldiers ordinarily within his house, besides his own household, most of them being the sons of his tenants, "of good account." The soldiers were obliged to wear their swords and daggers until they went to bed, and every gentleman, yeoman, and soldier within the house must have his weapons always standing at his bedside. When Mary went out of the house every gentleman, yeoman, and soldier was obliged to be ready with such weapons as should be appointed to them by Shrewsbury's officer in charge appointed to wait on her, and no one was to wander out of her sight until she had returned to her chamber. Watch and ward were to be kept about the house continually with eight soldiers, more or less, at the discretion of the gentleman porter. The forty

[1] P. 295. [2] P. 296.

soldiers had to give their corporal oaths to Shrewsbury to serve truly in the places of their charge, and in his absence to obey such things as should be commanded by Sir Ralph Sadleir. The Justices of the Peace and constables of the country adjoining were to be charged, and the constables sworn, to be careful in their several divisions and limits to observe all unknown passengers. The constables must increase their night watches in every parish by two persons more than usual, who ought to be discreet persons. Two discreet men were to be appointed to ward upon the highways of every parish of their limits, and to bring suspected persons to the next justice or constable to be searched for letters and other things, and if any were found about them, the persons were to be brought to Sadleir. Care was also to be taken with regard to all other travellers unknown, lodging in or resorting to any village within their limits.[1] 1584. —

Mary was pleased that Elizabeth had sent one of her Privy Council, well known to her, to take charge during Shrewsbury's absence, but was dissatisfied that some intimation had not been made to her directly from Elizabeth herself in writing, of the change of her keepers. Shrewsbury and Sadleir showed her Elizabeth's letters to them in order to satisfy her.[2]

Mr. John Somer, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, accompanied Mary on the journey from Sheffield to Wingfield on 2nd September 1584. Sadleir wrote to Walsingham, 4th September, to inform him of Mary's safe arrival at Wingfield. The same watch and ward were kept over her as at Sheffield. Besides the forty soldiers, Sadleir left about eighty of his household.[3]

Sadleir inclosed in his letter to Walsingham an account of the conversation that passed between Somer and Mary whilst they were riding from Sheffield to Wingfield. Mary complained of her long captivity, in which, she said, she had spent her years from twenty-four to past forty. By sorrow and impotency she had become old in body. She asked Somer whether he thought she would escape if she could, and he answered plainly that he

[1] Pp. 301 to 303. [2] P. 309. [3] Pp. 313, 314.

1584. believed she would, for it was natural for everything that is kept in subjection to seek liberty. Mary told him that he was deceived therein, for her heart was so great that she had rather die in captivity with honour than run away with shame. She said that if she were at liberty, with Elizabeth's consent, she would go to Scotland only to see her son, but would never stay there long, nor seek to govern where she had received so much evil treatment. Her heart could not abide to see the folk who had done her so much evil. Unless Elizabeth would "give her countenance" and some maintenance to live in England, she would go to France to live among her friends, and never trouble herself with government again, nor dispose herself to marry. She desired that Elizabeth would make a trial of her, that she might live the rest of her days out of captivity.[1]

With regard to the calumnies which had been spread abroad concerning Mary and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and which appear to have been mainly due to a quarrel between the Earl and his wife with respect to the Earl's property, correspondence of an earlier date may be referred to.

1583-84. On 25th of February 1583–84, Mary wrote to Monsieur De Mauvissière informing him that his house was watched, that her secret intelligence had been discovered, and that the authors of the calumnies against her and Shrewsbury were Charles and William Cavendish. These reports were spread to prevent her marriage with Philip II.[2]

A letter dated 5th of January 1583–84, from Mary to Mauvissière,[3] had been shown to Elizabeth. In a letter to Shrewsbury, dated 8th March, Elizabeth refers to this letter and tells him that she finds three special matters Mary desires to declare to her through Mauvissière. First, touching the treaty. Secondly, concerning lewd speeches against her. Thirdly, her doubt lest some peril might happen to her by the choice of the party to whose custody she might be committed in "case he had her licence to repair" to her. With regard to the first point, he was to inform Mary that if her doings had agreed with

[1] Pp. 314 to 317. [2] P. 35. [3] P. 5.

her protestation, the treaty would long ago have taken that issue which she herself could in reason have desired; but at the very time when the treaty was in hand the King of Scots, directed by her, sought to remove from about him all such as he knew to be any way affected to Elizabeth, and had committed some and banished others. Mary's ministers were also trying to provoke the Pope and other potentates to attempt something against Elizabeth and her realm. If the King of France had permitted Mary's friends and allies to proceed in their preparations, Scotland and England would have tasted of troubles. The attempts abroad in Mary's favour, and the confessions of persons examined, showed that the treaty propounded by her tended to no other end but to lull Elizabeth into security, to the end that she might with less care seek to discover the practices at home and abroad. Notwithstanding all this, Elizabeth said that if she removed these causes of jealousy Mary should find her ready to perform all such matters as she in honour or reason could require at her hands.[1] 1583-84. —

Touching the second point of the letter, she could not forget either her quality or her proximity to her in blood, and if she knew the persons by whom such speeches were uttered she would not have omitted to deal out some exemplary punishment to them.[2]

As for the doubts Mary had about her safety, if she considered how much ill usage of her would touch Elizabeth's reputation, she might assure herself that the Queen of England could not but have a special care to do what might stand with her own honour and Mary's safety.[3] Elizabeth determined, on 20th March 1583–84, that Mary should be removed during Shrewsbury's absence from Sheffield to South Wingfield Manor House in Derbyshire, another seat of the earl.[4]

Wingfield was intended to be a temporary residence for Mary pending some necessary repairs to Melbourne Castle, in the same county, which then belonged to the Crown.[5]

Sir Henry Nevill was chosen to accompany Sadleir to Wing-

[1] P. 37. [2] P. 38. [3] *Ib.* [4] P. 44. [5] P. 45.

1583-84. field, and three sets of instructions were drawn up, 20th March 1583–84, for the guidance of Mary's custodians.[1] Nearly six months, however, elapsed between the date of these instructions and Mary's removal, and Mr. John Somer accompanied Sadleir in Sir Henry Nevill's place.

One set of instructions was for Sadleir; another for Shrewsbury, Sadleir, and Nevill; and another for Sadleir and Nevill.

The instructions for Sadleir alone directed him to inquire what orders Shrewsbury had hitherto observed for Mary's safe keeping. The men who were to be entrusted with the guard of her were Shrewsbury's, and the earl was to take special care in the choice of those he was leaving behind. They were to be such as he knew to be well affected in religion, of good wealth, and void of corruption. The liberty of Mary's servants was in some respects to be restricted. The laundresses and others who had been permitted to resort to Sheffield and the towns and village adjoining were to be restrained from going there. Care was to be taken that Mary did not ride far abroad: she was to be allowed to take the air only on foot or in a coach, and near the house.[2]

The instructions for Shrewsbury, Sadleir, and Nevill were that Mary was to be kept at Melbourne Castle, in Shrewsbury's custody, after the place had been furnished for her reception. These three were to agree how and when the removal was to be carried out. Mary was to be informed of their intention when they were agreed and things were in readiness, so that she might prepare to remove. If she refused to consent they were to try to win her by persuasion, and if that failed they were to cause her to be placed in some coach or horse-litter. The aid of the Sheriffs of Derbyshire and Leicestershire was to be used, if necessary, to secure safety in conveying her thither. Watch and ward must be kept at night about the house where she should lodge on the way, and also in the villages adjoining. They ought to avoid going through any town where a multitude of people should be encountered, and crowds were not to be allowed

[1] Pp. 43 to 48.

[2] P. 44.

to assemble where Mary passed. Elizabeth ordered that she should be safely conveyed, surely kept, and well used in the custody of Sadleir and Nevill.[1] 1583-84. —

The private instructions for Sadleir and Nevill were that, after Mary had been brought to Melbourne Castle and left by Shrewsbury in their charge, they were to appoint two discreet and trusty persons of their own as porters of the castle. None of Mary's people were to go out of the castle without being accompanied by someone appointed by the porters, nor were any to be allowed to enter without giving notice to Sadleir or Nevill, and if necessary strangers were to be searched. Persons armed with halberds and harquebuses should be appointed to assist the porters by day. The gates must be closed at meal times and at night, and the keys ought to be delivered to Sadleir or Nevill. Night watches were to be set in the castle. No suspected persons were to be suffered to lodge in the towns and villages near adjoining. None of Mary's train should be suffered to resort to any town or village, or to have conference with any of the Queen of England's subjects, except in the presence and hearing of trusty persons specially appointed, and no stranger was allowed to pass into the castle without notice first being given to Sadleir or Nevill. When any of Mary's people took the air in the fields, trusty persons were to be appointed to accompany them ; but they were not to have any private conference with Mary's servants. Mary was to be permitted, for her health and recreation, to take the air in the fields, on foot or in coach, with a few of her attendants. On those occasions she was also to be guarded by men on horseback. Clothes and apparel brought to Mary were to be "visited" and searched for secret correspondence. No letters or books were to be delivered to Mary or any of her household but such as should be sent through Sadleir and Nevill by order of Elizabeth's Principal Secretary, or others at her command.

Mary's custodians were to inform her that it was not

[1] P. 46.

1584. — Elizabeth's intention to subject her person to any harder treatment than heretofore.[1]

On 23rd March, Shrewsbury wrote to Elizabeth telling her that he had informed Mary of the contents of her letter of the 10th instant.[2] This is the draft letter in the text dated 8th March, and, as often happened, the letter itself was not dated until the draft had been carefully perused and corrected by Elizabeth herself and some of the Privy Council.[3]

Each of the three points was answered by Mary in some detail. She was much offended when she was told that the proposed treaty tended to no other end than to lull Elizabeth into security. Entering into talk about the rumours, she "glanced" many words against some whom she said she would name when time should serve better.[4]

Elizabeth wrote to Shrewsbury, 1st April 1584, telling him that he was released from the charge of Mary, and that Sadleir and Nevill were to supply his place.[5]

Monsieur Maron, one of the King of France's secretaries, obtained permission from Elizabeth to visit Mary. The draft letter, dated 18th April 1584, from Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, informing him that she had given her permission to the Duke of Joyeuse to send Maron, also gives Shrewsbury instructions with regard to the care that was to be taken that no secret correspondence should pass between them.[6]

Monsieur Maron and Waad arrived at Sheffield on 23rd April, and the next day Maron had an interview with Mary in Waad's presence, a long account of which is given by Waad.[7]

On 4th May 1584, Elizabeth gave instructions to Mr. Robert Beale, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, to go to Sheffield and ascertain from Mary whether she adhered to her protestation, delivered to Waad, of the sincerity of her proceedings in the last treaty, and whether she would continue that resolution.[8]

Beale arrived at Sheffield Castle on 13th May, and on the

[1] Pp. 47, 48. [2] P. 49. [3] Pp. 37, 38. [4] P. 51. [5] P. 54.
[6] P. 65. [7] Pp. 72 to 89. [8] P. 109.

15th Shrewsbury and he reported the result of a long interview 1584.
they had with Mary, and also a conversation between Monsieur —
Nau, Mary's Secretary, and Beale.[1] The object of the interview was to induce Mary to promise to perform what she had offered to Sir Walter Mildmay and Waad. All the cunning they had could not bring Mary to make any absolute promise, unless she was first assured of Elizabeth's favour and the accomplishment of the treaty.[2] If Sir Walter Mildmay came to her, Mary said, he must come not to treat only, but to conclude.

About the middle of May 1584, Shrewsbury again requested permission to go to Elizabeth. He was, he said, old and troubled with the gout. He also had somewhat to declare by word of mouth, which he would not commit to writing nor impart to any Councillor or other person whatever. He thought Mary was of opinion that her son would like to marry someone misliked by the Queen of England, and to do what he could to bring in foreign forces for his assurance. Shrewsbury thought that Mary was desirous of having something done to avoid this by treating with Elizabeth.[3] On 22nd of May 1584, Elizabeth wrote to Shrewsbury that she would not proceed further with regard to the treaty with Mary or give assent to the French ambassador's going to Scotland. She wrote that she did not see why she might not live without either party or friendship with Scotland, and had as little cause to dread their malice as any of her progenitors.[4]

The next day Elizabeth again wrote to Shrewsbury telling him she perceived that Mary considered the cause of Elizabeth's sending to her arose from the "alteration" lately happened in Scotland, and that without Mary's aid she was not able to repair the inconveniences that might ensue to her thereby. Elizabeth's intention, therefore, was not to proceed in the matter.[5]

Mary was also to be told that she had mistaken the cause of her assenting to the French ambassador's request to be allowed to go to Scotland, the true reason for that assent

[1] Pp. 130 to 136. [2] P. 137. [3] P. 138. [4] Pp. 146, 147. [5] P. 149.

1584. being the care Elizabeth had of James VI.'s safety.[1] To this — Elizabeth added that she hoped she should never live to see those days when the Crown of England should depend on the Crown of Scotland.[2]

Declarations made by Mary, on 26th, 27th, and 28th May 1584, in reply to Elizabeth's messages with regard to the proposed treaty, sending the French ambassador to Scotland, and the slanderous reports circulated of her, have been fully abstracted.[3]

Burghley in a memorandum, 12th June 1584, sets down the chief points for consideration arising out of Mary's demands and offers delivered to Shrewsbury and Beale.[4]

On 30th June 1584, instructions were drawn up by Elizabeth for Lord Hunsdon, who was to meet the Earl of Arran on the Borders. The wrongs done to her were to be laid before the King. These consisted of the prosecution of persons well affected to her; his forbidding persons banished from Scotland from entering England; his reception of Jesuits and other fugitives, and not delivering them to her; his agreement with his mother touching the association without Elizabeth's knowledge; sending persons to the Pope, the Kings of Spain and France, and others, to provoke them to attempt something against her; and the contemptuous usage of the ministers she sent to him. Arran was to be told that the cause of the "hard conceit" Elizabeth had of him proceeded from himself.[5] The severe manner of proceeding against the late Earl of Morton, and the bringing of the Duke of Lennox, a Catholic and a Frenchman, though a Stewart, to Scotland, gave her much cause to think hardly of him.[6]

Arran was also to be told how much Elizabeth would appreciate it if the King would forbear the harsh prosecution intended against the fugitive noblemen in England.[7]

On 7th July 1584, Mary wrote to Mauvissière telling him how thankful she was for the permission given to her to go to Buxton, and that her health had improved.[8]

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[1] P. 149. [2] P. 159. [3] Pp. 187, 188. [4] P. 212.
[5] P. 213. [6] *Ib.* [7] *Ib.* [8] P. 226.

The meeting between Hunsdon and Arran was delayed,[1] but it took place on 13th August. 1584. —

On 19th September, Sadleir wrote to Walsingham from Wingfield that Mary was inquisitive to know how the offers she made to Elizabeth had been received, and whether she would be allowed to send someone to her Majesty to explain her good intentions.[2] He adds in a postscript that she sometimes inquired what he heard from Scotland as she had no news.

Two days afterwards Mary was told by Sadleir that Elizabeth had not resolved upon her request to send up Nau, that many dangerous intentions had been discovered, and that by the apprehension of Creichton, a Scottish Jesuit, things had come to light by which much hurt had been done to the matter she sought for at Elizabeth's hands.[3]

In the beginning of October 1584 Baldwin, one of Shrewsbury's men, was apprehended for having secret intelligence with Mary, who was also exhibiting great anxiety to know whether she was to be removed from Shrewsbury's custody.[4] On 21st October 1584, Sadleir wrote to Walsingham that Mary was very desirous that her letters to Elizabeth should be seen by no one until they were delivered to her own hands. She was much incensed against the Countess of Shrewsbury for the foul slanders uttered by her. Sadleir suggested that Mary should be removed to Tutbury in order to prevent secret correspondence, such as had been carried on through Baldwin.[5] He considered Tutbury Castle a far better and a more convenient place in which to guard her than Wingfield.

Elizabeth resolved that Nau might go to London, and on 28th October Walsingham wrote to Sadleir that he was to send some trusty person with him to oversee his doings, in case he should attempt anything underhand, as he was only going up for the purpose of declaring Mary's mind to Elizabeth.[6]

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[1] Pp. 241, 249, 254. [2] P. 335. [3] P. 337.
[4] P. 356. [5] Pp. 372, 373. [6] P. 382.

1584. — On 28th October, Walsingham informed Sadleir that preparation was to be made for removing Mary to Tutbury, and that the custody of Mary was to be committed to Lord St. John.[1]

The same day Elizabeth wrote to Sadleir that she had assented to Nau's repair to her.[2]

The requests that Nau was to make to Elizabeth on Mary's behalf were, that the treaty for her liberty should proceed; that she might be permitted to take exercise within ten or twelve miles round the place of her abode; that a second house be appointed for her; that she be allowed to have, besides a priest and the five other attendants already asked for, some lord or gentleman to command in her house, and a lady in place of Lady Seton; that some women and servants be granted to her attendants; that declaration be made as to her own food and that of the rest of her house; what liberty her servants were to have; that she might be permitted to change and dismiss her servants when necessary; that she might have a complete litter, two mares for herself, and six horses for her attendants when she took out-of-door exercise; that her Treasurer in France might bring the accounts of her dower there; and that Elizabeth would permit Mary to send messengers to her from time to time.[3]

In November 1584, Elizabeth determined to have the custody of Mary transferred to Lord St. John.[4]

It was also decided that Mary's place of seclusion should be changed to Tutbury, and orders were given to Sir Ralph Sadleir to have that castle put in readiness for her reception.[5]

On 3rd November a note was sent to Sadleir with regard to the number of persons required to guard her at Tutbury, and to ascertain what provisions would be required for her there.[6]

Sadleir wrote to Walsingham on 7th November that Mary had been told of Elizabeth's assent having been given to the proposal that Nau should visit her Majesty.

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[1] P. 384. [2] P. 385. [3] P. 392. [4] Pp. 390, etc. [5] P. 392. [6] P. 393.

For this she returned her hearty thanks, but could not write herself owing to a "distillation" in her right arm.[1] 1584. —

Intimation was sent by Elizabeth to Mary, 3rd December 1584, that she was to be removed to Tutbury under the charge of Sadleir, the reasons assigned for the removal being that it would be better to her liking, and that she would be more commodiously lodged there.[2]

Sadleir wrote to Elizabeth, 6th December 1584, that Mary was much altered since he was first acquainted with her. He thought that the restraint of her liberty had wrought some good effect in her. She protested before God that she would seek to please Elizabeth. Sadleir thought she had an intention and meaning to perform what she said.[3]

Sadleir also found that she did not mislike being removed from Shrewsbury's custody, but she was unwilling to leave Wingfield until Nau returned with some answer from Elizabeth.[4]

Sadleir wrote to Walsingham the same day, telling him that Mary marvelled much that she heard nothing from Nau. She was anxious to learn whither she was to be taken, and the quality and ability of the person who was to be her custodian.[5]

On 8th December, Sadleir wrote to Walsingham pressing him with regard to letters from Nau to Mary, and told him of her impatience, which the state of her health did not tend to allay. She now misliked the intended removal to Tutbury, as she would be obliged to leave all old acquaintances behind. She still protested that on Nau's return, or on receiving satisfaction from him in writing of Elizabeth's pleasure as to her removal, and of the person to whom she was to be committed, she would go there without further delay.[6]

On 9th December, Walsingham wrote to Sadleir that the delay in forwarding Nau's despatches arose from the negligence of his man, who forgot to send them.[7]

Sadleir received the letters from Nau, and also one from the French Ambassador, on 8th December. After Mary had read

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[1] P. 396. [2] P. 461. [3] P. 475. [4] *Ib.*
[5] P. 476. [6] P. 479. [7] P. 481.

1584. — the letters she told Sadleir that she was pleased with Nau's reception by Elizabeth and her Council.[1]

Nau returned to Wingfield, 29th December 1584.[2] Mary seemed to be satisfied with the result of his negotiations with Elizabeth and the Privy Council. She consented to remove to Tutbury on 11th January 1584–85, but the removal was postponed till the 13th. Sadleir told Walsingham that Mary's health had improved, but on 6th January she was still lame and unable to walk without assistance.[3]

The arrangement made by Sadleir for Mary's journey to Tutbury was that one night was to be spent at Derby, the whole journey of sixteen miles being too much for one day.[4] Orders were given to the bailiffs and others of Derby to prevent any assembly of gazers in the streets, and to secure quietness.

As the new orders with regard to the guard of Mary had not been settled by Elizabeth, Sadleir resolved to observe the former orders until he was otherwise commanded. Word was given to have ready at Tutbury twenty-one soldiers, and six men were to come nightly from the villages adjoining to watch in fit places.[5]

Mary arrived at Tutbury Castle on 15th January.

There is an interesting memorandum, dated 1st February 1584–85, of the victuals and other things demanded by the officers of Mary's household at Tutbury.[6]

Orders were set down, dated the same day, by Sir Ralph Sadleir, to be observed in Tutbury Castle for the safe keeping of Mary.[7] Thirty honest men were levied from Derbyshire and Staffordshire to serve as soldiers in the Castle. These soldiers were to wear their swords and daggers until they went to bed, and were to have a weapon always standing at their bedside. When Mary went out she was to be accompanied by gentlemen, yeomen, and soldiers who must not lose sight of her.[8] A form of oath of fidelity to Elizabeth was taken by the soldiers retained at Tutbury Castle.[9]

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[1] P. 481. [2] P. 531. [3] *Ib.* [4] P. 535. [5] *Ib.*
[6] P. 547. [7] P. 548. [8] P. 549. [9] P. 550.

Mr. John Somer, on 18th of February 1584–85, wrote to Walsingham that Mary had kept her bed for six days "through her old aches in her side and hips." He also told him that Mary had received some inkling of Sir Amias Powlet being appointed as her custodian, a change which she mistrusted.[1] 1584-85. —

Another memorandum was drawn up of the food required for Mary and her household on 1st March.[2]

Sir Amias Powlet's instructions to take charge of Mary are dated 4th of March 1584–85,[3] and he arrived at Tutbury Castle on 17th of April 1585.[4] The day after his arrival at Tutbury Powlet had audience with Mary, when he delivered a letter from Elizabeth to her. She told him she had been informed that he was ill affected towards her, and that he had complained of her kinsmen and ministers when he served as ambassador in France.[5] She was hurt that she had not received any full answer to the special points of her offers to Elizabeth, as she had been encouraged to expect satisfaction through Nau on his return from the Court.[6]

Powlet told her that he was bound by duty of allegiance to serve Elizabeth truly and faithfully, and would not fail in his endeavour to acquit himself of that duty, nor would be diverted from it for hope of gain, fear of loss, or for any other respect.[7]

Mary's secretaries and men-servants and Powlet's were then requested to come before Powlet and Sadleir. Powlet charged his servants, on pain of punishment, besides the loss of their service, to give no occasion of injury in word or deed to any of Mary's people, and begged her servants to use like quietness and conformity on their parts, and especially to forbear to say or do anything that might touch the honour of the Queen of England, or be repugnant to the quiet state of her realm or to the religion established there; which they promised to do.[8] On 27th of April, however, Powlet wrote to Walsingham telling him of complaints made that Mr. John Somer dealt too strictly in the ordering of the household.[9]

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[1] P. 565. [2] P. 579. [3] P. 585. [4] P 621. [5] *Ib.*
[6] *Ib.* [7] P. 622. [8] *Ib.* [9] P. 628.

1584. — There are some further letters from Powlet, of an interesting nature, towards the end of this volume.

The foregoing account is sufficient to point out the most particular information with regard to Mary's imprisonment, her treatment by her custodians, and her general health.

Mr. Robert Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick, kept Walsingham informed of what was going on in Scotland from the commencement of 1583–84 till 12th of May 1584.

On 1st January 1583–84, he informed Walsingham that the Laird of Cleish, Mr. John Colvile's brother-in-law, had been ordered by the King of Scots to depart from England. Mr. John Colvile himself had left Scotland and was on his way to London, and Walsingham was requested to receive and comfort him as a gentleman who had faithfully done many good services for the Queen of England.[1]

On 11th January, Bowes informed Walsingham that the Abbot of Dunfermline had returned to the Scottish Court, and was entertained graciously by the King. The Master of Glamis was licensed to return to Scotland, and Angus was encouraged to believe that he would shortly be released. Mar's friends were also led to hope that their petition for his relief would be granted. It was represented that the King would extend his clemency to all parties who had showed their obedience, and that he would endeavour to unite his nobility in concord, and to establish his realm in quietness. If this course proceeded it was thought that "some hidden mystery and strange effects will soon after appear."[2]

Bowes received information that the Jesuits Holt and Brereton and two other Englishmen were to cross over from Scotland to France with Lord Seton, so a ship was put in readiness to surprise them on the sea.[3] Lord Seton and his companions, except Holt, who was left at Seton, sailed without being overtaken by the English ship.

The Earl of Arran was trying to persuade the King not to pardon those who took part in the raid of Ruthven, and it

[1] P. 3. [2] P. 7. [3] P. 7.

was believed by some that the King would readily hearken to his advice.[1] 1584. —

On 24th January, Bowes wrote to Walsingham that some sudden alteration was expected in Scotland, which he feared would not turn to any great profit to the English,[2] and a week later he told him that the convention at Edinburgh had been dissolved, and that Mar and Glamis had been ordered to leave Scotland and to remain out of that country, England, and Ireland. Gowrie was likewise charged to depart. It was expected that Bothwell would leave of his own accord or receive charge to go. Angus's ward was changed from Moray to the Mearns, and it was agreed that a large number of such burgesses of Edinburgh as accompanied John Dury in the churchyard there against the Duke of Lennox after the raid of Ruthven should be charged to depart out of the said realms. Proclamation was to be made to restrain Angus's and Mar's dependents from coming within twenty miles of the King.[3]

Information was given to the King in March that the Lords John and Claud Hamilton had agreed with Angus, Mar and others, and it was expected that some enterprise would be attempted against them.[4]

Bowes received notice that the King had been informed on 29th March 1584 that Mar and Glamis had returned from Ireland to Scotland, with the intention of joining with other lords and hastily attempting some enterprise.[5] On 15th April 1584 Gowrie was apprehended by Colonel Stewart, who was sent with 100 men to Dundee for that purpose,[6] and was removed to Holyrood House.

Angus and Mar wrote to Walsingham, 29th April, informing him that they were forced to leave Scotland, and had arrived at Berwick, whither they were conducted by Sir John Selby.[7]

Bowes had a long conference with the Master of Glamis, who had also fled to Berwick, from which he learnt that the

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[1] P. 13. [2] P. 17. [3] P. 18. [4] P. 40.
[5] P. 52. [6] P. 66. [7] P. 95.

1584. — failure of the attempt to seize the King arose from the friends of the Lords who were concerned in the enterprise not being "sufficiently dealt with and bound by express consent, intelligence, and bond," and by the taking of Gowrie. Those who had been dealt with by Gowrie reckoned that by his capture the cause was defeated, and therefore did not keep the time of the tryst prescribed at Stirling. Those who kept the tryst were able to bring only a few of their people with them, and owing to their small numbers were unable to present themselves in the field.[1]

The Master of Glamis believed that if they had been able to take the field with 1000 men at one time they would have prevailed without difficulty.[2]

Gowrie was executed on 3rd May 1584. An account of his trial and death by Roger Aston is preserved amongst the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum.[3] Angus, Mar, and Glamis, by Bowes' advice, informed Elizabeth of their arrival in England, and the causes thereof and of their action in attempting to seize the King.

Mr. William Davison was sent to Berwick by Elizabeth to report what he could learn with regard to matters in Scotland, and Bowes shortly afterwards proceeded to London.

A list of the lords and some others who were banished or had fled, and those who were captives and were summoned to appear in Scotland, was sent to Walsingham, and is printed in the text.[4] There were about 200 altogether. James VI. demanded from Elizabeth the delivery of those who had fled. Elizabeth's answer to James was presented by Mr. William Davison, and was to the effect that they had not intended anything unnatural or disloyal against the King's person. These noblemen and their progenitors, she said, had always maintained the King's government, especially the house of Mar. When the noblemen were possessed of the King's person at Ruthven they showed no disloyal or undutiful meaning to him. Her opinion was that the disturbances in Scotland proceeded from the factions amongst the noblemen and prin-

[1] P. 95. [2] P. 96. [3] P. 103. [4] P. 128.

cipal persons in the realm. She regarded the banished lords as being innocent of what was charged against them. 1584. —

Mr. William Davison wrote to Walsingham, 27th May, informing him of some of the Acts concluded in the Scottish Parliament then in session.[1] These, he stated, tended chiefly to the supplanting of the present state and government of the Church. The King had assumed to himself an absolute jurisdiction, discharging all the General Assemblies and presbyteries from convening or meddling in any sort with the discipline of the Church. Montgomery was restored to the Archbishopric of Glasgow, and freed by Parliament from the sentence of excommunication. The Archbishop of St. Andrews was authorised to reform the Universities within his diocese. Amongst other things, the provision for Gowrie's children was revoked; David Chambers, forfeited for Darnley's murder, was restored, as were also Lethington's and Balfour's children. All who had George Buchanan's book *De Jure Regni* were commanded to bring it to the Secretary to be revised and reformed.

Davison remained at Edinburgh till 10th September 1584. On his journey to Berwick he was met by the Earl of Arran at Haddington, who repeated to him his "old general discourses" touching his good intention to keep peace and friendship between the Queen of England and James VI.[2] In the same letter Davison mentions that the Earl of Argyll died on the day he was at the Court—10th September.

Mr. John Colvile was despatched by Elizabeth, 6th October 1584, to Angus and Mar, who were at Newcastle, to tell them how careful and ready she was to do anything that might in any sort bring about a reconciliation between James VI. and them.[3] A similar letter was sent by Elizabeth to the Lords John and Claud Hamilton the same day.[4]

On 14th October 1584, Patrick, Master of Gray, received a commission from James VI. to treat with Elizabeth and her Council in all matters and causes tending to the confirmation

[1] P. 155. [2] P. 333. [3] P. 356. [4] P. 257.

1584. — and performance of the amity and continuance of peace between them.[1]

Walsingham, in a letter to Sir Ralph Sadleir, 3rd November 1584, mentions that the Master of Gray had audience on Sunday last, and that he propounded no particular matter.[2]

Mary wrote to the Master of Gray instructing him to declare to Elizabeth that James VI. would only act jointly with his mother. Mary also instructed him to request the Queen of England to proceed with the treaty for her liberty.[3]

Instructions were also sent by Mary to the Master of Gray with regard to her proposals to Elizabeth.[4]

The Master of Gray's answer to Mary, dated 10th November, states that he has not observed her instructions precisely, and gives his reasons for acting as he did.[5]

Towards the end of November the Master of Gray presented notes and demands to the Privy Council, to which answers were given by them.[6]

In December following Mary wrote again to the Master of Gray, upbraiding him with being led away by the persuasions of those who only desire their own advantage. This letter was followed by one from Monsieur Nau,[7] who was then in London.

Late in December 1584, the exiled Lords received intimation from Walsingham that James VI. desired their removal to some place more distant from the Scottish Border than Newcastle, and they accordingly, though with great regret, went to Oxford.

Many letters from Mary's friends and allies have been left unnoticed in this Introduction. They have been calendared fully. The Editor does not regard it as part of his duty to criticise any of these letters, and considers it best to leave them for the perusal of students of history who are in a position to draw conclusions from them.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

LONDON, *June* 1913.

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[1] P. 365. [2] P. 393 [3] P 401. [4] *Ib.*
[5] P. 405. [6] Pp. 443 to 448. [7] P. 483.

CORRIGENDA, ETC.

VOL. VI.

Page 649. Line 21: delete the words in square brackets.

VOL. VII.

Page 35, No. 32. Line 5: *for* intreagues *read* intrigues.
„ 47, No. 44. Line 15: *after* retinue *add* "to pass their ward inward."
„ 153. *Transpose* Nos. 143 and 144.
„ 254. Line 15 from the end: *for* head *read* heed.
„ 287, No. 259. At the end *add* Lansd. MSS. 49, fol. 169. Abstract of the same.
„ 317. Line 9: *after* England's *insert* favour.
„ 385. Line 9 from the end, *after* her *insert* we.
„ 496, No. 463. Line 11: *for* changes *read* charges.
„ 595, No. 574. The date should be March 1.
„ 657. Line 10: *for* leasure *read* leisure.

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 the other Documents are preserved in the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

ELIZABETH.

1583–4, Jan. 1. Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 357.

1. J. KEITH TO ELIZABETH.

"It will pleis your majestie." Touching the commission of some things your majesty gave me to speak to the King's majesty here, I have truly discharged myself thereof, observing your majesty's words as near as my memory could serve, both for the good opinion your majesty has conceived of me, as also for the humble duty I owe to my natural sovereign.

First, concerning unthankfulness used by the King against your majesty. Secondly, of violation of some promises made to your majesty, wherewith I found your majesty most aggrieved. I have also not forgotten your majesty's loving admonition to his majesty, which was, if he would that your majesty should have or bear a motherly love and affection to his majesty, he should endeavour himself to observe these following points:—First, not to violate the friendship and tenderness which ought to, and should be between your majesties, either for pleasure of France or any other. Secondly, that his majesty, above all things, should take heed that no papistical persons should divert him from the good religion in which he has been educated. Thirdly, that he should not ally himself with France, Spain, or any other "suspect" to her [*sic*] and enemies to good religion. Which, if his majesty would do, your majesty commanded me to say that your majesty would not only be a careful, loving mother to him, but also assist him with a good revenue yearly to the maintenance of his majesty's estate. Madam, it has pleased his majesty very graciously to hear me, and divers times to confer with me in these former points. I must confess to your majesty what I found in this good King. Truly, so far as I can perceive, I find his majesty of another and better mind toward your majesty than your majesty is informed of him. Especially concerning these two principal points which concern the conservation of perfect amity with your majesty, and establishing of sincere and perfect religion, truly, his majesty is more sorry to be so debased to your majesty than if he were of mind to decline from any of these points.

"It will pleis your majestie" to be advertised that my conference with his majesty, and also the oft recitation to him of your majesty's loving affections toward his majesty have effectuated so much that his majesty thinks, for his honour's sake, he will no longer delay to "improiff" such calumnies by wicked persons "forgit upone his

Elizabeth.
1583–4. majestie," and to purge himself thereof at your majesty's hands, and that his majesty has neither with France, Spain, nor any other country sought or done anything to the hurt of true friendship with your majesty; and to make this good his majesty is earnestly minded to send some noblemen, ambassadors to your majesty, to treat of all things that may corroborate the good amity between your majesties, and of establishing of religion. And to the effect that this friendship may not be extinguished or brought to nothing by wicked seminators, enemies to both your majesties, he thinks by the same embassage to let you understand what your majesty in very deed may look for at his majesty's hands, and " will crave luffinglie the reciproc " of your majesty. His majesty means also that this his age " cravis " now both to resolve and be resolved with your majesty.

As to his majesty's marriage, he has informed me that he has already demanded your good " awyse " concerning the same, wherein, since that time, he has proceeded no farther. I would wish your majesty to think well of this his majesty's loving offer, which seems to proceed from a well inclined heart to good amity, which he will not put in execution before his majesty knows what your majesty thinks thereof, or, if it be agreeable to your majesty's will that his majesty's ambassadors shall be sent to your majesty " to entraitt of the formar heiddis."

I have assured his majesty—as I doubt not—" bot " your majesty shall have a good liking thereof. Therefore, I, as one that " luffis" with a true and faithful heart the integrity of friendship and good correspondence between your majesties, desire your majesty to write to his majesty, or to me, that I may inform him, if your majesty will that ambassadors to treat, as is said, shall be sent to your majesty or not. Truly, madam, I am " in a werrie goud hoip " that all things shall fall out well—which I pray God may be so—then would I think myself happy to have travailed in so honourable and weighty cause, wherein I shall not cease to travail until I be advertised from your majesty. God forbid that your majesty should not think well of this. " Than war all thing mard, and no hoip yat evir it suld be goud betuin your majesteis."

As to some lords and others that the King mislikes of, I would your majesty should neither write nor intercede for them till all other things of most weight and consequence be " weill satlit and degestit," in respect that there are none of them hurt or " onsuir " of their bodies, goods or lands.

I crave most humbly that your majesty will think no otherwise of me than well, for God shall bear record of my true and just dealing to both your majesties.

I crave your majesty's clement answer in " wrytt " with diligence; and if your majesty will employ me to speak anything to his majesty I shall as truly do the same as your majesty will repose trust in me. Therefore, your majesty, please command me. Your majesty remembers that your majesty " spak " something to [m]e anent the Earl of Arran, that he being now greatest [a]bout the King should be the principal disturber of friendship and good correspondence between your majesties. Madam, I have been in very familiar conferences with him and have found otherwise in him, whereof your majesty shall have a proof. I cannot perceive him in any way other

Elizabeth.
1583–4. ways inclined than to see—with all his hurt—the King's majesty, his master, in good terms with your majesty—which your majesty will "think" hard to believe. Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Keith.

5 *pp. Holograph, also address. No flyleaf or indorsement.*

Jan. 1. **2.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

That the Laird of Cleish—brother to this bearer, Mr. John Colvile—might obey the order prescribed by the King, for his departure out of England, he was constrained to depart hence at this time, and thereby this bearer was occasioned to accompany him some part of his way, and afterwards to resort to London and to him [Walsingham], in whom his only hope of succour and comfort now stands. He needs not to recount the good deserts and worthiness of this gentleman, who has faithfully done many good services for the Queen of England, and is determined therein to bestow his life and whole power. Requests him to receive and comfort him as he will. He can sufficiently inform him how the affairs have passed in Scotland of late. Besides, has had some conference with him for the entertainment as well of some intelligence there as also of the most apt and fit instruments for the same. In all which he will satisfy him at large, and therefore he refers all these things to his report, trusting that, upon consideration of the present state of matters to be opened by him, he will first resolve whether it shall be good to deal any further in intelligence, and what shall be done in case he determines to employ such as he will name to him. Finds that his [Bowes's] intelligencers before retained, and known only to himself, began to fall into suspicion, being thereby afraid to continue their offices. Sees many causes moving him to seek to be rid of this charge, and chiefly if the "bycourse" shall proceed. Beseeches him upon sight of the resolution to be taken in this "bycourse" to procure his discharge, or otherwise to direct him as he shall think good, being ready to serve and do as he shall appoint him. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 1. **3.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his last packet, of the 25th of last month, yesterday, and, according to his direction, has signified to Lord Scrope his opinion how Endermarkye may be best entertained and dealt with in case he shall hereafter go to Carlisle. Has told Lord Scrope in what suspicious state Endermarkye stood, and wished him to give good regard to his doings as to one who for his own relief will attempt anything that may advance the same. Before this Angus was credibly informed that Arran had practised with, and drawn Endermarkye to undertake to kill Angus. And albeit that Angus has not given credit to this information, yet the informer has showed him such circumstances and probabilities proving the matter, that for that cause, and for the horrible murder committed by Endermarkye of his kinsman, he has remained in continual jealousy towards him, and also refused to satisfy the earnest requests made to him

Elizabeth.
1583–4. at his being in Scotland to be a mean to the king for his pardon. Perceives that some of Angus's friends now think that Endermarkye has been lately assayed to follow forth and execute the former practice against Angus. Which thing Endermarkye may easily accomplish, if he has any such intention, in the place where Angus presently continues in ward, being amongst the chief friends and in the country of Endermarkye, who has been lately seen in Court and entertained so favourably that thereby this suspicion is much increased. Has advised some of Angus's friends to give him speedy warning in this, and trusts his former advice to Lord Scrope shall suffice to admonish his lordship to use this person as shall best appertain.

The friends of the Queen of Scots are minded to persuade the King to revoke and defeat the Acts passed by any of the four Regents. It is said that the matter stands wholly upon the advice and direction to be given by the Queen of Scots in what sort, and to what effects this work shall be attempted, and that the King is already well inclined and agreeing to follow his mother's counsel as well in this as in all other things.

William Holt, the seminary, who before escaped out of Edinburgh Castle, and other English Papists are ready to pass to France with Seton. Is advised credibly that Brereton, the great practiser, has returned to Scotland, and has been at Edinburgh and Seton, and also is right busy to send into England and enter into his wonted manner of practice. Since his [Brereton's] arrival Seton and others of his sort have showed themselves in good hope and comfort of wished success in their affairs, wherein they lack no friends in Court to advance the same. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 1. **4.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Understanding by his letter of the 24th ult. that by his especial means and goodness his credit and standing shall be preserved, therefore gives him his right humble and hearty thanks, assuring him that he shall not be "quyett nor delay any tyme" until he shall be delivered from the danger of the promises and bonds given for his relief, coming by his singular benefit, and for which he and all his shall always remain at his commandment.

It will appear to him by his former letter that the parties in the late intended action have utterly shaken the same from them. Sees not only the defection increasing, but also that the French favourites prevail daily and enter into great grace in Court. But the authority and advice of "23" [the Queen of Scots] there govern all things; whose friends there, as he is credibly informed, look for indilate promotions, rejoicing to find themselves so near the possession thereof as at present they verily think themselves to be—a matter with them [the English] to be right well regarded, and which he prays God may be timely foreseen. Cannot presently give him, as he desires, any particular information and light concerning "705's" practices or intelligences with the evil affected in "70" [Scotland]. Will be diligent and enquire warily, and learn of the same. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Elizabeth.
1583–4.
Jan. 5.

5. Queen of Scots to Monsieur de Mauvissière.

C.P., vol. XIII.

Monsieur de Mauvissière, I thank you affectionately for your care and good diligence in advertising me of this last agitation, at which I am extremely grieved for the cause and occasion that my enemies could take on this, to persecute those of my party in this kindgom, as they have already done towards the Sieur de la Tour, towards whom, and all his, I pray God to give me grace some day to acknowledge the wrongs that up till now he has endured very unjustly. As to myself I trouble very little about it, for the more my said enemies shall search into the foundation and the truth of everything passed up till the present, the more will they discover and find me totally innocent, especially of this pretended conspiracy of Somerfield, the name of whom, or any other condemned for the same deed, I can wholly swear and protest before God never to have heard named, so wanting am I of ever having had any intelligence whatever with them. I am well advised that you entertain the Earl of Leicester and Walsingham, paying them with the same money that they do you. But do not trust them, neither the one nor the other, because I know surely that they are the only and principal authors of this last research. And for this, say to the Earl of Leicester that you have not any means of informing me of his last offers and protestations of goodwill except by the way of Walsingham, to the end that he will not perceive if you make him answer, that there still remains to you any intelligence with me. I know that they work by all means to remove me from here, and to put me under some guardian at their devotion, which is the worst that I fear from all this disturbance, and I beg you affectionately to provide against it with all remonstrances and good offices that you could make hereupon, both in the name of the King my good brother as on my behalf; requiring at least that I be not put in the hands of an enemy suspected, or one pretending to the succession of this crown, neither who depends on any such. I wrote to you last Thursday openly of this false and unhappy imposture which they have sown about me, between the Earl of Shrewsbury and me, of which I pray you anew to speak to this Queen and those of her Council, publishing everywhere as loudly as you can my offers hereupon and their answer, to the end to countermine the false rumours that you tell me they have already spread. You will have somewhat understood by my said letters my intention of touching indirectly the Countess of Shrewsbury, against whom, if I am not afraid of opening my mouth, I am sure that she and all her courtiers will have whereof to repent for having so cruelly and treacherously attacked me. For I have already in writing such acts and practices of her and hers to reveal, in which the Earl of Shrewsbury and others of his faction are deeply touched, that if the Queen of England once has knowledge of them, I do not think that she can ever tolerate them. It will not be without purpose that you indirectly declare to the said Earl of Leicester that you have formerly heard said to one of my servitors passing through this kingdom that the said countess had revealed to me very grave secrets of the earl, as much of his private deportment with the Queen of England, as of his designs and intelligence in this kingdom, and upon this you will be able to advise him not to urge me more forward to come to the extremity. I do not

Elizabeth.
1583–4. doubt that between these troubles Walsingham will retain in his hands my packets and yours as long as possible, and on that account take occasion to write me as often as you can, as I myself would do in your place. Ask to have my letters of the 2nd of this month on pretence of enquiring if up till the present I have not replied to your preceding [letters], and that you wish to know my news and of my condition and health, to render account of them to the King your master by the bearer. I am not at all sure of writing, unless it be that every other means fail, this happening, the best and most secret writing is allum soaked in a little clear water twenty-four hours before one wishes to write, and to read it, it is only necessary to damp the paper in some basin of clear water. The secret writing appears white, sufficiently easy to read until the paper has dried again. You could write in this way on white taffeta or white cloth, especially fine linen, and to know between us when there is something written, cut from the piece of taffeta or linen a little piece from one of the corners. As to the papers which are ordinary memoirs write the letter "M" of this word "memoir" with the tail curled round in this way  I shall use the same if necessity requires. But it is only necessary to make use of it on occasion of great importance, and still keep from naming anyone there may be, to the end not to fall into danger. And upon this recommending myself to your good grace praying God. Sheffield.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "5 Jan. 1584. From ye Sc: Qu: to Monsieur Mauvissirèe."

Jan. 8. **6. James VI. to Walsingham.**

"This bearer hes obtenit of ws to be recommendit to zour gude courtesie and favour in this journay quhilk he takkis throcht England to the pairtes bezonde sey, for hamebringing of skilfull and expert men in the minerallis, able to performe that quhilk he hes contractit with ws, be the tak quhilk he hes tane of our haill mynis. Quhairin ze may lefullie baith further his intent in England and pleasur him utherwayis. We pray zow hartlie to let it appeare as he sall have occasioun to addres him to zow. Alwayis that for our cause and the interest quhilk we have in his earand, he may finde him the better usit, as ze will do ws acceptable pleasur." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. No flyleaf.*

Jan. 11. **7. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

Has been informed that Dunfermline has returned to Court and is entertained very graciously by the King; that the King is well pleased that the Master of Glamis shall be licensed to return to Scotland to be reconciled with Crawford, and Glamis is called to be at home very shortly.

It is said that Angus is fed with very fair words and comforts to be shortly enlarged and to obtain his desires, and that Mar's friends, suing for his relief, are put in hope to find favour.

It is pretended now that the King will extend his clemency to

Elizabeth.
1583–4. all parties who have showed their obedience, and thereon he will travail to unite his nobility in concord and to establish his realm in quietness. And herewith it is thought that if this course proceeds in deed, then some hidden mystery and strange effects will soon after appear. Newcastle. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 11. **8.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Upon late advertisement given to Lord Hunsdon as well by himself as by Cuthbert Armorour that Holte, Brereton, and two other Englishmen should pass out of Scotland with Lord Seton to France, his lordship by his letter of the 3rd instant has directed him to seek to surprise these persons on the seas, or otherwise to find the means that they may be brought to some place in England. For the execution whereof—as a matter of importance and especial service for her majesty—he has speedily sent one into Scotland to labour effectually with his [Bowes's] friends in this behalf, and also has "entertained" here and put in readiness a good ship called the *Roger and Katheryne*, of Newcastle, of 140 tons, to set forwards to the seas and attend the coming of these practisers. Will gladly employ himself and best endeavour herein, and has sought to do it with all secrecy, making the owner of the ship set her forth as for his own affairs. But fears that the evil affected in this town will receive suspicion of some attempt to be intended towards Scotland, and thereupon give such knowledge and warning as shall hasten to defeat the wished success.

On his arrival he found the Earl of Huntingdon here, who has made delivery of this gaol and dealt with the recusants here. Whereupon good effects have already come, and better fruit is like to follow thereon. His lordship asked his opinion concerning one especial person in Scotland, whom he [Bowes] knows to be of great intelligence and such as he has sought to entertain, and could not win him. If his lordship could by any good mean creep into the bosom of this man he might thereby learn such secrets and draw from him many things that should greatly profit her majesty's service. Has thought good to signify this much to him that at his next meeting with the earl he might stir him to assay what he can do therein. In this his lordship will, he thinks, open his knowledge and meaning further to him than he has done to him [Bowes].

Has been credibly advised that the courtiers in Scotland have looked, and still hearken for troublesome effects to fall out and be seen in England. It is daily confirmed that "91" [the King of Scots] is wholly governed by "23" [the Queen of Scots'] party and their friends, and also seeks to advance all things to the prescribed and wished desires of "23"—for whom may it please God speedily to provide. Newcastle. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

[Jan. .] **9.** EXTRACTS OF LETTERS.

C. P., vol. XIII. That the Lord Morley had been solicited by his mother to come over in respect of the danger either of imprisonment in England

Elizabeth.
1583–4. being Catholic, or of partaking the peril of the invasion of foreign Princes attempting a conquest. He has promised to come when she shall send for him. He has certified that 6000*l.* is the most he can make over in money, plate, and jewels. One Hanmer, a gentleman, and Ithell, a priest, sent from Paris to Leith to fetch the said lord over. All things prepared, they to advertise Lenthorpp, his cousin, who lies ready with a ship of France to fetch him. Laird of Doune receives letters from Bridges *alias* Gratley. August 25, 1583.

That the opinion that the King of Scots is directly papist, and that he secretly practises with the Duke of Guise and the Jesuits about the invasion of England, and that he will bring the friends of the Duke of Guise through his country into England. Two Jesuits sent into Scotland; who conferred with the Duke of Guise before their departure, and were sent into Huntly's country. That the Earls of Cumberland and Rutland and Lord Compton are friends to the Papists, and that the Earls of Rutland and Cumberland are in working with Fortescue and Dryland, priests. That Charles Arundell shall be head of the army. That the French ambassador has promised the protesting Papists to serve their turns in all enterprises to the uttermost, according to the directions given him, and that he will see their letters conveyed to and fro in the King's packet. An Italian, his servant, delivers them and receives answer of one Taylor, a grocer in Fleet Street.

About making a loan, Charles Pagett against that of Throgmorton and the Earl of Northumberland. Cledore, a priest, pens it. They stay till they see what will come out against W. Shelley. The cause of the Earl of Arundell's coming is known only to Doctor Owen. That the Prince the winter following should invade England; the King of Spain Ireland; the Duke of Guise in person enter Scotland; the Earl of Westmoreland invade upon the north, about Westmoreland, bringing the two sons of the Earl of Northumberland with him; that he should have 10,000 men and 1000 cannons. Charles Arundell and Thomas Throgmorton invade the south and west parts. From Fitzherbert in great secret. That Parsons lay secretly for this purpose in the Prince of Parma's camp. Thomas Throgmorton to go secretly to Spain, and Parsons to Rome. Charles Pagett's going into England was to insure the Earl of Northumberland that the Princes were resolved of this invasion the year past. Which invasion was practised by Doctor Allen and Parsons, by whose mean Pagett was sent, and Parsons had been in Spain about the same. They charge Pagett that it did not fall out according to their expectation, saying he betrayed it to the Lords of the Council in England, and so betrayed the earl and Shelley. Charles Pagett received letters from the Queen of Scots willing him to stay there till the time fitted them; and the like message sent to the earl by Robothom, his man. Pagett went out, notwithstanding, on his journey. He is the more suspected because he is so great a suitor for Morgan, whose liberty is prevented by them. August 11th, 1583.

Quarrel between Charles Pagett, Morgan, and Charles Arundell. Charles Arundell would have killed Pagett, for that by his means he was prevented from the receipt of 3000 crowns laid out by him when he was in England about the Queen of Scots' affairs. Charles

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Arundell sought money of the Pope's nuncio and Bernardino * for the furnishing of three or four ships of war about St. Malo, wherein he and others should go to England with 600 or 700 men, secretly, to rob and spoil, upon the parts of Somersetshire, and take some gentlemen of importance in their shires, and to ransome the same and return with the spoils—a device liked of by Bernardino; but he does nothing without permission. The change in Scotland has made the Papists mad, for that the King being in the lords' hands, the ambassador of Spain assures them his King will adventure no invasion without being sure of a good party either in England or Scotland. That he would employ his whole forces for the Low Countries before he begins for England; carrying spoil, perhaps, on the frontier, as Sir Francis Drake had done in Spain; and so to drive the Queen [of England] to convert her force for her defence. It was expected, upon the Jesuits' promise in their letter of 28th November that the King should have been in their safe custody with Huntly and Maxwell; not altogether in despair, because they hope the Lord [John] Hamilton will "put" for their part; which his brother Claud assures. They hope well of the Earl of Mar if Lycyes may come unto him. In general, the Pope found by Doctor Allen well affected to English causes, but in particular fears the seminaries will not continue, the Pope alleging poverty; and for that the visitations are costly, doubts the seminary at Rome will be dissolved. Tressam Pagett and Throgmorton opened themselves directly against the proceedings of Parsons, not liking that that gentleman should be directed by priests.

Doctor Webb did "and handleth that he recanted his opinion in writing." George Turbervile greatly made account of, and the Papists to serve a turn if England be invaded on the parts where he dwells. December 16, 1583.

Charles Arundell is to go into Brittany within twenty days about his roving enterprise. His journey was to Spain. Fitzherbert only acquainted with his practices. He has great conference with Sumers, who furnishes him with some crowns. Captain Gay has promised to help him with 1000 or 1500 men at all times on the coast of Brittany. The speech [is] that the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, and the Venecians have made a league for the invasion of England, which should have been shortly, that the state of Scotland had not been altered, but now deferred for four months; the Duke of Savoy is to come down under colour of aiding the Prince of Parma with 10,000 foot and 2000 horse which shall be transported into England by such ships as shall with merchandise within four months weigh out of Spain and Portugal, and being laid at Dunkirk, etc., and the galleys that are a-making at Antwerp. The Pope finds 4000 Italians of the number. They think they have the great advantage of invading England, for that the Earl of Leicester is in Flanders with the best soldiers. Doctor Allen directly answered that there shall be granted in pensions the 3000*l.* by the year that Pope Gregory gave to the English seminary at Rome, [which were] taken away, and [of] which number many prepare for England; and Doctor

* Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Spanish ambassador.

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Allen has sent to their aid, to dismiss the greatest part of the seminaries, and to send them into England by reason of the Pope's said dealing, and for that the house is indebted 2500 crowns. January 12, 1583–4.

The Jesuits certified that they succeed according to their wish in Scotland; that by them and their directions 10,000 people are reconciled; that they daily expect numbers, as also to gain the King into their possession—the mark they shoot at, and cause of their going thither. The taking of which King is daily expected by the Duke of Guise, understanding which, he has promised to invade Scotland. The greatest and certain hope is from Spain of men, money and ships, as it is surmised, by the help of the Pope, who secretly promises aid, but openly yields no comfort of pension particular to any. The Earl of Westmorland attends the Duke of Guise's direction for sending him into England. The earl and Prince of Parma at odds for that he hath taken away his charge going into Flanders. Whereupon he has forsaken his pension and is at defiance with the Prince and King. Thomas Throgmorton departed two days before towards Geneva to meet the Lord Pagett and to go to Guyenne. It is given out to prevent the release; but the Lord Pagett received out of England not long before 6000*l.* Said and believed that the King of France [is] presently ill affected to England, solicited by the Queen his mother. Espernon sent out of the way insomuch he should not hinder it; the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise remaining at Court to continue him in that charge. This was delivered by the Pope's nuncio to Mr. Tressam [Paget] to deliver to the Prince of Parma from him. Liggons specially likely to be used by the Prince of Parma. October 18, 1583.

Charles Arundell returned from the Duke of Guise, malcontent for only having received of all his pay 300 crowns. He has conferred with Captains Gay and Francisco for 2000 men to prosecute his roving attempt into England; who have promised him his reasonable credit, and the former persuaded that he will set forward as soon as he can content his men out of the Scottish officers' hands, which the Duke of Guise has earnestly solicited. Thought he will set out about St. Malo. Some unkindness between him and Westmorland for that he was more affected to Pagett in the late quarrel. Lord Claud Hamilton's return to Scotland greatly desired to make some new party in England, which they hope he shall be able [to do] at his return by the help of his brother, the Earl of Huntly, and others. He is become a Papist, but uses his religion secretly since the return of the banished lords to Scotland. The Scottish Jesuits have their letters conveyed from Scotland to England by one Beste, a priest in the north parts, who sends them hither by some who come from Newcastle to Dieppe. Hoped that the marriage of Espernon with Madame Montpensier proceeding will make him further the same, that the King shall permit and aid the Duke of Guise in any attempt he will make against England or Scotland, and also procure that he shall join effectually with the King of Spain in any like attempt, according to his [Espernon's] promise to the Duke of Guise at his last being at Chalonnes a month before. All the Papists there keep persuaded that the King and his mother were willing of any attempt against England and to further it in secret. December 28 [1583].

Elizabeth.
1583–4. That Allen and Parsons went to Rome to further the invasion of England the same winter, and to sift Batson the Jesuit who had been in England. Charles Arundell charged to be a spy for England by certain letters to the Pope's nuncio and articles. Wherefore all the gentlemen sent for and sworn to consent to the said articles. Charles Arundell cleared himself to the nuncio. Greatly accounted of, for that he was recommended by the Duke of Guise to the Pope for a meet man to have the conduct of an army to invade his country; and Lord Arundell returned certain plots and ground how the country might be invaded. September 30, 1583.

Lord Herbert and Sir Edward Herbert friends to the Popish conspirators. The King of Scots directly Papist, whatsoever appearance of the contrary is policy. He has conference with the Duke of Guise by letters. It is ordered that all the posts sent out of England shall be sent to Scotland. Provision for their entertainment made by the Earl of Huntly and [Lord] Maxwell, not without the King's consent. Charles Arundell the man that should lead the army into England. The Papists divided into factions. The Bishop of Ross, Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Throgmorton, and some few priests on one side. On the other part are Doctor Allen, Parsons, and all the Jesuits with all the rest. Doctor Allen plays on both hands. Thomas Throgmorton is rather with the Jesuits than against them, who use him in some practice.

3¼*pp.* *Indorsed:* "Extract of B. his letters. August 21, 1583."

Jan. 12. **10. Brian Lassells to Walsingham.**
C.P., vol. XIII.

Received his letters dated the 6th instant on the 10th, and according to his commandment has called before him William Parker, George More's man, the conveyor and receiver of letters by the said More's commandment, as his other fellow Ardington did. Using him [Parker] very straitly, and keeping him in his house two days. In the end, preparing to set him forwards towards his honour, he got him to confess to a letter which he received at his master's, George More's, hands, who then lay in Silver Street, London, at Lady Cordall's house, about a year and a half ago. Which letter was sealed up, as he says, without any superscription; and he the said Parker was commanded by his master to carry the same to the Charter House and to deliver it to the Earl of Arundel's porter, who was then "a fatt man of proportion," and thinks his name to be Atkinson. Which he did; but what the contents of the letter were, he knows not, neither did he receive any message or answer to the same. Further, he says that he never received any message or letter at any man's hands but this only, nor did he convey any.

Since his coming to the country he has received such intelligence that he purposes presently to repair to his [Walsingham's] house, because he has what it greatly concerns her majesty to know. Stays but to perfect everything, and intends to be with him about Thursday next. In the meantime his honour may be preparing with her majesty for the removing of the Earl of Shrewsbury's charge with great expedition, for that it is most needful, as he shall understand on his arrival. There are two special persons of which he would wish him to write to the Earl of Shrewsbury to keep in safety; the one is

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Roger Sharpe, the Scottish Queen's coachman, and the other one James Rawson, and that they may be stayed and their houses searched. Which he doubts the earl will very slenderly perform. Will deliver to him [Walsingham] such suspicion as is conceived of them. Gateford. *Signed:* Brian Lassells.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Jan. 15. **11. Elizabeth to Sir Andrew Keith.**

We find that by the late letters received from you, you have most faithfully and with very great sufficiency delivered to the King there such matters as passed between us at the time of your being here, whereof we prayed you to make report to the King. Which, as it should seem, has wrought that effect in him that he is disposed to send an ambassador to us to yield us satisfaction in such points wherewith we conceive to have cause to be aggrieved. And although the hard success and effects that followed from the last legation sent by him to us might greatly discourage us to hope for better hereafter, yet upon the assurance that you give us, that this resolution of the King grows from a good mind and a desire he has—all griefs removed—to enjoy good and perfect friendship with us, we most willingly assent thereto, hoping that the King will make choice of such persons to be employed in the said legation as shall be known to be well affected to the amity of this crown. And for your particular, whatsoever success shall ensue from the same, we cannot but think ourselves greatly beholden to you for the desire you show to have to further that which you conceive may be for our service.

1⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Jan. 20. **12. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

For matters of the State, and chiefly for resolution and choice of sending a fit and sufficient person to the Queen of England, the King and Council in Scotland have appointed to hold a Convention in the beginning of next month. It is thought convenient by Rothes, Crawford, Montrose, and some others to enact and ordain that two earls shall quarterly relieve and disburden the King of the care of the common affairs, that he may the more freely take his recreation and pastime, that he shall be sufficiently guarded, and that from henceforth no one person shall alone occupy his ear. It is thought that in time this may work to discount Arran, with pretence that afterwards matters shall be generally reformed and drawn to some temperate course, with union as well amongst the nobility as also in Court, which presently is in great jar and secret envy and hatred.

The King, at Rothes' earnest suit, has promised that Angus's ward shall be shortly changed into Angus and Dundee, and that he shall afterwards be restored to his livings by this running Parliament. Whereupon Rothes is returned home, thinking verily that the King will perform his promise; yet it is seen that some in Court are so far against it that it is doubted what shall follow thereon.

The King pretends, and it is verily believed, that he is well pleased to pardon and forget the raid at Ruthven. But Arran labours very busily to persuade and draw him to the contrary, and some of good

Elizabeth.
1583–4. experience in the King think that he will readily hearken to Arran in this behalf.

Betwixt Arran and Colonel Stewart there lurks a privy hatred and disdain, which is lately increased by the return of Dunfermline to the Court, effected chiefly by the colonel, and wherein Huntly and Crawford were, and still are friendly to Dunfermline, who now has returned home with hope to come again with the King's favour. Yet he is like to be therein hindered in that he has not fully satisfied the colonel in such things as he would have been at. Arran and Bothwell, being invited by the colonel to sup, fell into, and exchanged sharp words, "which, albeit the King did after reconcile, yett there stomackes kepe there swellynges." And likewise Arran and Crawford, lately reconciled by the King, are seen to be far from the late tenderness that was betwixt them.

Bothwell has obtained the King's license to travel for five years amongst foreign nations, purposing, as he gives out, to see the Queen of England, the Court, and England. Howbeit his friends thinking it nothing meet for him to depart in this manner seek to stay him at home.

Seton departed from Burntisland on Friday * last at 1 in the afternoon. He takes with him Holt and the other Englishman, whom he keeps very close. He is much offended that the boroughs should send Wat Adamson to follow their cause in France for release of the toll raised there on the Scots. Wherein it is thought that Seton shall cross him if he can.

It is generally bruited in Scotland that the rebellion and troubles are great in England. Wherein the King was chiefly informed by Seton that sundry noblemen were in arms against the Queen of England. But upon the coming of this Englishman, kept thus closely in his cabinet, he has retracted that information. And like rumours are bruited there of some accident happened to the King's mother, with sundry other effects of greater importance than truth.

The Court there is presently quiet and small, hoping for good success in matters to be resolved at this next Convention. At the meeting whereof it is thought that some other effects may haply follow thereon, than are yet intended to be proponed by the authors and callers of that assembly. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 20. **13.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

On Friday last Cuthbert Armorour—lately employed by my Lord Governor [Hunsdon]—returned out of Scotland with advertisement that Seton had departed from Burntisland on Thursday † last betwixt 4 and 5 in the morning. Soon after Richard Maverell—sent to Leith by him—came that night to him and informed him that Seton was in readiness to embark, but not gone, as Armorour reported. And on Saturday ‡ last, in the forenoon, William Walker—likewise addressed by him to travel in this cause—brought knowledge that Seton and his company were ready to embark on Friday last, and to set forwards at the next tide at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, which they did.

* 17th. † 16th. ‡ 18th.

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Albeit he had given order and appointed that the ship of Newcastle should come to Holy Island long before this, yet by occasion of the wind or other impediment she did not arrive there. Sent Bartholomew Pickman on Saturday last to take charge of the ship, then at Tyne mouth, and put to the seas with all possible expedition to meet Seton, and to take only the English practisers and rebels in the ship, agreeable to the instructions given to him by the Lord Governor [Hunsdon].

Seton has with him Holte and one Englishman lately arrived from England, whom he has kept close in his own chamber, not suffering any man to see him or bring him meat except himself or his page. Understands that he is determined to fly the English coast by all possible means. For upon a tale told him that he is laid for—by which warning he [Bowes] finds that this matter is not well kept by all employed therein—he and the Englishman are in great fear. By this and other like occasions he something distrusts the good success of this purpose. Seton for his more surety had provided one of his own servants to join with, and be master of the ship with Gilbert Lamme, the ordinary master of that vessel wherein Seton now sails; yet promise is made to him [Bowes] by some in that company that if by any weather or accident the ship shall come to any road or port in England, the officers thereabouts shall be timely advertised what Englishmen are there, and of what quality they are, to the end they may be stayed, and that immediate knowledge shall be also given to him [Walsingham] thereof. It may please God to bring these two vessels together, and then, he trusts, he shall be presented with notorious Papists and traitors.

Has found himself so used and crossed in the execution of this service that he is not only weary of the charge to deal in like causes and with intelligence, but sees also that he shall be little able to serve or profit therein, and therefore prays him to procure his discharge.

Is credibly informed that Seton received letters out of England on Sunday the 12th instant, and it is thought that he had commission therewith from the Queen of Scots [" 23 "] to travel in some causes in France, and to hasten his journey thither. Is also advertised that he has direction to seek to have 3000 Frenchmen to be brought into Scotland, who shall be levied in France only, and to be paid by the King of Spain, and that pledges of Englishmen shall be privily laid in this behalf. The Master of Gray has secretly told his friend that in conference with old Richard Norton in France, before the arrival of young Lennox in Scotland, he perceived well that the Queen of England was like to have her hands full, and that great troubles should shortly arise in England. Is advertised that his old friend Patrick Tompson should be employed for the Queen of Scots; wherein he finds no great cause for credit.

Mar and Glamis are together in Ireland, at Knockfergus. They have lately sent to Gowrie, and their servants are presently in Scotland.

The parties in the late intended purpose cast off lay the blame thereof on Rothes, and they are about in other work which they intend either to advance and execute with speed, or else to assemble together in Flanders for further resolution. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Elizabeth.
1583–4.
Jan. 23. **14.** ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO [ ].

This present is to advertise that this is the fifth packet sent to you since I received any letter from Scotland. I will not trouble you with the needless reports of the contents of my former letters, but shall advertise you of the state of matters here, to the end that his majesty and such as direct his affairs may understand matters as they are, and not need to fall into any error for lack of knowledge. It is certain that the state of the present affairs through all Christendom had caused this State and Council to consider how necessary it was for this Queen and realm to have his majesty's friendship. Whereupon she was by earnest soliciting of her counsellors induced to make reasonable offers to the King our sovereign, and thereupon I was desired by the Councillors with whom I had dealt to be in readiness to carry to my sovereign such matter as she thought would satisfy his highness; and I am of opinion that his majesty would have liked well thereof himself, by reason they were direct answers and good for all such matters as I had knowledge of before. This resolution continued very hot for a certain space, and even while these two advertisements came hither from the north—the one that there were two factions in Scotland, according to the contents of my former letters sent by William Rygg; the other that the proudest, and those who made the oration in the parliament of Scotland were now contented to send "interposyd" persons to crave meeting of some great men or commissioners for quieting of Border matters and others to be treated upon for the welfare of both the realms. Those advertisements have done this harm, that this Queen cannot be moved to think otherwise at this time but that the state of that realm is reduced to such necessity, that unless she shall put to her helping hand it will fall into extreme peril by dissension among themselves. Wherefore she is relieved of all the fear that thereby might have been conceived, which is thought to be the greatest matter that moves her to do any good; and if she should offer her assistance, as presently she does for helping his majesty, it is sufficient matter, she thinks, that that offer should be a sufficient satisfaction for all matters that are past; and this "untymus" dealing with my Lord Hunsdon has procured, and will procure, if it shall be continued, delay in all such matters as may concern his majesty's weal or surety. I marvel that such as direct his majesty's affairs who know this Queen's nature and the manner of proceeding of this realm—that is, to prolong matters to the uttermost—should not have considered that so evil a course should not have been taken for his majesty's service as to deal with the said lord, remaining so far distant at this time from her majesty, who has no power to further any matters when he is present but such as are committed to him by this Queen and Councillors; and now to enter into such dealing with him as may remove all the reasons given in that advanced the course of his majesty's service, can stand with no kind of good judgment or policy.

This realm has of late stood in great fear of foreign invasion, which moved those who were here to be so careful to move her majesty to come to some final point with our sovereign, and was the only cause that moved her to condescend thereto. But now this manner of

Elizabeth.
1583–4. dealing has so far removed any opinion of her that may be looked for from that country, that no manner of further care is taken, and all the offers that were commanded to be presently set down, containing direct answers, and good for such matters as had been proponed, are now "producyd" to such generalities that no good end may be shortly expected thereof. God forgive those who are so careless of his majesty's service that they look not what inconvenience may fall out before they enter into so sudden dealing so far, so long abstaining from good intelligence, without any manner of good form or reasons moving them thereto. Which kind of proceeding has moved these who are here to think that fear, and not reason, is the author of this counsel. But thus far I may affirm, that his majesty needed not to fear any harm to proceed from this country against him, where he is beloved of many and hated of none. Besides, the Earl of Leicester, who is the only man who may be able to do his majesty ill or good in this country, is not a little grieved in mind that my dealing should be with the Lord Hunsdon or any man, except with himself. Of this I mind to write more very shortly.

Your brother, who has arrived here from the Low Countries, and the "remnant" of his followers are in good reputation with him and this whole Court. "I mynde to dyrecte shortly for syk informmes hys majesti, therfor you shall not nede too take the paynes to cume hether, and I wyll avoyde so farr as I can too cum home, bycawse I see that parsons so transportes mens incummynge that no kynde of reason ys able too move men that hys majesti ys able too be sarvyd with suche as hys majesti owght and showld."

1⅓ *pp. Copy in Hunsdon's hand. Indorsed by Burghley:* "Copy of Arch. Dowglasses lettre into Scotland sent by ye L. Hunsdon, 23 January."

Jan. 24. **15.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

In the "awayt" and pursuit of the English Papists and practisers carried by sea to France in company with Seton, it happened that some Scottish vessels sailing southwards and suspected to have the said persons on board were met and gently searched by Bartholomew Pyckman in the *Roger and Katherine*, of Newcastle, and therein two English persons were found and brought hither upon suspicion that they were Papists and practisers against the religion and State. The one is a tailor, called William Owles, of Dereham in Norfolk, the other a widow called Katherine Haryson, of Blakeney in Norfolk. They confessed to have been of the number that departed out of Norfolk with Robert Browne, preacher—and before put out of the country by the bishop of Norwich—to Middlesbrough, from whence they came after Michaelmas last to Edinburgh, where the husband of this woman died, and thereon she and this tailor, minding to return to Norfolk, were on their voyage for Lynn. No other matter for their detention can hitherto be found in them, so that now they attend direction for their liberty and discharge. Seton putting further to sea from this coast is now passed with his company, who are not to be recovered by this ship.

Argyll and sundry others of the nobility have appointed to be at Edinburgh this day or to-morrow. Montrose, Rothes, and Morton

Elizabeth.
1583–4. are already there. It is thereby meant that the Convention shall be assembled with greater speed than was looked for, and it thought that some effects of importance shall be seen to spring and follow thereon.

Rothes travels earnestly for Angus's liberty; but it will not be granted except the Laird of Carmichael and his eldest son, George Douglas of the Parkhead and his eldest son, James Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton, and others of that surname shall depart out of Scotland. Hereby Rothes does not find all promises kept with him with such expedition as he looked for. Nevertheless, he is in some hope to obtain his desire and purpose soon after the end of this Convention.

The King lately commanded the Laird of Adye to ward upon the accusation of Arran, and soon after he set him at liberty at the request of Crawford, whereupon the discord between those two earls is renewed and increased so greatly that the Court is much troubled and occupied therewith.

Bothwell of late prayed the King to grant him the combat against Arran; but the King wishing rather to see him a grave councillor than a rash combater, denied it. Afterwards he dealt with Colonel Stewart to carry his challenge to Arran, pretending that if Arran had been present he would have challenged him openly in the King's presence and hearing. But the colonel has refused, and it is thought that little more shall ensue hereon.

Seton's commission is lately much enlarged, with power to signify to the King his master's friends in France, as he is informed that the King will not entreat or conclude any marriage without their privity and assent. And therewith the King delivered to him five blanks to be filled at the discretion of his friends and himself. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 24. **16.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received this day from an especial friend of good quality a letter written covertly with unaccustomed ink, and meant to acquaint him with the present plot for some changes in the Court; but the paper was so ruffled, and the letters so perished, that he could not read any words thereof. Has returned the carrier with advertisement of the defect. It seems to him that the execution of these said purposes shall be speedily put into practice, or otherwise to be again trodden under foot. Perceives that most there look for a sudden alteration, which, he fears, shall not turn to any great benefit to them [the English], seeing that many of the authors thereof are wholly devoted to the Queen of Scots, and that this matter is meant to be done without offence to the King of Scots, whose affection towards the Queen of England is in manner utterly quenched. But as it shall further proceed he trusts to give him timely advertisement.

It is like that there shall be inward familiarity betwixt Seton and Norton at their meeting together in France, and it appears that Norton has good intelligence of the practices in England. Wherein it may be that George Norton, his son, if he were in company with him, might attain to some understanding; and he is willing to be em-

Elizabeth.
1583–4. ployed, and to do all that he can to deserve the Queen of England's grace, offering himself to pass thither and try what he can do in the same. Requests direction what course he shall prescribe him.

Upon hearing that the Earl of Northumberland was committed to the Tower, it is looked that some timely order shall be taken for the custody and disposition of his castles and houses in the north parts, and finding Captain Nicholas Errington desirous to have some place and charge whereunto he may withdraw himself for his quiet life and contentment, has thought it his duty to commend him to his good favour. Is ashamed to have been so troublesome and burdensome to him for his own estate and relief, supported and saved by his especial means. Will faithfully provide his timely discharge. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Jan. 28. **17.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

By very good intelligence has learned that Seton has left Holt at Seton, where presently he remains, hoping to have the favour to be admitted to the King's presence, that the King may hear what he can say in maintenance of the religion and doctrine of the Papists. It is generally believed in Scotland that Holt is gone, and he had been so informed at sundry hands, but they are deceived.

Understands that on Saturday last two gentlemen of England—one of whom names himself Tunstell or Tunstede—came to Farnyhurst through Liddesdale by a very wild and dangerous passage. Has heard that these, or one of them, should be of the Temple. Trusts he will easily get understanding what they are, and also learn what their affairs are in these parts. Thinks some matter of no small effect shall be discovered to him thereby. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Jan. 31. **18.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

This late Convention at Edinburgh was sudden and of small number. It is now dissolved without such effects as were looked for. Nevertheless, it has decreed very sharply against the distressed persons; for charge is given to Mar and Glamis to pass and remain out of England, Ireland, and Scotland, notwithstanding any former licence granted to them. Gowrie is likewise charged to depart, and it is looked that Bothwell shall either leave the country of his own accord or else receive charge to do it.

Angus's ward in Murray is changed into the Mearns, with condition that he shall remove from him the Laird of Carmichael and his son, the sons of the late Earl of Morton, George Douglas of the Parkhead and his son, the Constable of Dundee, and sundry other Douglases, his servants, and persons of good quality, all of whom are charged upon pain of treason to depart out of the said three realms within one month.

It was agreed, but is not yet put in execution, that a large number of such burgesses of Edinburgh as accompanied John Dury in the churchyard there against the Duke of Lennox at his being in Edinburgh after the raid of Ruthven shall be likewise charged to depart

Elizabeth.
1583–4. out of the said realms. In all which it is seen that the King, of his own disposition, is grown very earnest.

It is also agreed that proclamation shall be made to restrain all the servants and dependers of Angus and Mar from coming near the King by twenty miles. Howbeit the Councillors cannot agree on the form; for Arran persuades that it should generally prohibit all the servants, dependers, and favourers of the Douglases and house of Mar. But Argyll, Montrose, and others think that the persons suspected and to be prohibited should be specially named.

Lochleven made sail for Rochelle on the 21st instant; but it is much doubted whether the rest will so well obey their charges.

Applegarth, lately escaped out of the Castle of Edinburgh, has for his relief accused Angus and [the Laird of] Bonjedworth of having conspired the surprise of the King's person, and it is said that he has thereby obtained a respite for five years. The Court now attends for good news out of France and Spain from Seton and his son, Sir John, and the courtiers are in good hope and comfort that all things there shall succeed to their desire. Wodhouse, otherwise calling himself Drakes, is returned by water to Norfolk. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Robert Beale.*

Jan. 31. **19.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his last letter of the 24th instant, together with a box with writings for Captain John Case, and has delivered the box and writings to Captain Case; all which he has perfected before himself and three other witnesses. Returns them to him herewith, and requests that he will cause them to be given to Mr. Francis Mylles, to be by him disposed as appertains.

Understands by his servant, John Allen, the great favour and help he has showed him in the provision of the large portion of money come by his means for him; for which he thanks him, and assures him that he will with due diligence provide to repay the same, and will be ever ready to honour and serve him for that great benefit, saving him from immediate fall and ruin. His poor estate has been so oppressed with sundry unlucky accidents, and especially by the deceit and breach of some evil ministers lately serving under him, that thereby necessity contrained him to be thus troublesome to him and others, and to seek relief of friends, and chiefly to cast his anchor on the Queen of England's goodness and bounty. Nevertheless, finding himself already rewarded by her majesty far above his service, and being afraid of being found importunate, requests his good advice as well in any new suit to her, as also for the most apt time to be taken to begin and present the same. Thanks him for that by his good means he is disburdened, and that it is granted to him to forbear to use—at his charges—the intelligencers in Scotland, who of late he finds in great fear, and very scrupulous, either to be seen to search into any matters of the State, or to be known to have intelligence with him. And whereas it is his pleasure that he shall otherwise advertise to him such occurrents as shall happen to come to his knowledge without expense, he will gladly do the same the best he can. But forasmuch as by the

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1583–4. late order of the Privy Council for riding in post and carriage of letters for her majesty's affairs, he is restrained from charging the posts in any sort, having now no warrant or power to send by post, therefore he trusts he will from henceforth pardon his seldom writing and slow convoy of his letters to him by such carriers and means as shall be found for him. His own poor business in the country has long sustained great damage by his absence and lack of good order, therefore he begs him to procure him licence to resort thither for such time as with favour can be granted.

For the execution of the means intended for the reformations desired some persuade to draw Gowrie (" 333 ") nearer to assist and be present at the enterprise ; but finds still such faintness in the chief instruments that he wholly despairs of the account and of the good success, thinking verily that this matter shall fall in the ashes with the former.

The two Englishmen arrived at Farnyhurst continue there. They have been at Cesford's house, and intend to pass shortly to Edinburgh; but it is told him that they attend some direction to come out of England before they depart from the Border. It is thought that one is called Fulgham, and the other, naming himself Tunstall, is at his commandments. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. **20.** BOND BY JAMES VI. AND NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND.

We " underscrivand " considering the present estate of the King's majesty our sovereign lord, the youth of so great number of his nobility, and the occasion of the troubles and variances that have been in this realm since his highness's birth, and before, to the great hindrance of the establishing of policy, peace, and justice, and to the prejudice of the nobility and all his majesty's good subjects in all estates—which inconveniences by all appearances will daily increase to the peril of his majesty and decay of the estimation of his highness and his realm, our native country, and to the trouble and scaith of every one of us in particular, if God of his mercy removes not the occasions ; and finding his majesty now coming to manhood, possessed in his own person with the governance of his realm and subjects, and having many great and weighty matters in hand concerning the honour and surety of his person and estate, his marriage, the entertainment of peace, unity, and good intelligence with the Christian Princes and commonwealths, his nearest neighbours, friends, and allies, and the repressing of thieves and broken men inhabiting the countries near the Borders, with the governing of his other peaceable and good subjects in tranquility, peace, and justice, which can hardly take any good effect without our hearty and loving concurrency in his majesty's obedience, to the advancement of his honour and service, and having found his majesty most desirous of union and concord amongst us all, and most loving, gracious, and bountiful to every one of us. Therefore, in God's fear and in his majesty's obedience, avowing ourselves his most humble subjects, we faithfully promise to continue true and obedient to his highness unto the end of our lives, and to concur, assist, and proceed in all our actions to the advancement of the glory of God and His true religion publicly preached

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1583–4. and professed by his highness and us all, and as may most tend to the honour, surety, and service of his majesty and his posterity, the observation of the peace, amity or defence of this realm in case of any foreign invasion, the punishment of the rebels, and governing his majesty's good subjects in tranquility, peace, and justice, procuring, so far as in us lies, the reformation and amendment of all disorders that have intervened during the troublesome times bygone. And seeing we are to resort to his majesty as we shall be called upon or otherwise have necessary occasion, whereunto such grudges, displeasures, and unkindness as have happened amongst any of us in times bygone may be some let and stay, therefore, for removing of all such doubts, we have assured, and by the tenour hereof every one of us taking the burden on us for ourselves "and all that we maie lett, assures ilke ane others to be unhurt, unharmed, molested, pursued, or in any wise invadit for ald feade or newe, otherwise then by thordinarie course of lawe and justice." Neither shall we, or any that we may let, make any provocation of trouble, displeasure or tumult by word, deed or countenance, as we shall answer to God and upon our fidelity and honour to his majesty. Moreover, we promise faithfully that within forty days after the 18th day of Feb. 1583[–4] we and every of us that has action of deadly feud or quarrel of offence or envy against another shall give our complaint thereupon to our sovereign Lord. Whereupon his highness, by the advice of his Council, calling before him the party adversary, may "drawe the matter in amicable submission" to such indifferent persons as his majesty shall think most expedient, and his highness to be "overman," to the effect that the party offended may be "reparit" as honour, reason, and equity "cravis," to the removing of all such action of feud, quarrel, offence, or envy. And if any wilfully and obstinately refuses the reasonable offer and honourable concord of his party, and to give and take reason and measure at the "sight" of our sovereign Lord and indifferent persons to whom his majesty shall think meet that the cause be submitted, we promise to be party "to" the said wilful and obstinate person, and nowise to assist him in the contrary. "Attoure" we have renounced and discharged, and by the tenour hereof renounce and discharge all bonds, obligations, and promises made by us together against any others in time bygone preceding the date hereof. Whereby we may surely observe and keep the effect of this our public bond and promise in time coming. In witness hereof these presents being subscribed by our said sovereign Lord in token of his majesty's desire hereof, we also have subscribed the same with our own hands as followeth. James R. Anguss. Huntlye. Gowrye.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "January 1583. Copie of the general bond subscribed by the K. and nobility, *etc.* After the entreprise at Ruthen."

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 365. Another copy of the same.

Jan. . **21.** RE-EXAMINATION OF LORD HENRY HOWARD.

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 361. Being enjoined in her majesty's name upon his allegiance to declare the truth concerning the question that should be propounded to him, he says that a little before he was first committed about the

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1583–4. Earl of Oxford's matter, there was some communication between him and Charles Paget touching the Queen of Scots, Charles Paget testifying all her doings. He told him that if she could acquit herself of the marriage with Bothwell it might serve for her defence, but thought that she had not sufficiently cleared herself thereof. Whereupon Charles Paget promised that he would show him such matter as should satisfy him.

After Mr. Paget's departure from England he received a letter from him signifying to him that if he could know whither to send his letters, he now had wherewith to satisfy him touching that matter of the Queen of Scots whereof they once talked. Whereunto he [Howard] answered by word of mouth to the party who brought it, that if he would write he should direct his letters to himself if he were in town, and if not, to cause them to be delivered to the keeper of his house beside Ely Bridge, or else to the keeper of the Earl of Arundel's house at the Charter House. Afterwards a letter was brought without any superscription or direction, and was left with John Gardener alias St. Clair, keeper of the said earl's house at the Charter House, with one from Charles Paget containing a sheet and a half of paper, written for the clearing of the Queen of Scots in the matter of the marriage with Bothwell. Which writing he afterwards delivered to Charles Arundel to read, and did not receive it again.

The first letter from Charles Paget was written within half a year after his delivery from the trouble about the Earl of Oxford's matter. The second was after, and the writing without superscription, within two months after that.

Thinks the party who brought both the first letters was Lord Paget's man, and if he saw the party he should know him. But concerning the writing without superscription, it was left with the keeper of the house, and so delivered to him. Does not know precisely the time of the receipt of the letter without superscription, but thinks it was three or four months before a certain letter was delivered to him in the Park at St. James's, which was at Whitsuntide, shall be twelve months. The letter was wrapped up and sealed with hard wax. It had no name subscribed to it. Only thinks it was from Charles Paget by reason of the speeches which had before passed between them and the said Charles Paget's letter to him.

Protests that he never received from St. Clair or any other person any other letter in such sort, but this only. Utterly denies to have received any from the Scottish Queen at all, and if this came from her, it had not appearance thereof. But he always took it to have come from Charles Paget.

The letter was sealed with two or three seals, but of no arms to be known by. But the letter which he afterwards received in St. James's Park, which was thought to be from the Scottish Queen, was sealed with a seal having a St. Andrew's cross. *Signed:* Henry Howarde. Robert Beale.

3 *pp. In Robert Beale's hand. Indorsed:* "Jan. 1583. The L. H. Howard re-examined."

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1583–4. Feb. 1.

22. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.

The two English persons at Farnyhurst have lately changed their names, and continue still there, suing by means of the Lady of Farnyhurst to have the King's leave and protection either to abide with safety in Scotland or else to be suffered to pass through the same safely into other parts. In which behalf the said lady has written earnestly to the King, Arran, and others in Court, where her servant and solicitor presently attend for that matter. Some offer has been made to him [Bowes] for their surprise and bringing hither; but he finds such great difficulties therein that he holds it very desperate. Nevertheless, in case he [Walsingham] thinks that the execution and the executioners shall be well accepted some adventure may be attempted as good opportunity and occasion shall be ministered.

Has been advised out of Scotland that this last week four or five other Englishmen came to, and remain in the West Borders of Scotland. Has written to Lord Scrope herein, who, he trusts, will learn the truth thereof, and their names, qualities, and errands there, and also give him [Walsingham] good advertisement thereof in case any such shall pass that way.

Is told that Huntly and John Maitland travel diligently for a reconciliation between Arran and the Hamiltons, pursuading Arran, for his own surety and benefit, to yield up the earldom of Arran—which he cannot long brook and hold—into the King's hands, and in recompense thereof to sue for the earldom of Rosse, presently in the King's possession, and of great value. What this may lead to is evident to him. If he pleases to employ Mr. John Colvile to search in this matter, he will, he trusts, easily sound the bottom and shortly satisfy him therein.

Was also informed that Monsieur d'Aumale is expected to be sent from the French King to Scotland with thanks and compliments of all kindness, and that Argyll is in manner resolved to seek the King's licence to depart out of Scotland, purposing to resort to other places than England.

The King grows into great offence against such of his distressed subjects as repair to, and abide in La Rochelle, and if he shall hold on the course and purpose now reigning in him, he will surely send a greater number to La Rochelle or other places out of Scotland. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 368. Copy of the same.

Feb. 2.

23. Guillaume Tessier to Gowrie.

By the grace of God I have arrived at London safe and sound. There I found an honest man of the country of France called the Seigneur Guillebert, who, on account of the virtue which lies in him, has caused me to remember the necessity which your lordship has in Scotland; for I have been for the space of six months in Scotland at the request of the Duke of Scotland, who made me lose my time—as your lordship knows well—and I have not perceived in any manner who may be a man able to give health to sick persons.

My lord, the present honest man is of such authority and virtue that all kinds of infirmities which are said to be incurable, he is able

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1583–4. to take charge of and to cure with happy success by the spagyric art, by means of distillations which he prepares himself, not using common medicines which one buys from apothecaries, although he does not find fault with them. But he has much better and much more excellent prepared by his hand, whereof he esteems himself more assured. And I can well assure you, my lord, that the said honest man is able to do you good service in your necessities. For I have seen several experiences thereof, and in myself. And further, he has the means of keeping you a long time in health without infirmities attacking you, with a drinkable gold, of which he will cause your lordship to see one and more experiences, which I am certain will be very agreeable to you. And calling to mind the love and courtesy that I have received from your lordship, I have given advice to the said honest man to go and find you, assuring him that he will be well received by your lordship and your kinsmen. And the reason for his leaving England is that the common doctors have taken a hatred to him, and bear grudge to him, and do not wish in any manner that may be that he go to give health to the sick; for several times he has done miracles. For the first doctors of London have abandoned several sick persons, saying that there was no more hope for them, and the said honest man with his drinkable gold has revived them. I assure you, my lord, that it is a very wonderful thing; as also I assure you that on his part he will do you faithful and loyal service. And if it pleases your lordship to see the personage and to have him in Scotland, please write hither, and address the letter to London, to the lodging of Mr. Thomas Haquet, bookseller in Mark Lane ("en la rue de Marquelain"), and he will not fail to go and find you. For this time I will not send any music for your daughters, but this shall be when I have received answer to the present, and for its being more sure, please address it to the hands of Mr. Walsingham. London. *Signed:* Guillaume Tessier.

2½ *pp. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed:* "1583."

Feb. 7. **24.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of the 31st ult. Is informed that the four or five Englishmen have arrived at Farnyhurst, and have met there with Fulgeham and Tunstede, of whom he has written to him before. The last two were—as he is told—sent to Scotland by the Queen of Scots to the King of Scots and to the Lady of Farnyhurst, being so suddenly warned to depart, that they had not leisure to bring with them either apparel or sufficient money for their charges. All which they look to receive shortly from their friends in England, and in the meantime the Lady of Farnyhurst, at the request of the Queen of Scots, will, as he hears, supply their wants. Fulgeham seems to repent, and to be weary of the present condition of his estate, and he and the rest are entered into great fear and suspicion of being surprised and brought to England. Whereupon they have forborne to walk in the wood adjoining to the house of Farnyhurst, as they wonted, and now they keep themselves close in the strongest part of the house with a good watch and guard. They wait for the King's letters and licence for them to go farther into Scotland, purposing thereon to resort with speed to Huntly, to whom, he also hears, they are com-

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1583–4. mended by the Queen of Scots, and by whose favour and protection they trust either to remain in that realm in safety, or else to be conveyed safely into such parts as they desire.

It is said at Farnyhurst that the other four—already arrived, or else shortly to arrive there—are of familiar acquaintance with Fulgeham and Tunstede, and that they daily frequented the company of the Queen of Scots. If this be true, it will easily appear of what family they are. Will gladly take hold of such offers as have been made to him touching these persons; but utterly distrusts and despairs of the success. Nevertheless, he will with goodwill and diligence try what may be done therein.

Will send with speed to George Norton, and thereon take order with him for the expedition of his voyage, wherein he will see him sufficiently furnished, trusting that he will, according to his own offer, willingly employ himself and whole power in the expedition of that cause.

It is advised by credible means that the Prior of Plaseardine, the third son of Seton, is joined in commission with his father to supply his father's weakness "in case he shall come in company agreeable to his humour," and that the Prior shall be shortly returned to Scotland with such resolutions as shall be taken and concluded by the King's friends in France, conferring for the advice and determination of the best course to be holden in his estate, and chiefly touching his marriage and affairs with England. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript in Bowes's hand.—Captain Nicholas Erington departed hence the other day to London, purposing to visit him at Court, and on his goodness to lay the foundation of his welfare. Requests him to give him his good countenance.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Feb. 9. **25. MARY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 334. My Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury has given me an open letter from the Bishop of Ross, my ambassador, of which I assure myself you have seen the tenour, as you answer me that I should take heed to make further mention of you, but I only beg you to be suppliant to the Queen my good sister to have so much consideration for me as to suffer me—as it should seem best to her—to provide for my affairs. I believe you have seen all my letters from France, and by that means you know the need I have to set everything in order. I have a matter in controversy which I assure myself will be in great danger, for that I could not advertise them in time of my intention. But if it pleases the Queen that I have damage and loss by the same, as elsewhere, yet at least I pray that there be consideration had for my poor servants in France, who will all be destitute if I have not the means to dispose of my estate, and assign each one of them what may satisfy him and discharge myself. If I had the liberty to entertain anyone to solicit my affairs, you should particularly understand how much such favour were necessary for me. You see in what necessity the poor Bishop of Ross—on my part—is in. Of necessity the Queen must furnish us with all, at

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1583–4. least for pity, seeing that we are her prisoner, or that she suffer me to order that I be served by my own.

I have written to Monsieur De La Mothe, ambassador to the King, my good brother, to solicit her for me, and yourself to do your endeavour with her; but I have no answer, which hinders from writing again to the Queen, my good sister, not knowing in what terms to write concerning that business; for it grieves me daily to importune her concerning my return without knowing her pleasure therein. My Lord of Shrewsbury said on your behalf that the Queen began to take my letters in better part than heretofore, and that you are of opinion that I should not cease to write further to her though I have no letters from her; which I shall willingly do, although I shall have no subject, and I cannot well invent without understanding her intention towards me. In the meantime I most affectionately thank you for your good counsel in the same, and in that you assure to send to me by no suspicious persons, which will be of importance to me. I beseech you to make my humble commendations to the Queen's good grace, and being made acquainted with her intention I will study to merit more of her favour. And if you will do so much favour for me as to procure some answer to these my requests, I shall be the more bound to you. And at least I entreat you that I may have news if Monsieur De La Mothe deals for me as I requested.

2 *pp. French. Holograph, also address.*

Cott. Calig., B. IV., fol. 283. Contemporary translation of the same.

Feb. 13. 26. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

It is now thought that the King's displeasure towards Angus is much assuaged, in case his words publicly spoken agree with his inward intent. For albeit that the King has in his coffer and sure custody sundry letters signifying that Angus had purposed to have surprised his person as he pased to his ward, yet he has openly declared that he was assured that Angus loved him and would have done him no hurt. Nevertheless, he would not blame Angus for meaning no good to some about him. Some of Angus's friends distrust that these letters are reserved for another time and purpose.

Arran and Crawford are now so thoroughly reconciled, and the one so labours to advance the suits and desires of the other, that it is doubted whether their late discords were void of practice.

Arran has obtained a large commission to apprehend suspected persons. It is said that he suspects sundry of the noblemen in Court to have purposed to have "discourted" him. Rothes was appointed to meet Angus at Montrose before this time with sundry conditions to be proponed to Angus. Angus will accept the greatest part of them. Nevertheless, he is hitherto purposed to seek leave to depart out of the realm with the King's favour.

It is said that it was moved among the courtiers to have apprehended Gowrie at St. Johnstone in the night; but some dissuaded the attempt thereof, lest by the tenour of the same such as were charged to depart out of the realm should distrust the like to be done to them, and also be thereby stirred to adventure some desperate enterprise. A charge was passed against Lindsey to enter into ward in Inverness;

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1583–4. but the King understanding thereof afterwards discharged the same. It was ordained in the cabinet that Mar and Glamis should be charged to depart from Carrickfergus [Cragfergus] and the three forbidden realms, and Angus M'Donnell was charged to see the King's letters in that part executed by his means. Who answered that he durst not pass thither himself; but if any other would take the same in hand he would convoy him so far as he durst. Yet he would not answer either for his execution thereof or his returning from thence, for they are well beloved there. In this the King was advised—and some affirm that he has already done it—to write to her majesty neither to receive nor to suffer them to remain in Ireland or elsewhere in her dominions.

The act made against the murderers of the King's father and the Regent's is dispensed with in the behalf of Sir James Balfour's son, and it is thought that this is meant to be a precedent for Lethington's son. Therefore Downe denied and withstood the matter, saying, "God forbid that the King shall so little regard his father's murder." Whereunto it is said that the King answered to Downe, "Yowe forgave your father's murther, why shall not I forgyve myne?"

Angus and Hume are near agreement in all variances betwixt them. Hume has a good liking to marry Cesford's daughter, but the King would have him match with Lennox's younger daughter, being little above seven years old. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 369 Copy of the same.

Feb. 13. **27. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

Having lately spoken with George Norton, agreeable to his late direction, has found him very ready to undertake "that matter," promising to employ himself and whole power to do all the service he can. Has furnished him, and he is ready to pass to France with the next ship. He purposes to visit Rouen, Paris, and other places, and hopes to procure letters of the King of Scots in his commendation to the Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and others his friends there. He requests to be directed to whom in France he shall deliver his letters to be conveyed to him [Walsingham], and such other instructions as he shall think good. Requests him to send these directions and instructions to him [Bowes] with speed.

The two guests at Farnyhurst were conveyed from thence on the night of the 8th instant by two of the lady's servants to the Earl of Huntly, now at his own house. Will "give regard to their settling," and if any good occasion shall be ministered in the place of their abode, it shall not be omitted. They may haply come into such parts near to Huntly's lands that he trusts to find sufficient favour and means to compass the effects desired.

Upon further search concerning the truth of the information given him that four or five other Englishmen had arrived at Farnyhurst, has learnt that about that time, one Neill—giving himself out to be the base son of Henry, late Earl of Westmorland—Andrew Forster of Newcastle, John Stelly of Malton, and William Mordo, a Scottish man, passed out of England on the west part of these Marches into

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1583-4. Scotland; whereupon this bruit arose; and it is commonly believed that there were seven Englishmen at Farnyhurst. But these last four did not go to Farnyhurst; for Nevill resorted to Dunce and Langton, where he still remains, pretending to have fled for the slaughter of one Adamson. Howbeit he finds him chiefly to be a deceitful and cosening person. The other three went to Edinburgh as chapmen, and in like affairs, and be now returned.

Whereas he has been advised that one Bell, of Alby, banished out of Scotland, and received by the Grahams, first took the conduction of these two persons to Farnyhurst, convoying them to George Symson's, near the Hermitage, and taking the said George with them, brought them through Liddisdale to Farnyhurst, has therefore signified the same, with sundry circumstances and accidents falling on their journey, to Lord Scrope, to the intent his lordship may charge Bell therewith, and further deal therein as shall seem expedient. The servant sent by Mar (" 111 ") to Gowrie attends the coming of one from the Lord of Arbroath, whereupon they pretend to be determined to resolve on such course as they will follow forth to the uttermost. And seeing the party looked for is now with them, it is therefore like that they shall at length conclude and enterprise such thing as shall be resolved. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Cott. Calig., C. VII., vol. 368b, Copy of the same.

Feb. 14. C.P., vol. XIII.

28. CHARLES PAGET TO MARY.

The revolution which has been touching your estate, your son's, and mine, with my friend's, since the intelligence between your majesty and your friends and servants has been broken, has been very great. For we see your keeper is changed, and you more straitly kept than heretofore, the government of the State of Scotland altered, and such as your son made most account of removed; the Lord Pagett, Throgmorton, Morgan, and myself denounced traitors, and our livings and goods seized into the Queen's hands, and we all driven to seek relief of foreign Princes, who be not so fervent in the consideration of our states in particular as were to be wished, and in truth our necessity requires. Not any of our pensions yet paid. But God disposes all for the best, and specially for the benefit of our souls, and I doubt not but in the end He will give you recompense for the crosses you have endured for His sake, and will do the like to all others, according to their callings, who have endured for him. In the meanwhile none is to be discouraged with what loss soever happens, but both by speech and personal service is every man still to do what lies in him to the advancement of God's cause and your majesty's service and comfort. And albeit your majesty may well perceive—besides the inestimable grief I have, and always shall have, in that you remain still uncomforted—the great sorrow I have had to see my house " ruinated," and my dear friend murdered, " which the enemyes of God and mine by printed booke say he did him selfe, for that William Shelley, as they say, shold confesse that I had revealed some practises I had with the Erle to him." Herein, as I shall answer at the Day of Judgment, they say most untruly, for that I never had talk in all my

Elizabeth.
1583–4. life with the said Shelley but such ordinary talk as the Council might have heard, being indifferent. Yet there is no "happe" that can happen by God's grace which shall so dismay me that thereby I will be the less affectionate to serve your majesty, that shall make me to alter my vowed obedience and service to your majesty, but contrary-wise shall be mean to encrease my affection to your majesty, etc. I will proceed to let your majesty understand that which is meet for your majesty to consider, and thereupon most humbly to crave your opinion as that which concerns the good of yourself, of your son, and the common cause.

And first, to begin with the state of Scotland, as that which most imports your majesty, that, so far as I can learn and judge upon that which is there past, and the present, the matter being well managed, that which the Queen of England had thought to have wrought to the ruin of your majesty and your son may prove to be her own destruction and your advancement. For your son is in mind less at the Queen of England's disposition than he was before, and such as be nearest about him and of greatest force in the country be of the same mind, and may be drawn not only to be at your majesty's devotion, as I hear they be already, but also to be ministers to do what service they can for the advancement of God's cause and your liberty. Wherein I am put in the better hope, for that the Lord Claud Hamilton is restored to all his dignities and livings, and to your son's favour; who, besides, has sent a special letter for his speedy return, "with a postscript under nethe of his owne hande he willeth in any wise that he shold retorne with spede as writing that withowt the privitye or consent of any abowte him, which sheweth he meaneth to employe him." My Lord Claud showed me your son's letter, and knowing me to be your majesty's faithful servant, desired me to write to your majesty of him, that as he has always carried a faithful and dutiful mind towards your majesty, being ready to make good the same with the loss of his life, so now, occasion being offered wherein he may by his presence in Scotland effect the same, he will plainly make it appear to your majesty in first obeying whatsoever your majesty shall command him, and then next your son, and will then travail by all dutiful and good means to cause your son to acknowledge his duty towards your majesty, as appertains. All which I verily believe he will accomplish, because I find him a very honourable and sufficient nobleman, and has looked into your estate, your son's, and his own, as it becomes him, and in this opinion of his faith, duty, and sound meaning I am the more fortified, for that since his coming here he has truly learned God and the Catholic religion, and so professes himself. He doubts not but in short time to draw his brother to be of that opinion, and to make a straight league between himself, the Earls of Huntly and Morton, and divers others, and that your son will be contented therewith. Which being so, it cannot be but the Earls of Angus and Mar and that faction will be suppressed, according to their ancient demerits of undutiful behaviour. And to bring all things the better to pass to your majesty's contentation, he has prayed me to be a most humble intercessor to your majesty that it would please the same to pardon all the faults his brother, the Lord of Arbroath, has committed towards your majesty, so that he will run dutiful courses for the time to come; and that it would please your

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1583–4. majesty to write but so much to the Lord Claud, which he might show to his said brother, and impute the error that he has committed to the ill persuasion of others—as in truth I think it is—rather than of his own nature. Upon which the Lord Claud verily hopes to make him assured in any course your majesty shall command him to; and in my opinion it were very necessary that your majesty not only observed this course, but also wrote a very gracious letter to the Lord Claud taking knowledge of this I have written to your majesty, yielding him such favour and thanks, and means that thereby he may be made a notable instrument to serve your majesty in all essays and services. And therefore it were very good also that to that end your majesty assigned him some money from hence, to be put in his hands to be employed to the advantage of your service, knowing right well that without money there will be no good done in Scotland. And to this end is your majesty to call upon the Spanish ambassador here in this town for the 12,000 crowns which were promised to be paid long ere this for the advancement of your affairs, and are not yet paid. And for my part I cease not to "remember" the said ambassador often therein; who says he has often written touching the same, and has not received answer thereof. To say truly, I find him greatly affected to do your majesty service, and very desirous is he to "here" answer of the last he sent your majesty by my means, and to be directed by you what you would have him do touching the affairs of Scotland, as also touching your particular, which I would wish your majesty to set down at large, seeing nothing so sure nor so honourable —and as that which will spur Princes to relieve your estate—as the association to be accorded between your majesty and your son; and then all travail and persuasion used that your son may be made Catholic, and secretly, by secret means, to signify as much to his holiness and the Catholic King, and so shall he be assured to have all the help and aid they can give him. Otherwise, they say, to comfort him, being a Protestant, were against the law of God and their own surety, and that which in the end could not but prove to your danger. When the Duke of Guise gives his despatch to the Lord Claud I shall be able to judge in what sort he departs contented, assuring your majesty that divers times he has said to me that no cross of fortune or ill entreatment, whatsoever should make him, while he lives, forget his duty to your majesty. And withal he has so ofttimes complained to me that, considering the assured fair promises that were made to him for the provision of his honourable treatment here, so that he would leave England, which he did, and never to this hour has had one penny yielded him. Wherein I impart no fault to the Duke of Guise, for he is a Prince most affectionate to your majesty and your services. But I doubt he is not in state to yield so much as his affection would afford, and especially since these jealousies between the King and him have begun, which, though outwardly they seem to be extinguished, yet inwardly I doubt they will never be forgotten. I cannot but be very sorry that the intelligences are closed up between your majesty, your son, and your servants, which on all hands is to be repaired with all possible speed; and both I and Morgan have [used], and will use all possible means for the recovery thereof, and better would your services be performed if your majesty's most faithful servant Morgan were at liberty. The which to procure I have been

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1583–4. as careful as if it were for myself; and I do not find by such as ought most to respect him that forwardness that were to be wished, and doubt lest some ill willers of Morgan have unjustly informed and complained to the Duke of Guise against him, taking the advantage of his imprisonment, whereby neither he nor others deal so warmly for his liberty as is meet and convenient. But, and if it please your majesty, you have known his good services to you, and recommended him accordingly, agreeable with a virtuous Prince, to the Duke of Guise and other Princes. Your majesty is to make that good still of him to the said Duke and your ambassador, and to desire the Duke and your ambassador to maintain the credit of such as you gave credit to, notwithstanding any who shall by untrue surmises seek to "deface" us; and for such as be your servants, to leave your majesty to judge in their actions and services to you, and so to grace them or disgrace them, as your majesty shall see just cause, "and not they uppon the humors of factious people to be drawne to harde conceipte." For my own self I have no cause to write this much, for I find the Duke well enough in show towards me, though I know some have sought to work my disgrace with him. Notwithstanding, I shall most humbly beseech your majesty to continue the recommendation you have given me to the said Duke, the Spanish ambassador, your ambassador, your son, and to such on this side, and elsewhere, as I shall have occasion to deal with in Scotland, as the Lord Claud and others who are like to be in most credit with your son. But as for Morgan, I have cause to suspect lest the Duke hold not so good an opinion of him as he has done; for by one of the Duke's chief officers whom I entreated to sound the Duke about Morgan, and told him, I doubted lest some had informed hardly of him. Which he did, and asked me whether Morgan had done ill offices against anybody to your majesty. To which I said your majesty was to judge thereof, and desired him to tell me some particular. To which he answered he durst not, and withal requested me to say nothing thereof, "for you may undoe me herebye." Howbeit I cannot but inform your majesty for your better direction, and humbly beseech your majesty not to enter into any particularities hereof, but in general to write earnestly in Morgan's favour. I suspect your ambassador much in these things—considering how the Lord Seaton—God pardon his soul—told me and Morgan that he sought to discredit both Morgan and me to the Duke of Guise, and, as I remember, confirmed as much by writing to your majesty. Besides, your ambassador, a little after Morgan's imprisonment, charged Morgan before me that he had delivered to the Duke of Lennox, who is dead, letters from your majesty, and to others, and never made him privy thereof, and seemed to be offended thereat. Whereto Morgan answered that he had done nothing but by your commandment. To be short in this point, I see how the world goes, and that is, your majesty must understand, nothing but that which is agreeable with your ambassador's humour, "and that will I never be brought unto." For what I think meet for your majesty to understand, I will advertise to you without respect of Prince or person in the world, unless your majesty commands the contrary, *etc.*

Lord Paget has willed me to present his most humble and dutiful service to your majesty, being safely arrived at Madrid, where he will

Elizabeth.
1583–4. employ himself by all possible mean to do you service and advance the common cause with the King of Spain; and therefore, if your majesty has occasion to write to the King, I shall most humbly beseech the same to recommend him and me to him, as also that it will please your majesty to thank Mons. Fontenay's brother for very great comfort and friendship I have found by his means, which I know he does chiefly for your sake, though of himself he loves me very well, which I will not forget ever to acknowledge.

As I had written thus far the Lord Claud came from the Duke of Guise, and tells me he has received of him very courteous entertainment by words, but not otherwise; and that since he has taken his leave of the King of France and the Queen Mother; who hath given him special charge to speak to your majesty's son to acknowledge his duty towards your majesty, and to accord to the association your majesty desires. The said lord has promised to travail by all means to bring it to pass. I have likewise persuaded his brother to use all submission towards your majesty, as that which is his duty, and then I do not doubt but your majesty will forgive what is past, if he runs dutiful courses hereafter. For my own part I never met with nobleman whose nature I like better than the Lord Claud's, and do verily think he will prove a notable instrument to do great good. And therefore he is to be cherished by all manner of means, and for his particular affection to me, [I] find myself much bound to him for it. For the which I most humbly beseech your majesty to give him thanks. Paris.

Postscript.—If your majesty has any occasion to write to the King of Spain or his ambassador here, I pray you to take occasion to write in favour of Lord Paget's pension and mine; otherwise I fear they will never be paid, such is the dulness of Princes' liberalities here.

"To Curle."—Fellow Curle, and good friend, I pray you and Mons. Nau to receive my friendly commendations in heartiest manner, and to desire Mons. Nau to thank Mons. Fontenay's brother for many friendly offices he has done, which I will acknowledge with any service I can do both towards him and his brother.

5⅔ *pp. In Thomas Phelippes's hand. Endorsed by him:* "Charles Pagett to the Q. of Scottes, 14 Feb. 1583. Decifred, T. Phelippes."

Feb. 17. **29. James Hudson to Mr. John Colvile.**

"Sir, pleis yow to wit my Lord Cambuskineth wrot for me to come to Newcastel quher he wilid mei by ye first commodety to advertis yow yat he is in myend to cum secritly and unknawin to London yat he may be advysid with yow in his proseding. He wald have nane bot zoure self to knaw yt of, and wilit hime to mak Mr. Secretory aquayntit yer with for cawsis, and he referis yt to your wil. He wilbe with me very shortly to a byd your answer. Mr. Jhon Provan came quhen I was ther, bot knawis nocht of efect. I luik for ane every daye. Sir, fayel noct to send me answer of this with as great speid as ye may, and derect your leter to Mr. Hayford of Fery brigs, or Mr. Nicols of Borow brigs, and it will cume presently to mei. I think lange til I sei yow, and had seien yow or now bot

Elizabeth.
1583–4. for stayinge for your broyer Wilyame." "Borow brigs." *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

Feb. 21. **30. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 371. The continuance of your motherly affection to us with your accustomed care for our welfare well appears in the prospect of your favourable acceptance of our last letters and negotiation presented to you by our servitor John Colvile, entertained with great honour for our sake, and who hath reported to us the same, and your singular goodwill and friendly answers given to all his errands for us, and resolved to our great comfort and contentment; and how much you esteem ourself and lovingly tender our requests is plainly witnessed by the testimony of your late favour granted to our cousin, the Duke of Lennox, whom, at our special desire, you have admitted to your presence and honoured with great courtesies, like as by the sight of your own letter, brought to us by the Laird of Kilsyth, as also by another received from our said cousin, and by the declaration of your servitor, Mr. Bowes, we are sufficiently informed. The greatness of your present kindness and the memory of your former benefits thus plentifully bestowed upon us do not only justly bind us to render to you most hearty thanks with promise of all due "gratuitye" and thankfulness, but also upon the experience of your love and care for our prosperity do encourage us to commit ourself and welfare of our estate to your good advice and friendly support, knowing that in your own affairs you can, and will, counsel us most for our honour and profit, and that in all our necessity you will relieve us for our best standing and safety; wherein, as by your friendship in these parts we have been the better, and shall be enabled to do the offices appertaining to our calling and due to our friends, so your goodness employed upon us shall redound and return to your special contentment, as to our most dear friend and loving cousin, professing such chief interest in us that we cannot be satisfied or hold ourself happy until we have given proof of our thankful mind, determined to honour, please, and requite you and your favour to us by all the good duties in our power, and wishing that apt occasion may be offered to us, that by our own speech and action we may effectually perform and yield the due recompense that our heart earnestly desires, which we trust God shall grant in due time. And in the mean season may it please you to accept these as a pledge of our goodwill and promise to you, wherein we intend more largely, and in particularities, to commend and make known to you "our further delays that by our servant, Colonel Stewart, whose delay protracted by occasions beyond our purpose, we heartily pray you to take in good part, *etc.*"

1¼ *pp. Copy. At the head:* "M[inute] to her majestie from the K. of Scotts by Coll. Stewart."

Feb. 24. **31. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 373. The King continues still at Holyrood House, accompanied by Argyll, Arran, Crawford, Montrose, Bothwell, Glencairn, and others of the nobility and Council, who have been lately much occupied,

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1583–4. and chiefly in the examination and trial of the accusation made against Mr. Andrew Melville, Provost of the University of St. Andrews, a person had in great estimation for his learning and good behaviour. He is charged that in his sermon he compared the Scottish Court and the courtiers to the Court of James III. and the courtiers thereof, who for their wickedness were hanged over Lauder Bridge, that their "Nabugodonaser" [Nebuchadnezzar]—meaning the King's mother—had for her sins been fed these fourteen years with hay, and that for their sins she should yet come again to them; and, lastly, that the King was extraordinarily called to the crown and kingdom. Whereunto he confessed to have made some mention of part of the matters objected against him, but not in such terms or effects as he was accused, shewing that albeit he noted the courtiers of James III. became proud and insolent, and thereon received sharp punishment, yet he did not resemble this Court or the courtiers to them, neither did he irreverently speak of the King's mother, nor foretell nor prognosticate any things of her return; and in his prayer he gave thanks to God for the great blessings he had poured on the King, recounting that God had extraordinarily called him in like manner as David, Solomon, and Boaz were called, ending with an earnest prayer to God to preserve the King and make him thankful for these gracious gifts.

In this many witnesses have been examined and straitly dealt withal by the King in person, yet they have approved the innocency of Mr. Melvill.

In this he offered to abide the uttermost torture and punishment in case the articles laid against him should be proved, putting the King and Council in memory of the Act of Parliament made for the manner of trial of ministers accused of committing any offence in their sermons. Whereupon he was soon checked for declining and appealing from the King, and thereon by Act of Council he was charged to ward in Edinburgh Castle, whereunto he was ready to obey. But afterwards he was charged by other letters to enter into ward in Blackness. Argyll and Montrose would not subscribe to these letters. Crawford and Morton subscribed, and afterwards the King in public Council caused Argyll, Montrose, and all the rest then present to subscribe to this matter.

The sight of this earnest course, and other circumstances, occasioned Mr. Melville to put himself in safety, and thereon to come hither, purposing to seek to recover the King's grace and favour upon the understanding of his innocency, and thereon to return again to his charge and office, or, otherwise, to pass to the Schools.

It is told the King that Seton arrived safely at Calais. Is informed that before Seton landed he wrote to the King signifying that he abode at Yarmouth Road above twenty-four hours in despite of all the Queen of England's ships, with other "braveryes" agreeable to his humour. The charges commanding Mar and Glamis to avoid England, Ireland, and Scotland are not yet executed, whereat Arran appears to be much offended. The King has been advised that Mar and Glamis are departed to Rochelle, and that they will there declare themselves to be banished for religion. But it is thought that they are still in Ireland.

The Earl of Rothes is gone to Angus, at Brechin, seeking to draw

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1583–4. Angus, his son-in-law, into the King's favour; wherein Angus is sufficiently warned, and knows what opinion the King has of him, and how little the King esteems of him.

The King has been much grieved that Argyll laboured to agree Crawford and Glamis, wherein he has checked Argyll for his doings in the same, and he has caused the blanks subscribed by the parties for this agreement to be torn in pieces.

Colonel Stewart has obtained 60 cauldrons of victuals yearly out of the thirds of Dunfermline, which grant the King has subscribed. Crawford is much offended hereat, saying that "albeit the Collonel had at his backe all the standerdes that he led in Flanders yett he should not take those proffites." At the suit and request of Montrose and others the King has subscribed the restitution of the son of the Laird of Lethington, late Secretary. Gowrie has obtained licence to pass out of the realm. Nevertheless, he will tarry the end of the days given him, and then he will make no haste to depart.

James and Archibald Douglas, base sons of Morton deceased, are already departed. Carmichael and the rest are in readiness to follow them.

M'Connell has renewed his lease for the Isles, and, as he hears, offered very largely to take possession of the Isle of Man. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Feb. 25. **32.** MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

Harl. MSS., 1582, fol. 311. His house watched all round. Discovery of her secret intelligence. Treachery of one of his servants. Calumnies against her and the Earl of Shrewsbury, the authors of which are Charles and William Cavendish. The bruit made to prevent her marriage with Philip II. Intreagues come from Leicester and Walsingham. Throgmorton's and [Henry] Howard's persecutions. Sheffield.

4 *pp. French. Copy.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. iv., p.* 423.)

March 4. **33.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Has concluded with George Norton for his indilate repair to Rouen in the first ship passing to France. Has given him order to deliver his letters to Thomas Bicknor there, to be conveyed to his brother-in-law, John Robinson, and to advertise his said brother-in-law where he will lodge or be heard of in Paris, to the intent his brother-in-law may send thither to him. He is sufficiently instructed to give regard to the course of the Scottish causes, and what has been, or shall be practised by the evil affected of England against the estate, and also to win credit and acquaintance with the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, Lord Seton, Farnyhurst, Paget, Morgan, and such like. In all which he has promised his whole endeavour. Has given him 20*l.* in angels. He now attends to get the King's letters of commendation to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, and Seton. He expects likewise to have the carriage of letters from particular friends to Seton, Farnyhurst, and others. On his arrival at Rouen he will write to his brother, John Robinson, to whom he refers him.

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1583–4.

It has been made known to him that the two English guests of Farnyhurst are presently at Strathbogie with Huntly by the King's commendation and letters to Huntly. Before their departure they were favourably entertained at Seton, and the King made provision for them at Dalkeith. Arran and Crawford were sent to them in Canongate, where they were appointed to be in the fields that the King might speak with them. Afterwards they were addressed by the King's letters to Barnbogle, from whence they passed by secret and easy journeys to Strathbogie, where they are purposed to remain some time, and afterwards to pass over to France. They have written to the Lady of Farnyhurst signifying as well the great favours received at the King's hands by her means, for which they give her thanks, as also concerning their intended journey to Huntly. This letter is subscribed with T. G. It is now believed by sundry in Scotland that one of them is Sir Thomas Gerard. Has appointed a very fit person to attend to what they do, and promise is made to him that sundry personages of great honour and quality, and "adjoining" near the place of their abode, will do their endeavour to get him possession of them. Nevertheless, he greatly distrusts the performance thereof. But if the same shall be wrought, then he must be at some round charges for the execution. Requests direction herein with some speed, that he neither exceed in charge nor travail without warrant.

Has newly received letters and credit from especial ministers employed by Mar and Angus ("900"), whereby he perceives that they are resolved on matters according to his last letter, and for the expedition thereof all the said ministers are returned with great haste. Thinks they will now proceed in this with better courage and effect than they did in the other.

Rothes has acknowledged his errors, excusing the same by the trust he had in the King's promise, assuring him that he would leave off the further pursuit of the raid at Ruthven. The ground and manner of this purpose is hitherto known to very few, and it is thought requisite to keep it secret until the time of the execution approaches.

The Bishop of St. Andrews has lately written to the King of Scots signifying that the King's mother is "in great strait"; that the ambassadors of France and Spain, and himself [the bishop of St. Andrews] have gotten their leave to depart, being suspected of practices; that great forces are in readiness in the south of England to be sent to the Borders; and that three of her majesty's ships, well furnished, are put to the seas, with some other like effects of his own conceit. The merchant who brought these letters has told his secret friends that the King will not tarry on this side of Forth long after the reading of those letters.

The King is purposed to send up Roger Aston shortly to renew and solicit his former offers and desires; but they attend further intelligence from the bishop [of St. Andrews] and others, and presently want something to furnish him in the journey.

It is said that Sir James Fitzgerald is in Edinburgh, and that he escaped hardly out of the irons and prison in Ireland. The Earl Marishal arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday last. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

Elizabeth, 1583–4. March 8. C.P., vol. XIII.

34. ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

By the sight of a letter from the Queen of Scots to the French ambassador she finds three special matters appointed to be declared to her by him. (1) Touching the late treaty between them, wherein the Queen of Scots labours greatly to set out her own sincerity in the proceeding—not without some touch to her in not following her advice. (2) Concerning certain lewd speeches against her. (3) She seems to doubt some peril might happen to her by the choice of the party to whose custody she might be committed in case he had her licence to repair to her. Concerning the treaty, he is to let the Queen of Scots understand from her, that if her doings had agreed with her protestation the same had long ere this taken that issue which she herself could in reason have desired. But at the very time when this treaty was in hand, the King, her son, being altogether directed by her advice, as she has protested, sought to remove from about him all such as he knew to be any way affected towards her [Elizabeth], and has since proceeded in a very extreme sort against them in committing of some, and banishing of others. She was also advertised from foreign parts about the same time how earnestly her ministers were concurring with rebels beyond the sea, and other evil affected subjects, under colour of advancing the Catholic religion, to provoke the Pope and other potentates to attempt somewhat against her and her realm, which of late have been made manifest to her by the confession of G[eorge] Throkmorton and other her undutiful subjects. Also, she is not ignorant that if the French King would have permitted her friends and allies in France to have proceeded in their preparations, Scotland and England had tasted of troubles, wherein the attempters should have received small honour and less profits, so that she finds it very strange that in her letters to the said ambassador she would show herself to be so free from knowledge of these things. The attempts attended in foreign parts in favour of her and the confession of such as have been examined here show well that the treaty propounded by her tended to no other end but to lull her [Elizabeth] into a kind of security, to the end she might with less care seek to discover such practices both at home and abroad as might disquiet her and her State. And although this strange manner of proceeding might give her just cause to forbear hereafter to give ear to any such like motion, yet, notwithstanding, if she removes these just causes of jealousy given to her—which consist principally in two points, the one in directing her son to take another course than of late by her advice he has been carried into; the other in directing her ministers to forbear the prosecuting of such wicked and malicious courses as they are entered into, and to cut off all concurrency with her rebels and with all other her evil affected subjects—she shall then find her ready to perform all such matters as she in honour or reason can require at her hands. If she shall take this counsel—whatsoever vain comfort she be put in from abroad, or from some evil affected subjects at home—she shall, by proof, find more profit thereof, than of such extravagant courses as heretofore she has held. Doubts not, through the goodness of God, she will be able to withstand the malice and attempts of her enemies, how malicious and great soever they be both at home and abroad.

Touching the second point of the said letter, he is to let her know

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1583–4. that she cannot forget either her quality or her proximity to her in blood, and as she has always had a special care during her government to suppress the licentiousness of this corrupt age in speaking evil of Princes whose credit and reputation ought to be holden as a thing sacred, so would she not have omitted, if she might have received information, of the place and persons by whom such speeches were uttered, to have made some exemplary punishment of them, and she means so to do whensoever she shall receive knowledge of any who shall be found culpable therein.

Lastly, for the doubts she has of her safety, if she either considers the course of her government hitherto, which has been free from blemish of such touch as she fears, or her usage towards her since her being in England, and how much it would touch herself in reputation—which she esteems more dear than her life—though she had no regard at all to her, she may assure herself she cannot but have a special care to do that which may stand with her honour and her safety. Westminster.

4½ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed :* "About the viijth of Marche 1583. From her majeste to the Erle of Shrewsbury. Answer toching the Scottes Q. lettre to the Frenche Ambassadour."

Copy of the same.

March 13. **35.** JOHN COLVILE TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 376. Albeit I look very shortly to be in England, yet seeing this gentleman, "Maister" Cunningham, on his journey, I could do no less than accompany him with these few lines, which are most concerning his master's affairs. "Sumquhat I oppinit" to your lordship of this purpose at my last being in England, but not so fully as the greatness of the matter required, which imports no less advancement to her majesty's estate than surety to our own; whereof the effect is this. Her majesty had been beneficial to my sovereign and his whole country; for which cause the ministry, the most part of the "borrowis" and barons within the realm, professors of true religion, acknowledge the same, and, next their own sovereign, reserve a special duty to her majesty "by" all Princes in the world. Also, the whole noblemen who are joined in this late cause are of the same mind, chiefly the Earls of Angus, Mar, Bothwell, Marishal, Gowrie, Glencairn, and Caithness, the Lords Lindsay, Boyd, Cathcart, the Masters of Glammis, Oliphant and Forbes, with a good number of the prelates of Kirk, and the King himself, by the faithful information of the well affected who have his majesty's ear, "is reducit to the self same knowledge, and no hoip bot that he shall continw in the self same disposition." So that the truth is, "as ever matteris fall out amang ws," her majesty will have "ane gret commandement" within this realm, howsoever her enemies and others brag "in the contrar." Yet, notwithstanding all this assurance, it cannot be unprofitable to join such others to this number as may be lawfully "congnesed," for the better fortification of the cause, "sa" the same may stand with her majesty's good liking. For which cause I have travailed that all causes betwixt the noblemen aforesaid and the Lord Hamilton might be put in oblivion, and I have done so far, that those who were greatest enemies to that house have now changed their opinion to the contrary, because

Elizabeth.
1583–4. of the zeal they find in the said Lord Hamilton both to religion and amity betwixt the crowns; so that, now, if the matter were once "proponit" for him and re . . . referred to the "censment" of Council here, the question would not be great. "Zit this is kepit werey secreit and thair is na impedemint saif only ane quhairof this gentill man can inform zour honour," as also of the way how the same shall be most directly "proponit," which your honour shall find so reasonable and proper for the advancement of the cause "as na other moyen can seim sa profitabill." For if once the Lord Hamilton "may be maid ane Scottis man" these three effects, at least, shall follow. First, Huntly, his nephew, Morton, his cousin german, Crawford, his near cousin, Eglinton, his brother-in-law, Cassillis, his son-in-law, Rothes, allied with his house, and Herries, his defender, "wald all streighte misknaw the Duik of Lennox and tak thame to the friendship of the said lord"; which I know to be certain. Next, the present Earl of Arran—the greatest enemy that England has, after his power, and "quho hes spokin in his insolence werey wnreverendly of hir majeste—durst not abide his presence, and sa be restoring of ane freind tuay gret enemies suld be disgracit." Last, the confederates of this cause should be so fortified "as that nane wythin this realme durst presome to speik of the French course"; and this is a matter whereof I have been very careful, and wherein I humbly crave your honour's favour, goodwill, and assistance, seeing the same so necessary for both the crowns. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

2 *pp.* *Holograph.* *No flyleaf or address.*

March 15. **36. Robert Bowes to [Walsingham].**

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 377. Entering on his journey into the country to put order to his poor affairs there, perished by his long absence, received, at Holy Island, his letter of the 6th instant directing him to continue in this town. Whereupon he has returned, and shall remain here to serve as shall be commanded. Has also this day received his letter of the 10th instant, the contents whereof he will see executed.

At the assembly of the borderers, called to Edinburgh by the King's letters, the King and Council have commanded that Bedrowle—lately perjured in the King's presence—should not be harboured by any of his subjects, and that the late attempts done by Liddesdale and others at Learmonth, and elsewhere in the Marches of England, should be redressed with speed. The King retains still with him some of the said borderers and other barons to attend on him in the fields, and otherwise for his guard, being persuaded that some enterprise shall be attempted against him this month, and, as he has said, within few days; and being possessed with this fear he showed Lochinvar, on Wednesday last, that he had dreamed the night before that a bloody sword was presented to him, declaring therewith that within eight days, or soon after, something should be attempted against him, and thereon stayed Lochinvar with him, whom he has called to be one of his Secret Council, but not to such further honour as was looked for.

The King and Council were informed that one or two gentlemen came of late secretly and muffled into Glasgow, whereupon they think that Mar and Glammis were there, and that Mr. Andrew Hay, the principal minister of that university, was privy thereto. Therefore

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Mr. Andrew Hay is charged to appear before the King and Council to be examined hereof, and he is like to endure some troubles in case he obeys the charge.

Angus is newly charged to deliver to the King's possession Morton's "pose" and treasure in his hands, and if he refuse to accomplish the same, then he must follow his fellows gone before him. Likewise Gowrie must needs depart before the 1st of April next, and by no suit or means can obtain any longer time.

The King and Council have determined to send very speedily sundry noblemen in embassage to the Queen of England. It is intended that Marishal and Sir Andrew Keith, now Lord Dingwall, shall be sent with others in this negotiation, and that the offers to her majesty shall be very liberal.

Upon suit made to the King by the ministers for his favours to Mr. Andrew, the King demanded whether the Master of Gray—cited before the Assembly of the Church for papistry, and to be excommunicated for the same—should find any favour at their hands, concluding therewith that as the Master of Gray should be dealt withal by them, so he would deal with Mr. Melville.

It is newly given out in the Court that Sir John Seton was returned from Spain to Bordeaux, having entertained there a Scottish ship for his passage to Scotland. And whereas before it was bruited that he was arrived at Kirkcudbright, now it is thought that he will see his father in France, and thereon haste home with all speed he can, for he is looked for daily.

Lord Seton, arriving at Newhaven, and not at Calais, as was bruited, made small abode there, giving order to the vessel wherein he sailed to remain there for his return. No letters or messages are as yet come to Scotland from him since his arrival at Newhaven.

Johnston at his last coming to Court has reported that the Queen of England has put in readiness an army in the south to be transported by sea and land into Scotland. This is received with good credit, and greatly occupies the courtiers at present. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

March 15. **37.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 378. By secret means the King and some of his Council are advised, and brought to think that Arbroath and Lord Claud Hamilton are agreed with Angus, Mar, and others, and that thereon some sudden enterprise shall be attempted against them this month. In this discovery the Justice Clerk is partly suspected, and the suspicion is the more vehement against him, for that he and his cousin, Mr. Thomas Bellendine—a very Papist—met secretly the other day with Arran in the garden at Senys, having no person with them other than a footfellow to hold their horses. It is also thought that some intelligence of these things was lately given to the Master of Gray, who, on Wednesday last, and within six miles of Wark, met an Englishman, come, as he said, to his familiar friend from the English Court, who gave him some taste of these things, and also brought him joyful news, putting him in comfort that soon after Easter next, or before, he should see prosperous effects, and therewith the Master told his said

Elizabeth.
1583–4. friend privily that within short time he should behold many strangers in good order. But he would not tell into what country they should come. The King and such Councillors as this cause chiefly concerns are greatly moved and in fear of the sequel, lying in wait to espy the progress thereof, and arraying themselves to prevent the execution by all possible means; for which cause they retain and keep with them sundry gentlemen for their guard, and have appointed a continual and strong watch and ward on the Court and Earl [Angus]. Among others it is thought that the expedition of the despatch of this great embassage to the Queen of England shall prevail much to stay all matters; and this embassage is the more readily agreed to, and hastily to be set forwards, because this Court both finds an universal discontentment in their government, and also presently distrusts to receive such success in their affairs with France as have been liberally promised. This embassage is chiefly advised and drawn on by Sir Andrew Keith, made Lord Dingwall on Friday last by Arran's means, who, after his wonted manner, promised all possible devotion and goodwill to England, and to be wholly directed by Sir Andrew. Before this Sir Andrew was holden in some jealousy for England with these courtiers. But he governs the Court much at his own will; and whereas before he offered to pass home by water and not to come to England, now he is verily persuaded to bring mighty things to pass, and agreeable to the Queen of England's pleasure. Nevertheless, sundry of the other party, seeing his inwardness with Arran and his forwardness in this cause, and that they two join, as is verily believed, to advance the marriage betwixt the King and the King of Sweden's daughter, thereby the more to strengthen Arran and the rest in Court, and to support others who are already distressed and be still put at and driven out of the realm, notwithstanding these fair promises. Therefore Sir Andrew is now fallen into some suspicion with sundry of the distressed party, and especially with Gowrie, who in his late letters to Marishal has earnestly moved him to beware of Sir Andrew and the Justice Clerk. Trusts that Sir Andrew has a good meaning and purpose to do many good offices amongst them.

The other parties are still labouring and in good comfort to reform matters otherwise. Finds great advances given to them at this time, as well by the increase of their strength in the aid and association of many great personages willing to join with them, as also in the general liking of the people, longing for a speedy reformation of this government, universally condemned by all the religious in that nation. Sees therewith a great forwardness pretended in the parties who must undertake the enterprise, and extreme necessity drives them to hasten the execution thereof, wherein Gowrie has plainly written that "nunc de vita et amplius agitur." Therefore he persuades expedition offering frankly to be seen forward for his part, yet he [Bowes] dares not give any great assurance of the matter. They depend wholly on the goodwill and comfort of the Queen of England, and they look for Lord Arbroath and Lord Claud; wherein he is often and earnestly solicited by their ministers employed in that service. But seeing that he can do little either to advance their desires or yet to let them know what shall be done to them, has, therefore, entertained them with the best terms he could, that they should not be discouraged.

Elizabeth.
1583–4. Since his last letter has heard little of the two fugitives, nor is the party appointed to follow them returned as yet. Has been informed by some near the King that the Bishop of St. Andrews in his late letters to the King has complained that he [Walsingham] plainly gave him the lie, whereat the King greatly storms. Received the original letter sent to the King by Gowrie for prorogation of the time of his departure, which he incloses.

If her majesty pleases to employ him in any especial service he shall then very willingly attend and do his whole endeavour without regard what prejudice shall fall to his own broken affairs, otherwise he requests him to procure his former liberty to depart from hence to put order to his causes. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The new post of Darlington has given the post of Durham to understand that he will not convey his [Bowes's] letters on his warrant. If any default be found in the carriage hereof, requests him to give commandment to the post of Darlington to reform the same.

4 *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

March 19. **38.** MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour, this nycht James Roland, merchant of Edinburgh, is arrivit be sey. He hes no newis from Scotland saving yat ye hoill cuntre is mervelus malcontent, and it is neir fourtein dayis sen he came from thence. He is to seik redress for sum piraceis and hes ye Kingis lettres for yat effect." London. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

¼ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

March 20. **39.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 380. The parties in the cause before "remembered" to him proceed still with earnest desire to bring it to speedy execution. Nevertheless, the peremptory day, as they call it, is not agreed upon. Wherein it still seems to him that they look for some comfort out of England. Mar and the Master of Glammis have solicited and won many friends in several coasts. They wrote in the end of last month that they were then ready to return, entreating friends to encourage others in their constancy and readiness, and to acquaint Angus of their doings with Arbroath and Lord Claud, whose presence is greatly required. At the time of the despatch of their last letters aforesaid the solicitors returning and addressed to them were not then come to them. But since that time the wind has been commodious as well for the repair of those solicitors to them, as also for their own return to the place appointed. In this Gowrie shows great forwardness, saying that if his neighbours will play their parts it shall then be seen that there shall be "a Gideon in Israel," before the French or Spaniards can be landed in Scotland; for he is verily persuaded that strangers are to be brought thither. This matter is embraced by many, who cry out for immediate execution, thinking that the delay breeds peril. Many things promise fair the speedy attempt thereof.

By some wily speeches lately proceeding from Arran it is conceived

Elizabeth.
1583–4. by sundry of the distressed sort that the Queen of England has lately written to him offering to him great favour, so that he will be a good instrument to procure the continuance of the good amity betwixt the two crowns, and that for the furtherance thereof her majesty should be also pleased to give to the King a yearly pension of 50,000 crowns. Upon which ground and cause it is thought that this embassage presently preparing for England is thus suddenly drawn on, and shall proceed, with hope that the present courtiers shall thereby gain her majesty's good opinion and support against the others, and thereby to overshoot in their own bow, as they term it, the others now in disgrace. Has sufficiently satisfied the chief parties troubled with this apprehension.

Because it was espied that Sir Andrew Keith wrote to him [Bowes] the other day—being only compliments of courtesies betwixt them—he and his doings with him have been of late narrowly searched. But they are found so far from all practice in that behalf that he is made free from suspicion. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

March 20. **40.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 382. It is advertised now to him, that whereas some motion was once made to have employed Marishal in this embassage to the Queen of England, now the choice is like to fall on Lord Andrew Keith, Clerk Register, the Laird of Caprington, or two of them. Nevertheless, this election is not yet so surely determined but that it may be altered.

Lord Yester has been sent for and called by the King's several letters to the Court, and because he has neither appeared therein nor given excuse or answer, therefore it is thought that his fine shall pay the guard their wages for some months.

The Lairds of Cesford and Coldenknowes have been lately in some danger of warding, and chiefly Cesford, which he escaped by the only means of the Countess of Arran, who at this present is said to bear great rule in the Court, but much greater in the Sessions. It is now thought that soon after the return of Farnyhurst, who is looked for at Court with the first good wind and ship coming out of France, that Cesford shall "depart" with the wardenry of the Middle Marches and leave it to Farnyhurst; for he and Coldenknowes are now holden in Court to be favourers of the lords absent.

Barganny has been likewise written for to come to Court, but he still excuses himself, and Buchan [Bloughan] has sought to be licensed to return home, but the King will not suffer them. For the Co[uncil] seeing many great barons loth to come thither upon the King's letters, and thinking that most of them wish well, and desire the relief [of] the distressed sort—who are still put at—is continually in fear of s[ome] sudden enterprise to be attempted. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. No flyleaf or address.*

March 20. **41.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR RALPH SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIII. Finding it very expedient to have some person of trust and quality to supply the Earl of Shrewsbury's place in looking to the

Elizabeth.
1583–4. safe keeping of the Queen of Scots, has made special choice of him for this purpose to use his service therein, as one in whose approved wisdom and fidelity she has so great confidence. Is to inform himself, upon conference with the Earl [Shrewsbury], what orders he has hitherto observed for the safe keeping of the Queen of Scots. In case he finds that in respect of the difference in the manner of the charge between the Earl and him, the Earl keeping her with his own men, and he now to keep her with the Earl's men, it shall be necessary either to alter the said orders or to add any others to the same, he is to do therein as shall be thought most meet for the better execution of the charge committed to him.

Is to let the Earl understand that he should have special regard in the choice he is to make of those servants he leaves behind him, that they be such as he knows to be well affected in religion, and men of good wealth and void of corruption; and that he bring up with him so many of his other servants as were daily attendants on him or had occasion to be "inward" or familiar with the Queen of Scot's servants. Thinks it meet that in Shrewsbury's absence, and during the time the Queen shall continue under his charge, he have a special care to restrain her servants from some part of that liberty they then enjoyed. Wherein especially there would be order taken for the restraint of laundresses and such as have been permitted to resort into the town of Sheffield or other towns and villages next adjoining, if any such liberty has been heretofore granted to them; for he is to show the Earl that he [Sadleir] being but a stranger must be more curious during the Earl's absence than should be meet to be if he himself was present, considering the awe and reverence his servants bear him. In case, upon conference with Shrewsbury, he shall find that it may conveniently be done, she could well like that the Queen of Scots should be removed to Winkfield, a house of the Earl's, whereby the Queen's servants may have less acquaintance with the country about. Is to have a care that the Queen of Scots be not permitted to ride far abroad, but only suffered to take the air on foot or in a coach, and use some such exercise near the house where she shall lie, as shall seem convenient to himself.

Whereas she supposes the Earl of Shrewsbury has hitherto caused standing watches to be kept nightly in towns and villages near the places where the Queen of Scots has lain; he is to take order that the number of the watchmen, if it shall seem necessary to him, may be increased as well in the said towns and villages as in other towns and villages somewhat farther off, and that the watches may be kept as well in the day as in the night, though with less numbers in the day. For which service choice should be made from time to time of men of best wealth and substance in the places where they are to be charged to the watch, and void of suspicion to be corrupt; and that the care thereof be committed, and earnestly recommended to the well affected justices next adjoining, who may also take order that no rogues or other "masterles" or wandering persons be suffered to resort to the towns, villages or places next adjoining to the place where the Queen of Scots shall lie.

Is to give order that by the head officers of the said towns next adjoining there be several notes delivered to the said justices of such strangers as shall nightly lodge in the said towns, places or villages,

Elizabeth.
1583–4. and in case there shall be just cause found to suspect any strangers, every such stranger is to be presented to the justices, and they to acquaint him before they be released. Is to send her a copy of such orders as shall be set down for this service. On his access to the Queen of Scots he is to signify to her that she has made choice of him to supply the Earl of Shrewsbury's place in his absence, and therewith given him special charge to have care of her safety, and to see her used with that respect that appertains to one of her place. In case she falls into any speech with him touching a late treaty begun between them for an increase of her liberty, he is to signify to her that he was not made acquainted with any such matter, for that he received directions for this charge in his absence from Court, which was sent to him by one Sommer, a servant of hers despatched to him for that purpose; but that you suppose, on the Earl's return, she shall receive such answer as in reason she may rest satisfied with.

4½ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Burghley's hand. Indorsed:* "A draught of Instructions for Sir Rafe Sadler."

March 20. C.P., vol. XIII. **42. Instructions for the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Ralph Sadleir, and Sir Henry Nevill.**

"Instructions gyven by her majeste to the Erle of Shrewsbere and Sir Rafe Sadleyr, knight, two of her highnesses pryvy counsell, and to Sir Henry Nevell, knight, for the causes following. At Westminster the xxth day of Marche 1583, in the xxvjth yere of her majestes reign."

Whereas the Earl of Shrewsbury has been a long and very earnest suitor to her to be unburdened of keeping the Queen of Scots, and also that he might repair to her presence—weighing also his great years, and to give him more liberty to attend to his own causes—she is pleased to condescend to both. Has resolved that she shall be kept in her castle of Melbourne, co. Derby, in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. As the said castle is not in "good readiness" for that purpose, she orders that, in the meantime, she shall first be brought to Wingfield, and shall stay there under their custody until her lodging at Melbourne Castle may be put in order "with our stuff and her awne," which may be brought from Sheffield, and provision laid in meet for her and her company; which, in her name, and by the credit and good means of the Earl of Shrewsbury in that country, may be soon done from the town of Derby, and by the help of divers gentlemen dwelling near, who, she doubts not, will be content to spare some of their provisions upon reasonable consideration until a good supply may be made and brought to Melbourne. Lest upon knowledge of this her purpose she may pretend sickness or other impediments, in case on their arrival at Sheffield, the Earl of Shrewsbury shall find her to be in such state of body as without danger of her person she may be removed to the said places, he shall then proceed to remove her according to this her order, allowing no excuse. Immediately on their arrival at Sheffield they are to confer together how to convey her to the said places. Refers the number of persons for strength, provisions, coaches, horse-litter for herself and her ladies, horses and carriage for her train, and stuff to their wise consideration, so that there be no unnecessary delay used therein. Would

Elizabeth.
1583–4. like very well that it might be done within one day after the arrival of Sadleir and Nevill at Sheffield, if it were possible.

After they have agreed, and have things in areadiness to remove the Queen, then shall they acquaint her therewith, that she may prepare herself to remove. If she refuses to do this, pretending sickness or other let, they are to win her to it by persuasion. "Or that not serving, you shall not forbear in any wise to cause her to be placed in some coche or horse-litter, as you shall think to be fittest for her." For the more safety in conveying her, in case they shall find it necessary, they may use the aid of the sheriffs of the counties of Derby and Leicester. A set watch and ward are to be kept in the night as well about the house where she shall be lodged as in the villages adjoining, for which purpose she sends them a commission under her hand and signet. Are to avoid passing through any town where any multitude of people shall be, and also to take order that the people where they are to pass be not suffered to assemble. None are to have access to her besides themselves and her usual and necessary people, or who shall be authorised from and warranted by the Privy Council. Refers her diet by the way and provisions at the aforesaid places to Shrewsbury's direction.

Forasmuch as her stuff at Sheffield, and that of the said Queen's to be brought from thence will not, perhaps, suffice to furnish her lodgings at Melbourne and other necessary rooms for Sadleir and Nevill, appointed to remain there, and for other rooms meet to be furnished in some convenient manner — wherein she doubts not Shrewsbury will help with some of his for a time—upon knowledge to be given to her of the wants, she will forwith give order to have the same supplied from places not far from thence. Other things requisite in this service not mentioned in these instructions she refers to their discretion, they knowing well that her meaning and pleasure herein is to remove the Queen of Scots, and to have her safely conveyed, surely kept, and well used in the custody of Sadleir and Nevill. When this service shall be performed and order established at Melbourne Castle for the Queen's diet, *etc.*, she wishes Shrewsbury to repair to her, assuring him that she thinks it long until she may see him and let him know by her own speech how acceptable she takes the good service he has long done to her, and also to acquaint him with some matters of importance which concern her and her State. But before his departure he is to inform Sadleir and Nevill of all other things meet for them to know touching this great charge now committed to them, and also to leave with them some one or two of his skilful and trusty servants used and practised in matters of household for some few days. Has directed her warrant of Privy Seal to her Exchequer for money to be delivered to Sadleir and Nevill for defraying the Queen of Scots' charges after her departure from Sheffield, and for her diet at the places aforesaid, and upon further occasion more shall be delivered hereafter. Are to inform her of the day of their removal from Sheffield, and of the course they resolve on. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

3 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same with some variations.

Elizabeth.
1583–4. March . C.P., vol. XIII.

43. List of Persons near Melbourne Castle.

"Persons neare to Melborn Castell in ye edg of Derbyshyre."

Derbyshire.—Sir Thomas Zouch; Thomas Harpor; Francis Curzon, *etc.*

Leicestershire.—The Earl of Huntingdon; all my lord's brothers; Francis Hastings; Adrian Stokes; Beaumont; Henry Skipwith; Francis Carey and his sons; Urian Cave and his sons; Maurice Berkeley.

Nottingham.—Gervase Clifford; Francis Willoughby.

¾ *p. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by him:* "Q. of Scottes."

March 20. C.P., vol. XIII.

44. Instructions for Sir Ralph Sadleir and Sir Henry Nevill.

"Instriection pryvat, gyven by her majestee to Sir Rafe Sadleyr, knight, one of her highnesses Privy Counsell, and to Sir Henry Nevell, knight, at Westminster the xxth of Marche, 1583, in the xxvjth year of her majestes reign."

After the Queen of Scots shall be brought from Sheffield to Melbourne Castle and left by the Earl of Shrewsbury in their charge, they are to observe and keep the orders following. On their arrival at Melbourne Castle with the said Queen they are to appoint and place two discreet and trusty persons of theirs to serve and be porters of the castle. The porters are to be charged to suffer none of the Queen of Scots' people to go forth of the castle without the company of some of theirs, as is hereafter mentioned, nor suffer any stranger or other not being of their retinues without first giving knowledge to them or to one of them, that it may appear to them by examination and search, if they shall see cause, what they are, what they carry, from whence they come, and for what intent they come thither. In case of sickness or other departure of either of the porters, another of like quality to be placed in his room with like charge. Are to appoint certain trusty persons to assist the porters in the daytime, furnished with halberds and harquebuses, of equal number of both their servants. Are to cause or see the gates to be shut at ordinary times of meals, and at convenient hours at night, and the keys to be delivered to them or one of them. Are to appoint and see a nightly watch in the castle in meet places by their discretion, the watch to be visited by their appointment once or twice every night by persons of trust belonging to both of them. In case and time of apparent suspicion they are to give order, as they shall see cause, to the next justices of those parts to appoint certain trusty persons of the places next adjoining to serve with some convenient number as a standing watch, in such places and for such time as they shall think meet, furnished as the places and cause shall require. Are to take order that no suspected persons be suffered to lodge in the towns and villages near adjoining; and that if any such, or other stranger, shall happen to repair to any of those places, not known to have some necessary business there, the same be brought before them or one of them to be examined. None of the Queen of Scots' train are to be suffered to resort to any town or village, nor to have conference with any of the Queen of England's subjects, but in the presence and hearing of such trusty persons of theirs as they shall specially appoint

Elizabeth.
1583–4. —and that publicly. In case any of her people shall be desirous to buy anything for her or their necessary uses, they are to cause the same to be brought from the next towns, if they are there to be had, and to be sold to them without exaction. If any of the wives of the Queen of Scots' train shall happen to be with child, they shall cause such to be "avoydid" out of the castle for the time, without exception, before the time of delivery or likelihood to travail, and to be placed, for their reasonable money, in the houses of some well affected subjects, and they to be charged to suffer no unnecessary resort to them of any of the Queen of England's subjects or others. Herein they may use the assistance of some of her well affected justices in those parts. When any of the Queen of Scots' people shall be disposed to take the air abroad, or otherwise recreate themselves in the fields at convenient times and within a convenient compass of the castle, they are to appoint certain trusty persons of theirs, indifferently, to keep them company; but not to have any private conference with them.

For the health and recreation of the Queen of Scots, they are to permit her to take the air abroad in the fields, on foot or in coach, with some small number of her people, by their discretion, at such fit times as she shall require, unless they shall know urgent cause to the contrary, and to be guarded with a convenient number of their people on horseback, appointed as is meet, besides certain other like horsemen to see the places clear about where she shall take the air. Are to be careful and foresee that no clothes, apparel or other folded or close thing, be suffered to be brought to the Queen of Scots or to any of her people without the same be first "visited" and searched by them or by one of them at the bringing in thereof. And are to stay such things found in secret as they think are not meet to be delivered to her or to them. Are not to suffer any letters or books to be delivered to her or to any of hers but such as shall be sent to them [Sadleir and Nevill] for her or them by order of her Principal Secretary, or by others by her commandment. If they shall desire to be further directed in any other needful particularities it shall be ordered and answered as the reason of the matter shall require. For her meaning is "not to deliver to her any harder treatment for the usage of her person, than heretofore we have done," as they may let her know, howsoever she may conceive of this her removing her from Sheffield. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

2½ *pp. Indorsed. At the head:* "Elizabeth R. By the Queene."

Copy of the same.

March 23. **45.** MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour send ye inclosit wyth ye nixt commodite to your legeir in France to be delyverit to ane Hamiltoun of ye King of France guard, concerning ye bischop, ye more I think of yat matter ye more necessere I think it yat he and all other strangeris of his opinion wer removit; for it is ane commune proverbe, 'hostes si intus sunt, frustra claudunt fores: neque antequam expellantur tute cubandum est.' I most humlie thank your honour of your undeservit favour and I pray God make me abill to do you acceptabill service

Elizabeth.
1583–4. not only to your honour in particular bot to yis hoill estait for your cause."

⅓ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

March 23. **46.** FRANCES BATTELL TO LADY ELIZABETH POULETT.

C.P.,vol. XIII. Her ladyship [the Countess of Shrewsbury] wishes her all happiness. Sends her a pair of knives. Beseeches her to accept her goodwill. Mr. Lewes is her great enemy, has abused the countess, and is most hatefully bent against the writer. Her lord gives out hard speech of her, to her great discredit, if it should be believed by her friends. Lady Poulett is one of her good friends that she makes most account of. The cause of her lord's hard dealing with her is that the Scottish Queen cannot abide her. For how can she abide her when she is with all hatred bent against her mistress [the Countess of Shrewsbury]? Has been plain with the Scots, and since that time the Earl of Shrewsbury does not like her, but is with all hatred bent against her. The words that the Scottish Queen's servants said to her and others of her lord's servants were, that the Scottish Queen should be Queen of England, but none made answer but she. She made this answer, "that it whar better that the Scotyshe Queene were hanged befor that tyme shoulde com to pas." She could not but make this answer rashly, it "ded so much grue me" to hear these words, and she is bound in duty and conscience so to answer. Since that time her lord deals hardly with her. Has attended on the countess these two years, and she likes well of her service. Would be sorry to part with her, but if my lord continues his hard speech of her, she cannot abide it any longer. My lord only wrote one letter to my lady this half year, and that was all about her—that it was a shame for her to keep her, with many other words that are too much to write of. One of her offences that my lord alleges against her is because she pitied her mistress's cause of grief—which is to be pitied, and lamentable it is. May God amend it in his good time. Chatsworth. *Signed:* Fraunces Battell.

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* "To the right worsheipp and my very good lady the Lady Elizabeth Paullat at Clarconwell geve this with spede." *Indorsed by Burghley:* "xj Aprill, 1584, to y^e^ Lady Paulett from on Francisce Battell a gentlewoman of y^e^ Countess of Shrewsburyes." *And in another hand:* "From M^ris.^ Battell came to my hands by one of M^ris.^ Wynckfeld men the xj^th^ daye of Apryll."

March 23. **47.** SHREWSBURY TO ELIZABETH.

C.P.,vol. XIII. I have let this Queen understand your majesty's mind upon the three several points mentioned in your letters dated the 10th of this instant. First, touching the last treaty, that her own doings have stayed it, her son by her directed, as she had protested, having at the same time proceeded in a very extreme sort against those who were affected towards your majesty, and her friends and ministers having concurred with your rebels to attempt against your majesty and your State under colour of religion, as of late has appeared by the confession of some examined thereabout. Whereby your majesty has just cause to forbear hereafter to give ear to any such like motion. Notwith-

Elizabeth.
1583–4. standing if she would direct her son better, and cause her ministers to forbear the prosecuting of such courses as they are entered into, and cut off all concurrencies with your majesty's rebels and evil affected subjects, she shall then find your majesty ready to perform all such matters as she in honour and reason can require at your hands: which way shall be always more honourable and profitable for her than any other. Not doubting for your own part to withstand all your enemies both at home and abroad, whosoever they be. Concerning the second point, that in consideration of her quality and proximity of blood to your majesty, you would make an exemplary punishment for those speeches, whensoever you should receive knowledge of any who shall be found culpable therein. Lastly, for her custody in my absence, I have assured her that your majesty in that case shall have a special care to do that which may stand both with your honour and her safety.

Hereunto she answered that Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Beale, and myself were sufficient witnesses that in due time she had discharged herself of the said treaty, having always protested that all things either said or done by her therein should remain void in case she had not a resolution within twenty days after the departure of Mr. Mildmay, and that since that time she never heard word of your majesty's resolution. Whereupon I told her "yt was but an artifice to discharge herself of what she knew should fall out in Scotland, as shortlie after come to passe." She denied flatly to have any knowledge thereof, but said "yt was verie easie to foresee that hir sonne being deteined ageinst his will by the evill affected subjectes and apparaunt daunger of his lief was to seke by all meanes his owne libertie and the change of such an unlawfull government." What he has done since against their subjects, said she, she knows not particularly, much less has she directed him therein, or in any other course to your discontentment, she not being suffered any way to deal with him. But she thinks that your majesty will not comprehend such rebels and traitors, as she terms them, under the name of those that are affected to your majesty, and far less their wicked actions; which, when they shall acknowledge by due submission to their Princes, she for her part offers to procure their pardon and what else in consequence thereof may be justly required; and that she and her son should agree thereto more willingly if the favour and friendship showed by their enemies in this realm to their said subjects were applied by your majesty towards themselves by a good agreement between you three. For if they were once well assured of your majesty's favour they would, said she, be in less jealousy both of their subjects and enemies, "and since that no man in this countrie is onelie suffred to affecte them anie waie, how faithfull so ever they remaine withall to your majestie the more strange she thinketh hir sonne will fynde that your majestie dislyketh the removing from about him of so notorious a sorte of undutifull subjectes."

She denies, as she says, to have forgotten herself so much as to say that her son was altogether directed by her; but she only remembers to have uttered, touching the treaty begun with her, that she thought, according to his duty, that he would rather follow her advice and counsel than any others', if she had been permitted, as she required, to impart the same to him; wherein was her intention to do her uttermost for your satisfaction. Further, that about the same time

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1583–4. your majesty sent her word that her son offered to your majesty to depend wholly on your favour, refusing to enter into the said treaty as a party, but alone and of himself as an absolute King. As for the concurrences of her ministers with your majesty's rebels and the attempts of her friends and allies, if the French King would have suffered them, she says that they are neither directed nor protected by her against your majesty or the State, her friends having long ago a sufficient power from her to take order in her name for all accordances that may fall out, and her long captivity, which is so published to the world, and the " tickle " state of her son being occasion sufficient enough to move such as are not so near to her as are her said friends and ministers to consider of their case. Nevertheless, she thinks all these reports be but vain—much less would she take any comfort thereby.

Concerning other practices of advancing religion confessed by one George Throgmorton and others, she protests never to have had any dealing with him any way, nor with any other against their duty towards you. Whereof if she has heretofore endeavoured to clear herself, she thinks it ought to be taken for a good proof of her sincere meaning, " and fayling thereof for answere to the French ambassadour, he before had wrytten twise at large unto her of the whole matter."

She was much offended when I told her that the treaty propounded tended to no other end but to lull your majesty into a kind of security, and thereupon, calling upon God, she said she did not know " who was bothe the luller and the lulled," to whose judgment she refers either part. Nevertheless, she received very thankfully the assurance I gave her of your favour, she satisfying your majesty in the two aforesaid points propounded by me. Whereupon I " remembered " unto her your majesty's graciousness at all times towards her and her son, having ever had a special care " of bothe their preservacions " in their most urgent necessities, how able your majesty is to do them good or harm as they shall deserve, the one or the other, at your hands, your power to withstand whatsoever enemies you may have in the world, and that for my own part I should be the most ready " besides two hundred thousand more " to hazard life and all else I have in that behalf, and hoping in God's goodness miraculously showed towards your majesty during your most happy reign that He will assist you in your most just defence. Nevertheless, that your majesty desiring for the honourable regard you carry to her and her son, that things should not come to extremity, you would be content of your graciousness to yield to any their reasonable requests. Whereupon she said that she herself would write to your majesty, adding only that she would never enter again into any treaty without good assurance, and that from your majesty's own self.

She seemed to take your majesty's answer to the second and third part in very good part, and to remain most satisfied with your majesty therein. But entering into further talk of those bruits, she "glaunced" many words against some whom she said she would name when time should serve better, marvelling much I did not labour to make the truth thereof appear better, myself being touched in the same, " defyeng me withall what I have seene or knowne of hir behaviour." I replied thereunto that it shall be always found, and in every sort, that I have done, and will do the part of a nobleman, according to my

Elizabeth.
1583–4. duty, towards your majesty, and to the respect I am bound in conscience and honour to bear to the truth. Which, indeed, I will take upon my allegiance to make appear before your majesty's self, and in the face of all my adversaries, wheresoever they be; and, besides, to let you know perfectly the falsehood of the other reports and treacheries towards me, as soon as it shall please your majesty to grant me my so long "procured" request that I may repair to your most gracious presence, which to me will be the greatest comfort I can have to confirm the joy and contentment I have received by Mr. Secretary's last letters, "wishing at God he faile to me before that I doo faile to your majestes service." The great assurance which it pleased your majesty to show you have of me binds and encourages me more than ever thereunto. Sheffield Castle. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

March 24. **48.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 383. Upon the sending in of Mr. Archibald Douglas's letter to his friend in Edinburgh, his friend has returned another to him. Requests that the small packet inclosed may be delivered to Archibald Douglas. The embassage intended for England has lately received some stay. Seton is looked for daily, or at least some from him with especial credit. It is thought that in these ships arrived the other day in the Forth, from France, some messengers or letters are sent from him, whereof there was no understanding at the return of the carrier from Edinburgh to him, at which time none had come on land out of the ships. Albeit the Court has gaped for plenty of treasure with him, yet they begin now to think that he shall be laden with greater store of fair promises than fine gold. Sundry of the English fugitives are presently within his lordships.

The King has been informed that the Queen of England has caused Mar and Glamis to stay in Ireland. Wherein he is persuaded that it is done by their own means to avoid the penalty of the late proclamation.

William Stewart, brother of Arran, being knighted at the time that Sir Andrew Keith was made lord, has been chased by some of the Hamiltons in the last week—a matter taken very heinously in Court, and meant to be severely punished. Huntly returned to Court the other day.

The bruit of the forces levied in the south of England increases daily in the Court; wherein sundry there persuade that they are to be employed for, and beat against Scotland. Indermerky, by the means of Crawford, has obtained, with great difficulty, a year's respite. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

March 29. **49.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 3. This afternoon I received advertisement that the King was informed on Friday evening last that Mar and Glamis had returned out of Ireland to Scotland, meaning to join with other lords and hastily to attempt some enterprise. And this intelligence being

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1584. partly confirmed yesterday morning, order was immediately thereon given to Captain Bruce and others to levy soldiers by drum in Edinburgh with all expedition. Besides, the courtiers entering into no little fear and grief, procured the King to call and send for sundry such barons as they chiefly trusted. And whereas Huntly and Crawford had sought for leave to return to their own houses, they are constrained to stay and abide awhile. Howbeit, Huntly neither likes to lie in Court nor hath the inward credit there as before he had.

Before this, it was "done" the King to understand that John Hamilton was sent to Scotland by Lord Claud, whereupon Sir William Stewart was directed with commission to seek and apprehend him and others supposed to have come with him, as before I have partly signified. But now it is verily believed by sundry in Court that the Lord Claud is either entered into Scotland or at least will be there very speedily, so that the Court is presently much troubled with these conceits, and most men look for some storm to fall shortly out of these clouds; whereof within some few days there will be more certainty. The late revocation of all grants made by the King and his Regents—except the gifts to Lennox and Arran—doth breed great discontentment in many of his subjects, finding themselves in small assurance to enjoy anything of the King's gift against the will of the present courtiers, who now make their market both of the King's courage and also by the renewing of former grants before disposed. Albeit it is still bruited that Sir John Seton is secretly kept in Canongate (Cannygate), yet I cannot find any surety thereof. But I have been informed by divers that great packets brought lately from Seton out of France were presented to the King by William Seton, the youngest son of the Lord Seton, and that whilst the King was reading these two letters alone in his cabinet Arran stood without, and was not then made acquainted with the contents. But it is said that the King hath now communicated all the same to him, and that promise of money and men is made to the King, and to be sent to him soon after Easter next; whereunto I hear that some of the courtiers give no great trust. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

March 29. **50. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 5.

By the understanding of this sudden stir rising in the Court in Scotland it will appear to you that the execution of the enterprise draws near. And whereas it has been delayed for the coming of Mar and Glamis to the intent that "their advises and presence might have bene geven therein," now I trust that those persons have already arrived at this time; and thereon it is like to proceed with speed, or otherwise to receive great hindrance. "321" purposing to abide at his own house until he should be warned by the others to come nearer, has now retired towards them, and I perceive the most of the parties and requisite provisions are put into good readiness. Howbeit all difficulties and impediments are not yet clean removed.

I have been much troubled to content the writer with such answer as I could give, yet I have kept myself free, and partly satisfied him by a wise and discreet messenger sent to him to let him know that his course and manner of dealing with me in these weighty behalfs were

Elizabeth.
1584. not well "fined," nor did they perfect the cause. And albeit I have hereby put over the matter for some time, yet he and others by him will "eftsoones" urge and call again on me for further and full answer to his demands. But without good warrant I mind neither to do anything to their contentment nor will adventure to meddle in matters so full of peril.

⅔ *p. Extract. At the head:* "Mr. Ro. Bowes to Sir Fran. Walsingham, 29 March, 1584, ex originali."

April 1. **51. ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Whereas he has been a long and earnest suitor to her to be released from the custody of her cousin the Scottish Queen, wherein he has served her most faithfully, she is pleased that he now be released from that charge. Has made choice of Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight, and Sir Henry Nevill, knight, to supply his place, as by the instructions directed to himself and to them he shall more at large perceive. For that the Queen of Scots may conceive that she shall receive more hard usage than heretofore, as also that the treaty which was dealt with last summer between them shall now be void of all hope of proceeding further, he is to declare to her, that though some things lately discovered to her may minister just cause for one and the other —as she dares make her the judge when she shall understand the same, as her meaning is she shall—yet she being led rather to follow her own disposition, which is no way inclined to extremity, than to look upon the deserts, if she shall receive that satisfaction at her hands which she looks for, and which she ought in reason to perform, she shall then find her disposed to yield that contentment that she shall have no cause to mislike of. Is to show her this letter. Westminster Palace.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "1 Aprilis, 1584. Copy of the Queen's Majestes lettres to the Erle of Shrewsbury."

Another copy of the same.

April 1. **52. MR. JAMES LOWSON TO WALSINGHAM.**

"The michtie spirit of ye Lord Jesus Christ mot confort and assist zow for ever."

"Pleis your honour, remember at zour beinge in this cuntrie I talkit withe zou, and menit ye cause of ane fayetful brother of ouris, and my especiall guid frend Williame Cokburn, berar of thir presentis, quha hes resavit gryt damnage and hurt bothe in that ane of zour cuntremen is addettit onto him in ane gryt sume of silver, and he as zit can get no payment; and also be reason of spolzeing of gear be sea be pirattis, as at that tyme I commendit his cause unto zour honour, and resavit ane verye humane and ressonabill answer. For the quhilk cause I gif zow maist hartelie thankis. Sa zit I am forcit for ye lufe I bere to ye berar, and becaus I lament his case, having ane large familie to sustein, to request zour honour to stand his guid freind, that he may haif his awin according to justice and equitie. He thocht to have bein thair longe or now, war not ye troublesome estait of thingis did stay him. I am ye mair bauld to request zour honour herein, for yat I knaw ze lufe yem quha fearis God, of quhat cunterye yat ever yai be.

Elizabeth.
1584. And I persuad my self that yis my letter sall haif sum wecht with zour honour."

Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Zouris in the Lord. M. James Lowsonne, minister at Edinburghe."

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

April. 5. **53.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 6.

May it please your honour; by the advice of some courtiers the King is still persuaded to think that Angus, Atholl, Mar, Gowry, and the Master of Glamis were convened quietly at St. Johnstone, and have resolved to enter into some action against him or some especial persons about him, and that Gowry will not obey the charge given him to depart out of the realm at the day prescribed, being now past. Hereon the King had purposed to have levied 400 footmen, whereof 300 are already gathered under Captains Bruce, Ramsey, and Creichton. The rest are to be supplied, if they can be gotten; but it is not yet agreed how they shall be paid.

The barons and gentlemen of Lothian have attended and kept a strong watch in their armour every night for the King's defence. Now the gentlemen of Fife are come to Edinburgh to guard the King; about whom, and in the town 700 or 800 men watch nightly, and the ward and "scourage" by day set five or six miles about the town. The passages by water are stopped by the King's public commandment, and the King and Court are so greatly moved herewith—pretending to prepare to go against Gowry with all their forces in case he shall not depart according to the charge given him—that hereon it is bruited and looked for generally through the realm, and chiefly on the Borders and in the south parts thereof, that the lords be still assembled together at St. Johnstone's, intending to gather their powers and come against the King and courtiers. Out of which rumours I think that you have received several advertisements long before these. But all this time Gowry has continued at St. Johnstone's quietly with his ordinary retinue, having lately sent Atholl, his son-in-law, to sue to the King for prorogation of the day appointed for his departure, which is still denied to him; and thereon Gowry is now gone to Dundee to pass out of the realm according to the King's commandment. Atholl prayed leave to speak with him before his departure, but it was not granted, and Atholl is directed to remain at Edinburgh during the King's pleasure. Howbeit he is now in hope to get his leave to return home.

Angus is said to have broken his ward, and therewith it has been given out that he came to Tantallon, offering to sue for Arran's favour; and to be reconciled to him he has sent Rothes presently to the Court to travail in his behalf, and to make it known that he has truly kept his ward in Brechen. And touching that "boute" for seeking of Arran's favour, his friends say that it proceeds more upon a subtle practice, than any plain truth.

Because these lords understand that the King and courtiers conceiving thus of them are purposed "to put at them," as they term it, therefore it is looked that they shall provide for their defence by the best means they can. Wherefore it is thought that some troubles shall hastily follow thereon; yet others think that these dark clouds

Elizabeth.
1584. may, peradventure, dissolve into small drops without any violent storm. Whereof some better certainty will be had within five days.

Upon proclamation published in Edinburgh that all the servants and dependers of Mar and Glamis should depart out of the town within three hours, and that none of Clydesdale, except Sir James Hamilton, his son, and servant, should come into Edinburgh, the Countess of Mar was commanded to pass out of Stirling, and Colonel Stewart coming to make search in the Lady Hume's house in Edinburgh for letters and persons suspected, gave her order to depart speedily; whereunto she obeyed.

Every fourth quarter of the town of Edinburgh was charged to watch nightly by turn, and upon the increase of the fear in the Court the whole town was charged to watch nightly. Wherewith they were soon tired, and upon advertisement of some default in the watch, and that some others were watching in St. Giles's churchyard for the safety of the town and ministers, according to their custom, Arran in some passion passed into Edinburgh, and Huntly into Canongate, to search the watch, where Arran finding Mr Thomas Cragge, an advocate, Michael Gilbert, and other burgesses with their wives in the street returning to their houses, checked them that they were not personally on the watch. And albeit they humbly answered that they had their sufficient deputies there, agreeable to the charge and custom, yet he suddenly struck Gilbert with his "baston," pursuing him into his own house, where he beat him well. This is evil taken by the town, who put a guard to their ports, minding to have kept Arran out of their town. And after some difficulty showed for his entry afterwards, he was at length received.

In the late revocation of the King's grants Morton was so heavily provided for that thereby he thought himself in especial grace. Nevertheless, pressing the other day to come into the King's chamber, and "entrynge in at unwares" behind the King whilst he was at his pastime, and not pleased to be troubled therein, he heard the King command the door to be kept against him, adding that he was but a fool. And albeit the King, espying that he had heard him, would have solved the matter, yet he is departed greatly discontented.

Glencairn left the Court much more suddenly than was looked for. Bothwell coming to the Court to renew the grant of his office and possessions given by the King, obtained the King's goodwill, and thereon retired to Kelso, purposing to return to the Court within short time. At his late repair to, and departure from the Court it is by some reported to have been far otherwise.

Amongst these other rumours it is commonly bruited, and believed by many, that 600 Frenchmen shall come with the next wind out of France into Scotland for the King's guard. Sundry of Edinburgh and Dundee, receiving letters from their friends in Paris, have advertised me, that by those letters it is confirmed and certified that the said number of Frenchmen shall be sent to Newhaven to be embarked for Scotland. Howbeit I cannot learn that Seton in his late letters to the King has made any mention thereof. And knowing that you understand by others the truth in this better than I can signify, therefore I forbear to write further thereof.

It is advertised to me by a wise and honest gentleman, that it is "done" him to understand that Sir John Seton arriving at Dum-

Elizabeth.
1584. barton or in the west of Scotland was secretly in Canongate, and is gone to Seton; [and] that he has been privily with the King, notwithstanding that he saith to such as he will show himself to, that he may not present himself to the King's presence, nor can tell what success he shall have in his late negotiation in Spain until Seton, his father, shall return to Scotland. And herewith I am advertised also that by the late letters brought to the King from Seton he commends the good entertainment given him in France, showing that he was directed to retire to and remain at Rouen until the French King's answer shall be sent thither to him. He shows many fair and large promises to be made to him for the King his master's welfare; yet with condition that the King of Scots shall continue and perform like friendship to the French King as his progenitors in Scotland have showed, according to the ancient league betwixt those nations; and that in case the French King shall invade the Protestants in France, or elsewhere, that the King of Scots shall assist him, notwithstanding the matter of religion, and that he shall restrain the preachers and his other subjects in Scotland from railing hereafter against him or the nation of France.

Some in Court are still persuaded that Seton shall return with more plenty of the King's seals than thousands of his crowns to be sent to the King of Scots, which I know you will understand by others sooner and better than I can learn and certify.

Crawford has recovered from the hurt received by the fall of his horse. He has taken Dunfermline and his cause into his defence, otherwise Dunfermline had been charged to have followed others, and to have sought foreign nations.

It is meant, as I am informed, that the Castle of Edinburgh shall be taken from Alexander Erskine and committed to the custody of Colonel Stewart. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

April 6. **54. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.**

"The newis are good for ye first. I pray God ye succes may be as good as ye cause is honest. Your honour makkis mention of ane letter inclosit from Ester Wemes qwicke I haif noct resavit. Tomorrow I am redy to avait upon your lordship at sic hour as your lordship plesis apoint me be yis berar." London. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 10. **55. Robert Bowes to [Walsingham].**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 9.

By the advice of the courtiers presently about the King he is still persuaded to hold a hard course against all such as were in the action at Ruthven. He has now charged the Abbots of Dryburgh and Paisley—notwithstanding their former submission and obedience—to depart out of the realm within sixty days. He is counselled to take the Castle of Edinburgh out of the custody of Alexander Erskine—which name is now made odious to him—and also to forfeit Angus, Mar, Gowry, Glamis, and others guilty of the late conspiracy intended by them against him and his minions; which conspiracy is now discovered by Atholl, as these courtiers give out, affirming

Elizabeth.
1584. that Atholl being purposely drawn to the Court under colour to find the King's favour in the grant of some longer day for Gowry's departure—first roundly confessed that Angus, Mar, Gowry, and Glamis met together at St. Johnstone's, resolving there on the enterprise against the King, and afterwards agreed to write to Gowry to be directed what to do in case he and the others should proceed in their intended enterprise. Whereupon it is said that Gowry by his letters to Atholl answered that they would go forwards therein, disclosing therewith in that letter the greatest parts of their said conspiracy, and that Atholl has delivered to the King's hands the said letter sent to him by Gowry. So that all the secrets are, they say, opened, and thereon the King is advised to gather his forces and proceed against them and all their accomplices with all expedition and rigour. Howbeit it is verily thought that these courtiers will not hazard the King's person in the field nor put themselves out of his presence or the town of Edinburgh. Whereby it may haply fall out that their progress in arms shall not be so hasty as is pretended. Wherein you shall be best satisfied by Cuthbert Armorour, presently arrived with you from the Court in Scotland, to whose report I leave these things, having otherwise little intelligence of the truth and certainty there.

Albeit that Bruce and Ramsey had sounded their drums in Edinburgh and Leith for 300 footmen to serve the King, yet it is advertised that a very small number is hitherto enrolled; for it is not known how they shall be paid otherwise than upon the escheat of these lords, and most men are scrupulous to depend on that pay or enter into that action. Nevertheless, the King has sent for sundry noblemen and the chief of the barons, finding such readiness and forwardness in them to serve him in this and all other services, that it is said that he shall readily execute his will and pleasure on these lords, who are looked to be speedily forfeited and driven out of the realm for their safety, in case they shall not yield themselves to the King's clemency. In which behalfs you will have better experience and understanding within few days.

Fast Castle, of the possessions of the Laird of Restalrig, was charged on Wednesday last to be delivered to the King. It is bruited that Seton having arriv[illegible] the Low Countries is stayed there; but by others I hear th[illegible]ne continues with the bishop of Ross at Rouen, daily attending his despatch. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

April 10. **56. Robert Bowes to [Walsingham].**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 10.

Sir, yesterday I received a letter from such friend, and to such effect as by the view of the same inclosed you may best understand. And whereas the parties have thus written to me in their own name, by the direction of such as may command them, I heartily pray you that the name of the writer and the secrets of the plain letter—now concredited to your privity and good consideration—may be kept secret to yourself, and disposed as you shall think best. With this I received another packet from the Lady of Cassillis to her husband, the Lord John Hamilton, to whom I have aready sent the same, trusting that thereon he will shortly advertise you of part of the contents thereof, which, I think, will agree much with this addressed to me.

Elizabeth.
1584. It is promised, and I look, that some person of quality shall be shortly employed and sent by "333" to "0700" and "640" [Lord Claud Hamilton] with such resolution as shall be taken for the execution of the cause in hand, and which, by other intelligence, I perceive is towards some entrance. And herewith I have been again pressed with great earnestness and many arguments for the benefit of the common cause touching the preservation of religion, and estates of both Princes and realms, to commend and solicit the petition and suit of those parties to her majesty for her highness's favour and support to them in this action, like as partly by the said letter inclosed will appear to you. And, albeit I dare not presume to deal much in a matter of such quality, yet I have thought it my duty to acquaint you with their desires signified to me, and with the state of this cause, to the intent you may dispose of the matter and also of myself as you shall think convenient. In which behalf I still, and humbly, pray you to procure me speedy direction to guide and warrant my doings upon any further proceedings or accidents herein, or otherwise to be timely discharged from meddling in the same.

The negotiation intended to have been committed to persons of some quality is like to be turned to the travail and journey of Cuthbert Armourour, now at Court with you, and the King's letters, offering to her majesty all goodwill after the wonted manner. By this, and by the suit of others presently made to her majesty a new choice is again brought to her highness by the offers of both parties. It is now time therefore to resolve and enter into the best way, in case it shall be found necessary to have any course or party in that realm. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf, etc.*

[April .] **57.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Since his last letter has been advertised that Gowrie, Rothes, and others then thought that Mar and Angus were returned into known ground in Scotland. Whereupon the parties are encouraged and purpose to proceed speedily in the execution of their intentions. It appears to him that some of the principals, and such as cannot brook presence in Court, shall convene this month in some such place as shall be accorded, and that the others in whom they have affiance shall by some good means be present in Court with their forces under pretence to join with the other courtiers. The place is like to be chosen in Lothian, and it may be that Gowrie shall come shortly to Tantallon and Rothes to Thirleston under colour to pass to Rochelle. Rothes is still of opinion that Arbroath and "640" [Lord Claud Hamilton] may not conveniently give their presence in the beginning of matters, and until the time shall serve aptly for the same; and thereupon "he" agrees to join with them. But others are of contrary mind, thinking that their presence shall greatly advance as well the expedition of the attempt as also the surety of the good success. Knows that he is already advertised by themselves what these persons have done, and in what readiness they stand.

Looks for some person of quality to be shortly sent from Gowrie and the others to these persons, whereby they shall understand the full resolutions in all things, and thereon he shall be advertised with

Elizabeth.
1584. better certainty. By such discreet messengers as he sent lately to the especial solicitor in this cause, he partly satisfied him and the rest in the parts of his late letter sent to him [Bowes], and afterwards addressed to him [Walsingham] in his last packet. In this he [Bowes] has advised to behold the goodwill in like matters, and times past, whereby they may have good experience that neither the good cause nor the well affected have been abandoned in time of necessity. Has not, and dare not [enter] into any particular promise or comfort to them otherwise than by the words and effects rehearsed, with like generalities to continue them in good hope, without any bond or promise from him. Albeit they appear to be well pleased, yet he perceives that this lies coldly in the stomachs, not digested. Dare not go further without warrant and direction, whereof he begs him to have timely consideration.

The said solicitor has surely endured great pains, danger, and charges without any relief by any person other than is known to him [Walsingham]. It is needful to relieve him with some seasonable help to repair his decay coming by this service. This he leaves also to his good consideration, being loth to touch her majesty's purse with any charge. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Requests him to cause a letter inclosed to be delivered to Mr. Archibald Douglas, John Allen has returned to him, and he purposes sending him back to him [Walsingham] in a few days.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

April 15. **58. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 11.

According to the King's advice and commandment Angus has delivered to Rothes the house of Tantallon for the King's use, and to be at his commandment, and having obtained leave to depart out of the realm before the 4th of May, is gone to Dundee to prepare his passage to Rochelle, or to such other place as by the advice of his friends he shall be counselled. By the sight of the preparations of Angus and of all the rest charged to depart the realm, and showing themselves ready to obey the same, the Court is drawn to good quietness, having dismissed the barons and gentlemen of Fife without new calling of others. Nevertheless, because Gowry is lately returned from Dundee to St. Johnstone for the despatch of his particular affairs to be done before his departure, it is thought that the King and Court will be so greatly moved thereat that they shall shortly pursue him with forces. Whereupon some further accidents and troubles may, peradventure, ensue.

Since the order made and published by the commandment of the King and Council restraining the barons from being present at any convention spiritual, and also forbidding all temporal conventions, without the King's especial consent thereunto, contrary to the accustomed practice before used, and, as some allege, established, the provincial Assembly of the Church in Lothian, gathered at Edinburgh, directed by Mr. John Cragge, Mr. James Lowson, and Mr. David Lindsay to entreat the King to suffer them to enjoy their privileges before granted and continued. But they prevailed little in their request, returning to their fellows with small contentment.

Elizabeth.
1584. Atholl is licensed to return home, and it is said that he is presently with Gowry, his father-in-law.

It is bruited that Sir John Seton returning from Bordeaux towards Scotland was so sick on the sea that he caused the master of the ship to land him in the Isle of Man, and that upon sudden storm the ship was driven from him to Kirkcudbright, where his servants and stuff arrived, leaving him in the said isle or on the seas seeking to come to his ship; and now it is advertised that he is dead. Whereupon great mourning is made for him at Seton, where it is given out that he is dead indeed. But many in Court and elsewhere believe that he has been in Court in good health within these few days.

By letters brought lately out of France it is certified 12,000 crowns —levied of the revenues of the King of Scot's mother—shall be delivered to Farnyhurst to be brought speedily to the King by him, and that Seton will not be trusted with the charge of this gold. It appears also by those letters that the 600 Frenchmen provided to come to Scotland for the King's guard be not in such readiness as lately was looked for.

Wedderburn [Wetherborne] and Inchaffray are charged to appear *super inquirendis*, whereunto Wedderburn has obeyed. Crawford, Colonel Stewart, and Sir Robert Melville advised and dealt with the [King] to go into, and remain in the Castle of Edinburgh, but the King would not consent to their advice. It is said by some of good intelligence that they had meant to have left out Arran.

Two gentlemen of England lately arrived in Scotland are ready to embark at Leith in a vessel of that town for France. It is said that the one is freighted with great packets of letters; and it is very likely that they put in at Yarmouth, for some of the merchants of Edinburgh in their company have business and occasion to touch there as they pass by.

The Lady Mar's house in Stirling is taken out of her possession and now kept for the King. During these great watches and wards kept about the King's palace at Holyrood House and in Edinburgh, the King has, notwithstanding, taken his pastimes abroad in the fields a hunting with thirty or few more persons with him; so that the Court is partly quieted for the present. But sundry suspect that it shall not continue any long time.

In his late services for her majesty, and by the evil behaviour of George Cowpland, particular victualler under him in this town, and who has brought him into arrears for 800*l.* and above, lately paid to Mr. Vernon and others, and for which sum his body remains in prison, he is cast and entered into grievous debts and distress, drawing him and his best friends into chargeable bonds for repayment of the money borrowed for the satisfaction of these debts. The days of payment of the money borrowed approach very near, and he is utterly unable to accomplish the same without speedy sale of the greatest part of his lands and all his leases, which neither can be well bargained nor put to the best commodity and price without his own presence and travail. Besides, the fruits of all his labours past or hereafter to be taken in her majesty's service have brought, and can bring so small profit to her majesty, and he has already received her reward with such bounty, and so far beyond his deserts or power to deserve, that he may not in any wise trouble her with any further burden, but must lay the

Elizabeth.
1584. same on his lands and leases aforesaid. Has often sued for leave to go into the country and to London for the execution as well of these affairs, as also to put order to the small portion of living to remain to him after the sale, and which by his long absence have turned to his hindrance in greater excess than his broken estate can any longer endure; and although he was lately in comfort to have obtained her majesty's good favour and licence for his liberty in this behalf, yet afterwards by his late letter he was again directed to remain in this town until he should hear further of her majesty's pleasure. Had hoped to have received the same long before this time. Prays him for God's sake to be a mean that he may be disburdened of this charge and restraint, and that he may be licensed to go into the country and to London to relieve himself, and save harmless his friends from the danger of the bonds aforesaid. Nevertheless, in case his attendance in this town any longer may profit her majesty's service he will right gladly await on the same as he shall be directed, notwithstanding that himself and his estate shall suffer the uttermost damage that can come thereby. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed.*

April 15. **59.** RICHARD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Sir, the singular and great favour and courtesye quherwithe itt plesitt your honour to oblishe me perpetuallie to be yours sheuin touardes me quhen as I remainitt your honours prisoner att London, togither with the good countenance ye acceptit me att your being heir in Scotland. Suppose I wald forgett the guid will quheruithe ye heve aluayes bene accustumitt to furder all my countrey men in all their adoes, bot speciallie my oncle Mr. Archimbauld, to quhose greit troubles and long banishment your honour hes bene the cheifest releife. All these sic great and inestimable benefittes quheruith your honour hes noct bene grevitt hertofore to gratefie me, and for the quhicke I most of necessite confesse my selffe to remaine your honours bound for ever, geves me courage the more boldlie noue to charge and burden you in these my small adoes. The losse my brother in laue Mr. Samuele Cokburne and I sustanitt be sea, our coffres being robbed be sume Englishe pirates att our departure from London in the companie of Colonel Steuart, then ambassadour for our King, is nocht unknauin to your honour. At quhicke tyme be the advis of Mr. Boues, then ambassadour in Scotland for the Quenes majestie, we gave up the soume our losse did extend to; quho for the guid will and affection he bur us promisit us then redresse. In lyke maner at your honours cumming in Scotland we did give you itt also to understand quhat favorable answer we reportitt then of your honour, I doute not ye do keip sufficientlie in mynd. And nowe understanding the same pirates quho did spoyle our ship to be taken, and come in hir majesties handes, ve have thoucht expedient to send this young man Jhone Douglas, servaunt to my brother Mr. Cokburne, to avaite upon your honour, to see quhatt redresse ve might heve of hir majestie for our sustenitt skaythe. I doute noct bot your honour will furder this our suite." Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. DOUGLAS.

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

Elizabeth.
1584.
April 16.

60. Mr. John Colvile to his Brother [William, Laird of Cleish].

"My loving brother, I resavit your letter ye xiiij. of yis instant quhicke wes weray acceptabill to me in all, saving quhair yow gif me moir prais nor I can deserve. Quhat ye haif writtin in name of ye nobill men my weray good lordis wyth me hes sufficient credeit as ye desyre, and your faythfull and honest cair in yis good caus hes purchasit to your self no small reputation wyth otheris. Reserving ye substance of your articles, bot adding tharunto sum other petitions most necessare for ye tyme, and omitting sum thingis mentionat be zow quhicke can noct be desyrit presently wythout prejudice of ye caus, I haif reducit ye hoill to ye form wythin inclosit. The particular answeris tharunto can noct be so hastely obtenit as yow beleif boyth in respect of ye gravite of ye said matter and present occupation of yis estait as weill wyth domestique as foren affaris. Bot in generall hir majeste be expressing hir gratius and motherly cair of ye said nobill mennis weildoing declaris evidently hir loving affection to thame. For except thai find thame self of sufficient strenthe to wythstand thair enemeis sche is afrayit to se thame interpryise, esteming wyth hir self yat gif ye said nobill men sall perische then sall sche be destitut of so mony faythfull freindis. Forder, your letter desyris no particular answer till ye lordis be convenit and ane commissionar send hidder from thame to conclud wyth hir majeste in sic form and maneir as hes bein usit heirtofor at all tymis quhen hir ayid hes bein implorit. Moreower this estait hes never interit in deling wyth Scotland sen hir majestes coronation befor yai persavit ane honorabill partie upon ye feildis men, tending ane innocent and just cause, as yow may weill remember ye experience yarof quhen hir majeste send secours for recovering ye toun of Leithe, ye castellis of Hammeltoun and Edinburge, and of lait quhen as hir majeste send hir army to ye Borderis to haif joynit wyth ye Scottis power for delyvery of ye erll Mortoun, Because scho fand none to concur wyth hir at yat tyme scho wes compellit wyth sum schame to dismis hir army, quhiche giffis hir terrour to commit ye lyck error in tyme cumming. This I spek noct yat hir majeste wald ony vay puts thame to interpryis, for of trouthe sche is scho afrayit for ye event of thingis yat scho dissuadis yame from ony attempting, lest thai suld incur danger and wrek to yair self, and so being ruynit sche agknawlegis yat sche suld be so muche ye moir infirm vanting ye strenthe of so faythfull freindis."

"*Item*, Cudde Armorer is directet heir from ye Kingis majeste and Arren to hir majeste and my Lord Hundsden, offering to hir yat thai sall follow hir counsale and awys befor all other princis, protesting yat gif hir majeste will send ony indifferent nobill man to Scotland he salbe usit and honorit as apertenis. To quhom ye practesis and conspiraceis of his rebellius subjectis now distressit sall so manifestly be opinnit yat his part and arrenis sall appeir most honest and laufull, and ye intention of ye distressit subjectis most odius and detestabill. Adding yerunto yat of lait about ye latter end of ye last monethe ane convention of rebellius wes assemblit at Sanctjhonstoun, quhairof Gowry, Mar, Glamis, wer principallis togidder wyth Glenkarn and Atholl, quhairin wes concludit to attempt sum

Elizabeth.
1584. thing aganis his majeste, alleging yat ye same wes revelit to his grac be ye said Atholl and Glenkarn, and in yis legation ye said distressit ar callit men of no force nor courage, and noct secreit amang yame self, inquiet spreittis and suche as every monethe hes ane new assignation to practise, and zit laikis boyth power and valour to execut ye same, wyth ane number of lyik plausibill persuasions to alluir hir majeste to trust thame, and contryvit calumneis to mak ye said distressit odius and contemptibill. All theis objections I haif to anser wnto, qwicke wer to me ane burthing importabill wer noct ye firm and constant good affection yat I find in hir majeste and sum of hir nobilite. And tharfor ye sooner yat ze hest your commission hidder ye soner sall ye resaif particular anser. For me I am aschamit to ly heir agent quhen as my good lordis salbe in danger of yair lyvis. For, as ye Lord juge my saull, I desyir noct to leif efter yame, and tharfor I pray zow sollicit yair lordships that how soin one can be send heir yat I may be licensit to return to yame to tak part of yair fortoun. Zit lett none in ony vay be directed till ye said nobill men be first on ye feildis. For to say ye treuthe, yis mutabilite in aponting every monethe ane new dyat and sending advertismentis so variabill disgracis our nobill men werey muche, and importis no small danger to ye hoill cause. Ye resoneis, gif advertismentis had bein send to England befor ye execution of Dave [Rizzio], the taking of ye quein at Falsyid, and of Arren at Ruffen, I think none of theis good actions had ever bein effectuat. Bot zow knaw eftir all theis interpryses wer execut hir majeste ever comfortit ye interpryseris yerof in all lesum maneir, albeit sche wes noct meid privy to yair intentions. Cheiflie efter ye lait attemptat at Ruffen. It is in fresche remembrance how tymusly Sir Georg Cary and Mr. Robert Bowes hir majestes ambassadoris arryvit to contenance ye said cause. Bot now quhen men dois no thing bot sittis doun to advyse, quhen it is hie tyme to draw sword and defend, and will ly still in ye myre unsturring, expecting till sum freind passing by sall pull yame out, it apperis weill thai ether diffyrd in ye equite of yair cause orellis are bevichit and sensles, and yat yai can feill no thing till thai be led to ye skewlis as wes ye poor Erll of Mortoun. Gif matters were resolutly ponderit, quhat more consultation nedit, seing religion, ye Kingis honour and all good men in yis extreme danger? Bot first couragiusly suche as ar grevit to joyin togidder in secreit maneir for ye Kingis delyverance, as wes done at Ruffen. Or gif this can noct be, then to convein at sum convenient place opinly publis proclmation to the pepill for declaration of yair laufull and just cause, and to persew ye present abusaris till ether thai wer apprehendit or ellis reducit to sum extremite; quhiche form of doing vald compell thame to offer better conditions to ye distressit nor othervyis can be obtenit. The experience yerof wes laitly sein at Falkirk, and gif yair be nether strenthe nor courage to performe nether ye one nor th' other of theis two forsaid, then quhat restis moir bot to preserve yair lyif the best way thai can till thai may recover greter strenthe and assistance, Kieping yame self as ye auld Erll of Angus said 'to be loos and levand.' This I spek noct to puls ye nobill [men] to commit yame self to danger—for yair preservation is my gretest cair. Nether is it to be thocht yat ony gret matter can be achyvit wythout danger: nether aucht danger be respectit quhair mennis honour, quiet of yair natyve cuntre, yair

Elizabeth.
1584. King and religion is [in] danger of perissing. And ye moir dangerus thingis seim to be ye moir aucht men to imploir ye help of yair omnipotent God, who wythout all doubt will ever mantein ye just and innocent caus, as of his goodness he has ever done heirtofor, bot most cheiflie quhen to ye eis of ye warld ye same hes semit to be most desperat and infirm."

"Till I resaif your anser I sall use all good offices yat may send to ye furtherance of this good caus. So my loving brother, God be wyth yow, be of good courage; for He that culd mak ane pathevay in ye Reid Sea and preserve poor Mordochai from prood Haman, Jonas in ye quhalis belly, Susanna from ye fals witnes, zea He quho in my sycht wythin Scotland hes done as gret mervellis for his afflicted pepill as ony of ye former, hes He noct zit sufficient strenthe to releis ws if we sall wyth uprycht conscience and innocent handis imploring His help appeill to His mercy and protection. To conclud, I pray ye eternall and mercifull God to grand ws uprychtnes of mynd conformabill to ye equite of our caus, and then sall be no dout of good succes." London.

3 *pp. Copy in John Colvile's hand. Indorsed by him:* "Copy of my last letter send to Scotland." *Also indorsed by Burghley.*

April 18. **61.** ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. XIII. Whereas the French King has by his letters made request to her that this gentleman, one of the Secretaries of his Chamber, might be suffered to have access to the Queen of Scots to treat with her about some private causes that concern the Duke of Joyeuse, in the presence of some she should think good to send in his company, to gratify the King in his request, the letter he sent being written with his own hand, she is content that his servant shall have access to her. Has appointed the bearer, her servant Wade, to be present with him [Shrewsbury] at the conference. They two only are to be suffered to enter into the castle where the Queen of Scots remains, and the rest of their company are to abide in some place where he shall think meet, until their return; with a special restraint upon all the Queen's servants from repairing to them during the time of their abode there. As the Queen of Scots may haply make some show of dislike to this kind of proceeding as over strait and severe—" and yet considering her dealyng under hand by imployment of sondrye secreat messengers, perhaps not to the best purposes, she may in a sorte scorne "—then her pleasure is they shall let her know that she does it but for form's sake, to make it appear to the world that there is some orderly kind of proceeding used in her restraint, "being otherwyse ignorant what meanes and persons are by her employed under clowdes, as she supposethe, withowt eyther your knoweledge or owre permyssyon."

1 *p. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand.*

Fair copy of the same. Indorsed: "1584. 18 Aprill. M[inute] of hir Majestes lettre to the Earl of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Waad. Scottish Queene."

April 19. **62.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII. fol. 13. By sundry letters and messages I was credibly advertised that Colonel Steward was quietly sent with 100 men on Tuesday last to

Elizabeth.
1584. apprehend Gowrie at Dundee, and that he arrived at Dundee on Wednesday last about 3 o'clock in the morning, and there environed Gowrie's house. Who defended and kept the same against Stewart until 3 in the afternoon of that day. At which time, by express commandment come from the King to Crawford, Provost of that town, and all the rest—Crawford was not present—the town put themselves in arms against Gowrie, and thereon he yielded himself to Colonel Stewart; who, doubting to convey him by land, is purposed to bring him to Leith by sea, in the same ship that he had prepared to sail to France in. The post brought knowledge of this matter to the Court on Thursday last, whereupon great joy is made there, and it is thought that Gowrie shall hardly escape with life. Nevertheless, many judge that his apprehension is with his own accord; for he had warning sufficient, and once returned from Dundee to St. Johnstone's with purpose to go hastily again to Dundee. But of his doings herein there is no certainty, neither is it likely that he would play such a part in the case that he and matters presently stand in. I received intelligence hereof yesterday by sundry letters and messages. Nevertheless, I gave no great credit to it, which caused me to defer my letters to you until this morning, when by an especial letter brought me out of the Court I was credibly certified of all the circumstances rehearsed, so that I perceive the Court is verily persuaded that Gowrie is thus taken, and shall be brought to Leith by sea with all possible surety and speed.

The Court continues in great joy and quietness without any guard or watch or great number of noblemen, other than Huntly, Montrose, and the ordinary courtiers. I look to receive further advertisement within few days. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *No flyleaf, etc.*

April 19. **63.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Was promised, and excepted to have had intelligence yesternight or timely this morning how all this proceeded in this tryst and purpose resolved to have begun yesterday. But having received no knowledge thereof, as yet, he doubts that the apprehension of Gowrie has stayed and altered the execution of the former resolution from being put into practice yesterday, and for which he was given to understand on Tuesday last that all things, and all the parties were in readiness, intending fully to keep the appointment, so that he thought verily it should have taken effect according to the determination set down. How it stands presently, he knows not; for his friends and such as give him advertisement are gone towards the tryst. Trusts they will shortly send him some certain knowledge of all things. Albeit the delay of intelligence promised him, and this late accident against Gowrie give him some cause to distrust the good progress of matters as they were intended, yet he suspends all things till his next advertisements. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Elizabeth.
1584.
[April 20.]

64. Mr. John Colvile to Mr. William Davison.

"Zisternyct thair came advertisment from Mr. Bowes yat Gowry wes takin be colonell Stewart, quhairby I wes in opinion yat ye rest of ye number wes scatterit, and wes in soche displesour yat I culd noct writt to your worship. Now yis day yair is tuo paquettis cum to ye Secretary, ye specialite quhairof he culd noct communicat wyth me be resone of yis procession. Bot in generall he hes send me word yat all is weill suppose Gowry be takin. How sone I can knaw farder ze sall be maid privy yerunto." *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

¼ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 20.

65. Robert Bowes to [Walsingham].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 14b.

This morning I received advertisement that Colonel Stewart returned with Gowrie on Saturday last to the Court at Holyrood House. And whereas it was before signified that the Earl of Crawford, Provost of Dundee, was not present at the taking of Gowrie, as in my former letter is declared, now it is certified that Crawford, being sent before by the King to Dundee, entered therein on Tuesday last and kept himself very close until Colonel Stewart was landed at Dundee on Wednesday. On whose arrival Gowrie was on the shore, and seeing the colonel he retired hastily to his lodging, where the colonel, with the assistance of Crawford and the town, took him, and, as it appears, utterly against his will. It was purposed that he should have been committed to prison in Blackness immediately upon his coming to Leith, but upon sight of the new troubles arising he was still stayed, and is kept at Holyrood House. For on Saturday last the King was advertised that Mar with 100 horse had entered into the town of Stirling, and taken his mother's house there and the town, but he had not then gotten the Castle. The King and his Court are greaty moved herewith, commanding all men by proclamation and letters sent to all places to arm and resort to the King at Holyrood House, where, and in Edinburgh, the watch and ward are renewed and made very strong. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

April 20.

66. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.

The advertisement of Mar's coming to Stirling in manner signified by his other letter, is given him by his [Bowes's] friend lately at Court, and not from such as promised to send him knowledge of the first beginning of this action. Thinks it is true that Mar has thus taken the town of Stirling. But they begin in such sort, and make such slow expedition in going to Edinburgh, according to the advice of some of the wisest amongst them, that he dare hitherto promise very little of the success. Looks to hear shortly of these proceedings with better certainty. Received his letter of the 14th instant, and perceives thereby the alteration of the former resolution taken by him, chiefly proceeding by the report made by Cuthbert Armorer; which report and information of the King's power is partly confirmed by the late apprehension of Gowrie. But now the matter will be most

Elizabeth.
1584. evidently seen by the progress of the action thus taken in hand by Mar. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 20. **67.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Since the despatch of his former [letter] to him this forenoon, has received a letter from such friend as promised to write to him as soon as the parties should begin to enter into this action; and because the original letter is so "washed" and broken that it cannot endure carriage nor be read after any long delay, therefore he sends him a true copy of the said letter *verbatim* as it came to him. It is verily thought that the most part, and in manner all, of the well affected shall either take plain part with these lords or else forbear to come against them; and at present they are in good comfort to find friends enough and good success, the proof whereof will evidently appear within few days. A great part of the contents of this letter is well confirmed by sundry other letters and messages sent to him and received this day

By this, and by his other letters sent to him before, he may well perceive how he is pushed continually with such requests that he cannot satisfy, neither does he know how to direct his course any further herein to her majesty's best service and pleasure. Requests resolute direction how to deal herein, otherwise to be discharged from meddling any further in the same. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

April 20 **68.** PETITIONS OF ANGUS, MAR, THE MASTER OF GLAMIS, AND OTHERS.

"The effect of the peticions delyvered by the credit of Wylliam Colvile in the name and behalfe of therles of Angusse, Marre, the Master of Glamys and others, entrynge into that action at Sterlynge."

(1) Request that, for the advancement of the good cause in hand, and intended only for the maintenance of religion and the preservation of the common peace, amity, and good estates of both the sovereigns and realms, the Queen of England will send some of her ships to the river of Forth to be a mean to stay the civil hostility and bloodshed that may fall in Scotland.

(2) That some forces may be presently sent to the lords at Stirling for their support in this action.

(3) That by the show of some forces to be assembled on the Borders of England, such borderers in Scotland as be adversaries to the said lords may be kept at home, as chiefly Morton and Johnston in Annerdale, Farnyhurst in Teviotdale, and Hume and Manderston in the Merse.

(4) That she will let them have as much money as will entertain and pay 300 horsemen and 300 footmen for such short time as the cause shall require.

(5) Whereas they think they could levy the greatest part of the said men in the Borders of England, that they may have licence, or rather an "oversight," to get and entertain such English borderers as will serve with them for pay.

(6) That these petitions may be presented to the Queen of England,

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1584. and that they may have advertisement of her pleasure and resolution in the same with all possible expedition.

¾ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Indorsed:* "The effect of ye lords petitions."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 15. Copy of the same.

April 23. **69. [WILLIAM] WAAD TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Mons. Maron presented the letters of the French King and Queen with small declaration of the cause he had to deal in, desiring that he might particularly inform Mons. Nau of the same. This the Queen of Scots so accepted as if it had been a thing before agreed. But his lordship [Shrewsbury] would not permit it. Whereupon they had a long disputation, and in the end he himself is this day appointed to declare to the Queen of Scots in the hearing of Nau, who may aid her to conceive the state of the cause and her right as occasion shall serve. Mons. Maron has old acquaintance with Nau, as they both profess, and entering to embracing and speech his lordship [Shrewsbury] separated [them] and forbade conference.

The Queen of Scots began to address earnest speeches of complaint to him [Waad] in French against the Queen of England, which he requested he might hear in English. Her answers are best known to his lordship, for he [Waad] only came to wait on that gentleman and to be present at the negotiation. These she uttered in such sort that he could not forbear at large, and in plain terms, to let her understand how impossible it was for a faithful servant of her majesty to hear, telling her what all the world abroad think of her dealings, and that they admit the clemency in her majesty. Pointed out to her the dangerous course her son holds, to his utter undoing, which will be imputed to her direction. Told her that a greater absurdity could not be maintained, than to think there is any way in the world for her safety or her son's greatness but entirely to depend on the favour of her majesty, or to imagine that other Princes could be brought to favour her or him to any good purpose. Told her he was able to affirm, of his own knowledge, how her ministers abroad maintain the Queen of England's rebels with pensions, inviting them to pass the seas, a thing notorious, and dangerous for her in the end, "able" to provoke her patience and turn it to just displeasure. Laid before her that other Princes only entertained her to maintain a faction in these countries and to trouble the quiet state thereof. It is not in her son to offend her majesty, but if she has care of his doings, it is for compassion; for, were her majesty evil minded towards him, she might long since have set Berwick at Edinburgh.

Sometimes the Queen of Scots is in choler, sometimes in passions and moaning. She protests all sincerity in the last treaty, and desires to renew again her offers. She says she cannot endure to have her honour, the right of her successors and of her son touched. Told her her honour shall here be tendered, that those she most trusts in will most of all oppone, and that she can have no spark of hope without her majesty's favour. As for her son, if in time she does not provide, "he taketh a course to gyve acceptable newse to those that listen to here that of him which underhand they provoke him unto," and he shall incur the greatest reproof in the world if he shows himself

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1584. unkind to her majesty. Told her the only way to induce her majesty to give ear to her offers is that she remedy the occasion that broke off the last treaty, that is, to cause her son to take another style in his doings, and her ministers abroad to leave off entertaining her majesty's rebels. Incloses a letter from Mauvissière, by which he will see how he is both an advertiser and counsellor. There is a letter to the Queen of Scots from the Guise, "which appearethe not," and which he hopes by Shrewsbury's good order they shall carry back again. Mauvissière informs her of his [Waad's] arrival out of Spain without delivering message or letters, wherein he says it is thought he had secret directions from her majesty so to behave himself. Sheffield. *Signed:* W. Waad.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 23. **70. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 16.

That you may know what I have answered and said to the several petitions made by the lords in this action, and required to be by my means presented to her majesty; may it please you to understand that, first, I have informed Mr. Colvile, the messenger, that albeit her majesty's ships were in readiness to come into the Forth, as they required, yet the wind and weather may, peradventure, be so contrarious that the voyage cannot be performed in season for any profit of the cause. Wherefore it should be in vain to be at such needless hazard and expenses. Secondly, that her majesty had no forces on the Borders presently in readiness which might suffice to come safely and in time to the succour. Thirdly, seeing the King and his subjects put themselves in arms, and so near to her majesty's realm, that her majesty would therefore, haply, of her own accord and for the safety of her own subjects and dominions, give order to the wardens to assemble and arm. By which occasion the adversaries of the lords might be moved to stay at home with their forces. Wherein I left him in some comfort that her majesty, for the cause rehearsed, might, peradventure, give speedy order in this behalf. Fourthly, although some money might in time be provided and spared by some good mean, yet the men would not be levied in time to do them service and profit, nor the money to be safely conveyed to them. Whereunto he has replied that if they could assure the soldiers of pay in any convenient time, then they could readily get the full number to serve them; and for the sure convoy thereof to them, they would send intelligence by the next [messenger] how it should be carried with safety. Herein he chiefly presses and prays that the lords' request in this may be timely satisfied. Fifthly, and to the last, I said that I was no officer, nor had any power or warrant to direct any of her majesty's officers on the Borders to give such oversight to entertain any loose persons and Borderers of England willing to serve them for pay. Nevertheless, I agreed to commend this and all the rest of their petitions to your knowledge, to be further signified to her majesty as should be found meet, and that upon return of her majesty's pleasure therein I should do in the same as I was directed. With which answers he now rests partly satisfied, and will return this day towards the lords, thinking that they will shortly send himself again, or other like messenger, to receive advertisement

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1584. of her majesty's mind and resolution. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf, etc.*

April 23. **71.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 17. On the evening of the 20th instant William Colvile received his discharge at Stirling and arrived here yesternight with letters to him from Angus, Mar, and Glamis referring credit to the bearer. The messenger has informed him that the lords and their companies came together to Stirling on Saturday last,* and that on Sunday last the castle there—being in the custody of Henry Stewart, brother of Arran, and Mr. John Stewart, the constable thereof, and eight other persons—was rendered upon composition that Henry, John, and the rest in the castle should depart without hurt. And albeit liberty was given to Henry Stewart and the rest to depart, yet Henry being advised that some of his particular enemies lay in wait by the way to kill him, rather chose to tarry at Stirling, wherefore he is kept in the castle. That these lords continue still in the castle and town of Stirling with 500 or 600 horsemen, hoping that the rest of their associates shall be with them with all their forces very speedily, and that they were advertised at the time of the departure of this messenger that Atholl would be there on the morrow as well with his own power as also with all Gowrie's forces. That the same day the forces of Boyd, the Master of Cassillis, Barganny, and sundry barons in the north parts and in Angus, Fife, and other places shall shortly come to them. In hope of which succours and support they have entered into this action, which by a long proclamation, already published in Stirling, they protest not to be taken in hand in anywise to the hurt of, or against the King their sovereign, but only to draw sundry persons about him, and abusing him and the State, to due trial and chastisement. That the Countess of Gowrie came to Stirling, purposing to have passed that way to the King to have sought his favour towards her husband, and falling into dangerous sickness by her travel so soon after her delivery of child, she was constrained to stay some time at Stirling. Whereupon commandment is given that she shall not come near the King's presence by twenty miles. That Argyll sent an especial messenger to Glamis signifying that the King had sent for him in such sort that he could not deny to go to him with his ordinary household, and desiring Glamis to send his servant to him with his advice what he would counsel him to do on his coming to the King. Whereupon Glamis sent a gentleman to Argyll advising him to repair to the King with his household servants, and to let the King and all noblemen with him understand that these lords in Stirling are not convened to oppone themselves against his majesty or person, but to seek that some evil instruments about him, and abusing him and the State, may be drawn to examination, trial, and punishment by law, according to the judgment of his majesty and general convention of all the Estates or Parliament; which Argyll has promised to perform effectually and with all favour. That Rothes, Lindsey, and sundry others

* 18th.

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1584. carrying good affection to these lords at Stirling are determined to come to the King with their forces. Nevertheless, that they will in time inform the King of the true meaning of the lords in this action, and persuade him thereon to stay his forces and in nowise adventure his person in battle for such a cause, [and] that if their counsel herein shall be rejected they will then withdraw themselves and their forces. Is advised by other intelligence that the King is fully resolved to proceed in person against these lords with all possible expedition and violence, purposing to set forwards this day to Linlithgow.

Upon the proclamations made commanding all men between sixteen and sixty to come to him, his forces gathered at Edinburgh are very great; for few others than such as especially depend on the lords and parties in this action do disobey or deny to come to the King as they are commanded. The town of Edinburgh have agreed to set forth 500 footmen to attend on the King at their charges, and besides they have lent the King 11,000*l.* Scots to list and entertain 500 other footmen. All the boroughs and towns of the sea coast are commanded to come to the King, and they yield thereto. So that the forces assembled and coming to him will surely be exceeding great, and far above the number that can be gathered by the lords; who, notwithstanding, are in hope that all who come into the field against them will not enter into the battle against them and this action. At the departure from Edinburgh of his informer hereof the King and his Council were about to appoint the officers in his army who then were not chosen.

The castle of Edinburgh is not yet called for; but because the King suspects James Rede, the constable thereof, and has commanded the Captain to put another in his place, therefore the Captain suffers another to occupy his room, keeping him still in the castle and especial trust. And albeit the said castle shall be commanded to be delivered up, yet the Captain is hitherto minded to keep the same still, in respect that the charge thereof was committed to him by parliament, and with order that he should not leave the same by any other commandment or authority.

The King makes such haste to the field, and with such earnestness, that it is thought that the matter shall be brought to indilate trial. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.*

April. **72. Mr. Waad's Conference with Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Arrived at Sheffield with those gentlemen he had in charge on the 23rd of April, towards the evening, and presently repaired to the Earl of Shrewsbury to deliver to him the Queen of England's letters and that he received in commandment of her majesty. His lordship thought good the next day to invite Mons. Maron and him to dinner, and afterwards to give Maron access to the Queen of Scots. The Earl of Shrewsbury imparted this to him, meaning to use him [Maron] honourably with some entertainment, so that, abridging him in the rest, he should have the less discontentment. Delivered to the Earl of Shrewsbury a packet of letters from the French ambassador, all which he undid and opened, because they were not first consigned to Mr. Secretary [Wal-

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1584. singham] though he had given him commandment for receiving and delivery of them. The next day, after dinner, the earl sent for both of them, and asked him [Maron] what letters he had. He presented letters from the French King and Queen, and the Duke and Duchess of Joyeuse, [the latter two of] which his lordship opened: the others he thought good not to touch. Afterwards the earl brought them to the presence of the Queen of Scots, where Mons. Nau received them in the "outward" chamber, and, embracing the French gentleman, fell straight into conference, which the earl presently forbade. Mons. Maron seemed to excuse this through the gladness he conceived to see one of his old acquaintance. Whereupon he [Waad] took occasion to advise Mons. Maron to give no cause of suspicion to provoke the earl.

After they had done reverence to the Queen of Scots the Earl of Shrewsbury requested her to give ear to him [Waad] first, being sent from the Queen of England. Declared that the Queen of England having received letters from the French King with earnest request—which likewise he made to her ambassador in France—that that gentleman, one of his Secretaries, might have access to the Queen of Scots to deal with her about the releasing of certain duties due to her for certain lands the Duke of Joyeuse was in hand to purchase, appertaining to her by reason of her dowry, which request he joined with another, that her majesty would send some servant of hers to be present at his negotiation, for that the King had that respect for his honour that he would not fall into suspicion of dealing other than princelike, and to have like consideration of her majesty, therefore her majesty granting this his request, with the condition, commanded him to wait on him, having some little understanding in the French language, and she did this not for mistrust, but to satisfy the King's request, and that it might appear her majesty used that discretion which in like case was required; for the means were not unknown to her that she uses when she is disposed to convey letters and have intelligence with the ambassador and otherwise, which her majesty overpassed with other things, as that which she rather neglected than feared. Signifying thus much to her by her majesty's commandment, and that she would be content he might be partaker of what the French gentleman negotiated with her, he retired, presenting him, to whom she might, if it pleased her, give audience. She answered him straightway in French, that the French gentleman being sent from the King of France, her good brother-in-law, especial friend and ally, it was good reason she should bear that respect to him to entreat him that he would signify her majesty's pleasure in French; which he did so far as appertained to him. After Mons. Maron had delivered the aforesaid letters—which she opened, and slightly looked over—she enquired of the health of the King and Queen of France and other her friends, and asked what he could let her know of her son, or if he [Waad] could tell anything of his estate, it being a thing that seldom happened to her to speak with any who came from her good brother-in-law the King and other her good friends. Therefore, although the conditions were somewhat hard, nevertheless, it was a great comfort to her to have conference in any sort with any who were able to inform her of their good estate, and he would pardon her if she had asked of her son, having no means otherwise to hear from him.

Mons. Maron answered that Mons. Mauvissière had assured him that

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1584. her son was in good estate. He [Waad] said he had lately arrived from a long journey, and had heard nothing to the contrary. "I," quoth she, "but I have hard there was some preparation to civill warres in those partes." "Madame," quoth I, "soch a report there was, but it is like to be a false alarme." So she turned again to give ear to the French gentleman. Whereupon the Earl of Shrewsbury told her that he had opened the letters of the Duke and Duchess of Joyeuse, being from subjects, as he was, but had forborne to touch those of the French King and Queen. Wherewith she seemed to be greatly offended, and said in French, that thereby it might appear how hardly she was dealt with, that the King her brother was touched thereby, not she, who was subject to all such indignities, and as a captive endured whatsoever was offered her.

Mons. Maron in few words declared the request of the French King in the behalf of the Duke of Joyeuse, offering to confer with her secretary; which she greatly allowed, saying she never had given herself to understand those kinds of matters, but stood to the report of her officers, and therefore willed him to instruct her secretary particularly in the cause, and he should find her ready to yield to anything in favour of the Duke of Joyeuse, whom she loved for his virtues and fidelity to the King his master, as for that he had matched in the house she came of, always devout to the King of France, showing how glad she was of that alliance, and to see any who could make report to her of the good estate of those her especial friends and kinsfolk, asking for the Duke of Guise, and how he stood in the King's favour, as though she had heard somewhat to the contrary, using special words in the commendation of his faithful service, and so enquired particularly of all the rest of that family. In the end she showed how greatly she reposed in the amity of the French King, who, of all the brethren, had always showed greatest love and affection towards her, uttering great and especial goodwill towards him for these respects, and that she had been brought up from a child in France, of which country she had had that honour to have been Queen, saying she doubted not but in the end, when he should perceive how she spent in vain all her uttermost endeavours to recover her majesty's favour, that he would have that consideration of her miserable estate, which he, as a Christian Prince, could not but have for those respects before rehearsed, which she particularly mentioned. And turning towards me [she] began in very bitter words to complain of the hard usage she received, having sought her majesty's favour by all possible, and submitted herself in lowly manner, yea, far beyond what became her calling. Whereby I took occasion to desire her, if she meant to speak to me, to use that language which she knew very well, and his lordship understood best, because it was most convenient and "stoode me uppon" for my discharge. "Well," quoth she, "Mr. Waade, I will first answere to that you say the Queen my good sister doth knowe those meanes I doe use to have intelligence, which shee easelie may doe, for in good fayth I have none at all. And my lord here knoweth—if he were examined uppon his conscience—howe I have used all the means I could to assure the Queen of the soundnes of my meaninge, and howe there was a treatie begonne, wherein in what sorte she had delt she reported her selfe to the consciences of my Lord of Shrewsburie, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr. Beale"; calling God

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1584. to witness that she proceeded in the said treaty with all sincerity, which her majesty broke off. Whereby she found herself greatly aggrieved and deluded, saying she would make the French King judge of her actions. Whereupon I told her that though I was only sent to wait on that gentleman and to be present " to " his negotiation, being utterly ignorant of those matters, yet I had received so much of her majesty that her highness was moved, with great reason, to break off the said negotiation when that which she made the ground and foundation of her treaty failed; which was the agreement between the King her son and her to enter jointly into the treaty, which he utterly refused; and at that time her son took a course quite contrary not only to that she propounded, but to alter the estate of Scotland in persecuting, imprisoning and banishing all who were well affected to the amity between these two realms. So that it might appear her grace sought only to amuse her majesty, that her majesty's security might give time to the king to work that alteration he had intended. And how could her majesty conceive there was sound meaning when none should be left in the whole country who were well affected—I will not say to her majesty, but to that amity that was pretended? So that it was high time for her majesty to break off dealing where the foundation failed, and there appeared so contrary effects to that which was propounded. Which she answered, that she was charged with things contrary, " first, to governe her sonne, and that he did that which she directed," and yet that she could not make him condescend to enter jointly into treaty, which stands with no reason. " Nay, good Mr. Waade, for God's sake lay either the one or the other to my chardge, for both can not be, but I knowe there is no faulte in the Queen, my good sister, with whom if I mighte obtaine leave to speake withall I should satisfie to her contentment of the soundnes of my meaninge, *etc.*" Whereunto I said that, with her leave, though they seemed contrary, yet were they consonant, and both might very well be imputed to her grace to govern her son, seeing the course he took was like to that her ministers beyond the seas hold, and was at such a time when the King was to put in execution that which he had before resolved; wherein his refusal to join with her in the said treaty was the way, when he thought his practices so forward that they could not be withstood, to break off the treaty, so that in the meantime she entertained her majesty to that purpose by consent and agreement, as it might seem, between them. Here she said she was not so eloquent in my tongue as I was, but meant truth, " and had taken terme of twenty dayes, in the which if she had not obtained confirmacion of her sonne, she protested all the conference should be voyde and of none effect," protesting with all sincerity before God and her salvation, that she dealt with all soundness and integrity. " But," quoth she, " I remember what the Queen of England wrote with a dyamant, when she was in prysin:

'Moch suspected by me,
But nothinge proved can be.'

So whatsoever is done in the realme, or without, the Queen of Scottes doth it." Breaking out into bitter complaints of so hard usage to be kept sixteen years in prison and captivity, having her majesty's promise before she came into the realm to be received into her majesty's protection, that she was grown old in prison, her legs scant able to

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1584. bear her, her health impaired, her honour defamed, that nobody durst pity her estate, how she had besought the Queen [of England's] favour by all means, being an absolute Queen as well as the Queen my mistress, and of her own blood, and her nearest kinswoman, using bitter speeches of her misery. To which I answered, that I was sorry to see her break out in such terms against her majesty my sovereign and mistress, whose clemency and mercy being thoroughly showed throughout all her government, even in this her case was especially acknowledged and commended, and, however she took it, was abroad in the world accounted one of the rarest examples of singular mercy and good inclination that ever was heard of, considering the "provokementes" her majesty had received to dispose her to the contrary, the which other Princes abroad, howsoever they bear her in hand, admire and wonder at, and that we had seen in our time other precedents of contrary examples of some Princes for smaller offences than her majesty hath received, and towards those who were nearer to them than she was to her majesty. There she entered into extreme choler because I used that word of "mercy," saying that she was an absolute Prince as well as her majesty, and not her inferior, born from her cradle to be a Queen, and afterwards Queen of France by participation—the greatest realm in Christendom—that there was mercy in her majesty towards her subjects, towards her all extremity, and that she did not maintain the rebels of other Princes against their sovereigns as the Queen my mistress did.

"Madame," quoth I, "I doe beare respect and reverence unto you for the title you doe beare and for the bloud you come of, which I needes must honour, but when theire is question of her majestie my souveraine and misteris her proceadings you must pardon me if I forget and dispence with all other respectes whatsoever, and therefore I can not forbeare to tell you, that howsoever doth geve you that informacion it is a most manifest and fowle sclaunder, and I wolde you were as well able to cleare your selfe of parte takinge with those rebellions within the realme as her majestie is far from mayntayninge the rebells of other Princes. Truly, madame, it is a fowle and false sclaunder, whosoever affirmeth the same."

Then she seemed to impute the hardness of that speech to the terms I had used, as if I had provoked her into saying that her majesty had used mercy towards her, not being a term to be used to one of her quality. Then I showed her that the French King, being in the power of the Emperor, should have found himself to have been in the same terms if he had gone about to practise in Spain the subversion of that State; and any sovereign within the realm and dominion of another, conspiring against the Prince in whose kingdom he is, shall find himself to stand—notwithstanding his title—at the "devotion" of him he offends. There she made protestation anew that she sought especially the favour of her majesty, enduring all things with patience. But three things she had resolved never to abide, and rather to suffer a thousand deaths with all torments. First her honour, the second the right she pretended to the succession, the third her son, whom she tendered with that motherly love and affection that nothing should separate.

"Madame," quoth I, "the first God forbyd I should anie way wronge, and you doe come of that bloud that allwayes hath had

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1584. their honour in especiall commendacion. For the second, whatsoever you pretend or hope for for you or yours must growe of your good behaviour towardes her majestie, and entirelie dependinge on her goodwill, wherin you seme to repose the greatest trust and hope in the favour of those that you shall find doe most feare, that you doe chefelie hope, and will oppose them selves formally allwayes to your desirs. As for your sonne, he hath receaved the favour and protection of her majestie, as I may truly affirme, her onely care hath brought him to years of discretion, where I pray God he may governe himselfe not to procure his owne undoinge and overthrowe. Besydes, all the worlde will condemne him of the most ungratefull unthanckefulness that ever Prince incurred if he shall behave him selfe unkindely towardes her majestie." There again she said that she only depended on God, and on none besides, and that his rebels and those who sought his destruction, and were enemies, were maintained. Whereof she knew there were some about her majesty who had sought her life, and her son's likewise, and that she knew who they were, and [that they] were near about her majesty, using good words of her majesty's own disposition—which I took occasion worthily to commend. She "added" the long time of her imprisonment, and [said] though she was younger than her majesty in years, yet she was a great deal older to look at. Saying God would revenge her enemies and those who were the authors of her overthrow, as already He had done to the most part of them, "whom she stucke not to curse." I told her those who were at ease found fault with all things about them, saving that which was the occasion of their disease, which proceeded from the ill humours within them. "So you findinge yourselfe in this estate lay the faulte," said I, "to others, and loke not into your selfe, and for those you terme rebels, perhaps you can lay nothing to their chardge, but that they seeke to maintaine the amitie betwene these two crownes, whom I take to be the truest harted subjects the King hath, and doe marvayle that there can be anie so voyde of judgement and all common reason to thincke that the King your sonne standinge in those tearmes that you would conserve may finde favour in any other Prince whatsoever, her majestie only excepted. And syth you stande on those tearmes, I hold it for a most ungainsayable maxime that the King your sonne and you can loke no where for any comfort and advancement, but in the only favour of her majestie, to whom all the good subjects of the realme beare that singuler devotion, that whosoever deserveth her majesties displeasure shall never winne their favour, neyther is there any Prince in whom you may have affyance that will assist you in that sorte you doe pretend, and there is noe man of any judgement or common understandinge that can conceave otherwise." Whereupon, without naming any, I told her in indifferent terms what I had heard Monsieur Mauvissière affirm with great oaths, that I might perceive he spoke from his inward meaning. Which was, "that it should cost the King of Fraunce forty millions before eyther the Scottish Queen or her sonne should ever come to obtaine any thinge in their pretended right of succession."

"You shall finde, madame," quoth I, "abroade that will entertaine you to mayntaine a faction within these realms to trouble the estate of them both, and to drawe you in hatred of the best disposed subjectes,

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1584. or so to miscarie somwayes, but for further assistaunce they meane you none. Who are sorrie of your detention, but not moved with compassion of your estate (as you take it), but that you are in their opinion preserved safe to that hope which is their feare. For were you at liberty, they suppose that holdinge that course you began, or governed by the like advyce, consyderinge withall the humour of your nation, longe since some accydent might have fallen out, whereby they might have ben out of doubt. I neade not to expresse my meaninge in playner tearmes. This, howe you take it, I can not tell. But indede consyderinge arighte, you may thincke proceadeth of no evell will."

Here she gave me thanks, but could not brook those reasons, repeating her griefs, her woeful estate, and the care of her son, whom she wished might depend chiefly on the Queen, as she protested she meant, if it might be accepted, which she uttered likewise in French. Otherwise, she hoped her ancient friends, allies, and kinsfolk would not leave her destitute, complaining again of her imprisonment and misery, and how her enemies about her majesty prevailed not only to keep her from her majesty's presence, but in disgrace, seeming to doubt as though she had some fear of new troubles in Scotland, and if aught happened to her son she should fill all the world with crying out so loud that she should somewhere be heard, calling those who are contrary to his proceedings traitors and rebels; saying, though they might pretend some excuse when he was young, what can they allege now when he is of age, and so pronounced by the Court of Parliament? I said she should do well then to see him better advised. "I, but you will not let me," said she, "when I have offered it." "Beginne, madame," quoth I, "with reforminge your doings, that there may be some consent and conformity betwene your actions and offers. There is a moderne pollicy embrased of diverse Princes, whereof as yet I see no good effectes, and breadeth soch mistrust as there is more danger in harckeninge to treatyes, then difficulty in the dealinge. But consider in deede the doings and proceedings of that instant, both of your sonne and your ministers, and you will rather marvayle that her majestie gave eare to anie treatie at all, then that she brake of the same. Let your ministers likewise abroade leave of to maintaine her majesties rebels, fugitifes and evell affected subjectes, as they do most apparently, and I am able of my knowledge to say that they doe allure them with pensions to pass the seas, as though they wold inhabyt Paris with Englishmen, and some to nourrisshe a faction within the realme against her majestie. Let your sonne likewise surcease to proceade with that severity against them to whose chardge you can lay nothinge else but that they are well affected to the amitie betwene these two realmes, and that for that they doo conceave the weale of that realme and their Kinge wholie thereon to depend. You sayd ere while that her majestie did maintaine rebels of other Princes—a most evident sclaunder. In the meane season what is done so openly by your ministers and servantes? And we have sene so many practisces, conspiracies, and rebellions begonne, renewed, and stirred up against her majestie since your beinge in the realme, as the only favour of God hath wonderfullie preserved and delivered her majestie from them."

Her answer was, that she knew nothing of her son's doings, that her

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1584. majesty would not give her leave to send to him ; whereupon she had foretold her what would ensue. If the Queen had once trusted her, and she had deceived her majesty, then she might lawfully blame her. As for her servants, she said she had long since given them leave to do what they thought good, seeing the miserable estate she was in, and for her part she did not hear from them at all Which I said she could not so excuse, because the means by which her "advertisementes" had intercourse were well enough known to her majesty. Which she denied, and said I was not of calling to reason with her in that sort. "No more am I," quoth I, "to heare evell of my souveraygne and misteris."

There again she repeated her former griefs, and that no man could be well thought of here who was suspected to be her friend, and so her enemies [were] maintained, falling again to speak of the estate of Scotland, as though her majesty went about to trouble the estate. I told her that her majesty, if she carried any such mind, needed only but to shut up the passage, and not to hear anything out of Scotland at all, and in short time there would happen some shipwreck, and if her majesty had been so disposed long since she might have set Berwick at Edinburgh, telling her that her majesty, God be thanked, needed not to doubt what could be done against her, and if she had any care at all it was for the King's benefit.

Whereas, because she answered me so little to that I had often objected of her ministers entertaining her majesty's rebels, to whom all our Englishmen abroad resorted and made court, I said it was a course so dangerous for her that I marvel she would not take order in it, considering patience so often offended might turn to just displeasure. She answered me very resolutely in words and countenance, that "I should think that of her that therein she was fully resolved," and that she little or nothing esteemed her life, having so long continued it in troubles and captivity that she made no reckoning in the world to die, and that if heretofore she had any ambition, it was through the grief and misery of her long imprisonment quite quenched, her only care was for the preservation of her son, and that she had foretold her majesty what was like to ensue in Scotland if she broke off the treaty begun with her, protesting to be without fault for what should happen there, or otherwise practised by her ministers for her, moved with the grief of her hard case, still protesting all sincerity in her proceedings in that treaty. Whereto she called God to witness, repeating again the whole proceeding, saying she was a chopping-stone, affirming she had let and broken off some enterprises, which, if she would have given ear to them, might have overthrown this estate. And withal, as she did, [she] often seemed to mitigate that she had uttered in choler of her majesty maintaining rebels. "Yet, Mr. Waade," quoth she, "I will name you one," and said softly to me, "howe say you to the Prince of Condy." "Madame, I have nothinge to doe with the doinges of Fraunce, neyther am of qualitie to enter into disputation with your grace, but with any other I would undertake to defend the honour of that Prince ; neyther did her majestie afford him any assistaunce to any such purpose, and the same question was in Fraunce that nowe is in Scotland, that is, whosoever can possesse him selfe of the person of the King proclaimeth his contraries, be they never so good subjectes, to the King traytors and rebels. But touchinge that you

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Then she said that Morton was upheld by her majesty—a rank traitor. I answered, that as long as he governed the King in his nonage by the consent of the Estates, he was favoured by her majesty to keep that country in peace and tranquility for the benefit of the King. She asked me what other Princes have to do in that realm. "The King beinge then a childe it was a thanckfull charity to have that care over him," said I, "as nowe you solicite others to meddle with the estate, he beinge, as you say, of age, not to so good end perhaps." And so reasoning withdrew myself, as though I had been drawn against my will to those discourses, being sent to another purpose, as I had told her, to be present at the conference she had with that gentleman, to whom if her grace would say anything further, I was ready to hear.

Thereupon again she willed him to take some time to confer with her secretary, of whom she would take information. Which being said in French, and I somewhat nearer then my lord [the Earl of Shrewsbury], who was sitting down, being troubled with "his goutes," stepped to his lordship, letting him understand her speech in referring Monsieur Maron to her secretary; which his lordship straightway said did not stand with her majesty's pleasure, for that he had express commandment he should have conference with none but her. Thereupon we entered a new disputation, Monsieur Maron saying he did not see how her majesty meant to give him access to the Scottish Queen, and not to confer with her secretary, who was capable, and acquainted with these causes, which she said she never understood, but referred to her officers. "If you will talke of imprisonement or adversitie, I am able to say inough," said she in French, "of those other causes I understand nothinge." "Madame, as well may he set down his sute to make you understand the same, as declare it to another, of whom you should receave it; neyther have I soch commaundement to assist to any conference this gentleman should have with any other then with your grace. Howbeit, if my lord will graunte so moch in his presence, I will not refuse it to assist." "No," quoth his lordship, "I cannot graunt that which her majestie hath not commaunded." Monsieur Maron vehemently urged to have conference with the secretary. "Well," said the Queen, "you see howe it standes, the one refers him selfe to the other." Monsieur Nau then said that Monsieur Maron might depart as he came. "Therein I have nothinge to doe but to wayte on him," quoth I. "So shall I be excused," said the lady, "sith I am not permitted to deale in other sorte. You see he cometh to bringe me nothinge, but to take away from me," glancing again to her complaints. Whereupon I told her I perceived that revenge and other passions had filled up her eyes that she could not see what was her own behoof. Then Nau said he was secretary to that Queen as well as Maron, and therefore might deal in the cause by her majesty's meaning as well as he. Which reason being so impertinent, I said smiling, there was an order in France anew that no man could serve the King and any other besides whatsoever. That word "any other" the Scottish Queen took in very ill part, saying she was no common person, but a Queen, and the French King's sister-in-law, by whom the secretary was commended to her

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1584. service. "Madame," quoth I, "I speake it not unreverently, for in one of your cheefest officers the experience is seene; your Chancellour by name, to whom the King hath given six monethes terme to leave your service or the office he exercyseth under the King; whereof I report me to Monsieur Maron." Who could not deny the same, but would distinguish. I only alleged the same because Monsieur Nau used that kind of reason, saying "the faute is indede in Monsieur Maron, that delt not playnely with her majestie." Maron said it was not the request of the King his master that one might be sent with him, but his own offer to her majesty. Then my lord [the Earl of Shrewsbury] said all that might be remedied, for he might, in the presence of Nau, declare the cause presently, and help her grace to understand the same where there was occasion of doubt. Here we stuck long on the difficulty of the cause, which—to show how easy it was to conceive—I took upon me to declare, and told the Queen in English, perceiving that she was already sufficiently instructed therein.

In the end they accepted that his lordship's offer, but, for [fear of] wearying the Queen, would not enter into the cause, though his lordship would have had it done at one conference. Then falling into talk of the demand made by the Duke of Joyeuse, my Lord said it would amount to a round sum. "You see," quoth she, "they take from me on the one syde, and you on the other, but the Duke may doe me diverse wayes greater pleasure." Nau said that there was difference between the wrongs, "those there are in your goodes, and here you are wronged in your person." And I hearing this said to him I perceived he was an unfit man to be about the Queen, and one of those who ministered evil counsel—which she had no need of. "No, Mr. Waade," quoth she, "I am not directed by his counsel. I thanck God I am not of so small judgement, but am able to direct my servantes, though in these causes he hath more understandinge than I have."

"Madame," quoth I, "but those violent cownsayles have been the undoinge of many wise Princes, and you have had hard experience of them. But he that will speake thus at this time, what advyse will he geve to you in private cownsayle?" In the end it was agreed we should repair again the next day to her presence.

Going forth at the outward door, Nau began to speak to me in French; which I desired him to do in English, and before my Lord [Shrewsbury], who went before. The effect of the speech was, that it would please his lordship—since I was her majesty's servant, and here by her appointment—that his mistress might have some further conference with me before his lordship, to renew those offers she had at other times made to the Queen's majesty; the which should be in such sort as should be to her majesty's liking, and he hoped that there might great good ensue of my coming thither. I said I was commanded to wait on that gentleman and make report to her majesty of the negotiation, [being] sent more to satisfy the good respect the King had for her majesty, and to observe that discretion which was requisite in like cases, than otherwise. Howbeit, when that cause was ended, if her majesty would command me anything, I should likewise make report thereof to the Queen; but that I must needs tell him he does very indiscreetly to blow those coals he should rather seek to quench, aggravating the grief of his mistress with those specches, which served to no other purpose—as I perceived likewise by the Queen of Scots—

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1584. [than] that she supposes the dealing of her son and servants should drive the Queen's majesty to some sort of agreement, which is a wrong course, for she must first, by their proceedings, in other sort remove that suspicion her majesty has had so just cause to conceive.

The next day, after the Queen [of Scots] had ended with Monsieur Maron, having granted very willingly all that he could demand, she requested him to let the Duke of Joyeuse understand that she did it in his favour, more than in respect of the King's request, who had taken from her divers things in her dowry, and that she hoped he would be a means to the King that her reasonable petitions might hereafter be heard with a better ear, though she did not do it in that respect, showing how divers ways she was injured in her dowry, the county of Touraine being taken from her, and no recompense being made her as yet; how the Comte de Châteauvilain [Earl Chasteauvillain] had used her, making himself one of the King's Secretaries to defraud her of that right which was due [in respect] of the fifth by the purchase of the said county, and her cousin the Duke of Aumale's sister "had a fleece" from her, with whom she was in suit. Nau, because the request of the Duke stood in uncertainty, would have had Monsieur Maron to have made a valuation of that the D[uke of Joyeuse] meant to purchase, to how much it might arise. Which he said he could not do, being [willing] as occasion should fall out and be offered to him hereafter to purchase of those lands held of the Scottish Queen. The lands already bought could not amount at the fifth to more than 3000 crowns. In conclusion the Scottish Queen has given him a release of all duties and rights whatsoever [that] may arise and be due to her for any land that the said Duke of Joyeuse shall purchase anywhere of that which appertains to her dower. Howbeit the Queen [of Scots] said she knew the Duke to be so honourable that he would not let others use his name. It was agreed that the Queen should give him an acquittance and grant in good form, with letters to her chancellor and treasurer not to seize on any such land hereafter as the Duke should purchase of that quality, as already they had done; whereof she said she knew nothing, and that she would be loth to blame them, because, to her knowledge, they had not done so much before, and it might serve them for excuse hereafter. Maron set down articles specifying the lordships and villages already purchased, with a few lines of his hand to put the Secretary in mind that the letters to her officers might be accordingly, and in what terms the grant was to be made; which I read to my Lord, he looking on; and his lordship sent it to Nau.

This negotiation was somewhat the longer because Monsieur Maron did not well understand the Queen, who at the first very willingly granted it, but would be "informed to know" what she granted.

Mauvissière has given her advice to ask leave of the King [of France] to alien some lands "to make a peece of money"; which she has attempted by the Duke of Joyeuse's means. For they said that the King, having granted so many things to sundry persons out of her dowry, must somewhat recompense her in giving her leave to alien some lands, or otherwise—wherein she hoped the friendship of the Duke might stand her in stead—as likewise she has requested to make a sale of woods.

Then she fell to particular talk, and asked how chanced they not to provide a wife for Monsieur , seeing the King had no

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"Nay, madam," quoth I, "they take that which the other attribute to the Pope, and geve their whole obedience to their souveraine." "But, with your leave, you see not that the people have followed that example," quoth she, "which Maron did affirme." "Yes," quoth I, "if you looke into all estates heretofore, you shall finde none but sometimes by the Pope's meanes alone have been troubled, and the people stirred up against their souveraines, and commaunded not to obey, and especiallie in the Empire," dilating the example. "Yet," said the Queen, "a Pope shall excommunicate you, but I was excommunicated by a pore minister—Knokes. In fayth I feare nothinge else but that they will use my sonne, as they have done the mother; for Monsieur Mauvissière doth write unto me, that in Scotland they are like to fall into civill warres." I said I came, as I had before told, from a long voyage, and had not been seaven nights in the realm before I was commanded this service, therefore knew little of those things; howbeit at my first return I had heard such a bruit, but afterwards heard assuredly that it was a false alarm. My lord [Shrewsbury] said it was written to him that there was so such thing. Then her secretary brought forth the ambassador's letters and read so much as he wrote concerning that matter. "Nay," quoth she, "I am sure there is some soch stur towardes shewinge all her care was for her sonne," she herself was old, diseased, and could have no more children, neither was [she] to live long; she must love him for that she knew well he loved her, and she knew he had done divers things not requested by her, which he thought might please her, though there was a number about him who preached to him that he must not love his mother, "a hard lesson to a sonne to make him hate his mother."

"I feare you," quoth she, "your Borders be so nigh that you may let slip in men, for be my troth I heare nothinge from them thence, but sometimes by the French ambassadour."

Then she "fell" again to Monsieur [Maron], and said how she desired that the treaty with her majesty of the marriage might have gone forward, though many thought she should not have wished it, "for I should have ben of kin to them both, at the least I did hope to have been bidden to the maryadge of both my kinsfolkes else I shoulde have thought unkindenesse." Then she asked if there had not been a marriage propounded between the Duke of Savoy and the Princess of Navarre, which he [Maron] said he had heard of, and asked me what I knew, coming so lately from thence. I said it was true, for the

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1584. Duke had sent an ambassador thither last winter. But she said she thought he will not marry her unless she alters her religion. I "shewed" she was too well instructed, and that the Duke's mother was thought likewise to have been of the religion. Then she said she was little and pale, and like her mother, saying she desired greatly to see some issue of the house of Valois, which she loved above all others, whereof there was only the King and his brother—saying it was a good race. She showed little desire to hear of the King of Navarre, but talking of herself and her son, said they had not done as the King of Navarre, who was the French King's subject, and had borne arms against the King, and still "drave" the King to agree with him. Howbeit I said that the King of Navarre had showed to the King [of France] such special tokens of fidelity that the King had great cause [to acknowledge], and did acknowledge him for a good brother-in-law and subject.

Leaving these speeches, she fell again to speak at large of the treaty she had begun with her majesty, in like sort as the day before. Whereunto I said I had answered her sufficiently, and wished her—as of myself—to begin where the occasion of the breach was. Then she asked me what her majesty would have her to do in Scotland. "Madame," quoth I, "I have often told you that I have noe commission to deale in any thinge, beinge only sent to this purpose nowe at an end; neyther doe I heare that her majestie demandeth any thinge for her particuler, but if she harcken to those matters it is in the behalfe of your sonne." "But when it is not required," said she, "it is not well taken." "When his yeares and discretion were not able to governe him selfe, it was a charitable and princelie affeccion of a good sister and neyghbour to have care of him," said I, "and I may affirme that her majesties goodnesse and princely care hath brought him selfe to the age of discretion, whenc, if he governe him selfe well it shall be better for him; if not, the hurte shall be his owne." [She said] that she could not abide to hear that her majesty's care had preserved him, "for then," said she, "the Queen must confesse that she had intelligence with the rebels."

I said her majesty has intelligence with Princes, not with subjects, and that it seems now those be rebels there who are well affected to the amity of these two crowns and have showed themselves the King's best subjects. "Why should the subjectes of another Prince," said she," be affected to any other bot their owne?" "I say not to her majestie, but to the amity and good agreement betwene these realmes, whereon they as best affected to him doe see his estate and preferment doth depend." She said they were such as had held him prisoner, and while he was under age they might have some excuse, now he was of years, and that the Court of Parliament had so pronounced him, what reason was there for them? I answered that in all times it was a common practice, the Prince being young, that the contrary party always say their adversaries possessing the King hold him captive, as now the others say in Scotland and France; the experience we have seen between the Prince of Condé and the house of Guise. Again she returned to that she offered, and said she had told before the Queen sent Mr. Secretary that she should do no good unless she sent with him someone from her, which she would yet fain do; "for I knowe the child doth love me," quoth she, "and will not deale with the Queen without my advyse. I did offer to

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1584. make him to doe what the Queen wolde, and yet will doe if I may have assurance. I have but one barne, and halfe of him I will geve to the Queen, by my troth, with all my harte. She must not use him roughlie, but by gentle meanes winne him, for if you ride him with a rough bit, he will leape a syde as a yonge colte doth. I will undertake to bringe him to that passe the Queen will have, if she will trust me. Let the Queen trie me once, if ever I deceave her she may doe with me what she please. I offred my selfe to be voluntary prisoner." I told her she might do well for her son to govern him for his own good, for the Queen sought nothing of him, and what he looked for must come of his good and constant behaviour. Besides, the Queen was so well beloved that whomsoever should show himself of evil will towards her majesty should never get the good-will of her subjects, and so likewise she should think of those words I used touching her ministers abroad.

She oft would have had me to have let her understand what the Queen would have her to do. "I knowe there is not the greatest enemy I have in Scotland but will take my worde," said she. "The Lord Morton who hated me above all the worlde, yet did trust my worde."

Her secretary pressed me very earnestly likewise to propound what I thought his mistress might do. I said I could not do otherwise, and had already exceeded my commission, and that my Lord [Shrewsbury] might with a "becke" impose silence on me. Then she requested me to give her my advice. I said I "wanted for" my particular doing in the world, much less was able to give [advice] in matters of State, and especially where I had no commission to deal, and had less knowledge of Scotland than all other countries—not knowing the name of three men of account in all the realm.

"In fayth," quoth she, "if you had sayd you had not knowne three honest men I would have easely beleved you, for I trowe there is scarse three honest men to be fownde in all the contry." My lord said, "have you so good opinion of your contrimen?"

Pressing me further very earnestly to tell her my advice, I said, "when I wished your sonne to take another course, you say you heare not from him, nor knowe not what he doth, when I wish your ministers to leave of to practise her majesties subjectes, and embrace her rebels, you take no knowledge of their doings. So as I see it is to no purpose, and as I sayd, I am of all places in Christendom lease acquainted with Scottish matters, and desire not to enforme my selfe otherwise, neyther came so far northwarde in all my life before this time." Said she, "you may goe further, I hope, and to doe some good." "Nay, madame," quoth I, "I pray God I never come so far againe in any soch sorte." "Oh," said she, "in fayth I perceave what you meane, you confirme that to me that my Ladie, my Lord his wife, so ofte hath told me, that the Queen allwayes suspecteth those that she sendeth hither, speciallie if they seme to persuade her of anie good to be done, or some to beare good will to me or my sonne. I perceave you feare that." I answered that she mistook me "quite and cleane," for my meaning is "that I see there is noe good to be done, for you will have none of those in the realme that shall be well willers to the amitie you seme to wish, which howe it can stande I see not. If I wish your sonne to take another course

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1584. you say he is not directed by you, for you heare not from [him] at all, nor wot not what he doth, and yet you undertake to governe him. So likewise you take no knowledge of your ministers doinge abroade, if those that be well affected be about the King. He is prisoner, those be traytors that favour and tender the amity between these realms, yet your ministers abroade must continue to embrace her majesties rebels, to whom I knowe that there are by them pensions given, and a faction maintained and nourrished within the realme, so as I see not howe anie good can be done for her majesties service. Therefore I wolde not have your grace take me amisse, for, for my parte, I have all my entire affeccion so turned towardes her majestie that I have shut the other eye quite to loke no whether else, I consider no further, nor while I live will doe."

"Nay, Mr. Waade, but take heade though you be her servant, that you soe serve your misteris as you forget not God," quoth she, "for that you may not doe." "Madame," quoth I, "the dutie towardes God is of another quality, and in servinge her majestie faythfullie I doe service to God."

Then Nau said it seemed to him we were once entered into good terms, which he wished might be continued, and considered how it might be used, that some good might come of this discourse and of my coming thither, saying that I proposed that his mistress should cause her ministers to leave off to deal with her majesty's subjects. "Madame," said he, "my thincketh that it is reasonable which my lord sayd seemed to be a good course." And I said of myself I had in discourse adventured to say so much, because her grace might in so doing give her majesty some opinion of her good meaning, seeing that at such times as Princes are in open wars they always lay aside all hostility when there is any party of agreement or truce made, much more should she, propounding that treaty, in the mean season cause those offences to cease, "for I see you professe earnestly a good meaninge towardes her majestie, which beinge not beleved by the contrary effectes we see in your actions, I thought to reconcyle these thinges so contrarie. You may doe well therefore to beginne where there was faute fownde." Nau said that it seemed reasonable. She answered that already she had written to her kinsfolk in France to offer all service to her majesty, and to seek her favour; but since I had no commission, what should I deal further? and [she] greatly feared that there might ensue some wars in Scotland. What [with the] enemies she had about the Queen [of England] and the slanders raised against her, she doubted that she might be in somebody's hands who would seek to have the custody of her to make away with her, which she often repeated, and knew some would sue for that charge. Saying Huntingdon was her enemy, and said she and her son could pretend nothing for that they were strangers; that besides the Queen she had but two kindred in the realm, Hertford and Derby. Thus, as she said the other day, she could not endure to have that her right after her majesty touched. Not that she hoped on it; for though she was ten years younger than her majesty yet [she] seemed older by twenty years, that if she might come to her majesty's presence—which now she did not hope for—she would satisfy her majesty what flatterers she had about her, not worthy to come near her, who tell her of her beauty and her divinity, saying she would not flatter.

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1584. "Madame, I dare say none ever durst use anie soch tearme of 'dyvinity'," said I, "to her majestie, and who woulde so forget him selfe to use soch tearmes should not be admitted to her presence. Otherwise, God be thancked, her majestie is in so good estate as there appeareth little alteracion." Then she said Charles Cavendish had secret access to the Queen, who had slandered her—a proper knight! I said I had seen him in the Court, but never understood of such extraordinary access. To the other things I answered nothing, as she repeated often the same which before she had alleged and I had once answered, because otherwise we should never have made an end.

She said if the Queen [of England] would not hearken to her, she knew the worst, for "in worser sorte she coulde not be," repeating her misery. Therefore she would wash her hands, and she doubted not but her good brother, the French King, in the end would have some care of her son for the ancient alliance, with the like. I told her I knew none who went about to hurt him but herself, which her majesty might have done if she had had any intention amiss long since, which sufficiently declares the soundness of her meaning, and I dare say that never any Prince has had fairer offers than have been made to her majesty, if she had been of ambitious mind. "But I see you rest still where your trust will fayle you, and thincke to drive the Queen by indirecte course to that you desire, which is a cleane contrary way."

"I remember," said she, "what you sayde yesterday that one should say. I can tell you he knowes nothinge of his master's meaninge." Then she said she could guess who it was by words I used, and would have had me name him. I said my Lord [Shrewsbury] would do it at another time.

"Forty millions was moch," her secretary said.

It was his phrase, said I, to show how much it imported the King. "I, but I knowe," said the Queen, "he had rather I should be preferred than Huntingdon, which he will never endure." "I can not tell," said Nau, "what the French King would spend, but I know there are a number in England who would lose their bones before that should come to pass." I said, "how could it be she should treat with the Queen with the advice of such a counsellor"? Whereupon we fell to words, and he said that the day before he had "foreborne me" when I said he was not fit to be about the Queen, and began to enter into terms. I would not hear him, but desired the Queen, if she had given Maron his despatch, to command me what she would to her majesty. Nau still went on. I said I had no warrant to deal with him, neither did he seem to bear that respect to his mistress he should. Then he said he meant only to excuse himself, affirming he wished the Queen chiefly to depend on the amity of her majesty, but that he was servant to the French King. I told him it was hard faithfully to serve two masters. "I, but the amitie is betwene them that I may doe it well." "I, but all estates have some thinges so contrarie," quoth I, "as you can not agree, and this is a general maxime, that every Prince redoubteth the encrease of his neighbour." Then she said the French King would regard the kindred between them. "That, in matters of estate, Princes litle regard," quoth I. Nau said that was a bad maxim. "I say not what the bonde of

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1584. bloud and affynity are," quoth I, "but that especially they loke to that which is most profitable for their estates; howebeit I speake not of Fraunce particularlie, for I take the King to be one of the best allies her majestie hath, and nowe more then at any time heretofore hath with good offyces shewed his good inclynacion to embrace her majesties freindship." Then she said she was sure of her kinsfolk there. The time being well spent, the Queen said she desired to speak with me particularly before I went, and charging him [Maron] with her commendations, and desiring the Duke of Joyeuse to accept her goodwill and to embrace her causes, she embraced him.

Here I asked her again what she would command me. "Nay," said she, "I pray you let me see you before you goe, for I wolde fayne have some conference with you." I told her I thought my Lord [Shrewsbury] would not give me access to her, neither might I repair, being no otherwise permitted by her majesty but in the company of that gentleman. "I," quoth she, "but by cause he doth not understande the language it were not fyt to have him stande still in the meane season. I must shewe some respect to the King his master." "Madame," quoth I, "he must be my warrant, as I am for him, and he will suppose that your grace will send at least commendacions to the Queen." And as soon as the Queen spoke to me he was "crept" to the secretary. Then she told him in few words that she would charge me with some message to the Queen, her good sister; which was that she desired the Queen to consider how she had by divers ways besought her for her good opinion and favour, and proceeded in the last treaty with all soundness, "as she would report herself" to the consciences of my Lord of Shrewsbury, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Mr. Beale, that she foretold what would come to pass yet, if the Queen would hear her she would undertake to govern her son as the Queen [of England] would. Her majesty might consider how near he was to her; she would give her the one half of him with all her heart. "That she did of all Princes and above all other" only desire her majesty's favour, and would cause her son so to do. "If the Queen my good sister will trust me," said she, "I will never deceave her. Let her once make triale. She hath sene I foretold her what woulde come to passe, and let her send as ofte as she would, yet she shall doe no good. If she please I may send with her, I will undertake to cause my sonne to doe what soever she can require." That she had endured sixteen years' imprisonment, whereby her health was greatly decayed; that she could not live past five or six years, which she could be glad to lead with some contentment; she was not able to walk two "arrowe shootes" by reason of a distillation that was fallen into her legs. This her imprisonment she had endured with patience, and served as Jacob did to Laban, not only seven and seven years, but sixteen, which she had not done for nothing; some reward she looked for for this service and long captivity, which was to win her majesty's favour. Wherein she had followed that counsel my Lord Treasurer had given her—to abide with all patience her imprisonment, and in no case to hearken to any practice—therefore she looked for some reward, which was only her majesty's favour. But when she should be quite out of hope to recover it she would have no further respect, for worse could not happen to her than already she had endured,

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1584. and looked to leave her carcase in prison, therefore cared not what might happen to her, and would wash her hands of all, as she said often.

She was to make another request, for the recovery of her health, that the Queen would give her leave to go to the baths [Buxton], whereby she found great ease, which last year she likewise desired, but was deferred by the treaty until it was told her it was too late. She hoped this year to have that leave. Besides, as she had great occasion to give her majesty thanks for the comfortable promises sent her to punish those who were the authors of the slander used against her, so she besought her majesty to continue her favour, that they might be brought to light. Whereof one Topcliffe [Toplife] was one, and Charles Cavendish another. "Lettinge her majestie understande" the Countess [of Shrewsbury], my Lord's wife, did not bear that goodwill to her majesty she supposed, who divers time with her laughed at such reports, and now accused her. It touched his lordship as well as her, wherefore she trusted as a nobleman he would regard his house. [She] desired me to signify this much to my Lord Treasurer, to my Lord of Leicester, and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, desiring their favour towards her majesty in this suit. When we were in the outer chamber Nau desired my lord [Shrewsbury] he might speak a few words to me. First, he desired me to think that he was as well affected to this realm as any man "of a straunger" might be, and better than divers of whom was better opinion, as he would make it appear. And if he had used some words, that I thought he might have kept in, he did it as a servant, and before the other [Maron], in whose presence he was to show some other countenance than he bore. But whereas I had, as it were by way of advice, given her to understand that she might do well to cause her servants to take another course, that he had considered it with the Queen, and she would do it; whereof, on his credit and honesty, I might assure her majesty. And though the late treaty had had no effect, yet his mistress was contented to enter [into it] again if she might have assurance of her majesty. Therefore she should do well first to begin as he had offered, to command her servants in France to leave off all intelligence with her subjects; which he undertook, telling me how, the night before, after we were gone, he had conferred with his mistress thereabout, and therefore I might assure so much, and that he would continue to do all good offices.

24 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "25 April, 1584. The relation of Mr. Waades conference with the Sc. La."

April 25 **73.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR AN AMBASSADOR TO SCOTLAND.

"Instructions for A.B. to be presently sent into Scotland."

Is to inform the King of Scots that the Queen of England, notwithstanding his hard requital of her former care of his preservation, sends an express messenger to him to offer all offices of mediation that may tend to the quieting and appeasing of the troubles in Scotland. Is to tell him that if he had followed her advice heretofore given to him by sundry messengers whom she employed for that purpose,

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1584. these troubles would have been avoided. If hereupon he shall, in defence of himself and such as now possess his ear, charge the noblemen lately assembled at Stirling with being authors of the said troubles, he is to tell him that nothing can be more dangerous for young Princes than to suffer themselves to be guided by the advice of violent and needy counsellors, who, being carried with a desire of private revenge or of enriching themselves with the spoil of others, neither weigh their Prince's honour and safety—as men transported with passion and particular respects—nor the weal of the State they live in, and that she has been sorry to see that, by the instigation of such violent counsellors, he has taken so hard and "straynable" a course with his nobility, which she saw could not in the end but breed that dangerous alteration that has now happened in his realm. For the speedy avoiding of the inconveniences that may hereafter follow, she thinks he shall do best to receive his nobility to his favour, who no way charge him, but ascribe their hard usage to the ill instruments about him, and not to be so transported by a particular affection to a few to hazard the loss of the hearts of the most part of his subjects—especially of those who for their birth, their religiousness towards God, and their fidelity to himself in the time of his minority deserved more gracious usage at his hands than they have received. She can by no means conceive so hardly of him as to think that the same proceeded of his own motion, but rather from the advice of such ill instruments about him, who, regarding more their own particular than his honour and safety, have carried him into so violent a course of government, which has been the principal cause of the present alteration. Also, she cannot but let him understand how ill and dishonourably she herself has been used by those ill instruments, in that they have sought to persuade him—as she is credibly informed—that she went about to practice the making away of him. As her former actions and proceedings manifestly witness how free she is from any such treasonable and wicked intent, so will it behove him with the eyes of judgment and indifferency to look into the mischievous purpose that may move these men to breed in him this dangerous suspicion and conceit of a Prince to whom he is so near of blood, and his next neighbour, by whose amity or enmity he is to look for most good or greatest harm, and thereupon to weigh them as they deserve. For if it would have pleased those malicious instruments to have resorted to a very fresh and new example of her usage of the Queen of Scots, when she was moved by her parliament to proceed against her in course of justice, and she forbore from assenting thereto, they should then see, that notwithstanding her sundry and dangerous designs that tend to the disquiet of her estate, how far off and unlikely she is to assent to any such ungodly and dishonourable act.

Is further to let him understand that she thinks it shall be very necessary for him, for the better and easier curing the disease of his State, grown through the misgovernment of those violent councillors, to commit the same to a parliament. And that in the meanwhile, for the avoiding of the danger and inconveniences that may grow in his realm through the continuance of his affection towards persons so generally hated, he shall do well either to commit the said parties where they may be in safety, or to commit them to remain in

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1584. their own houses quietly, to the end they may be the safer from violence, which in times of such like alterations is commonly put in execution.

When he has proceeded thus far with the King, he is to let him understand that she has directed him to be used by him to pass also to the lords to declare to them in her name the purposes which she has for the preservation of the King, and for the appearing and compounding of the present troubles of Scotland; and therefore he is to require him to suffer him to repair to them accordingly for that purpose. And in order that he shall see her sincerity towards him and [that she has] no private respect for any party in his realm, he is to require him to appoint some honest gentleman of his party who is not touched with any point of faction to accompany him, and to be present and hear what he shall say to them as tending to the king's weal, and not to the favour of any faction.

Is to let the said lords understand, in the presence of such person as the King shall appoint, that hearing of the present troubles and foreseeing the great danger that the King and they themselves may thereby fall into, she could not—according to her wonted care always had of the King's preservation and of the tranquility of Scotland—but send an express messenger first to visit the King, and, as cause shall require, to procure an abstinence of arms and of all kind of blood shedding. Is to tell them that for her own part she carries so honourable a conceit of them that she cannot be persuaded their recourse to arms proceeded from any other cause than the regard they have for the King's service—seeing him abused by evil counsel—and for their own safety, "having ben over straynably prosecuted by the ill advice geven to the said King against them; and that if she had thought they had any other end or ground for their attempt, none would more mislike and impugn it than she herself."

In prosecuting the attempt she cannot but advise them therefore to have regard to the safety of the King's person, towards whom it shall behove them still to carry that duty and reverence that appertains, and to forbear from entering into blood in respect of their private quarrels, which would greatly discredit their cause, and give no less advantage to their enemies against them. Is to advise them to procure that such as have misguided the King may be brought to an ordinary trial and not violently made away.

Is to let them know that she wishes that they will, by all the means they can seek, to further the general assembly of a parliament, as the fittest and most convenient remedy to stay and redress the present mischiefs; and that in case they shall carry themselves with that regard for their duty to the King which appertains in the action they have taken in hand, they shall lack no comfort and assistance she can yield them to further the same to some good end. But in case the King rejects her offer of mediation, he is to let him plainly understand that though he cannot himself discern what tends to his good, yet she will not omit to signify to him that which in conscience she shall be persuaded to be profitable for him. And therefore as long as she shall see, and be persuaded that the noblemen's actions tend to his preservation and her own defence,

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1584. by removing ill ministers from about him who abuse him with false surmises, and lead him into a violent course likely to breed his own ruin and the overthrow of his whole State, she may not abandon them and leave them undefended in their lawful enterprise. She sees not how with reason she should disallow or mislike of their proceeding.

Lastly, for that it is very hard in this uncertain and broken state of things in Scotland to prescribe to him [the ambassador] directly what certain course he shall hold in this his negotiation, she leaves him to do therein as, in his own discretion, the accidents and circumstances happening shall lead him to. Only she would have him bear in mind these principal points following as the material scope whereunto she thinks meet the whole negotiation should be directed: (1) That the King's own person be in safety. (2) That he may be persuaded of her goodwill and desire to have him reign in peace and quietness at home. (3) That he may be persuaded sincerely to favour and follow the religion wherein he was nourished and instructed. (4) That he may be won not to give credit to such as are known Papists nor to such as have been favourers of the enemies to his title. (5) That he may likewise be won to favour and embrace such noblemen as have been constant in the religion and in the maintenance of his title from his childhood. (6) That the parties favouring religion, the honour of the King, and the amity of England may obtain their reasonable demands, live in safety in Scotland, and have restitution of their lands, offices or goods taken from them not judicially.

8 *pp. Draft with many corrections in the hands of Burghley and Walsingham. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

"A drawght of instruction for A.B. to be presentlye dispatched into Scotland:" *and by* (Burghley's clerk), "25 Aprill, 1584."

April 25. **74.** SHREWSBURY TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIII. My hearty thanks for the care you have of my licence to repair to her majesty. I must pray you for continuing therein, and that, according to my expectation, I may be shortly received in the same without so many delays. The sufficiency of Mr. Waad, who I doubt not will impart to you the whole that has passed here during his abode, makes the present [letter] short. Sheffield. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 25. **75.** DIRECTION GIVEN TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 20. "Copy of the direction given to Mr. W. Davison for the employment of the 2000*l.*, sent to Sir John Forster. Signed by the Lord Threasurer."

On his way to Berwick is to repair to Sir John Foster and receive of him 1000*l.* which, he is to carry with him to Berwick. Immediately after his arrival there, is to confer with Mr. Robert Bowes touching

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1584. the estate of Scotland, and inform himself of what strength the noblemen assembled lately at Stirling are ; and in case, upon conference with him, he shall find them in that state which carries reasonable probability that with support of money they shall be able to prevail against those who now abuse the King's ear and authority, " then shall you with th'assent of the said somme or the whole as betweene you shalbe agreed on unto some such personne as you shall learne by Mr. Bowes to be authorised for the recept thereof " [*sic*], taking of the said party an acquittance for such sums as you shall deliver.

If any greater sum shall be demanded of him, and Bowes and he shall see good cause to furnish them with it, then they are to send to Sir John Foster for the other 1000*l.*, and make delivery of the whole or part, as they shall see cause, to such person or persons as shall be authorised to receive the same. Is to give great charge to such persons as shall be appointed to receive the money and to such others as shall appertain to themselves, whose service they shall use in this behalf, to use the matter with all secrecy.

1 *p. Copy. No indorsement.*

April 26. **76.** [ ] TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XIII. Madam, since my last letter the " malcontents " have taken the town and castle of Stirling, that is to say the Earls of Angus, Mar and the master of Glamis—the King caused (—*) to be apprehended. He has been examined by (—*), me, and some others. He has confessed all their wicked enterprise, and that there were many others of their band, as the Earl of Bothwell, Marshall, Forbes, Sesford, and some others, and that it was designed by the ministers. God willing, the King marches in person to-morrow, and bears his arms. I hope that his majesty will triumph so much in these treaties that it will give occasion henceforth for respecting and fearing his majesty. (—*) will be put in safety ; the Earl of Bothwell will be sent back. The Earl of Lindsey will be imprisoned. Madam, write to the King to have remembrance of past times. Or, madam, write to the Duke of Guise to hasten everything, so as to put an end to these enormities. Thus, madam, I am content to yield to the importunity of the bearer in kissing your majesty's hands very humbly. I will pray God, madam, that he may give you perfect health, long and prosperous life.

Edinburgh, 26 April, from your majesty's very humble subject and servant.

½ *pp. French. Indorsed:* 2 May 1584. " Letter deciphred."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 40. Extract from the same.

April 26. **77.** ROBERT BOWES TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 19 b. Received credible information this morning that Colonel Stewart went forth towards Stirling on Thursday night last † with 1000 horsemen, promising " to knocke on Sterlygne walles " ; but he stayed long

* Cipher. † 23rd.

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1584. in Linlithgow. Afterwards he passed to Torwood, where some small skirmishes were of none effect. About 11 a.m. yesterday the King and his army marched from Edinburgh towards Linlithgow with 6000 men on horseback and foot. The vanguard [" vayward "] was committed to Huntly, Crawford, Arran, Montrose, and Rothes. The King was in the middle ward guarded with 500 shot set forth from Edinburgh. In the " rereward " were the Lords Sinclair, Somerville, Hume, and others. The young Duke [of Lennox] was committed to, and left with the Provost of Edinburgh.

The lords in Stirling being advised as well of the present forces against them as also of others gathering, put 80 or 100 men into the castle, and afterwards withdrew themselves from Stirling, for their forces were not above 500 or 600 men ; and such friends as promised to come to them failed and broke promise. Thus they are departed from Stirling and " geven backe " ; but cannot learn that they are wholly broken. It is advertised herewith to him that they are drawing together towards the Borders.

Bothwell is commanded to return to his own house, leaving his forces behind him. His servant, sent to Angus on Thursday last, was taken and brought to the King. Bothwell justified the sending of him, and that he had written and sent to Angus to give up kindness with them. Bothwell had arrived at home, but he is sent for again.

Lindsay is warded in Blackness. Coldenknowes also comes to ward, Cesford is commanded to forbear from coming to the King. Gowrie, as it is credibly reported, has confessed and discovered the whole matter and the names of thirty-two noblemen and great barons to have been parties in this action, persuading the King thereon to beware to proceed over hastily. Great reward is promised to any that shall apprehend and bring to the King any of the lords or parties in this enterprise, and they are publicly declared traitors and rebels. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

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

April 27. **78. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

Sir, I received your last, of the 24th instant, this morning, together with the occurrents certified herewith. I see here already myself—and better than I—so far condemned upon the evil success of this enterprise, that I look for nothing else but disgrace with the evil fortune of these unfortunate persons, foully betrayed and abused. I wish that the whole burden of the fault—if any be—should be wholly laid on myself, and that no part thereof should fall on those who are scorned and be, indeed, utterly guiltless of it. I am prepared to endure with patience all that can come to me, wishing with my heart that this triumph may not turn hereafter to sorrow, yea, in those who now think to have won the victory, and who may, peradventure, find no better faith and true dealing in Scotland than others have tasted before.

It is now high time, and more, that I should be set at liberty from this charge of intelligence, wherein I can do no good. I beg you to procure my leave with speed. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p.* *Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

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1584.
April 29.

79. Angus and Mar to Walsingham.

Whereas for the safety of the person and estate of the King of Scots, and for the preservation of religion, the common weal of their country, and the amity with England, likely to be brought into extreme danger by the subtile practices of some crept near his majesty's person and greatly abusing his youth and good nature, they, with the advice of many good men of their nation, have been persuaded and driven to seek due and careful remedy in this behalf, whereby their good intention is taken in evil part by his majesty, and they are forced to leave their country, and have arrived at Wark, Request the Queen of England's leave to remain in her dominion. Sir John Selby, deputy warden of that March, has brought them to Berwick, where they now remain. Purpose to send a messenger to him that he may signify to the Queen of England the cause of their action.

1⅛ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "The coppie of th' Earles of Angus and Mars lettre to Mr. Secretary, Aprill 29, 1584."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 21.

Original of the same.

April 29.

80. Walsingham to Mr. William Davison.

The Queen of England, upon advertisements from Mr. Bowes touching the hard case the well affected lords of Scotland stand in, has found it meet that he should forbear to proceed to Scotland until he shall receive further direction. Her pleasure is that in case he has not sent to the opposite warden to acquaint the King of Scots with the cause of his repair thither, he should forbear to do it. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 30.

81. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 22.

In long conference with the Master of Glamis—who, amongst these, best knows the true state of these matters—he perceives by him that the hard success in this late enterprise at Stirling has chiefly grown upon these causes following:

First, the friends—contented to enter into this action, and on whose assistance the enterprisers most depend—were not sufficiently dealt with and bound by express consent, intelligence, and bond. "In which behalf Gowry (after his accustomed and cold maner of dealing) traveyled with many; with whome albeytt he did nott conclude in any plane sorte, nor did bynd them to be redy to accomplysh such particler effectes as the rest of thassocyattes looked for att ther handes: yett fynding gud willes in them, he was satysfyed, and gave thother assocyattes to understande that they wold joyne and concurre with them, and kepe such tryst as was appoynted att Sterling."

Secondly, by the taking of Gowrie, all such as he had dealt with made reckoning that with him the cause was defeated. Whereupon they broke the time of the tryst prescribed at Stirling—being then within three days of Gowrie's apprehension—and afterwards they

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1584. had no power to come thither with their forces, notwithstanding that they knew that some of the fellowship had kept the tryst and entered into the action.

Thirdly, the enterprisers keeping the tryst—and looking verily to have found thereat their associates with forces sufficient—came thither out of their wards, and from foreign places, with small numbers, having no leisure to gather and bring with them their own proper powers. Wherefore they were not able, with so small a handful of men, to do any exploit at Edinburgh or present themselves in the field, as was purposed and generally set down.

Fourthly, such friends as had arrived at the Court and were in the field with the King could not do such offices as they were destined to, by occasion that the enterprisers could not show any head or forces in the field against them, so that by these occasions the enterprisers were forced to break and do as is already known to him.

For the proof of these four causes hindering the progress of this action he has opened to him many circumstances, appearing, he thinks, to be very probable. He [the Master of Glamis] is persuaded that if they had been able to have showed themselves in the field with 1000 men at one time, they should have prevailed without difficulty. Besides, he verily thinks that all their friends shall retain their former minds and resolutions, and that upon new and better form of dealing with them they may be readily drawn to amend the errors past, and that thereby the cause, and all the parties therein, may in short time be well restored. He is the better comforted herein, because some courtiers, and of special account, have since their coming hither offered great kindness and to adventure themselves far in the cause.

Upon hope of the constancy of their friends, and by the occasion of the new friendship proffered by courtiers and persons of good quality, they purpose to "deale backe agayne," as they say, and make proof of the resolute determinations to be concluded herein, and to be bound up in perfect and sound manner. And albeit there is good appearance of better events in these matters, yet knowing how weighty, and of what quality the same are, he dares not give any assurance.

Stirling Castle is simply rendered to the King, yet the lives of all therein shall be saved; for the Master of Livingston obtained the pardon of David Hume, the principal man left in the piece, and Sir Robert Melville got remission for Shaw. The King continues at Stirling, having dissolved almost all his forces, purposing to return to Edinburgh on Saturday next. It is hitherto meant that Gowrie shall end his life shortly, and Lindsay, now in Tantallon, is like to find small favour.

Has looked these two days for the arrival of one or two of his friends from the Court; but hears that they are driven to retire for their safety. Therefore he is occasioned, for this time, to commend the report of the present affairs in Scotland to the letters of others who without difficulty have the best advertisement thereof. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address.*

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April 30.

82. Mary to Monsieur De Mauvissière.

Harl. MSS. 1582, fol. 321.

The steward Maron's arrival and his conversation with her and Mr. Waade. Her letter sent to the Queen of England by Waade. Her letters to the King of France. Conspiracy of the Earls of Angus, Mar, Gowrie, and others. Archibald Douglas to travail with Angus, Gowrie, *etc.*, to lay down their arms. Her desire to send some one to her son. Report that young Seton is at Bordeaux concerning the marriage between her and Philip II. The Queen of England's intention to send the Earl of Derby and other lords to the King of France with the Order of the Garter, and to conclude an alliance with him. Her request that he write to the King of France. Report of the Duke of Anjou's death. Sheffield.

3¼ *pp. French. Copy.* (*Printed Labanoff, vol. iv., p.* 457.)

April.

83. Answer to the Distressed Lords of Scotland.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 27.

"The answere of the distressed Lordes of Scotland to the matters they are charged with, as followeth:"

"The three heades whereupon we were accused. First, that with twelve hundred men we should have environyd the abbay and upon [*sic*] seased upon our maister the Kinges majestee's person, which because of many impediments tooke no effect. Then, that we should have devised to have enterteyned fiftye men, and when his majestee's horse had bene weryed at huntinge, to have layde violent handis upon his majestee's owne person, and then have brought him together to the house of Douglas Conlage, or to an isle within Loughlevin; but because of delayes of tyme and impedimentis that occurrit therupon, we toke us to the third—most pernicious of all—that every one of us three, and the Abbot of Arbroth, should have suborned two of our owne servauntes to kill his majestee's most sacred person, they being disguised, with swift horses to eschewe when as they had accomplished their wicked purpose."

Our answer was to this effect, so far as I remember:—Surely the crimes are great that are laid to our charge, and so much the more grievous to us, that nothing being left presently by the malice of our enemies, whereof we are not "spotted saif," her majesty's good opinion of us, and our own honour, both of which by this calumny they think to deprive us of. Nevertheless, we hope in God the contrary effect shall be proved, seeing we have "obtained" at her majesty's and your honours' hands to be heard before we be convicted: which surely we could never obtain in our own country.

It is not unknown to your lordship nor to my lord ambassador, that ever since the first arrival of the Duke of Lennox in Scotland, we who are here present, and many more of the nobility, seeing the dangers imminent to the religion, the peril wherein his majesty's own person [was, and] the dissolution of the amity betwixt the two nations to be aimed at, sought by all lawful and ordinary means to remove such pernicious councillors from his majesty, as it became faithful subjects. "What we had for us that they aymed at this marke, by Godes grace hereafter when as we enter in the apologie and defence of our case, we shall make it cleare." But presently, because we are

Elizabeth.
1584. to answer to accusations laid out against us, we will not trouble your honours therewith.

It pleased God for a certain time to "renunce" such pernicious Councillors from his majesty. At which time we who are here present remained continually about his majesty, and occasion served us, if ever we had had any such malicious and wicked purposes in our thoughts, to have accomplished them without danger. And herein, my lord ambassador, we call you to bear witness as [one] who is sent from his majesty our master to have the truth tried, if ever during the time of our remaining with his majesty you saw any uncomely deed or [heard] any "unreverent word" towards his majesty, yea, or if ever our enemies were so impudent [as] to accuse us of such a crime. It is true it was then laid to our charge that we should have betrayed him for money to her majesty, and now we are burdened with going about to seek his majesty's life, when neither time nor occasion serve us to accomplish any such wicked purpose. How likely this is, your honours may easily judge. Neither do we speak this to the end that our loyalty and good service in times past should be any excuse for any treasons now devised by us. But at the least it may appear probable, having that same cause then as now, and occasion ministered to us without danger of accomplishing our purpose, and not doing the same nor ever intending it. It is not likely that ever such barbarous cruelty should have sunk into our hearts when we could not have accomplished our purpose without danger, nor lived without perpetual infamy thereafter. It is true, we must confess, that if time and occasion had served us heretofore, we might have "renunced sic pernicious counsaylours from his majestye who yet shootes at the same markes."

We know we should have done God, his majesty, and both the nations good service, ever keeping this in memory, that as the end whereat we shoot is godly and honest, so the "middes" by which we should work should be godly, lawful, and honest, and without danger to his majesty's sacred person. That these men prosecute the self same course that we have done, we by God's grace shall hereafter declare to your honours. In respect, therefore, of the evil offices which these men have done, and do daily in general to our realm, and in particular towards ourselves, we trust your honours will not burden us to make any purgation to them, whatsoever our intention has been, although we can clear ourselves. Yet seeing how prejudicial it is to our cause, and hurtful to our own honours, we do not look to be burdened therewith, as concerning anything meant against the King's majesty by us, we shall not only be answerable since our coming to England, but since our youth to this day, either directly or indirectly.

There are three accusations laid against us. The two first alleged to be devised by us could not be brought to execution because of the impediments that fell thereon. The third—a treason devised by us—had been accomplished if it had not been revealed. As for the first, if we had gone where his majesty was—which few desired—to be heard, [and] had moved his majesty to renounce such wicked counsellors from his company, surely we had done his majesty good service, and had been answerable for the same by all laws. But to answer directly, and not to trouble your lordships [with] what we must do by law—we never devised any such purpose. As to the second, that we

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1584. had 50 horse, and would have laid violent hands on his majesty and brought him to some of those houses or places, we answer, that if any faithful subjects on foot or horse, many or few, might move his majesty to see the peril and danger imminent, *etc.*, and moved his majesty upon good reasons to withdraw from their company to any place sure for his majesty's own person, *etc.*, we never devised any such purpose. As to the third, surely we abhor speaking of it. And if ever it came to our thought—much less to be spoken by our mouths, and executed by our device—we are not worthy to live or receive breath—much less to be received within her majesty's dominions.

It was answered us, as I remember, that for the verifying thereof, and especially of the first two heads, there was the Laird of Dumfries's deposition, the speech delivered by one Robert Hamilton of [ ], the Lairds of Drumwhassel and Mains executed for the same, and letters alleged to the same effect, sent by some of us to the Laird of Dumfries by one John Hume. Being demanded if we sent any letters by the Laird of Dumfries, our answer was that since our arrival in England all the good men in our country being discontented, we received money, and many received the like of us, but that we never sent any letters to the Laird of Dumfries or any other that might import hurt to his majesty.

It was then demanded if we sent any to [the Laird of] Dumfries at all. Our answer was, that although it was no fault on our part to send letters to Scotland, provided that they were not prejudicial to his majesty or his State, yet such was the violence of our enemies that if they only received a commendation from us they were straightway examined. And for verifying thereof we declare the execution of one David Hume. So that it behoved their honours to bear with us, although we did not answer to that point, if we had sent letters into Scotland, lest we should by purgation of ourselves appear to accuse others, it behoved us to abstain from answering to that point.

As to the proofs laid out against us, we desired that either at that time or thereafter my lord ambassador would declare what were the depositions of the Lairds of Drumwhassel and Mains. He declared that the Laird of Drumwhassel ever denied knowledge of such purpose, but was convicted upon a practice conspired against the Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Arran, as he reported. So to that we made no answer, because we were not accused thereof. As to the Laird of Drumwhassel, he said he was convicted on his own confession upon foreknowledge and concealing of their purpose, whereunto he said he never consented. But in respect that he did not charge us with having intelligence with Drumwhassel upon these matters, it was "importment" to us, although we heard say Drumwhassel passed with another resolution to Edinburgh. But thus much we answered, "de iis qui non sunt et non extant idem est judicium."

As to Francis Hamilton, we know not such a man, nor have we heard anything but his name.

As to the Laird of Dumfries, "I knewe him not well." But this we know of him, that he professes himself plainly the Duke of Lennox's man, who brought a commission from the Duke of Lennox to the King's majesty, had his lands of him, received good deed of him, was in good favour and credit with him, was made knight when he was made Duke, near in blood, as we understand, to the Earl of Montrose

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1584. whose uncle has married his sister and is detained in the hands of our enemies. If either by violence this be drawn from him for fear of his life or by persuasions induced to speak this, or if he has spoken it at all, or if any other person has overcome him, we trust so much in his own honesty that if he were here present he would never say that ever we devised such purposes. But if he were induced thereto, what could the testimony of one man prove?

As to the third, it was alleged that we only used a simple "negon" in so great matters, and so clear for verification. Wherefore he alleged that the Laird of Dumfries, looking for nothing but death after his first confession, and finding himself grieved in conscience, revealed this last barbarous and cruel conspiracy. "Who being brought in judgment when he was convicted, afore his conviction, this his confession of his foreknowledge of this last treason being redd out in the audience of five hundred persons, and knowledge thereof comeing to us we absented John Home thereupon; so that the confession of the Lord of Dumfreis and the flieinge of John Home, who toke the deed on him by not compearance, should serve against us for two wittnesses, so that it was sufficiently proved."

Item, we answered that to matter which we knew not, we could say no more but deny. As to the probations alleged by him concerning the Laird of Dumfries, we are thus much persuaded of our own innocency and of his honesty, whosoever he be who might be confronted with us, he should never stand by such a deposition. Or if he did it should evidently appear he never had anything from us for the same. And hereupon having nothing left but our lives and honours, we offer to "engage" the same. If he might ever be confronted with us we should appear innocent to all men, and herein earnestly insisted that Dumfries might be brought to confront us. For we are assuredly persuaded that such a fact as this could never sink into any Christian breast.

As to John Home, it is not unknown to your lordships that we were not able to entertain our whole company in these parts, and thereupon left many of them, and him among the rest, to see what they could do for themselves at our coming forth of Newcastle, not knowing at that time that any such purpose as this was laid to his charge. We have exhibited all such as we had with us, because, if we were not able to entertain him and his with us, and they are passed away to such places as we know not, and are not able presently to produce them, whatsoever things shall be alleged against us therein, your honours will not esteem it equitable; for some of those who "are in" this deposition are in France, and some in Spain, and have been there this year and more, whom we are not able to produce; yet they are alleged to be executors of this barbarous fact.

Hereunto my lord ambassador replied that it came enough to our knowledge before John Home departed forth of our company. Whereunto we answered the contrary was most certain. Thereupon he called for his servant and brought forth Dumfries's first deposition, as he said, which was of the 8th of February; so that his "convicting behoved" to be at the soonest the 9th or 10th of the same month. Which day we answered that we came forth of Newcastle, and alleged that we had written the same to her majesty and some of the Secret Council. The ambassador then said that it was the 10th day of March that we removed. Whereunto we answered

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1584. that we were in Stamford at the time of his coming, which was in February. We were in Cambridge [" Trimerage "] the time of the Commencements, which were in February also. We came to Norwich, as we understood, the 27th of February. So that, departing forth of Newcastle the 10th of February, at which time John Home departed from us, it is manifest that Dunketh's conviction or his deposition could not be to our knowledge, whereupon we should have absented John Home. But the verity of all these matters would appear if Dumfries were here produced, and we had him to be confronted.

7⅓ *pp. Copy.*

April. **84. Opinion concerning Scottish Affairs.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 32. " My opinion concerninge the Scottish effaris, presentit to my Lord Secretary."

The King [of Scots] is enemy to the Queen of England and her estate; which needs no probation, for it is manifest. Therefore " I conclud that his felicite is his infelicite." But if it shall appear to some that he may be reclaimed, then shall it be necessary to reclaim him in such sort as shall not be prejudicial to the distressed, her majesty's faithful friends.

That neither the King's present estate—although it seems to flourish—is so happy, nor the condition of the distressed lords so desperate as men judge, he proves, comparing his form of government with his mother's in this sort. He be led by the same counsel that governed her, and so far as he has yet proceeded in his actions, resembles hers in all points, at least it is no better; *ergo*, his happiness must be as transitory as hers was.

That his actions past resemble hers he proves thus: at her first coming to Scotland she was " in good bruit " about two years, as long as she used the godly counsel of the Earl of Murray. So was there good expectation of the King about fourteen years, so long as he followed the good advice of such as professing the true religion preserved him in his youth. After the expelling of the Earl of Murray from Court he began manifestly to maintain Papists to persecute John Knox [" Lenox "] and sundry others of the ministry for alleged civil causes, but in truth meaning nothing but to subvert religion. So does the King. He has expelled all who preserved him in his youth, and has rendered himself subject to such as are Papists. Without the advice of her nobility she [the Queen of Scots] married Lord Darnley, and with him persecuted the Earl of Murray, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Glencairn and Rothes, and sundry other noblemen, who, convening at the time in Edinburgh, thought to have removed the evil counsel from her husband. Yet finding that the rest who had promised to assist them kept neither place nor time assigned—viz., the Earls of Morton, Mar, Marishal, Cassillis, the Lords Lindsay, Ruthven, Hume, Sempill, and Cathcart —they were compelled for safety of their lives to " retain " themselves to England. In like manner the King, without advice of his Estates, traffics with his mother upon a committed authority, casting his title into doubt. He persecutes a great number of his nobility as she did. Her husband being jealous of an Italian, " Dava " [Rizzio], caused the

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1584. Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay to kill him. She called home again the banished lords, promising them very largely if they would concur with her against her said husband. But finding them no way inclined thereto, she appointed with Bothwell to murder her husband, and thereafter married the said Earl. Though the King and his company be very glorious after the chasing away of some of his noblemen, yet there is great appearance, if he alters not his evil course, that other inconveniences will fall out. How could the Queen have converted her fervent love for the Lord Darnley into such mortal hatred?

In all ages, when the Kings of England could not be assured of the favour of the Kings of Scotland, they ever "entertained" some of the nobility of Scotland to be their friends, thinking it very necessary and profitable for their estate. Why did that valiant Prince Henry VIII. so much advance the Earls of Angus and Lennox, but because he could not be assured of his nephew James V.? Why did her majesty assist the Scottish Protestants at Leith, but to expel the French and such as governed the State to be at enmity with her? Why did her majesty ever to this day assist the lords maintaining the King, but to preserve him and make him obliged to favour her? Now, seeing he seems to have forgotten all her benefits, wherefore should her majesty desist from maintaining and defending such as are assuredly at her devotion?

2 *pp.* *Copy.*

April. **85. DECLARATION OF THE INNOCENCY OF ANGUS, MAR, AND OTHERS.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 25.

"A brief declaracion of the innocencie of the Erles of Angusse, Mar, Master of Glames and remanent distressed of the land, presented to her majestie of England for answer to certen sclanderous reportes geven out against them."

Forasmuch as some cease not continually by slanderous reports to make us odious to your majesty, charging us with sundry infamous matters whereof we are most innocent, but especially alleging that we have intended violence against the King our sovereign's person by attempting sundry practices for his destruction, we answer that we are free and guiltless of any such meaning, as our actions past—to none better known than to your majesty's self—testify. For it is manifest that we and our friends had his majesty in keeping till he was full fourteen years of age. During which time—let men affirm as they list—it can never be verified that any undutiful word was pronounced all that while against his highness, or any suspicion of violence offered by us or any of ours to his royal person. But "contrariouse," such diligent care had for his preservation as lay in our power to perform, which the "ingaginge" of some of our lands and blood of the best of our friends spent at that time well testifies.

And since his majesty accepted the government on his own person, albeit we have been persecuted in body and goods very hardly—which we do not impute to his majesty—our lives sought by sundry unlawful means both at home and abroad, our wives, children, friends, and servants used in most pitiful manner, yet we protest

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1584. before God—whose mercy we renounce if we lie, and your majesty's favour if the contrary can be verified—that no evil thought or meaning ever came into our minds contrary his majesty's person, crown or country. Indeed, we perceived a dangerous course, devised prejudicial to the estate of true religion and the professors thereof, and only comfortable to factious persons, as daily more and more appears. Prejudicial also to the amity betwixt the two crowns and lovers thereof, and a course very dishonourable many ways to his majesty's self. For reformation whereof we insisted with all humility, ever preferring his majesty's honour, safety, and estimation to our own lives, *etc.*

If there were no other argument to prove our affection to his majesty except only that necessity which for our own benefit compels us to wish his preservation, the same were sufficient to overthrow all that is objected against us.

For seeking to preserve his majesty in his minority, have we not deeply offended his mother and all others pretending title or claim, if his majesty should die without succession? So that we are void of all hope to have any tranquility in Scotland, saving so much as we expect to proceed from his majesty and his lineal descent.

2 *pp. Copy.*

May 1. **86.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Requests him to be favourable to the bearer, William Cockburne, and other burgesses of Edinburgh, who sold certain wines to John Clerke, of London, for which he has not made payment. They have made suit before, and now the said William intends to renew it. These parties are very honest men, not able to abide that loss without their utter undoing. They have been commended to him by sundry ministers and other very well affected persons in Edinburgh. Berwick. *Signed:* Bobert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 2. **87.** JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

By the inclosed he will perceive his opinion concerning the affairs of Scotland. Thanks him for his care of the distressed noblemen, and hopes in God that one day it shall be to his honour and contentment. Will deliver the Queen of England's mind to the said noblemen in as "favorabill" manner as he can, and will inform him truly of their meaning, "for nixt hir majeste your honour is my only lord quhom I will follow by all ye varld." Desires to know whether Mr. Davison shall go to Scotland or not. London. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 3. **88.** EXAMINATION AND DEATH OF THE EARL OF GOWRIE.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 38. "The manner and forme of the examinatione and death of umquill Williame erlle of Gaury, Lord Ruthen and Dirltoun, Great thessaurer of Scotland the 3 of May 1584."

"Being upone the Thursday brought frome Kinneill to Stirling he

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1584. stayed before he was brought to judgment three days havynge conferance with soundry depute be his majestie to confer with him. Upone the Mouenday very erlie he was conveyed to the Lady Marrs housse, and after the repaire of the judg and nobliemen who were upon his asyse the clerk procedid to the proces in this maner: 'William, erll of Goury yow ar indyted of tresoune treteruslie comitted against his majestie, notwithstanding the innumerablie honorus yow have receved off his highnes, as be the augmentatione off your rent and also in challenging to be of his magistyes blood is manifest and lykways be the remissione off yowr former tresoune when ye deteaned his magisties persoun in your hous of Ruthene, yet notwithstanding of all this you have entred in more dangerus and deiper tresounes sensyne.' "

"The clerk having ended, he answered: 'Forsamiklie as be his majestie licience I was to depart out of this cuntrie, and resting to Dundie to depart I entered in ship as the balzeis and publik notars of Dundie cane record, but the vind being not in the vay I stayed. In the mean tyme was I assyted be a privat comissione procured be my adversarie vretin be his ouin hand, I having his majestie letter of pretectione under the great seall. But now to answere; as for the raid of Ruthene, I paid remissione for it, and God is my vitness it was never mened against his estait, persoune or atuoritie. As touching the honors that I have receved of his majestie, yow know what service I have done in his minoratie, as in chanaling to be of blood, treulie albeit I be not a Steward nor a discever of this countrie, bringing nother the King nor his comonevell in hazerd, yet am I als neir in sibnes and hath doune better and ofter service them he who thrists for my blood be this couerdlik revenge. Would to God this wer to be debated betuix me and my malicious adverssar bodie for bodie.' "

"Be patient sayeth the Judge. The erll sayd; 'My lord I speak not this of my malice, but of my intent to defend my inocent lyf which is unjustlie sought fore.' "

"My lord, sayeth the judge, you sall heir the rest of the accusatione, answere shortlie and directlie whome will your lordship have protector for yow?"

"The erll replied; 'I se none heir except the advocat, who will excus him self for he is to accuse me. It [is] very hard for me not being accquented with the feir of the law to despute my lyf with ane experemented and practysed adwocat, the tyme being so short and so suillen. Yet Justice Clerk I protest be this instrument, thought yow be under the bound and yoke of the curt, that my answeres be wreatin all atenticlie, and yf they be informall extem it rather to have proceidit from the laik of experience and practyse of the law then from the waiknes of my cauie.' "

'Then I say I shuld not bene accused this day, because whosoever is to be accused of any cryme is to be sommondet, yff for tresune, upone fourtie days, yf for any uther cryme upone fyfteine. But it is so with me that first I was apreheneit and now accused before ever I was sommonded.'

"The advocat replyed that the answere was not revelant; for a thief stelling rid hand and *actu ipso* may be taken without sommondes. Meikill mair he in tresonne when he is with rid hand of the cryme. The questione was refarred to the Judg, Mr. Jhone Gryme, and his assessionares the Master of Livynstoun, the Lard of Lochinwar, the Laird of

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1584. Arith: who said it was not sufficient which my lord hade answered. Then they proceidit. 'Ye are to be accused for the intercoming with Mr. David Home and Mr. James Eskin, servantes to the Erll of Angus, and mate under nyght, where ye devysed for the better bringing your tresones to pass. It was most necessare that ather the toune of Sanct Jhonstoune or Sterling should be takene or both.' "

"My lord said, 'I ame to be accused for these thinges which I rewelled upone houpe of my lyf and for the Kings majesties promeis, for ye my lords of Montroes, Doun, Sir Jhone Maitland, Sir Robert Melvin, the Colnell [Stewart], and the captane of Dunbartane came to me very oft and urget me with the declaratione of the truth in this maner. My answere was to yow that I was not so baislye as to paue my awin accusatione, nather would I.' Ye replyed that be this meane the King shall be ofended and have the just cause of wrath against me. But for that tyme other ways ye could not persaud me to doe. At last yow come unto me shewing me that I stood not with his majestes honor to capitulat with me his subject be writ. Ye left me and thene came agane and suere unto me that the Kings majeste suare unto yow that he had granted me my lyfe yf I wold disclose the truth of these thinges wheirof I was to be demandet off. I yeilded unto the condession and wert all these pointes wherof I see my selffe now accused. Therefore this mater shuld not be laid to my charg in the respect of the promeis."

"The advocat said it was not in the noblie mens pouar to promes lyf. 'Yea,' said he, 'the King promised unto them, which they awoued unto me be ther oath.' "

"'Ask them,' sayes the advocat. He inquired of theme. They denyed that such promeis mas maid be the King to them or by them to his lordship. 'What my lordes ye will not say, so ye maid fayth to me be your honoris, otherways I reface to your oth and conferance I ame asurred ye will not denyed.' They sure it was not so. 'This is a strang mater,' say my lord, 'that nather promise nor lawe awaill; yit my lords I derect my spech unto yow all. I pray yow to the Kyngs to knewe his mynd towardes me.' Wichich they refused after consultatione. Then he prest every on ceverallie and the Erll of Aron him self. He could not prewaill. Thene the clerk proceidet accusing him that he [had] conferance with the Erll of Angus,' servant the 7 of Apryll, whome he sent lyk ways his speciall depender Mr. Patrik Whytlaw. The end and some was to troblie the cuntrie. 'I deny it. Yea I desuadit him, for I saie I knew they would bring no moe thene they would doe at the first instant. And yet why is it not lawfull that the noblie men may asemblie themselfs whene they seing ther lyf and landes put at by them who ar gredie of both as well as the burgasis? They ar in no wus cace then they.' "

"The accused him to have keipt his hous in most feirfull and wairfull manner for thrie houres after the sight of the Kinges commissione. My lord said it he thocht that particular wretting procured and writtin by my eneme was not of sufficient fors to deragat to the letter of protectione and the Kings great seall, and yet I obeyed. I hade bene long away before yf I hade not bene stayed be the King who directed one over to cause the skipper sonne svertyes under pane of ten thousand ll. that he shuld not land ather in England, Irland or Scotland, wichich he could not doe, so when the wind wes fare I was stayed. And when I could not mak sale I was aprehendit.' "

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" The clerk proceiding to the fyft point, accusyng him for conceling the tresonable conspiraci, as he confesed himself, devysed against the Kings majestie and the quene his most darest mother for the distructione of theme both. His answere was, ' with this distinctione, the concealing of it is no tresonne, but the revealing a benifeit, and it concernes no noblie man nor uther persone in this countre.' "

Item, yow ar accused for with craft in conferring with sorrsoreres. His answer was that he thought they mened not to mew with him, and schawin lyk wyse that it was well knowen how he served his God. ' This is no just accusatione but a malitious slander and I knew be whome devysed, I will tell yow the truth. There come a tenand of myne duellyng by Dunkell who speak with a womane asking him how I did. He answered. Well no sayes sche ther is some ill fallen to him that he knews not. The Kings fawor is withedrawen frome him and yet the may be remaid for it yff my lord list, which I refused. Iff the woman was heir I would be content sche wer brocht, and I would be the first would confes to it. Yff ther be any witchcraft used I thynk it be more neir the court.' The sys beyng called and ther names read, sicas the erll of Hwntlie whome he excepted because he was under xxv yeares, Ardgyall, Crafourd, Arran, Montroes, Eglintone, Glancarne, Marchall, Doun, Saltoun, Ogilvye,— Mr. of Alphnystoun, and the Lard of Tillieberne. He disyred them to purg them selfs by oth that they gave no particulare advyce or confermation to the King's advocat to accuse him. Every one suure severallie they did not. So then it befell the Erll of Arran to speak. ' Though your lordship think the name of a Sudert [Stewart] infamous yet I think it great glorie to have bene on. I confes mair ye have been a good frend to my fatheres hous but in particular frendschip I have bene as gratfull as ye have bene. I speak in presence of the gryt God I loved yow as well as my awin saill, and ye knew when ye to doe againset the Lord Oliphant how I conterfited the Kinges handwreit for the adwancement of yowr cause. As for the wreating off that commissione to aprehend yow, I will not deny it. It was doune be my maisters disyr. For his majestie estemyng mor of me then of them of the commone sort and reposyng more fidelitie in me nor in them, he imployed me in that point, and hou thinkes that I have done more thene my duetie ? In this I am to mantaine the contrary both be deides of handes and word.' So after the purging himself he informid not or gave consell to the King's advocat, in his contrare he was admited to go on his asysse. Yet before he arose to go to the innerchamer Tith the rest of the jurie the erll spak, the erll of Arran dysyryng he woulde remember the good deid was done to him the last year in his house. The uther answered it was not lawfull, ' for my lord yow ar acused for tresonne and I was no tretour, besydes my lyf was saif.' The other syled and called for a drink at the syse departeur, wheir I hard him, being behend him, request a gentill man cause his frendes conceall his death frome his wyff till sche were of more strengh, being weikned through thyr last delyverie. The jurie reentring convicted him of four pointes, to the 2, 3, 4, and fift. Passyng frome the first and last his answere was with a smylling continance, ' my lordes I am willing to lesse my lyf to bring the King contentment, as I often before did hestored [hazard] to do him service. But the noble men who were upone

Elizabeth.
1584. my syse in condemging he [*sic*] hasard ther awen saills and God that my blood be not upone the Kinges heid the longer that I live I seuld bene involvidd in the great care and wreiped in the more miseryes, and now fred from the firre forryes of the court, wherof I would acquyted myself longsyne. Yf I could I remit my adversars and commit my reveng to God. My lord judg the pointes whereof I am condemned ar but small oversightes, and so it will be knowin afterward. I pray yow to mak not the mater so haynous as to punshet by penaltie of forfaltrie—my sones ar in my landes, the secound is confirmed in all his rightes be the Kings majestie.' The Judg excusing him self because he was condemned of tresonne, so it behuived him to pronounce the ordinarie pinchment, which beyng pronounced, he said, 'I pray God that my blood satiat and astinguish the yre of the courteoues and set this countrie at quyetnes." So kissing his hand to these that were about him and recommending him to them all, called for the minister and want to his privat prayers, after to the scafold and place of executione, which was cowered with lynnyng cloth, then sand, nixt cloth, then scarlet. After a litill pausing he speak in this maner. 'Bretherin, this spectaclie is mor commone then plesant unto yow. I ame condemned to die, and God is my vitnes I never ofendet his majestie nather do I ask Godes merci for any ofence that ever I did aigainst him, and the Lord condemne me yf I was not mor cairfull of his welfare thene I was of my owin wyf and childrine.' Then after his prayers he adrest him to the pepill saying that he forgot som thing to speik to them, quhilk was that they wer many bruites spred of him that he shuld be the accuser of many noblie men. He prayed them not to belave such fabs. He accused none? None, he knew of none, but such as hiede takene the fault upone theme. So bade the pepill fairwell and lowsed his butones, kint with his ouin handes the handkurscher about his eyes. He disyred sir Robert Melvill to content the hangman for his clothes, and gave them to his page. So smylinglie put his head under the aix, and his body and blood keiped in the scarlet was put in the chist and convyed to his ludging. His head therafter set to his shulderes he was buryed besyde my Lord Glames in Sterling, borne be the Secretarie sir Robert Melling, the Justice Clerk and sir Robert Stewart of Traquhair the third day after his executione to his tourcell."

3¾ *pp. In the hand of Roger Aston. Indorsed:* "Earle of Gowrie condemned."

May 3. **89. Examination and Death of the Earl of Gowrie.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 34 b. "The manner and forme of examination and death of William, Earl of Gowrie and Lord Ruthven and Derleton. Great Thesorier of Scottland, the 3 day of May and after eyght howers at night, 1584."

[*A document similar to No.* 88.]

5¾ *pp. Copy.*

May 4. **90. Lord John Hamilton to Mr. William Davison.**

"I am sorie that I culd noct have the commoditie to speik you as you pas by this way, for I wald have beyne glaid to have knawin

Elizabeth.
1584. if you have any commissioun to deall for our releve. And wer not I am treist and sum part in under phisik I wald have cum to Bervik to you, and therfoir I have send this berrar to speik you for that effect, and will hertley pray you to let me knaw by him safar as you shall think guid theranent as you will do me plesure, quhilk you shall ever find me willing to requyte" Woddryngtoun. *Signed:* Jhone Hammilton.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 4. **91. INSTRUCTIONS FOR ROBERT BEALE, ESQUIRE.**

C.P., vol. XIII. "Instruciones geven to our trustie and welbeloved servant Robert Beale, esquier, one of the Clerkes of our Privie Counsell being sent to the Queen of Scottes the iiij of Maye, from our Mannor of Grenwiche in the xxvjth yere of our raigne, 1584."

Having well weighed the offers made to Mr. Wade by the Queen of Scots, and seeing them to be such as are not to be neglected, she finds it expedient to send him to her to know whether she persists in the same mind and disposition she delivered to Wade, and if she shall give her promise for the due performance thereof, then he is to signify to her that the treaty shall proceed; for which purpose she means to send Sir Walter Mildmay to her out of hand. And if, upon this overture, she shall object that by reason of the late alteration in Scotland—the noblemen noted to be affected to her crown [of England] having entered into open action against the King—she shall not be able to work that good effect for the reconciliation that she might have done before, making the matter of the recovery of the King's favour towards them either desperate or not to be performed with such good conditions as before it might, he is, as of himself, to lay before her the inconvenience and danger that may grow to her son and herself in case she shall show herself any way unwilling to employ her credit and authority with her son for the performance of the said offers, and that the noblemen who retired to England are known to be of the chief houses in Scotland, and that their cause is generally favoured by the most part of that realm, it being very well known that they had no meaning or intent any way to have attempted anything to the peril of the King's person, and that their only intent was to remove such from about him as through their violent counsels have [carried], and do carry the King into such a hard course of proceeding as well towards them as other his best affected subjects as has wrought a general mislike of the present government in Scotland. Who, it is thought, upon this late alteration—the most part of the noblemen of whom they before stood in awe being withdrawn forth of the realm—will carry themselves more insolently than before, and thereby render the said government more odious; which being well weighed will be found very perilous for the King, whereof she, in her own person, and sundry progenitors of hers have found most hard and unfortunate events.

Is also to let her understand, that in case she shall now refuse to perform the offer made in that behalf, she shall give her cause ever hereafter to forbear from entering into any further treaty with her touching her liberty, as also to take some course for her own safety that both she and her son shall have no cause to like, not being ignor-

Elizabeth.
1584. ant of the practices that were entertained betwixt her son and the house of Guise, tending to the trouble and disquiet of her State, wherewith she knows she has been lately made acquainted, and her assent thereto demanded. And although she does not doubt to prevent their designs and attempts, yet if she were persuaded that she had yielded her assent thereto, no persuasion should then induce her to have any further dealing or treaty with her hereafter. And considering the late protestations she has made to her of her great love and affection towards her, she cannot expect that she should in confident sort make her acquainted how far forth she has been dealt with in that behalf. On the other side, if she shall forbear to make any such objection, or having made any such, she shall rest satisfied with such reasons as he shall have laid before her, and shall yield to the performance of her said offer, and thereupon shall declare to him that she shall not be able to do any good therein unless she may be permitted to send some minister of her own with one of hers to her son, he is then to let her understand that she can be content to yield therein, in hope that her said minister shall not, under the colour of doing good, practise some such matter as may be offensive to her, which, if it shall so fall out, could not but breed in her so hard a conceit towards her that all means of mediation in time to come should be utterly taken away. Thinks meet also that he let her understand that the French ambassador, tendering the safety of her son and the repose of that realm, foreseeing the great danger he shall be thrown into unless some good accord be made betwixt him and his subjects, has made suit to her, in the behalf of the King his master—being so authorised and commanded by him—that he might be permitted to repair to the said King, together with some minister of hers [Elizabeth's], to the effect above specified, whereunto she is disposed to yield upon hearing from him [Beale] of her contentation.

3¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Maye 4, 1584. Instructions geven to Mr. Beale being sent to the Q. of Scotts, from the Courte at Grenwiche."

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 41. Another copy of the same.

May 4. **92. ELIZABETH TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Right excellent, *etc.* The late report made by our servant Waade of the deep and earnest protestations you delivered to him of the sincerity of your proceeding in the last treaty between us—though we have many reasons to lead us to rest doubtful thereof, as we have heretofore signified to you—how greatly you desire we should conceive well of your affection towards us, and of certain offers you make tending to the surety of the King your son, and the removing of the doubtful opinion we have heretofore held of you in respect of your minister's dealings towards us beyond the seas, has wrought that effect in us—in hope that your deeds shall hereafter confirm your words—that we have thought good to send this bearer to you to know whether you continue your former resolution delivered to our said servant; wherein, if he shall you to persist, then have we directed him

Elizabeth.
1584. to impart such further matter to you that you shall have reason to rest satisfied withal, to whom we pray you to give credit.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "4 May, 1584. M[inute] letter from her majesty to the Scottish Queen by Mr. Beale."

May 4. **93.** ELIZABETH TO SHREWSBURY.

C.P., vol. XIII. Being made acquainted by our servant Waade, now at his return from the Queen being in your charge, with the said Queen's solemn protestations of her plain and sincere meaning in the last treaty between us, and earnest desire we should be persuaded to conceive how much she depends upon our favour and friendship before all other Princes, as also with certain offers of hers which she required him to impart to us, wherewith you are already acquainted, being, as we suppose, uttered in your presence, and conceiving that these so earnest and solemn protestations being delivered in such effectual sort, as we are informed, cannot but proceed, as we hope, from some earnest desire the said Queen may have indeed to win our good opinion and favour to her,—we have therefore thought good to despatch our servant Beale to her to make further trial of these her offers and protestations, to the end, if she shall persevere in the same still, and we may find any good probability and likelihood of her sound and plain meaning therein, the late begun treaty may then proceed according to the first course and resolution taken in that behalf, as this bearer shall more at large declare unto you by showing to you his instructions; wherein we require you to employ your advice and furthering. And upon answer to be received from you how you shall find her inclined in this behalf, we mean presently to take order for further proceeding therein.

1⅓ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Burghley's hand. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the Earl of Shrewsbury, May 4th, 1584."

May 4. **94.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Since his departure the Queen of England has grown uncertain and doubtful by reason of the late accident happened in Scotland in what sort to employ his service.

The French ambassador renews his former request in the King's his master's name to be suffered to repair to Scotland in company with some minister of the Queen of England to mediate an accord between the King and his subjects, whereunto her majesty, finding her credit greatly decayed in Scotland, is content to yield. But whether he [Davison], shall be directed to accompany him or any other sent with him, is not yet resolved on. He seems desirous to have Mr. Randolph before any other. Greenwich. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 4. **95.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO BURGHLEY.

Since the receipt of some letters from Mr. Bowes imparting the ill success of the late enterprise at Stirling and the flight of Angus, Mar, and others, has made less speed in his journey, in order that he might hear further of the Queen of England's pleasure before his entry or sending into Scotland. Received Mr. Secretary's letter of the 29th ult. Awaits her majesty's further order, and in the meantime

Elizabeth.
1584. has "thought it not amisse to pretend some indisposition in my health," to take away the jealousy that might grow by his "slackness" of sending. Requests instructions. Has received the 1000*l.* of Sir John Foster in double pistolets at his own house at Alnwick. Will keep it untouched till her majesty shall signify her further order for the employment thereof. Requests him to mediate with her majesty in his behalf, that the care of his present estate and debts be no hindrance to her public service. Berwick.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Davison.*

May 4. **96. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Received letters from Mr. Bowes at Ferybrigg acquainting him with the success of the late enterprise at Stirling (*etc. as in No.* 95).

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

Copy of the same.

May 4. **97. James VI. to Elizabeth.**

"The restles myndes and lurking malice of our present rebellious subjectes, covered this tyme past, is at last maid manifest, and his evidentlie kythed,* thay being now fled in zour realme, efter thair attempting of sa disperat ane interprise, as sum of thame returning in our realme furth of Irland without our permissioun or knawlege, and sum uthers quietlie enjoying thair levingis and guidis at hame, hes notwithstanding laitlie conspired and concurred in taking and seasing of thame selffes in our toun and castell of Striveling, making prisoners of all our gude subjectes quhome yai micht apprehend, threatening sum with present deathe, contemptuusly dispising our proclamationes and charges, quhairby yai war commandit to have departit, taking our herawldes and officiares of armes sent to execute our charges with our letters, and violentlie stopping the same to be proclamit or execute, and in place thairof making thair awin seditious proclamationes. Quhilkes inordinat dealingis be na likly haide culd have bene so presumptuously attemptit be thame in sa few nowmer without pretens of sum mair heich and dangerous interprise intendit to be execute be thame aganes our persoun, croun and estate. Bot the same God be quhais help we have now repressit thair rebellioun and insolence, recovering our said toun and castell, apprehending the persones of sum of our rebelles and conspiratoures, and banissing sum uthers furth of our realme, hes releved ws of there sa appearing perillous interprises at this tyme. Madame, to repete thair names we think was neadles and superflew, being sa weill knawin and sa publictly enterit in zour cuntrie. Alwayes we traist ze sall weill considder that thair late attemptate hes bene taken on hand without ony just occasioun ministrat be ws, respecting that we recentlie forgave tham frelie thair former offenses, cheiflie at your earnest request and desire, letting thame enjoy thair honouris, levinges and guides, and only wisheing sum of thair persones to be furth of our realme for a short space till our estate had bene better setled, and permitting others quietlie remane at thair housses without note of our displesur aganes thame for ony thair bipast offenses. Specialie the

* Appeared.

Elizabeth.
1584. Erll of Angus, for quhais pease zour ambassadoures Sir George Carey and Robert Bowes in zour name sa earnistlie insistit with ws, as for zour sake we not onlie callit the said Erll hame agane, and his dependers and servauntes that wer in England with him, bot sufferit thame remane in our realme as onie uthers our gude subjectes, permitting thame to enjoy thair levingis, guides, and possessiones. Zea not fourtene dayes before he shew him selff a leidar and partiner in this lait conspiracye we wrait unto him assuring him of our favour, and promissing unto him betuix and a day not lang to cum, that he and all his sould be restored be our parliament to there levingis, guidis and possessiones, quhairof thay presentlie enjoyed the maist part, assuring him alsua be our foirsaid lettre, that althogh we sould have na other occasioun, zit for his onlie caus our parliament suld hald betuix and the day that we prefixt unto him. Then seing he and our uthers rebellious subjectes, contempring our clemency and favour, and sa heichley attempting of late aganes ws, not only safer as in tham lay to perell our honour, persoun, croun and estate, bot be the same meanys preassing at thair pouer to stayne zour honour, that had sae arnestlie insistit with ws for thame. We can not tharefore bot effectuuslie require zow, dearest suster, sen thay have ministrat na les occasioun of offence to zow then to our selff, that according to the treateis of peax standing betuix ws and oure cuntreis, ze will rander and deliver out saides rebelles to ws to be punissed according to thair just desertes ; quhairin ze sall oblise ws to acquite zou with the like promptitude and guidwill as the occasioun sa offer. Quhair gif ze did it not—as we assure our selff ze will—it mycht constraine ws for the avoiding and resisting of the fhrther perrillous interprises of our saides rebelles to crave the assistence and support of foreyn princes, quhilk we doubt not to obtene. Quhairunto gif we suld be compellit it mycht diminishe or perrell the breake of the amytie so long continewit betuix ws. To the quhilk (except as be not constrenit) we salbe and is maist laith, as plainly appeares be making our first chois to seke and embrace zour amytie. Thus not doubting of zour gude acceptatioun of this our earnest desire safer tending to the honoures of ws baith, and praying zou to send ws zour resolute and gude anser be this present berair quhat we sall assuredlie lippin unto in this behalf, richt excellent, richt heich and michtie Princes out dearest suster and cousine we commit zou to the protectioun of Almichtie God." Stirling. *Signed :* " Youre maist loving and affectiounatt brother and cousin, James R."

⅔ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May. **98. JAMES VI. TO THE MARSHAL OF BERWICK.**

Requests him to grant to the bearer, his servant, favourable and ready passage, and commission to be supplied with post horses, *etc.*, to the Queen of England with his letters for matters of special importance and requiring good expedition. Stirling.

⅓ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

May 5. **99. JOHN BUTTERWEKE TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

" Sir, lest I shold seame unmindful of my promise, I have tooke occacion to wryte these fewe lynes, wherin at the lest I shall satisfy

Elizabeth.
1584. som part of my duty by diligence in wrytinge, though no part of your expectacion through want of matter to wright of. For since your departure with us—I meane wheare I am—there are no newez sturring. Only the Thursday after you tooke your journey, being the last of Aprill, yt was reportyd that the Earle of Anguisshe, and of Mar and their accomplices were fled at Barwycke. Synce that tyme, notwithstanding, we hard you were gon thorough. On Sonday following, the third of May, Mr. Colvyll tooke his journey towardes Barwycke leaving word behind him that he was going home. It is certaynly knowen that Mr. Dowglas wyll away. Som speaches ther ar of the taking of the Lord of Lyndsey and other lordes. Som geaves out that Rogers, being sent by som of the Kinges favorytes to procure their lyking in thys Court, slackyth not hys busynes. These ar Scottishmen's reportes, and although you know the truth of thes affayres best, yet I wold not you shold be ignorant what I heare. They have all better lyking of you for your modesty and wisdom, then of Mr. R[andolph] for his boldnes, or of Mr. B[owes] for his bownty, and yett they expect no good successe or event of your legacion or ambassage, standing th'affaires of that country on those termes that they doe. And as touching the comparison between those gentlemen and you, for my part I suspend my judgment. They ar men men unknowen to me, but I only send you their opynions, and yet I must confesse they report veary honowrably of them both. Som Papistes in Ingland have a great opynion that the King of Scottes wyl become an apostat in religion. I wold they were well satisfied of the contrary, to the King's honour, our comffort, and their disgrace. Som muttering they make of forraigne power to be expected outt of France, of mony and mariage to be practized in Spayne, a poore helpe to be lookyd for out of Ierland from Oenealle, as though we were of no force to resist. It hath ben reportyd—although I se no lykelyhood—that the French ambassador shold be sent shortely into Scotland. I am perswaded you have no leysure to reade these fables, neyther do they becom me to wryte them, but duty movyd me to wryte, and goodwyll made me tedious." *Signed:* John Butterweke.

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

May 5. **100.** WALSINGHAM TO ANGUS AND MAR.

Has made the Queen of England acquainted with the contents of their letter, who has willed him to let them understand that, as she has always carried a very honourable conceit and opinion of them in respect of their dutiful disposition to the King their sovereign, so is she glad to understand that their departure does not proceed from any other cause than to avoid the danger that they feared to be thrown into by the indirect practices of some ill instruments enjoying their sovereign's ear. She will have a princely care both to provide for their safety during the time of their abode in England, as also to use the best means and offices she can for the restoring of them to his former good opinion and favour, the rather in respect of the zeal and good affection she has ever noted to be carried by them to the crown of England.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 6.

101. [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.

Some of the servants of the lords who departed from Scotland have been executed, and they hear that Gowrie lost his life at Stirling on Monday last.*

However the cause, in outward appearance, may seem under foot, by the miscarriage of this last attempt, yet the general discontentment with the present Court is such, and the courage, forces, and will of the favourers of the action—which, for aught he can find, had made a great party if things had been well conducted—so little abated by the taking away of Gowrie and the violent pursuit of the rest, that it much rather exasperates men's minds and increases their discontentment and resolution to hazard their uttermost fortunes in the redress of this course, so dangerous to religion, the state of the commonwealth, and amity with their best neighbours. But because he is yet a stranger to these proceedings and has hitherto forborne to communicate with their lordships, he leaves the particular report of these things to others better instructed than himself.

Thinks it his duty to say that albeit the present estate of these poor lords may in some degree seem rather to be pitied than condemned, yet he could wish the Queen of England should give them what favour and countenance in honour she might. First, because they are men whom she has always found affected to her service and continuance of the amity between both realms. Secondly, because the action wherein they are embarked tends only to the King's preservation, the surety of religion, and quiet of both countries, all which are endangered by the present course. Thirdly, because this action is yet so far from quailing by the ill success of this last attempt that the party is not disposed to give it over. Her majesty's countenance or discountenance given to these lords would breed no little courage or discomfort to the whole party and action at home; so that in the persons of these men and their usage the rest may see what to hope or trust to either in general or their own particular.

Lindsay, Cowdenknowes, Wedderburn, *etc.*, are like to run the fortune of Gowrie—especially Lindsay, for the old grudge borne him by the Queen of Scots, who intends, as she may, to glean out all those whom she either hates or fears being obstacles to her purposes.

1 *p.* *Draft in Davison's hand. Indorsed.*

May 6.

102. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Upon the receipt of a letter sent to me by my Lord Treasurer I have advised the Earls of Angus and Mar and the Master of Glamis to signify by their letter to her majesty their arrival in this realm, and the causes thereof, and of their late actions, expressing the same with such circumstances as may stand with the duty of good subjects to their sovereigns, and move her majesty to entreat the King for his grace and favour towards them, as to persons who had no purpose to offend him. Wherein I find them very willing to yield to my persuasion, letting me know that they had already written to yourself in these behalfs, and [they] promised to send the further particularities

* 4th.

Elizabeth.
1584. of all their doings and intentions, purposing to have set forth the same with the advice of Mr. John Colvile, who they thought should have been with them before this; and being defeated of their expectation of his coming they had chosen, and thought to have sent up, the Master of Glamis.

But I have so dissuaded his personal repair at this time—according to the said direction given me—that they are contented to stay the same, and had thereon agreed to frame and send their declaration, agreeable to my advice. Nevertheless, they find so many defaults in the drafts drawn by such writers as are here among them, that they think it needful to accompany their letters with a meet messenger to supply the imperfection of the writing, and at large to inform her majesty in all their causes. Wherefore they have resolved to write to yourself again to signify the cause of their delay in sending up their letter promised, and to pray her majesty's license to be granted to them to employ, and send to her a sufficient messenger of their own to present the declaration and do all other offices requisite for them and their relief. Which letter they have delivered to me with request that it be conveyed to you, and which I send inclosed.

Of their doings herein I have advertised my Lord Treasurer, according to my duty, leaving the rest of this matter to the view of their letter addressed to you.

Because the Master of Glamis is well acquainted with, and can best report the whole course and circumstances of these causes, therefore they intend, and desire—I perceive—to employ and send him to her majesty, trusting that he shall well satisfy her highness and do best offices for them.

They are preparing to depart from this town to Newcastle within a day or two at the farthest, according to the advice given them by Mr. Marshall upon the receipt of your letter; and there they look to receive return and advertisement of her majesty's pleasure in the contents of their letter to you—upon which they now wholly depend.

The King still continues at Stirling to order and dispose matters there by the advice of his Council, who be greatly troubled in the distribution of the escheats and forfeitures. He purposes to return to Holyrood House on Friday next.

Execution is done at Stirling on two Douglasses, one Lyon, and one Forbes, late servants of Angus, Mar, and Glamis. And it is thought that Gowrie's life is ended, or shall be very shortly.

Because I have warned my friends in Scotland to forbear to hazard themselves in sending any intelligence to me in this dangerous time, and heard opinion of the Court towards myself, I therefore commend the report of all the affairs in Scotland to the advertisement of others. And having long waited for leave to go into the country and to London as well for my own particular causes as also to render my account to her majesty, which are presently in readiness, and whereof I desire to be disburdened in convenient time and manner, according to my duty and charge, I therefore humbly pray that I may have her majesty's license in this behalf. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 6.

103. ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Rycht honorable, pleaseth it zour guid lordship, where by our former lettre to zour lordship we have certefeit in sum generall sort the caus off our cummyng into yis realme of England, and off our enterynge into yis actioun in our awin cuntrey, purposinge to have sent ane meit messinger to have opened and declared at lenth the trew groundes and causes of our said actioun and of all wther circumstances meit to be knawein to hir majestie, with our humbill petitiones to be presented to hir highnes. Synce quhilk tym we have found yat our boldnes in this part myght schew sum lacke off dewe consyderatioun of our awin dewtyes to presume to send wp ony sik messynger befoir we should fyrst obteyne hir majesties guid licence theirin. Theirfoir we hewe thocht guid to stay ony sik messinger untill we recawe her majesties leawe for the sam. And forasmekle as it is werey necessary yat we sould noctwithstanding present to her majestie in dew and conwenient tym ye particulariteis of all ther causes, to be signifyed in wryting in sik perfit forme as the weight of sa grit causes requyre, and as all ye parteis in the sam do expect at our handes; theirfoir we had thought to have drawen and framyd them. Bot becaus off the schortnes of tym, and that our declaratioun quhilk we publesett in Scotland is noct presentley heir—quhilk contines the causes qat mowit ws to tak yis actioun in hand—we culd noct at yes present put them in sik sufficient order as mycht not hurt the caus. We do theirfoir thynk it neidfull to pray her majesteis fawour and leave to mak chose and send to hir majestie ane maist sufficient persoun amangis ws to present her majeste our declaratioun in yir behalffes, and to informe her majestie at sufficient lenth the trew and full effectes off all our actionis, intentionis, and desyres, to the intent her majestie, weill knawyng the sam, may be rather mowed to schew her gratius guidnes towardes ws as schall pleis hir majestie. In consideratioun hereof we effectualley pray zour lordship to present this our sutt and requeste to her majestie for leawe to send wp our said messinger, and yat it may pleis zour lordship to gywe ws spedy advertisment of her majesteis guid plesur in the sam, to be sent to ws at Newcastle, quherwnto we prepar our selffes to passe werey schortley and to remane at her majesteis guid will and plesur and zour lordship's advertisement." Berwick. *Signed*: Angus. Mar. Tho. Mr. Glammis.

1 *p. In the hand of the Master of Glamis. Addressed in the same hand. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

May 6.

104. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Because the Master of Glamis can very sufficiently inform her majesty of the causes moving them to enter into this action, and of the impediments hindering the success thereof, together with the true estate as well of their cause as it presently stands, and of the remedy for the recovery thereof, as also of all affairs in Scotland, therefore these lords are very desirous to obtain leave to send him [the Master of Glamis] to the Queen of England, trusting that he shall thereby do good offices to her, and for the relief of the cause and themselves. Never-

Elizabeth.
1584. theless, they think that if her majesty shall return him without comfort it shall much discourage their friends in Scotland, and prejudice the cause. Yet they choose rather to encounter the peril of this, than to lose the benefits that may haply ensue on his travail with her majesty and others, who will vouchsafe rightly to examine and try the information and intelligence that he shall give. And therefore they pray her majesty's licence for his repair to the Court.

Thinks he will give good proof of all such things as he shall affirm, and also make it evidently appear that sundry things in that estate are not rightly conceived by them [the English] at this time. He will also let them know the reasons of the hope remaining to redress the defaults past. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

May 6. **105.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letter of April 30th on the 4th instant, and, according to the same, advised the Earls of Angus and Mar and the Master of Glamis to send to the Queen of England their writing signifying their arrival in England, together with the causes thereof and of their late actions, wishing the same to be expressed with such convenient circumstances as may stand with the duties of good subjects to their sovereign, that thereby her majesty may be moved to entreat the King for his grace and favour towards them, as to persons who had no purpose to offend him.

Found them very ready to yield to his persuasion in this, letting him know that since their arrival at this town they had written to Mr. Secretary, and given notice of their arrival and of the general causes drawing them into that action. They also promised to send further declaration in writing of the particularities of those matters. The draft of this declaration and the solicitation thereof, *etc.*, they meant to have committed to the travail of Mr. John Colvile, and being disappointed of his arrival, and wanting another fit secretary, they therefore thought of sending the Master of Glamis to inform her majesty in all these causes, but he has so dissuaded his personal repair at this time that they are well contented to stay the same. And whereas they had agreed, and were in hand to have framed and sent their declaration in writing, they have now found so many defaults in the draft thereof—drawn by such writers as be amongst them—that they think it very requisite for them and their cause to accompany their writing with such meet messenger as may supply the imperfections of the draft and give sufficient information of their actions, and do all other convenient offices to her majesty for them and their relief as they have thought expedient. For this consideration they have thought it well for them to write again to Mr. Secretary showing thereby the cause of their delay in sending the declaration promised, and pray that they may be licensed by her to send up a fit messenger to present the same and to inform her in all things. Incloses their letter addressed to Mr. Secretary. They prepare to depart to Newcastle within one or two days with all their company, being about twenty persons. Requests leave to repair to London, because he has all his accounts in readiness. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Elizabeth.
1584. May 7.

106. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

This day Thomas Livingston, pensioner of the Queen of Scots, lately in France with Lennox, and a great Papist, arrived here to pass in post with the King of Scots' letters to the Queen of England with as liberal offers as before have been made. He left Stirling on Monday last,* and reports that provision was made that day for the assize for the arraignment of Gowrie, and for his execution, which he suffered on that day.

Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. James Lowson, and Mr. Walter Belcanquyall, ministers, are charged to appear before the King and his Council to-morrow. Advice is given by their friends to beware of presenting themselves during this present rage in Court; but they will not hearken to that counsel. The ministers of St. Johnstone and Haddington have been sought for by the King's guard, but they cannot be found.

The Earl Marishal arrived at Dundee on his journey towards the Court, upon the King's letter, but was counselled by his especial friend, being a person of good quality then in court, to stay his journey. Some of the courtiers persuade that he and sundry other noblemen in the north should be "put at"; so they are like to sustain some trouble. It is bruited that Lindsay had sought to have escaped out of Tantallon the other day, but the same is given out rather by his enemies to draw him into greater displeasure, than upon any matter of truth. This suspicion, chiefy sprung upon sight of a fisher boat that was sent to bring hither some apparel for Angus, which was taken on her return hitherwards.

It is reported that Seton arrived at Leith on Tuesday last with four ships. Yet a friend arrived here this day, who was in Edinburgh on Tuesday afternoon, affirms that he heard that bruit. Nevertheless, he knows he had not arrived when he left Edinburgh.

It is expected that many others of the ministers and good burgesses of sundry boroughs shall be greatly troubled. The fear of persecution is so great that many thought to have dealt little in any matters withdraw themselves to escape this fury, which they think to be so violent that it will be soon ended in some degree. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 8.

107. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 45.

Is credibly advertised this morning by a friend from Stirling—adventuring to send to him—that Gowrie was executed on Monday last. Small, or no advantage is given to his adversaries by anything that he has confessed. His wife and his daughter Lelias—and not his son, who has been in great danger—are dead also with sorrow. His lands and possessions were disposed before his death. Argyll refusing to be of his assize was charged upon pain of treason to appear and proceed therein. The same day Archibald Douglas, the Constable, and Mr. John Forbes were hanged at Stirling. And whereas it was reported in Edinburgh that Mr. John Forbes suffered with others there named in his letter on Saturday last, is now newly advertised that Mr. John Rosse, servant to Mar, was one of those four then executed, and that Lyon, kinsman to Glamis, was on the scaffold, and yet saved; in whose place the under-cannoneer of the castle of Stirling was put down.

* 4th.

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1584. Lindsay was drawn towards Stirling, but is returned to Edinburgh with Mr. William Leslie and George Afflecke to be there executed on the return of the King to Holyrood House. Nevertheless, some think that this rage will be stayed. But yet seeing the King's mother and Sir John Maitland—one of the six knights made at Stirling—have especial grudge at him, [it is thought] that therefore he shall lose his life.

The Master of Lindsay has been sought for, but he has withdrawn, "lowse and lyringe." Crawford travailed earnestly for Lindsay, but it is thought that he shall not prevail. The Master of Cassillis coming boldly to Stirling is apprehended; but Barganny, a man of great valour and power, with the rest of the barons of the west, escaped and be in safety.

The King and his Council are busy occupied for the taking as well of these barons escaped, as also of the lords and barons in the north, wherein it is resolved to pursue all the parties with all expedition and violence. And thereon it is advised to begin with the parties in the north, and first to go against the friends of Glamis; next to proceed against the Forbeses, Oliphant, Leslies, and others thereabout; after to turn to the west, and so to the south parts.

Marishal has come to Stirling on the word and promise of Argyll, notwithstanding the advice before given him. His brother, being a person of great courage and spirit, keeps himself safe. Whereupon it is thought that the earl's life shall be in the more surety. The Master of Rothes had been sent for, and cannot be found, yet the earl his father continued in Court and favour.

Many ministers, barons, and burgesses of sundry of the chiefest boroughs in Scotland look daily to be charged and severally dealt withal, and many noblemen and others were holden deeply suspected; the fear whereof spreads so generally through the whole realm that thereby many—especially such as find themselves in evil grace with the King or his mother, or have any particular with any courtiers—provide for themselves by the best means they can to avoid the present fury begun in blood, and looked to proceed in more extreme manner.

Has often prayed her majesty's leave to go to the country and to London to give in his accounts and follow his own poor affairs, which surely are perished by his long absence. Trusts now to be disburdened of these charges. Berwick.

1⅔ *pp.* *Copy.*

May 8. **108.** ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Sundry noblemen and great barons, parties in this action, have thereby come into trouble, and many not yet touched or named were acquainted therewith, and still retain the same minds that they had before. By this it will appear that the party was great and might have brought together great forces, notwithstanding whatsoever be said to the contrary. But, by the evil handling of matters and the unfortunate accidents, the success has been thus froward and given such advantage to all the adversaries. This success may, no doubt, by better handling be redressed, as he thinks may be made manifest by sufficient reasons to be shown to him. These he will signify to him on his arrival. Wishes that in the meantime good consideration may be had not only of the sufficiency of the said

Elizabeth.
1584. party, but also of the danger of suffering the best sort thereof to be rooted out and destroyed, and the residue to be joined in the cause with those who are thus wholly devoted to the King's mother and foreign princes. Trusts it will be well weighed what standing surety can be found in the present courtiers or any of them, who are entangled with such affections and particularities as are known to all who understand the present plot intended to be in them. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

May 9. **109. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Has written twice to him since his arrival here, and has these five or six days attended her majesty's further direction, without signifying anything into Scotland in the meanwhile, where he doubts not they have the news of his being here, and find from his stay matter enough to suspect and discourse at large. If, therefore, her majesty intends his entry, it were fit he was in time supplied with knowledge of her good pleasure, to avoid by his long abode here the increase of that jealousy and suspicion which may prejudge both himself and his service.

Has thought it best to leave the report of the doings in Scotland since this late alteration to such particular advice as he [Walsingham] has daily from Mr. Bowes. Can neither hear nor observe anything since his coming hither that does not manifestly detect the resolution of that Court to run the course of the King's mother, with the manifest peril of religion and hazard of the common peace and amity between both crowns, as he does not doubt to make more plain to him by many clear and invincible arguments upon his entry into Scotland, and more particular observation of the doings and proceeding there. They proceed roundly to the cutting off of all such as of old they know, or anew suspect to be principal favourers either of religion or of the amity with England, of the nobility, gentlemen, ministers, and principal burgesses of the burghs and towns. The end whereof appears to be this, that having so stripped her majesty of her party and friends among the greatest, removed or taken away the principals of the ministers who have special credit in the boroughs and interest in their people, purged the country and towns of such gentlemen and burgesses as they suspect, fortified and assured the principal strengths of the country, and made all safe at home, they may with the more hope and facility go on to the execution of the rest; which no man of any discourse, judgment or acquaintance with the matters of Scotland does not see into.

For the coming down of Mauvissière at this time under pretence of travail to reconcile the King and his subjects—but rather to bind up and fortify the reconcilement between the mother and son—he sees not what it can effect but an increase of danger to the common cause of religion, her majesty's friends there, and her own surety at home, if they consider either the time or state of things, the person chosen for the service, the office he has always done, and the inward privity and knowledge he specially has of the counsel, secret, and party of the Queen [of Scots]; the opinion of whose strength and friends with them [the English] has been a principal reason

Elizabeth.
1584. used by her instruments to decline the young King from the respect of the Queen of England, and bring him to an expectation of his greatness by his mother. Gowrie has played his part in this tragedy. Fears Lindsay's part will be next—a man no less hated by the Queen mother. Marishal, come in upon the word of Argyll, is not clear of the danger, if the respect of Argyll and doubt of his friends at home do not restrain them. Albeit the Queen [of Scots] has no old action against him, who was in her time a child, and his grandfather then living—no meddler in the cause for or against her.

Forbes and Oliphant, withdrawn to their countries in the north, are like to be first prosecuted with open force, and in the meantime advice [is] taken how to proceed with the west and south, where men either give place to the fury or stand on their guard. But if this violent course holds on it may haply kindle a new fire not so easily to be quenched as the last. For, besides that the nobleman, gentlemen, and others who have been parties—and are not so mean a number as they are taken to be—can find no "outgate," as the term is, or surety for themselves and their friends but in a change, though hatred and fear of the present course are so general that it were a miracle in the nature of that state and people long to suffer or endure it in the terms it is. They have yet only entered into the blood of Gowrie and the servants of Angus and Mar, Crawford, being the mean to save a kinsman and other servants of the Master of Glamis to qualify the fear he has against him for the slaughter of Lord Glamis his brother.

Cowdenknowes, who is a prisoner in Blackness, Wedderburn at Down in Menteith, the Master of Cassillis, Mr. William Leslie, and George Fleck are like to run the fortune of Gowrie and the rest.

The Masters of Lindsay and Rothes have both withdrawn; also Bargany and the other barons of the west, whom it was sought to apprehend. Bothwell and Cesford are not yet in, nor is it certain what course the King will take with them. Berwick.

1¾ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 44. Original of the same.

May 10. **110. Walsingham to Mr. William Davison.**

The Queen of England finding her credit to be of late so impaired in Scotland that she shall not of herself be able to prevail in her intended of mediation for the noblemen now in England, has therefore thought meet to yield to the French ambassador's request to repair there to travail between the King of Scots and his subjects for the quieting of all things between them. And because the Queen of Scots pretends to have great credit with him, and that he will be altogether ruled and advised by her in his actions, she also means to allow a minister of the Queen of Scots to accompany the ambassador thither. She will also appoint two of her own ministers to join in the negotiation, viz., himself [Davison] and, he thinks, Beale. Her majesty's pleasure is that he should remain at Berwick till he receives further declaration. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 10.

111. WALSINGHAM TO [BURGHLEY].

Lansd. MSS., No. 40, fol. 154.

Has again moved her majesty in this gentleman's suit, who answered that for her part she no cause but that the same might well pass, provided there be a clause added in the grant that if the suit shall hereafter be found inconvenient it may then be revoked. Requests him, when he has thoroughly considered the suit and like of it, that he will signify so much to him. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—The gentleman desires that if a clause be added for the revocation of the grant that it may be with a year's warning, to take order for the charges he shall be at in the new repairing of his salt-pans and erecting of the trade of salt making.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Suit for making salt.)

"Thanswere to Mr. Andersons suite for makinge of salte."

I find no law in Edw. IV.'s time about making of salt either in Scotland or England; but 22 Edw. IV., cap. 8, I find all merchandise brought out of Scotland and the isles of the same into England, Ireland or Wales shall be first brought to Berwick or Carlisle and the ports or creeks pertaining to the West Marches; by which "belike" he would have all Scottish salt, being merchandise, brought to Berwick or to Carlisle, and so would overthrow the Scottish salt by making better salt near Berwick, as he and his ancestors have done.

It were most beneficial for England if Scottish salt might be banished, not only to encourage many to set up pans, "and makinge salt apon salt," but it would make them able to maintain and continue the setting up of their salt-pans.

The Scottish salt being lighter and cheaper, and made with less charge, and "not hable to goe soe farr as Englishe salt dothe," is bought up at London and the coast towns of England by the retailers of "salt apon salt" made in England to mingle the Scottish salt with it, to "afforde" their mingled salt cheaper than "salt apon salt" can be brought from beyond sea or made in England.

Since making of "salt apon salt" in England by license given to Yarmouth by your lordship's means, and set up at Ipswich and Harwich without license, at their own charges, the country "mercers" and retailers of white salt everywhere on the coast side so pull down the price of good salt made in England or brought from beyond sea, that making of "salt apon salt" for fishing, and "whiteware" of Suffolk, decays, and in time will be clean overthrown.

¾ *p.* *Indorsed.*

May 11.

112. [WALSINGHAM] TO ANGUS AND MAR.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 45 b.

Has informed the Queen of England of their resolution to send one of their company hither to her to acquaint her more particularly with the whole circumstances of their cause than can well be done by writing. She thinks the charge should light on Mr. Colvile. She has a care for them, and means to leave nothing undone that she may

Elizabeth.
1584. think will be for their comfort and the relief of their present afflicted state, as may lie in her power and stand with her honour. They shall receive such answer from Mr. Colvile at his return as they shall have reason to rest satisfied with.

½ *p.* *Copy.*

May 11. **113.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.

This day the Master of Glamis repaired to him from the lords to let him know in what strait their friends at home stand, and what determination is taken for the charge of Edinburgh—to which the King has called a "running" parliament, which is to begin to-morrow because the castellan, who received it by order of the State, has made difficulty to give it up except by order of parliament, which he is now pressed to. But doubt fell what to determine, and thereupon [the custodee] sent a gentleman hither yesternight secretly to signify this much to the lords and to pray their advice. They have been much troubled what answer to return to him. They are loth to persuade the keeping of it unless they saw that he might be sufficiently backed—a thing they cannot absolutely promise, having neither sounded the particular affections of their friends at home since this late alteration nor understood what to expect of her majesty's help. They would be loth to counsel the yielding up thereof, seeing the course so obstinately begun followed to the manifest peril of religion, the common peace, and ruin of themselves and their best friends. And considering how much the assurance of this piece might interrupt the course of all these intended mischiefs, and haply stay their fury and violence in the pursuit of such as they have in hand, they think it were the next way to ruin themselves and their cause, and therefore have at length advised him by their answer "to hold good" till they hear further from them, not doubting but they shall find sufficient means to back and relieve him—at the least that they will not fail therein to hazard their own persons, friends, and uttermost fortunes, whatsoever part other men take. And in the meantime they have prayed him [Davison] to signify thus much to the Queen of England, of whose favour and countenance they would be glad to know what to presume, and what comfort they may in general give to their friends, not pressing her to particulars till things shall be grown to some better terms. Wherein, notwithstanding they pretend to be unwilling to trouble her majesty with demands unequal or unreasonable, but such as she shall find to stand with her honour and the profit, surety, and necessity as well of her own estate as theirs, this only in particular they insist on for the present, that if the captain may be brought to assure that strength, and that he shall stand in need of any present supply of men, munition, *etc.*, for the better guard thereof, her majesty would be pleased to advance such money for his help as the necessity of the place and time shall require, which they think cannot exceed 300*l.* sterling. Wherein they crave speedy answer by the gentleman sent to them.

It appears this piece is the thing the King would first assure ere he proceeds to the rest, both in respect that the whole munition and artillery of their country, save four cannons and the furniture

Elizabeth.
1584. delivered out for the late pretended siege of Stirling, and some few small pieces in Dumbarton, are there in store, and that the place itself, for the strength thereof and commandment over the town and country round about, and keeping in awe and subjection the rest of the boroughs, on whose affection stands a great part of the strength of this cause, is the only piece of advantage and importance in the upholding or "periling" of the whole enterprise.

As for particularities of the doings in Scotland, they have not much since his last letter. There is some bruit that Lindsay should be transported to Edinburgh yesterday, which is yet unconfirmed. Crawford travails earnestly for him, but his credit is thought insufficient to countervail hers who affects revenge for old feud against him, though in justice they have nothing material to charge him with, if this hasty Parliament does not hastily supply a defect in their laws.

Argyll has withdrawn from Court to his house in Murray discontented, being forced to sit on Gowrie's assize; wherein, notwithstanding, he refused either to vote or preside as judge. The office was, by special commission, executed by Colonel Stewart without form of law or example. Marishal, commanded upon pain of treason to be on the assize, likewise refused to vote. The like is also said of Huntly, "and yet found they (as we heare) lesse matter in justice then nomber to condempne him, yf men's particulers agaynst him had not furthered his deathe."

The King returned to Edinburgh on Thursday night last. Rothes refusing to be on the assize of Gowrie, and finding what was intended against his son the Master, departed before from the Court with offence. Marishal remains at Court. We hear that Huntly has the gift of some part of Mar's lands. The young Duke [of Lennox] has the gift of Paisley, [and] Hume the Lordship of Copperspeth, near his house, belonging to the Earl of Angus, and is a suitor for Duleton, in Lothian, which was the Earl of Gowrie's. It is thought that Arran aspires to the earldom itself, and will be content to render up what he now usurps to the Hamiltons, and withal be a means for their restoring in case he may find a friendship and standing by them. Upon which point something is to be advised in this Parliament, and some offers to be made to them and others to see if, abandoning all other parties, "intending" especially the Queen of England, they will be content to run the fortune of the present Court, and take their restoring by the mediation and favour of her who by her instruments presently guides and rules the storm of that shaken government.

Maitland, for his good service in her behalf, is to be restored by this Parliament to the priory of Coldingham, which Bothwell pretends to, and Hume of Maunderston's eldest son, enjoys.

Bothwell abides still well affected, and Cesford is indisposed to hazard himself in Court, where he finds no surety.

The two earls [Angus and Mar] are to depart hence to-morrow to Newcastle, but Glamis determines to stay some days here to hear and entertain the better intelligence from and with his friends at home, wherewith he has promised to acquaint him [Davison] from time to time. He requests in the meantime that those material things that shall concern this cause may be used with special care

Elizabeth.
1584. and caution, because, as they think, a great part of the ill success of the last enterprise grew from some ill measure they received from the English Court, which they wish to be met with in time to come. Longs to hear what her majesty shall resolve in his service.

2¼ *pp. Copy in Davison's hand. Indorsed:* "Minute to Sir Frauncis Walsingham. Berwith the xjth Maye, 1584."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 46. Original of the same.

May 12. **114. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

Received his letters of the 4th and 5th, to his great comfort, for by the same he understands as well the continuance of the Queen of England's good opinion and liking towards himself and his services done, notwithstanding the froward success lately coming thereon, as also her good pleasure in granting him leave to go to the country for his own affairs, and to the Court. Trusts to be at London about the beginning of next month. Leaves the advertisement of Scottish occurents to the good report of Mr. Davison. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

May 12. **115. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.**

"Pleis your honour, the ix of yis instant I cam to Widdringtoun quhair I spak wyth ye two brethring, quhom I find mervelus honest and constant and fully resolvit never to resaif condition from ye King bot be sic moyen as hir majeste sall think most fett for hir honour and comfort of ye nobill men distressit. Thai are at point to inter in suir and fast amitie wyth ye said distressit bot thinkis it necessar yat ye ending yarof haif ye presence and contenance of one directit from hir majeste to yat effect in quiet maneir. Nether think thai it resonabill to conclud in that or ony other purpose, seim it never so laufull, wythout hir majestes privacy and allowance. The x of this instant I came to Bervik, quhair I fand ye nobill men thair in ye self same opinion concerning ye two brethring, for quhilk cause yai haif directit ye Maister of Glammis and me to Widdrintoun yat we may persuad thame to remane constant and noct to resaif ony offer from Scotland wythout thair knawleg, lyik as thai sall resaif none bot be hir majestes and thaire good lyiking.

"The xj ye lordis removit towart Newcastell. I haif bein werey inquisityve to knaw ye estait of thaire caus and suirty. I can noct find ye same so desperat as men belevis. The occasion of yis lait overthraw quhiche thai haif sustenit hes procedit from Gowry, quho (allace) hes perissit in his cairles securite, for ye said Gowry wes ye traveller wyth all yat promisit to joyin in ye caus, because Mar and Glammis wes then in Irland and Angus far northe in ye cuntre. So Gowry being takin it wes incertane to ye rest, quho had promisit to him, and for yat caus suche as he had delt wythall being discouragit throuche his apprehension abstenit thair self. Zit noctwythstanding of all this the nobell men heir assuris me of thair honour and treuthe that gif thai had only convenit thair awin freindis thai had bein sufficient party to haif rencontrit ye King and all his cumpany, bot thai thai [*sic*] thocht it to muche wythout concurrance of other

Elizabeth.
1584. nobill men for thame allone to tak so gret ane work in hand. To ye effect hir majeste may be ye better informit of ye estait of this caus, of ye good apperance yerof and moyen to preserve ye same, thai haif thocht good yat ye said Master of Glammis and I suld be directit to Court."

"Indeed I must confes that I se ane greter lycht be thair exile nor I culd ever se befor, quhiche at our cumming salbe manifestit to your lordship. Let hir majeste be assurit all ye hoill number heir ar as far at hir devotion as I am, and ar noct desparit, wyth Goddis grace, to find releif howsoever matteris go. And tharfor thai ar noct to be cast of. Gif I culd persaif ony apperance of crafty deling in thame or ellis suche infirmite as men thinkis zour honour suld assuritly knaw boyth the one and the other, lyik as I haif dedicat my self to be wholly addictit and devotit to hir majeste by all other levand. I humlie pray zour honour lett this be communicat wyth my speciall good lord Lord Lechester, wyth my most humill commendation of service to his lordship." Berwick. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

Postscript.—"Mr. Levistoun quho wes last employit is ane obstinat and ignorant papist, pensioner to ye Quein of Scotland, and principall servitour to ye young duik."

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

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 47 b. Copy of the same.

May 13. **116.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

I humbly thank you for your letter dated at Berwick the 9th instant, which reached this town, as the other packet to Mr. Secretary did, on the 12th. If my posts hereafter make no worse speed I trust that you will not complain hereafter upon their master, but I pray you do not trouble them oftener than your urgent causes force you. Mr. Smyth, whom Mr. Killigrew and I visited yesterday, is in good health. We all pity your case, but have no means to do you good.

Livingston arrived here on Monday night. Mr. Beale went that day towards the Scottish Queen. Mauvissière has leave to go to Scotland. Mr. Archibald [Douglas] is received again into grace with her majesty here. St. Peter's Hill. *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

Postscript.—The heavy fortune befallen upon so many of the nobility of Scotland greatly grieves the best among us here. Nothing yet resolved what course to take. "Deus misereatur nostri." No man has seen your letter but Sir Walter [Mildmay] and Mr. Killigrew.

2 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 13. **117.** PRINCIPAL POINTS IN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S LETTER TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

"The principall pointes conteynid in the French ambassadors lettre of the xiijth of May 1584."

The King his master offers that he will never have more strait league and friendship with any Prince than with the Queen of England.

The said King wishes that the matters of Scotland may grow to some reasonable and accord, himself taking the like course in his own government. The King adds nothing to the former instructions sent him to

Elizabeth.
1584. repair into Scotland withal. Saving only that upon the earnest recommendation of the Lord Seton, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Queen of Scots, and like request made to him by the young King to send to comfort her, and to recommend her case to the Queen of England and desire her to take some order now for her deliverance out of this long captivity, the King [of France] has again given him in charge to visit the Queen [of Scots] from him with his and the Queen mother's letters, advising her to give good counsel to her son to her majesty's best liking and contentment.

His own earnest desire to see the three crowns united together in perfect friendship.

That the Scottish man of the King's guards may have a passport for four geldings for the King his master.

⅔ *p. Indorsed. Notes on the back.*

May 14. **118. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Since his last, of the 11th instant, they hear that the Parliament, by reason of the absence of many of the lords, is put off till Saturday next.* Morton, Atholl, and Bothwell in the meantime have come to the Court, the last having made his agreement with Arran and produced the letter written to him by Angus and Mar. But because in his answer credit was referred to the bearer, who still affirms the same to be none other than to give up friendship with them, the King pretends herewith to be satisfied and has granted the liberty of his servant. Argyll, [who has] departed to Murray, is not looked for at this meeting. Marishal is yet in Court, but untouched. Rothes, it is thought, will make difficulty to come in, whose sons the masters of Lindsay and Rothes [*sic*] yet keep themselves aside.

Montrose is named to succeed Gowrie in the treasurership, wherein he has the Laird of Caprington, uncle to Arran, and Sir Robert Melville for competitors. The prisoners at Lindsay, the Master of Cassillis, the Lairds of Cowdenknowes and Wedderburn, the bishop of Murray, Mr. William Leslie, and George Fleck are sent for. Huntly travails earnestly for the bishop, and Crawford for Lindsay, but Montrose and Maitland having already intermeddled with their livings, there appears the less hope of their lives. The Lady Johnstone is likewise a suitor for Mr. William Leslie, taken by her servants, but with as little comfort as the rest.

The Countess of Cassillis, wife to Lord John Hamilton, and the old Countess of Mar, with divers others, are summoned; the last like to find hard treatment, notwithstanding all her old services to the King. The gifts and signatures passed during this journey at Stirling—at which time the King subscribed every man's bill presented to him—are since his returns to Edinburgh revoked, and order [is] given to the Clerk Register, the Treasurer, Mr. John Maitland, and the Laird of Doun to control them all and to see who justly may be rewarded, and who not, notwithstanding his [Davison's] former promise obtained of him.

On Sunday † the King of Scots sent for some of the ministers of Edinburgh, charged some of their brethren with practising

* 16th. † 10th.

Elizabeth.
1584. in this last action with the lords, let them know what cause he had to pursue their persons, which he would not have taken as an argument of his declined affection to the cause of religion, prayed them to be means to bring forth the persons of such as were charged, and promised them favour notwithstanding their fault. But the favour they look for in this equal government is such as neither themselves nor their friends are willing they should make trial of.

Has made means to recover the whole form of Gowrie's process, which he looks for daily, and will send him as soon as it comes to his hands. Requests answer to his letter of the 11th instant, and knowledge of her majesty's determined pleasure touching his service. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davison.

1 *p.* *Copy in Davison's hand.* *Indorsed:* "14 May 1584. M[inute] to Sir Fraunces Walsingham from Berwick."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 47 b. Another copy of the same.

May. **119. NOBILITY AND OTHERS OF SCOTLAND DISTRESSED.**

"The names of soche of the nobilitie and others of Scotland as are presentlie distressed, of which some are without the realme some are within the same."

Without the realm. Some are banished or fled, as—the lords the brethren of Hamilton, the Earls of Angus and Mar, the Master of Glamis, the Abbots of Dryburgh and Paisley, the Lairds of Buchan, Carmichael, and Carnot, George Douglas of Parkhead, Ministers.—Mr. Andrew Melvile and Mr. James Carmichael.

Some are licensed to remain abroad, but in effect banished, as—the Lord Boyd, the Lairds of Lochleven, Wemys, and Cleish, the Prior of Pluscardin and his brother, base sons of the Earl of Morton, the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, the Constable of Dundee.

Of those who are distressed within the realm some are captive, as—the Lord Lindsay, the bishop of Murray, the Master of Cassillis, the Lairds of Cowdenknowes and Wedderburn, Mr. William Leslie, *etc.*

Some newly summoned, as—the Countesses of Cassillis and Mar, the eldest, and sundry others. Some have withdrawn for fear of apprehension, as—the Lord Drumond, the Lord Cathcart, the Masters of Oliphant, Forbes, Lindsay, and Rothes, the Abbot of Inchaffray, the Master of Boyd, the Laird of Badinheith, Ministers.—Andrew Hay, Andrew Pollart, Patrick Galloway, and John Clappton.

1 *p.* *Addressed to Walsingham.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 49. Copy of the same.

May. **120. [ ] TO ROBERT BOWES.**

The cause of my long silence happened through my being with the King on his journey, but now on my return, minding to amend this negligence, in writing, I will not "spaire," though not without hazard, to advertise you as long as I stay here.

The Parliament shall be on Tuesday next.* The lords are sent

* Probably the 19th.

Elizabeth.
1584. for. Morton arrived yesternight, and Atholl will be here this night. The King at his being in Stirling, minding for policy's sake to deny no man any request, subscribed all men's "signateries" for the time. But here he revokes ["revoultes"] all again, and has ordained the Clerk of Register, the Treasurer, Mr. John Maitland, and the Laird of Doun to control them all and to see who justly may be rewarded or who justly may be denied.

"The warderers," such as they are, the Lord Lindsay, the Master of Cassillis, his sister the Lady Arbroath, taken by the Laird of Bargany lately, the Laird of Wedderburn, the bishop of Murray, George Fleck, and William Leslie are sent for. The Lady Johnstone comes in this night to beg his life, but he has heard the King say he will not give it.

The Earl of Huntly labours for the bishop, [and] the Earl of Crawford for Lindsay, yet because the Earl of Montrose and Mr. John Maitland have intromitted with their places it is suspected they will pass to assize, which will irritate the two aforesaid earls.

Those whom you have with you are extremely hated and shall perish. Montrose is to be made treasurer. Bothwell is constrained to agree with Arran two days since. He has produced the letter which Angus and Mar wrote to him; but because credit in the answer was referred to the bearer, the bearer says it was to give up friendship with them, and his servant who was taken shall be delivered.

The King on Sunday spoke with the ministers of this town in his cabinet, fully declaring that he "was to put at" some of their brethren for practising with the lords in this last uproar, viz. Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. James Carmichael, and Mr. Patrick Galloway ["Galley"]. He wished the ministers not to think that he was [going] to persecute the religion "thoughe he persecute them," yea to travail that they should come into his majesty, and he would be more merciful to them than he was to his nobility. I was at the process of the Earl of Gowrie and took so diligent heed thereto that I can, and will pen from my memory his whole accusation with his answer from the first word to the last, which your worship shall receive by the next bearer.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "1584. Edinburgh. May. Copie to Mr. Bowes."

May 15. **121.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

I have thought good to let you understand that the purpose of Livingston's coming hither was to demand the delivery of the noblemen who have withdrawn themselves into this realm, according to the treaties between both realms. Whereunto her majesty has returned him with answer that she would send her answer therein to the King by a servant of her own, meant to be yourself, the substance whereof shall be that she does not take them to be traitors, howsoever he interprets their actions, which she is in conscience persuaded tended to his honour, safety, and service, and the common benefit of the whole realm, and therefore cannot in honour yield to his request for the delivery of them as traitors or rebels.

We are now greatly occupied here in devising what reasons and arguments are fitted to be used for the maintaining and fortifying of this her majesty's allegation, as also about other points concerning the affairs of that State that require necessary consultation.

Elizabeth.
1584. I am not unmindful of your suit, but by reason her majesty is presently so disquieted with the ill success of these affairs of Scotland, I could therefore find no apt time to move her yet therein. Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 15. **122. Walsingham to Mr. William Davison.**

In answer to yours of the 11th instant, you shall understand that having made her majesty acquainted with the contents thereof, she has willed me to signify to you that you shall let the Master of Glamis know that, touching the advice demanded by the Constable of Edinburgh, her highness seeing the hard event their late enterprise took, can by no means allow that the Constable should forbear the delivery of the Castle in case it shall be ordered by Parliament to be yielded into the hands of such as the King shall appoint to receive the same.

Her majesty conceives that their party is now, through the ill success of the enterprise, so discouraged that there is no hope of relieving the said Constable in case he should be reduced to any extremity for lack of victuals. The only way for the relief of their distressed cause, as her majesty conceives, is mediation; wherein she will omit nothing that shall be found expedient to bring the same to good effect. For which purpose there is now choice made of certain especial commissioners to take such way of counsel as may best bring the same to pass.

This I write by her majesty's order, not doubting but that you will accompany this resolution—which to them may seem hard—with as many arguments of comfort as you can. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 16. **123. Shrewsbury and Robert Beale to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIII. It may please your honour to signify to the Queen's majesty how that I, Robert Beale, arrived at Sheffield Castle on Wednesday the 13th of this present [month], at night, and the earl having then communicated to me her majesty's instructions, we signified to this Lady that we were desirous to speak with her; which was deferred until the afternoon of the next day by reason of her indisposition, as it was said, having by the space of eight days been troubled with a looseness, and kept her chamber.

Upon our coming to her, after delivery of her majesty's letter for our credence, we told her, that whereas her majesty had been made acquainted by Mr. Waade with such great protestations as she lately made at his being here, of her sincerity in the treaty begun last year, and that she would be altogether at her majesty's devotion and depend only upon her friendship, if her highness would accept thereof. And besides—so that the said treaty begun last year might proceed, [she] willed him to impart to her majesty two other offers, whereof one was that she would work with the King her son in such sort that she doubted not but that he would be advised to deal more favourably with such noblemen of Scotland as were noted to be affected to the amity of this realm. The other offer was that she

Elizabeth.
1584. would give order that her ministers in France should themselves forbear to deal in any practices that might any ways tend to the disquieting of her majesty's estate, and also not deal with any rebels, fugitives or other persons departed out of this realm without her majesty's licence or good liking. Her majesty hereupon trusting that she will truly and sincerely perform both her said former offers made at such time as Sir Walter Mildmay was here, and also the two others made to Mr. Waade, had sent me, Robert Beale, hither, and given charge to us both to understand from her whether she persists in the same mind and disposition truly and effectually to perform the said offers, and upon knowledge thereof she should understand her majesty's further pleasure, according to the credence which we had, and [which] was contained in her majesty's letter to her.

At first she seemed to " make " it somewhat strange that she should make to Mr. Waade either any offer for the performance of such things as she had promised when Sir Walter Mildmay was here, or make any new offers, seeing he had told her that he had no commission to treat with her, and it were a folly for her to make offers still, not knowing what would be performed towards her. And therefore she said that to Mr. Waade she used but general speeches, viz., that she [would have] proceeded in the treaty—if it had been then acepted —sincerely, and that she would only depend upon her majesty's friendship, if she might be assured of it, and do anything to her contentment.

And for the performance of the former offers made at the time of Sir Walter Mildmay's being here, she said that then she was able to perform the same, but now things were changed, and therefore knows not how much she may prevail: and for that cause desired her majesty then that the treaty might proceed with some speed before such mischiefs happened, and whilst she might do good. For she had referred all power to her friends in France to do as they should see cause, and knew not how far they had proceeded, and whether their doings might be revoked or not. And touching the noblemen of Scotland, she knew not with what particular offences towards her son they were to be charged, by reason that she had not heard from him: and, besides, she had found that the pardoning of such had been the cause of all her trouble.

Concerning the other point, of her ministers in France, she said that she remembered no such particular offer, but only general speeches, that she was ready to do anything to win her majesty's favour. And hereupon Nau, standing by, took upon him [to say] that he had delivered some speeches to that effect to Mr. Waade after he had departed from her, viz., that seeing her majesty laid great fault upon his mistress's officers in France, he assured himself that she would give such order as we desired, to them, so that it would please her majesty to deal favourably with her.

Hereunto we replied that it imported not much whether she used either general or particular speeches to Mr. Waade or not; for if they were not uttered by her so particularly as they were conceived by him and reported to her majesty, yet she might now make them as particular as we had propounded them, if she listed, and therefore desired her to signify to us her disposition in the performance both of the former and later offers; for we saw no cause to the con-

Elizabeth.
1584. trary but that she might do it as well now as heretofore, in respect of the association between her and her son, and her credit with him. And touching that which she had alleged, that the treaty did not then go forward, we told her that the cause was partly in her son and partly in herself; for he would never give his assent to any such association, "but to be treated with as only absolute Kings without peere or collegue," adding that none more "oppugned" the treaty with her and her said son jointly than Colonel Steward did at his being in England, who now runs a course to the contrary. Besides, if it be considered in what sort one Holt, a Jesuit or seminary priest sent from hence to practise somewhat to the disturbance of this estate, was, contrary to the King's promise, released out of the Castle of Edinburgh, with what instructions the Lord Seton was sent over into France, how little Mr. Secretary's embassage prevailed, these and such like accidents might show the little regard the King her son had for her majesty's friendship.

Further, we told her that her highness was not ignorant of a certain practice entertained between her said son and the house of Guise, tending to the disquieting of her majesty's estate, wherewith her highness knew she had been made acquainted. And seeing her majesty understood this and such other their intents, and was able to withstand the same, yet if she but thought that she had yielded her assent thereto, she would never be induced to enter into any treaty. But considering her late protestations of sincerity, her highness desired her, as she would be believed and credited in this action, plainly to declare how far forth she had dealt therein, so that thereby her highness might have some proof and token of her sincere dealing.

Touching Stewart, she answered that she foretold of him as the truth of things fell out. He was procured by others to come out of Flanders to serve their turns, and not hers. And as for Holt, she pretended to be ignorant of his dealings in Scotland. And for the practice between her son and the house of Guise, she said that she never was herself a dealer in it, and could not tell what others had done, understanding so little from them as she did. Nevertheless, the next day being—according to our instructions and her majesty's commandment delivered to me, Robert Beale, by word of mouth—pressed to some more particular answer to this point, she said that for herself she had been no dealer in any such practice against her majesty or her realm, but she was not bound to discover what she had heard from others. She was no subject, nor [was she] bound to disclose it, and so must use the same protestation that she did when the now Lord Chancellor, Lord Delawarr, and others were sent to her to charge her with such matters. By courtesy she might be brought to tell what she knows, but not of duty, and therefore it may suffice that she has not dealt in anything herself, but had hindered some such practices, and so would do if she may be favourably dealt with.

In the end we prayed her to give us a resolute answer to the rest of those things which we had propounded, and told her that if she could be contented to perform the offers made to Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Waade, then her majesty meant to send him back again to proceed in the said treaty; and further, according to her request made last year, her majesty would not deny to her the sending of one of her

Elizabeth.
1584. servants together with one from her majesty into Scotland, so that he do not intermeddle in the practice of anything offensive to her majesty. Besides, we told her how that the French ambassador, in the name of the King his master, had also desired to have liberty with some other from her majesty to repair into Scotland to do some office in the said King's his master's behalf for the reconciling of her son and his nobility: whereto her majesty was well disposed to yield her assent, so that she might receive some good contentation from her. Wherefore we desired her to consider of the matter, how beneficial it would be for herself and her son, and to avoid the inconveniences that otherwise were like to ensue, viz., that some other course would be taken with her touching her liberty; and seeing their practices were well enough known, we told her that her majesty had means to meet with them well enough, and sufficiently to provide for her own safety. She desired respite until the next day, and so for that time we departed. On Friday morning about 8 o'clock Nau desired to walk down into the garden with me, Robert Beale, where he began to tell me how the Queen his mistress had considered of that which I had propounded to her, and further said that in generality the offers reported by Mr. Waade, whereupon this negotiation seemed to be founded, were true, but added that the Queen his mistress did not then enter into any particularity either concerning the performance of the offers made to Sir Walter Mildmay or otherwise to himself, but in general terms offered to do anything that might please the Queen's majesty, so [long] as she might be assured of her favour. For he said there was no cause, for that Mr. Waade denied having any commission to treat with her. Besides, things were since changed, as the King was in liberty out of his enemies' hands, yea had a great advantage of them; the association, which was required to be published with her majesty's good liking and mediation, was past, and no cause to offer so largely as she did then. Nevertheless, he said his mistress would do anything to please her majesty, so [long] as she might be once assured of her favour; and therefore desired to understand from me what assurance I could give her thereof. "For," said he, "she had cause to doubt that it would never be had, for that it had ben tolde her that her majestie neyther loved nor could love eyther her or her sonne; and, besides, such treatyes as had ben heretofore attempted were onlye to bringe her to deliver some offers from her, and to assure her of nothinge on thother side." To this I answered, that they who had so reported of her majesty had done very evil offices; his mistress should do well to remove all such suspicions, and not credit such reports, seeing her majesty had sent me, Robert Beale, hither, and promised to send Sir Walter Mildmay, and was contented, upon satisfaction from her, to yield to the going of some of her ministers into Scotland with one from her majesty, and likewise of the French ambassador. He might well perceive her majesty's goodwill towards his mistress if she should give no cause to the contrary. And touching the surcease of the treaty, I told him the fault was on the Scottish King and his mistress's side, repeating the reasons as I had done to her the day before.

"Well," said he then, "if at the comminge of Sir Walter Mildmaye she may be assured of her majesty's good will towardes her and her sonne, then I doe thincke she will not onlye performe th'offers made

Elizabeth.
1584. when he was here, but also the other two, notwithstandinge that they were spoken but in generalitie to Mr. Waade."

Hereupon we entered somewhat into the particularities of the offers made at Sir Walter Mildmay's being here, and he told me that he thought, in substance, his mistress would go from nothing, but doubted whether for her liberty she would restrain herself so much as she then did, for that her son then was a prisoner, and she would have done anything for him, and therefore he thought that she would require a more absolute liberty, as to go into Scotland and be with her son, as he thought—for he spoke it of himself—or else some larger scope if she should remain in this realm. I answered him that he should do well to advise her not to vary in any point from that which she then assented unto last year, for it might breed a mistrust that she did not mean so sincerely as she pretended.

Touching the noblemen, albeit they were driven out of Scotland, as they had understood from the French ambassador, yet he thought she might easily be brought to intercede for some of them, and named Angus, Mar, [and] Bothwell, who were like to be carried away by youth and simplicity; but of some others she must have better trial. And this her dealing for them must, as he said, be after the treaty with Sir Walter Mildmay and assurance received from her majesty, and not before. And so likewise was it requisite that the going of the French ambassador thither should be, and also his mistress's sending to her son, to the intent they might deal upon some ground of matter first agreed and concluded here, for otherwise their going would do no good any more than that of others sent thither has done heretofore; and so far he thought she would condescend. I advised him to counsel his mistress not to neglect the present opportunity for her majesty's contentment, lest her highness might be offended and never enter into the like treaty again touching her liberty, but both restrain her from the liberty which she now enjoys and take another course for the "meeting with of their practises," whereof she had better understanding than they, perhaps, thought she had, and was able to provide for her own safety well enough.

He promised that he would deal with his mistress, who meant to talk with us, and give us an answer in the afternoon. At which time, coming to her, we repeated to her in brief the substance of the matter which we had before propounded to her, and thereupon besought her to signify to us whether she would perform as much as was contained in the offers made to Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Waade. Here she demanded what assurance we had to make to her of her majesty's goodwill towards her and accomplishment of the treaty on her behalf; for she perceived as yet no hope thereof, and so seemed to take in unkind part the words before the subscription of her majesty's name, viz., "one that by desertes you might have had affectionated unto you," or such like; as though, said she, her majesty retained still a diffidence of her, and therefore did not give her any hope that by good deserts she might recover her favour again. We told her she might therein rest satisfied both by her majesty's letter to herself and also that which we had before delivered to her, for that we took it her majesty would not have proceeded so far to send me, Robert Beale, thither, and to promise upon the understanding from thence that she persisted in the same good mind to perform the offers made by her, to send Sir

Elizabeth.
1584. Walter Mildmay also back to proceed in the said treaty, unless she meant to show some favour to her, and therefore it was in her now either to procure it or to give cause to the contrary.

To this she answered that it was not the first time that she had letters for promising of things which after were not gone through with, and took no effect, as at one time by Mr. Middlemore, at another by me the Earl [of Shrewsbury], and the third by Sir Walter Mildmay in this cause. Therefore, she said, she would be loth to offer or assure anything upon hope of a treaty, and then to have no treaty go forward, as had happened hitherto. After some words used to and fro, we imputing the fault to her, and she removing it from her and complaining how much her honour had been of late touched, these were her words: "In case it shall please the Quene my good sister to sende Sir Walter Mildmaye hither with authority not onlye to treate, but to conclude with me touching the offers made by me the last yere, when he was here, wherby some good effecte maye followe—albeit my speaches to Mr. Waade were but in generall termes, to offer myself to doe what I coulde to please the Quene my good sister, as allwayes I shalbe readie to doe for my parte: yet uppon anye such agrement to be made betwene her and me, I wilbe contented to performe so much as eyther I promised to Sir Walter Mildmaye, or hathe ben reported by Mr. Waade: for his two offers are nothinge els but accessoryes and depended uppon the said former offers." Wherefore she said that her desire was, that the said treaty may proceed with speed, and that the said Sir Walter Mildmay, who told her the other year that he had but authority to treat, but not to conclude—might have authority to do both; for he knows the principal points whereupon the treaty will consist: "els," said she, "shall I thincke that the lyke delayes wilbe used as have ben heretofore: and so were it better that it never should be begon, but left as it is. But if we shall agree, I will not onlye most sincerely and exactly accomplishe that which I offred before unto him, but doe what I can to reconcyle the noblemen of Scotlande unto my sonne, wherin I hope that he will respecte and followe mine advise more then of anye other, and will besides geve order unto my officers in Fraunce to forbeare to entermedle in anye practise against her majesties estate, and noot to deale with rebells and fugitives, to the prejudice of her majestie." Otherwise, she said she would be loth to be taken to have made, or to make any offers, or to enter into any treaty at all, but is minded to commit the success to God, and to abide, for her own person, that which He should send.

Hereupon we asked whether her meaning was to alter any of the things then treated of, or to demand any more than was then spoken of. Whereto she answered, that now there were not the like causes for her to enter into treaty as was the last year. For, said she, her son, for whom she would have done anything, was then in his enemy's hand, but now at liberty. And besides, whereas it was one of her petitions the last year to her majesty to use her mediation for the publication of the association between her and her son in Scotland, now, seeing that needed not, her majesty should not be troubled with it. And therefore, seeing she was now to demand and receive less at her majesty's hands than was at that time required, it was reason that now more favour should be showed to her: and yet there should be no variance in the material and substantial points, but only she would desire a more

Elizabeth.
1584. larger scope of liberty, which was " eyther uppon this treatye to be suffred to retyre out of this realme, or to have more libertie if she should remayne in this realme, then she then restrayned her self unto in respecte of her sonnes estate, as then, for whose deliverance she would have ben contented to have don anye thinge, but now he neaded it not." We desired her neither to alter nor add anything, but to content herself with that which was then done, but could get no precise promise from her, but that the more courteously the Queen's majesty dealt with her and her son, who were one, the more she should assure them to her. And upon talking hereabout afterwards with Nau, he [said he] thought that this proceeded upon a Councillor's speech to the French ambassador—as within a twelvemonth he had written hither—that if the Queen his mistress had not dealt as she did, the Queen's majesty was minded to have sent her into Scotland, whereby she conceives that her majesty has an intention to send her thither. But if it shall be agreed upon that she shall remain still here, the difference, as he said, would not be " much materiall, as from twelve myles of libertie mentioned in her petitions the last yere to demaunde now twenty and some other such lyke thinges."

This day he told us that she might demand liberty to repair to her son, and to have free liberty to send to him and receive from him, which things he thought might be compounded upon conference in the treaty.

Touching the French ambassador's going into Scotland, she said that she had received letters from him a good while since touching the King his master's intention, " and merveylethe why it was not permitted unto him before now, unles it were that it might not be granted as longe as there was a partie in Scotlande, and now seinge the contrary, both she and he, who before was forbidden to deale in anye her causes, and was accused to the Kinge his master, must become mediatours, whereas there is no remedie." Nevertheless, seeing he retains as yet the King's and Queen mother's letters to her concerning that cause, if he be suffered to go into Scotland she is desirous that he may be suffered to come to her and to take her advice with him. For otherwise, perhaps, he shall not be so welcome or do so much good as otherwise he might. And further she doubts whether she can assure that person whom he minds to take with him thither—who was Archibald Douglas.

This is as much as we have treated with her in two days, and having reduced the same into writing to the intent we might not mistake nor misreport her words, we read her answer to Nau as the same is heretofore set down, who did not mislike thereof, so [long] as her majesty, upon the knowledge of as much as we can yet attain to, may thereupon take such further order as shall seem good to her, which we pray your honour to further with as much expedition as you conveniently may. Nau declared then to us that if it would please her majesty to write a letter to her with her own hand, with some good words that she would upon good deserts forget that which is past and show her favour, the same would do very much good and bring her the better to trust those who should deal with her, and to do anything that might be to her majesty's contentment. Sheffield Castle. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury. Robert Beale.

11 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Notes in the margin.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 17.
C.P., vol. XIII.

124. ROBERT BEALE TO WALSINGHAM.

You shall perceive by our other letter what my Lord [Shrewsbury] and I have done with this Lady. We cannot by all the cunning that we have bring her to make any absolute promise for the performance of the offers made to Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Waade unless she may be first assured of her majesty's favour and the accomplishment of the treaty, and this done she says that she is minded to do as much as she has offered and may be required of her majesty with her honour. The breaking off in the like treaties heretofore upon her offers cause her to be more circumspect now how she entangles herself again. She seems to be marvellous glad of the late success in Scotland, and especially that her son had a heart to go into the field himself. And nevertheless, upon such reasons as have been alleged to her why she should procure some reconciliation in respect of her son's own safety, I perceive that she can be easily induced to deal for some of them—as Angus, Mar, Bothwell. But she seems to retain another mind towards Gowrie and Lindsay, upon some ancient quarrel of Lochleven's. In the points which concern her majesty, the submitting of her right to Parliament, the not troubling of this state under colour of religion or otherwise, she seems to be no otherwise minded than she was last year. I know not whence her desire comes [to] go out of the realm, and especially to return to Scotland, for last year she seemed not to like of it. Nau says that the French ambassador wrote to them that your honour should use some speeches to him as though her majesty had been minded to have sent her thither if she had not done certain [things] whereat her highness took offence; so that he takes it to be a thing that will be agreeable to the Queen's majesty there. I remit the judgment thereof to others, and for my own part think that if a good treaty may be concluded her remaining there will be less dangerous than here.

If her majesty's pleasure be that Sir Walter Mildmay come down he might come with authority to conclude, and not to treat only, for otherwise she says plainly she will take it for a refusal and delay, and not deal at all, whatsoever shall become of her.

I have since my coming hither dealt with this Earl touching the lord his son, and find him well affected towards him, save that he says that he is ruled by his wife, who is directed from her mother, and here, by reason he takes that the late slanders and other informations made to her majesty have proceeded from her, I see such an evil will or hatred conceived that I think it will hardly be appeased. He says that he requires only obedience as to a father, and will not be taught by any to rule his child. Touching the Lady Arbella, he has received a letter from "H" [stating] how, after my departure, upon his being with her majesty, she had referred the matter wholly to him, and was sorry for the letter that she had willed you to write; and therefore he has given order to deliver her to her grandmother, the rather for that he says she had sent up to the contrary, and had given out in this country that her credit in Court was better than his, and so would stay her there. I have advised my Lord Talbot to yield until his father may be better persuaded. I will not omit to do the best offices that I can. Sheffield. *Signed:* R. Beale.

3 *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
[May].
C.P., vol. XIII.

125. MEMORANDA FROM SHREWSBURY FOR ELIZABETH.

Desires to repair to her presence. Considering his years, the state of his body, how all the winter season he is so troubled with the gout that he cannot well stir abroad, and that the disease increases yearly, he desires her to take some present order therein. He has somewhat to declare to her by word of mouth, which he will not commit to writing nor impart to any Councillor or other person whatever, but reserves it until such time as he may come to her presence.

Touching the Queen of Scots, he thinks that she is of opinion that her son's estate in Scotland is such that he is like to match himself to the Queen of England's misliking, and to do what he can for the bringing in of foreign forces for his assurance; and if this should happen she fears that she shall not be able so easily to remove them, and so may be in danger of her life here. For the avoiding whereof he thinks that she is the more desirous to have some order taken in time by treating with her [the Queen of England] before any such thing happens, and whilst she is able to do good, lest, seeing she has granted her full power already to her cousins of Guise, it would be too late for her to do it afterwards, and so her estate be in more danger. Desires her to have consideration of this.

Beseeches her not to credit any false reports or bruits that may have been spread tending to his dishonour and discredit, but that it would please her to retain one ear still for him, as she promised him when he received this charge at her own hands; for he doubts not but to make good that he has performed the part of a true and loyal subject towards her, and so shall continue still.

1¼ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "My L. of Shrewsbury. A remembrance of certaine thinges which the Erle of Shrewsbury willed Robert Beale to deliver unto her Majesty."

May 17.

126. SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN IN ENGLAND.

"Reasons to shewe that it were nether meet nor honnorable to make delivery of the noblemen according to the King's request."

Suppose the said noblemen were rebels, as the King by information of such as for particular respects are parties against them conceives, yet considering that amongst Princes in these days common use shows that the execution of treaties in that point of delivery of rebels is not put in practice, as the Queen of England has found by her own experience in like requests propounded to the King of Spain, the French King, and the governor of Scotland in the time of the King's minority, notwithstanding their devotion borne to this crown, her majesty sees no reason but she may follow therein the example of other Princes.

Notwithstanding that, so great is her mislike of those who are justly to be charged with attempting anything against Princes, if her majesty were persuaded that the said noblemen had any intent or meaning to have attempted anything unnaturally or disloyally against the King's own person, she would then not only make no difficulty in the delivery of them without regard had to the example of other Princes, but also assist the King in the execution of them and their favourers.

Elizabeth.
1584. Her majesty conceives that the said noblemen are free from all disloyal and ill meaning touching the King's own person, being led so to think by the reasons following :

(1) It is notoriously known that the said noblemen and their progenitors have, not without danger of exposing their persons and goods, stood always to the maintenance of the King's government, and namely the house of Mar.

(2) The experience itself after the surprise at Ruthven, the noblemen being then possessed of the King's person, shows most manifestly that they carried no disloyal or undutiful meaning towards him.

(3) It is apparent that the cause of the unquietness and alteration within the said realm proceeds from the factions which reign between the noblemen and principal persons within his realm ; and from the mislike conceived of the attempt at Ruthven by the parties removed from about the King, which, if the King had sought to have compounded with the assistance and advice of his Parliament, as he was counselled by the Queen of England, the inconveniences now broken out had not then ensued.

(4) Her majesty is not ignorant how those who have wrought the alienation of the King's favour from the said noblemen by most wicked, false, and slanderous reports have not "spared" to touch her in honour by giving the King secretly to understand that she entertained some practice for the making away of his own person, but of late, to make the effects of their malice more apparent, have, upon a pretended letter written by Gowrie to the King—as Livingston himself reports—that a plot was laid that both he and the Queen his mother should about one time be made away, sought thereby to breed a suspicion of her majesty's actions, the said Queen [of Scots] remaining as she does under guard within this realm—a matter that so greatly touches her in honour that her majesty cannot but require that the forgers of these most horrible untruths may receive that punishment which appertains. And therefore her majesty by this malicious dealing of theirs against herself thereby the better discerns their wicked and indirect dealing towards his own subjects.

Lastly, her majesty weighing, together with the reasons above alleged, the protestations made by the said noblemen since their repair into this realm of their innocency touching the heinous matters they are now charged with, being known to be both religious and honourable, her highness cannot but esteem them innocent of that they are charged with, and therefore should, by assenting to deliver them, wound both her honour and conscience ; wherein her majesty has the less cause to yield for that Holt and certain other Jesuits, retired into that realm, seek the disturbance of the common quiet of both kingdoms, being demanded, and the delivery of them promised, were notwithstanding not delivered. Howbeit her majesty, notwithstanding these unfriendly dealings, will give order that the noblemen shall during their abode here deal in nothing that shall any way tend to the disquieting of his estate.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 49 b. 2 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584.
[May 19.]

127. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

According to our promise contained in our late letter, we have appointed this bearer, our servant Davison, to deliver to you our answer touching the request for the delivery of certain noblemen of yours retired into this realm contained in your said letters, wherewith we cannot but both hope and look that you shall rest satisfied, the same being grounded both on reason and honour. And if our advice given to you for the removing of the cause that has bred these evil effects within your realms had been followed, the dangerous divorce and alienation of your subjects' goodwill from you had not then bred the disorder and "distemperature" that have now fallen out within the said realm. But, by experience, it is daily found that advice proceeding from such as are held suspected—the same being never so sound—always becomes unprofitable and fruitless, and therefore we do not marvel when we consider what strange conceits some about you daily most maliciously seek to breed in you touching our unfriendly and unchristian meaning towards you, if the advice we have heretofore given you has been accompanied with so little effect as it has. Time, perhaps, with too dear experience, when the eyes of your own judgment shall "learne" you to discern how perilous it is for Princes to have such dangerous and wicked instruments about them, will then lead you to see your own error in neglecting the counsel of those who have had more care of your well doing and safety than others, perhaps, who pretend to bear most love and affection towards you.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to the King of Scotes, May 1584; by Mr. Davison."

Copy of the same.

May 19.

128. THOMAS RANDOLPH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

I send you this inclosed, and that is all that at this time I have either to say or write, saving a word or two that the Cardinal of Lorraine came to speak. He misliked of Scottish dealings. "Non est mihi negotium cum rebus Scotices." As I am myself far enough from it, so I trust never to have more to do in it, but pray to God to send you good luck and a safe return. St. Peters. *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. Signed on the back by Randolph.*

[May].

129. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO [HENRY] KILLIGREW.

Complains of the want of one to ease him in writing. Incloses an abstract of "our" last Act of Parliament, which may give him a reasonable taste of the present proceedings. Arran being now master of the principal strengths at Dumbarton, Sterling, Blackness, and Edinburgh, his wife and he having usurped the stewardship without account of the jewels, wardrobe, movables, munition, ordnance, *etc.*, of the realm, and having taken to himself the authority and style of Chancellor, and being now appointed to sit in the King's place, the next Parliament to be holden next month to make new laws and proceed in the forfeiture of such as he and his well qualified

Elizabeth.
1584. lady my good "commere" have thrust into the summons, whether "jure necne" is not in question—he, who is so well acquainted with this government and State, can guess what all this may aim unto.

⅔ *p. Draft in Davison's hand. Indorsed.*

May 19. **130.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour, according to hir majesties desyir expressit in your last letter, we haif directit our trusty and weilbelovit freind Mr. Colvile to expone our caus in particular to hir majeste, quhom we half specially desyrit to communicat wyth your honour ye hoill secreit of our mynd as to our most speciall and most assurit freind. Most hartly praying your honour noct to be aschamit to deill for ws in loving maneir as ze haif done heirtofor, becaus we ar hir majestes assurit freindis and distressit for our affection born to hir estait. For gif we had bein as familiar wyth La Mot and Mainvile as we wes wyth Mr. Robert Bowes and Mr. Davesone we had noct bein persecutit this day. Bot we firmly belief yat we haif renderit our self to ane gratius Princesse quho will noct suffer to se ws smart, namly in ane caus quhairin hir majeste hes so gret intres, and tending so muche to ye inquietnes of hir estait gif ye samin sall haif hard succes. Bot ye particular declaration of yis matter we refer to ye sufficiency of yis berar, quho pleis your lordship trust as ourself." Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. J. Mar. Tho. Mr. Glammis.

1 *p. In Glamis's hand. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 20. **131.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

I now send you herewith her majesty's instructions for the answer that you are in her name to make to the King's demand for the delivery of his rebels, as he terms them; wherewith her majesty has also willed me to let you understand, that forasmuch as you are well and particularly acquainted with the course and circumstances of those affairs, she refers it to your own discretion to add such further reasons and arguments to hers as you shall think may be pertinently delivered for the purpose.

The intended journey of the French ambassador to Scotland accompanied with a minister of the Queen of Scots is now broken off, for that the said Queen stands upon very proud terms, refusing to mediate the restitution of the distressed noblemen unless her majesty will grant her liberty and ratify the late treaty between the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Walter Mildmay, Mr. Beale, and her. So that now I do not see what means her majesty can use to procure their relief, but fear greatly they will be left to seek their own peace, which cannot but breed to us a war. [*In Walsingham's hand.*] "This I praye you reserve to your selfe for that we maye alter owre purpose."

I have moved her majesty touching your suit, whom in general I find very graciously disposed towards you, but yet can in particular draw no resolute answer from her in the matter, the issue whereof I have cause to doubt by the example of the success that Sir Henry Cobham has had in his suit, who having at first her promise for 100*l.* in fee farm, reduced afterwards to a lease of 200 marks for sixty

Elizabeth.
1584. years, is now driven to content himself with a lease of the value of 100 marks only for forty years, and therefore you shall do well by your own letter to call upon her majesty to have consideration of you, laying before her the necessity of your decayed estate, and letting her understand how loth you are of yourself to trouble her with your own particular cause if great extremity did not urge you thereto, which is such that you should not have been able to have set forth from London if I had not put your creditors in hope, being brought by you to me for that purpose at the time of your departure, that her majesty would relieve and make you able to satisfy them; whereupon I will take occasion to deal with her earnestly again on your behalf. Greenwich. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Because Livingston gave out here that a letter was written by the King to Gowrie to advertise him of the pretended plot, as is contained in your instructions, for the making away of him and his mother, which touches her majesty greatly in honour, for that no such thing could be attempted without her privity, her pleasure therefore is you shall be very earnest in presenting that point, though in your instructions it is but slightly touched, [she] having willed me to give you special direction so to do.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 21. **132.** INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO MR. JOHN COLVILE BY THE DISTRESSED LORDS.

Let the Queen of England be informed that our present action is the self same that the Earls of Murray and Morton with the rest of that society enterprised about seventeen years ago for maintenance of true religion, preservation of the King, and continuance of the amity betwixt the two crowns, and therefore our cause ought to be esteemed in quality as just and honest as it was at the beginning, and if any difference be, it is in the persons altered by time, and not in the cause; for the residue of the self same men who were leaders of our sovereign's mother to persecute religion under the pretence of civil causes, to marry the murderer of her husband, and to forget the benefits bestowed on her country by the Queen of England, are now creeping in about the King, moving him to persecute religion. In the self same sort, under pretext of civil causes, to revenge the wrath of his mother on such as delivered him forth of the hands of the murderer of his father, and to deal more inwardly with other nations than with her majesty, who has established religion within his country and preserved his life and crown.

We will not presume to be curious in her majesty's affairs, but with all dutiful humility we desire you to declare to her highness from us that the hardness of our fortune and prosperity of our enemies can import no tranquility to her majesty's estate.

That our cause is not so desperate as is believed, and that there never were so many "malcontentit" in Scotland at one time nor more ready to join together when occasion can be presented, and that the hard success "procedit" from the apprehension of the Earl of Gowrie.

After her majesty is persuaded that our cause is no new cause, but the self same enterprised about seventeen years ago by the noblemen

Elizabeth.
1584. aforesaid, and a cause lawful and honest, and such as her majesty has at sundry times assisted by her forces and favour, and not prejudicial to her tranquility, then humbly "appeill" her assistance at this time in such form as is prescribed to you, or else in some other form more agreeable to her majesty's honour and her comfort; and to persuade her thereunto use the reasons following:—

That the chief cause of our distress is for our unfeigned affection to her estate, which we could not but prefer to all foreign estates, by reason that by her majesty's assistance religion was planted within our native country, and our sovereign's life preserved; and therefore when opportunity might serve we entreated his majesty to deal more lovingly with her, "hie" than with any other foreign Prince. "Be qwiche doing we wer notit to be addicted wnto hir, and for yat caus the moir hatit be ye present abusaris of his majeste quho ar conjurit and manifest enemeis to hir estait." That if we had been as familiar with La Mothe and Maineville as we were with her majesty's ambassadors, Mr. Robert Bowes and Mr. Davison, we had not been distressed this day.

That the present abusers of his majesty seek to be made great by her majesty's destruction, and our happiness depends only upon her felicity, seeing we have no dealing with any other foreign Prince.

If by the persuasions aforesaid her majesty cannot be moved either to aid us in such form as we desire, "nor to lett ws understand delay to be profitabill to hir majestie nor to ws," then humbly request (1) that we may have liberty to seek our fortune in some other country as men destitute of all worldly comfort, to repose ourselves upon the favour of our eternal God and the equity of our cause. (2) So long as we remain in England we humbly desire to have liberty to remain where we think ourselves most contented and [have] "best eis," the rather because it is reported in sundry parts appointed for us that we are not received as friends, but as rebels and such as are worthy to be "confynit in certane placis." (3) And for the Laird of Carmichael, we humbly desire that letters may be directed to the Lord Scrope, Sir John Foster, and the "remanent" wardens, to the Knight of Wallington, and such others as shall be given "in catelogue," and according to our information, that no injury be offered to him within their wardenries, or by any of the aforesaid persons or their friends. (4) That our meaning towards the Lords of Hamilton be "exponit."

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. In John Colvile's hand. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 56. Copy of the same.

May 22. **133.** THOMAS, MASTER OF GLAMIS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Sir, et may pleis zou, I thocht to hewe cum to zou to Berwyk and thirefore I stayet yis tym onwreting off our procedings. Bot seing yir zoung nobill hes noct will to spare me ony tym quhill the resave sum advertisement from Mr. John Colwill quhom the hewe sent to the quenes majestie, I hewe thocht guid to lett zow knaw be letter quhat we hewe doun sen my cummyng, and quhat ar Mr. Colwill instructionis. For seing the gryt guid quhilk alradey ze hewe declarit in this caus and also off ye freindschip quhilk our selwes hes resavit at zour handis, I culd noct without oursycht off my awin dewetie mak zou foirsein off our desyr and supplicatioun to be presentit be word to hir majestie, quhairoff ze pleis resave ye particuler in writ from this berair, quhilk

Elizabeth.
1584. pleis zou to keep to zour selff, for nane assuritley nather in curt nor Ingland hes ye sam. For ye lack off tym we culd noct place in so guid ane forme as necesser was, bot yir will reduce ze te rememberance off sic thingis as I sum tymes hewe bein confusley declaring unto ze, and suirley I perrell yat Mr. Colwill quha hes noct bein in the werey prewetey off yis mater in all pointis upoun sa schort information as he hes hed off ws can noct sa weill as ye necessetie requyres satisfie all dutes yat perewentour in the ewent—althocht noct in the substance—off our caus may and wilbe mowit. And theirfoir I man maist humilie crewe yis at your handis, that it may pleis ze quhansoever your laser permittis ze to writ wnto my Lord Thesaurair quhou I wys maist to be satisfeit, that it may pleis hes lordship, althocht this berair satisfie noct hes lordship in all hedes, zit yat it may pleis hes lordship to suspend his jugment wnto sic tym as ather it may be lesum to sum off yir nobillmen quha onderstandis the mater best to resort to curt, or yan yat ze may onderstand the difficultie yat we all being heir presentley with ze may satisfie his lordship be ze in the sam. For yis mekle ze may maist esteme yat we nather heff sic affectioun to our cuntrey nor landes and freindis at home, bot gyff there be ony imminent danger be ye help to hir majesteis estait or hurt to ye caus be haistey remeid bot we will continew ye sam, so yat we may persave it noct to be done to ye disawantaige of ws, for than necessetie will compell ws, althocht aganis our awin hartis, to draw to ony wyer cuntrey quhair our remanyng wilbe les anger to ye King's majestie quhill we try our selff clein. We luik within aucht dayes for word from Mr. Colwill, and than I think, God willing, to wisit ze with diligence." Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Mr. Glammis.

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

May. **134.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. WILLIAM DAVISON BY ELIZABETH.

Whereas the King of Scots has lately sent William Livingston with his letters to her to demand the delivery of his rebels, as he terms them, who have withdrawn into England, letting her also understand that in case of refusal he shall be constrained to crave the assistance and support of foreign Princes, which he does not doubt to obtain, for resisting the further perilous enterprises of his said rebels, a kind of request that seems very strange to her, who has therefore thought meet to answer the same rather by a servant of her own than by the said Livingston, and has made special choice of him. After Livingston has passed into Scotland he is to send to the opposite warden of the East March for a passport or safe conduct to pass to the King of Scots, as sent from her. Is to declare to him in her name, that, supposing the said noblemen were rebels, as by information of such as for particular respects are parties against them, he conceives, yet considering that among Princes in these days common use shows that the execution of treaties in that point of the delivery of rebels is not put in practice, as she has found by her own experience in like requests propounded to the King of Spain, the French King, and the Governor of Scotland in the time of his minority, notwithstanding their devotion borne to the crown of England, she sees no reason but that she may therein follow the example of other Princes. Yet notwithstanding

Elizabeth.
1584. that so great is her mislike of those who are justly to be charged with attempting anything against their Prince, that if she were persuaded that the said noblemen had any intent or meaning to have attempted anything unnaturally or disloyally against the King's own person, she would then not only make no difficulty in the delivery of them—without regard had to the example of other Princes in these days in like case—but also assist him in the prosecution of them and their favourers. But she conceives he may say to the King that the said noblemen are free from all disloyal and ill meaning touching his own person, being led so to think by the reasons following:

[*Recapitulates the reasons set out in No.* 126.]

When he has delivered these reasons and "maintained" to him in that sort that it may appear to him they are such as she may in honour yield, and himself has cause to rest satisfied with, he shall then advertise her with all speed of the manner of his acceptance of the same, and in the meanwhile continue still in Scotland until he shall receive other direction from her.

And whereas the mustering of her forces at present as well in Yorkshire as on her Borders may minister occasion to some to give out bruits that she means to attempt somewhat against that realm, he may in her name assure the King that, whatsoever may be said to him in that behalf, she carries for her part no such intent or purpose, unless hereafter there shall be cause ministered by him otherwise to provoke her justly thereto.

6⅛ *pp. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

May 22. **135.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The staying of the French ambassador's journey to Scotland, accompanied with a minister of the Queen of Scots, is now fully resolved on by reason of the unthankful acceptation and construction that her majesty understands the Queen of Scots makes of her good meaning therein. Wishes there might be some other good way and remedy found to stay the King's violent proceeding against these distressed noblemen and gentlemen. Lord Hunsdon has conceived some good hope that Arran may be won to serve for a fit instrument in that behalf, whereof he has thought good to give him knowledge, to the end he may accordingly use himself towards him, and avoid all he can giving him any occasion of offence by opposing himself against him or otherwise. Yet he cannot advise him to enter into any dealings with him in this matter unless he shall receive special direction from hence for that purpose.

Greenwich. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—If Arran shall any way seek of him he shall do well to use him with all favour and curtesy, and to promise him, in case he shall seem to be desirous of her majesty's good opinion, that he will employ himself to his uttermost in the procuring thereof.

¾ *p. Postscript in Walsingham's hand. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 50 b. Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 22.

136. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

Sir, I send on to zow heirin inclosit the tuo letteris that your honour perusit zisternycht partlye corrected in vordis bot nothing in substance, together vyth vthir tuo letteris quhairin is contenit the sum of the answer gevin zistserday as will appeir be thayr severall copyis quhilkis I thocht necessarye to be send onto zour honour together vyth the copye of ane tickate send be my self in companye of the first. All these letteris ar contenit in this pacquett quhilk the ambassadour prayis may be send vyth speid to the quen mother to the King of Scotland. Quhat zour honour vill think conwenient to be done heirin I most leif to zour better consideration. Alwayis most humblye I request that I may knaw quhat answer to gif heiranent." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

Postscript.—" Sen the writting heirof the ambassadour hes dessirit that zour honour may be movit that his bedfellow (quho is extremilye seik) may haif the borrowing of zour asine that scho may haif the use of hir mylk for ane certayne schort spaice."

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

May 22.
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137. Elizabeth to Shrewsbury.

Upon perusal of his late letters does not find that disposition in the Queen of Scots for further proceeding in the treaty begun last year, in such sort as was then propounded, that she conceived upon the report made to her by Mr. Waade touching certain offers to be communicated to her, which, as she now declares, were more particularly delivered by him to her, than he received them from her—yet she does not deny but that she delivered some speech in generality, tending to some such end, though not in such particular sort as was reported by him—alleging now that time has wrought some alteration in the cause, and that it lies not in her power to perform that which then was promised. Besides, as she gathers upon view of his said letters, she seems to conceive, touching the overture made for the French ambassador's going into Scotland with a servant of hers, that she is now forced by necessity to assent thereto as void of all other remedy. Has therefore thought good, upon knowledge of this strange and unlooked for construction made of her meaning and intent touching the two points, the one for proceeding in the treaty, the other for sending into Scotland, that he shall let her understand, for the first, that seeing her message, as she alleges, was mistaken by Waade, as not so particular as was reported by him, whereupon she grounded her sending to her for the renewing of the said treaty, and time has now wrought such a change in the cause, that it does not lie in her to perform things formerly promised, she can be content to forbear further proceeding therein until time shall lead her to conceive otherwise of the matter than presently she finds she does.

Touching her assenting to the French ambassador's repair to Scotland in company with a minister of hers, which she interprets to proceed from the necessity of the time in respect of the late alteration in Scotland, he is to let her know that she had well hoped that the care she had of her son's safety, being the only cause of yielding her assent thereto, should not have been subject to so hard and unfriendly a construction. For although she, of necessity, was moved—as she

Elizabeth.
1584. herself confesses—last year to make so large offers to her upon consideration of the hard estate her son stood in at that time, as she conceived, which she [Elizabeth], at the time of the first overture, in friendly sort supposed to proceed only from the desire she had for the recovery of her good opinion and favour—though not long after she judged the contrary—yet, thanks be to God, she does not see why she may not live without either party or friendship with Scotland, and has as little cause to dread their malice, in case they should have will to attempt anything against her, as any other of her progenitors. And therefore in both these points she concludes that, for her part, she can be content to forbear any further proceeding until she shall see her otherwise disposed in the one and the other than presently she finds she is. Her pleasure is that Beale repair to her. Greenwich.

1⅔ *pp. Indorsed:* "1584, May 23. M[inute] to the E[arl] of Shrewsb[ury]—not sent."

May 23. **138. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

This Parliament which began to sit on Monday last* has hitherto done little save to choose the Lords of the Articles and to take order for the summons of the fugitive earls and others of their party, that after sixty days they may proceed to their forfeiture.

On Tuesday the King went to the Tolbooth, the young Duke [of Lennox] carrying the crown before him, Huntly the sceptre, and [ ] the sword, the rest of the lords following in their several ranks, where he made a solemn speech declaring the cause moving him to call the Parliament, which was to acquaint his good subjects with the late rebellious attempt against his person, estate, and crown, the intent he had, with their good advice, to see the fact punished and his laws duly executed against the offenders, and to provide for the better asssuring and establishing the peace and quiet of his estate in time to come, with some other generalities and reference of the rest of that he had to say to the more particular relation of Arran, who, occupying the place of Chancellor in the absence of Argyll, omitted nothing that he thought might make the case of these fugitive lords and their party odious, or to justify their own contrary proceedings.

At the King's first coming into the Tolbooth, the Earl Marishal seeing Colonel Stewart enter the place with the King's guard, against the orders of the house, and with injury of his office of High Marshal, found himself much grieved with that innovation, and entered into some offence with the colonel about it, who maintained his act by a pretended warrant and commandment of the King's. The Marshal was compelled to give place, but with protestation against it as an act that should not prejudice his right.

The Lord Lindsay and the rest of the prisoners are not yet removed from their several wards, nor will anything be attempted against them till they can find more matter in justice to charge them with. Their friends in the meantime are fed with some hope, but neither their liberty nor lives [are] yet out of question. Crawford continues an earnest suitor for Lindsay; Bothwell for Cowdenknowes, and Huntly for the bishop [of Murray].

* 18th.

Elizabeth.
1584.

Sir Andrew Keith, who, with his colleague William Stewart, has departed to Sweden carrying with them the King's free remission for the slaughter of the Scots committed in Sweden about eight or nine years since to make themselves more grateful, was sued before his departure as an instrument to sound and persuade the Earl Marishal to confess his foreknowledge of the enterprise at Stirling and to take remission for it, but neither can they certainly hear that he has charged himself with the one or determined to demand or accept of the other.

The Countess of Cassillis is taken in the west by the means of the Laird of Bargany, who, being charged as a favourer and party in this last action, seems to have made his own peace with her peril. She is charged to have some special interest in the late pretended conspiracy, and is like to find very hard measure in Court if there fall out any proof against her.

Sundry of the friends of the Master of Glamis, her brother, are commanded to free ward in Dundee, and the constable of that place—whom the Court suspects—is licensed to depart the country.

At Daus and other market towns on the Borders they have this last week made proclamation inhibiting any Scottish man to intercommon with any English without special license from the Court, or any Englishman to enter into Scotland but by license of the warden or his deputy. And about the same time they published another proclamation of summons against divers of the gentlemen fled with these earls, to make their appearance within sixty days following. Doubts not but he has heard from the Lord Warden what the loose men of Tividale and Liddisdale have since attempted on the Middle March.

Since the return of Bothwell to the Court he has laboured the King to retract the gift of Cockburnspeth, belonging to the Earl of Angus, and promised it to Hume, which has bred some quarrel between them, like to go further if it be followed with the same heat it is begun.

Bothwell is fed with a promise to be lieutenant general for the King in the south parts, as Huntly is in the north, and seems now to bear a great sway in Court.

Some doubt there is—confirmed by divers speeches and vaunts of the bishop of St. Andrews since his return—that in this Parliament they will attempt the suppressing of the presbyteries of the ministry and restrain the power of the General Assemblies, because they see not how their corruptions may easily creep into that Church so long as that discipline and government stand, whereas in these twenty-five years past there has not been found so much as one detected heretic either amongst themselves or the laity, nor till of late dare any one man among their greatest openly avow papistry.

The like is said to be intended for suppressing the new founded College of theology at St. Andrews, a principal seminary and nursery for the Church of Scotland, and to reduce it to the old foundation and profession of philosophy; the scope of all which is not hard to guess.

William Ruthven, youngest brother to Gowrie, is, as we hear, newly apprehended, and Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, taken forth of his bed on Thursday last at midnight and brought to the Court, where he is as yet detained, upon what pretence he has not heard.

Mr. Andrew Hay came to Edinburgh the same day on the assurance of the Clerk Register, and the day before Mr. William Leslie [was]

Elizabeth.
1584. brought in by the laird of Johnstone's brother, his friends and mediators having little hope to obtain any pardon or grace in his behalf.

Maxwell and Johnstone are, as they hear, sent to the frontiers under a pretence of the late raid made upon that March by the English West Borders. What will succeed of all these things will appear more clearly ere long. Berwick. *Signed:* William Davison.

Postscript.—The Parliament ended on Friday the 22nd. The King's journey to Stirling [takes place] about Tuesday or Wednesday next.

2½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 53. *Original of the same.*

May 23. **139. Mary to Monsieur De Mauvissière.**

Harl. MSS., 1582, fol. 315. Conference with Mr. Waade. They seek to divert the amity of France from her. Goodwill of the Queen mother to her. Happy success of her son. Charges for Thomas Livingston. Jealousy between the Earl of Arran and Colonel Stewart. Summary of what Mr. Beale negotiated. His journey to Scotland. Message to Archibald Douglas. Warns him to take care of Walsingham. Judgment on De La Tour. Her fear of changing her guard. Her resolution to put herself and her son in sure liberty. Nau to be ready to accompany him to Scotland. Sheffield.

5 *pp. French. Copy.*

May 23. **140. Elizabeth to Shrewsbury.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Perceives by a late letter sent from him to her Secretary [Walsingham] that the Queen of Scots is entered into another kind of conceit of the cause of her sending than she [Elizabeth] looked for, and therefore she is very loth that she should long dwell in that error. For, as she gathers by the report of her answers in the course of his [Shrewsbury's] proceeding with her, she conceives that the cause of her present sending grew from the alteration lately happened in Scotland, as though the same so greatly imported her, that without her aid she was not able to repair the inconveniences that might ensue to her thereby; therefore she is to be told that whereas she takes exceptions to Waade's mistaking of her message, whereupon the cause of her [Elizabeth's] sending was grounded, as otherwise delivered than received from her—in seeking to prove that the effects by him reported were delivered in particular terms, and not in general, as by her is alleged, her meaning is not to enter into any process for the matter. For, be they general, or be they particular, seeing she [Mary] is no better disposed to proceed in the treaty than she perceives she is, unless she can be content to yield to such advantage as she is persuaded that time has wrought for her purpose, she sees no cause, until she shall by better "advisement" put on another manner of opinion of her meaning than presently she does, by acknowledging that the said treaty was only to work her benefit, why she should proceed any further therein. For howsoever she imagines that she may now play upon the advantage of the time in respect of the said alteration, she does not see that it has wrought any such breach in her estate that cannot be repaired without her, and therefore she greatly mistakes the matter in that she conceives that the cause of her assenting to the ambassador's request for his repair to Scotland pro-

Elizabeth 1584.

ceeded from any other cause than for the care she had of the King her son's safety; for she hopes she shall never live to see those days that the crown of England shall depend on the crown of Scotland. And therefore if she would leave those vain, unnecessary and groundless conceits aside, and look substantially into the matter, she would then see that she had cause to make a more kind and friendly construction thereof than presently she sees she does; for she cannot be ignorant what dolorous events have happened to such Princes her progenitors of that realm as have proceeded in so violent a kind of government as her son is now entered into; and therefore, seeing like causes are accompanied with like effects, there is no reason, if the matter be rightly weighed, to hope that he should be otherwise privileged or free from peril other than his predecessors have been, who have run like course and trod like steps that he is now entered into; for violence carries no perpetuity, whether it be in private or public courses. And as none should be more sorry than herself if any such unfortunate event should fall out, so will it appear to the world that there has lacked in her no goodwill to do her best endeavour for the impeaching of the same, and so concluding that that cannot stand with her honour, considering the hard construction that has been made of her sincere and honourable meaning in that behalf to proceed either in the one or the other, until she shall find she shall be pleased to gather some better sense out of the text than revenge thereof, as she does,—her pleasure is that her servant Beale shall make his present repair to her.

3 *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "1584, May 23. M[inute] to the E[arl] of Shrewsb[ury]."

May 23.

141. Mr. William Davison to [Walsingham].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 52.

I have received your honour's two several letters of the 15th instant, the one in answer to the motion propounded to me by the Master of Glamis touching the Castle of Edinburgh, the other concerning the message of Livingston.

For the first, because the Master departed hence on Monday towards Newcastle, and I have not since heard anything from him—which makes me doubt whether the lords have entreated him to make a journey towards our Court for her majesty's particular information in the true causes and circumstances of their late action—I have forborne to signify anything by letter to him or them of the answer returned me by your honour in that behalf, the rather because in the meanwhile I had not heard out of Scotland by such as the Master [of Glamis] expected from the Captain [of Edinburgh Castle], till yesternight that Mr. Colvile left here on purpose to receive the answer and to communicate the same to me, met with the gentleman he looked for on the "bound rode." Whose commission at this time in substance was none other but to signify to the earl his nephew, *etc.*, the great kindness and favours he has lately received of the King, and the liberal promises and assurances he has made to continue him in the place, notwithstanding any suit or counsel to the contrary. Which—albeit no greater than was used to Morton the same day he was apprehended, to Dunfermline when he was committed this last year to Lochleven, and to others who have no

Elizabeth.
1584. great cause to boast thereof—he seems to conceive some good hope and opinion of. But in case it be otherwise, and that he find himself pressed at this time to yield it up, he thinks he has some advantage of the word and promise of the King, if after the end of this Session he has the same excuse and subterfuge he had before. However it be, within a day or two after the determining of this Session he promised to signify to them what he should find and resolve in that behalf; which is all I can advertise your honour touching that point.

As for the message of Livingston, who returned thither yesternight and has departed early this morning towards Edinburgh, I doubt not but her majesty will therein take such resolution as shall stand with her own honour and the equity of the cause, although he has here given out that before it be long they shall either be delivered or else so discountenanced, that they shall have little comfort or cause to stay here. The like is reported from the mouth of Arran, who restrained his limitation to so short a term as the end of this session of Parliament. What shall be done with such as they have in hand and [the] pursuit of the rest, will appear upon the return of this messenger with the answer of their Delphic oracle, from whence, as I credibly hear, they have every ten days directions how to carry themselves in the following on of this course, which, for anything I can learn or judge, tends directly to the troubling of our peace in Church and commonwealth, whereto all these confusions at home are but the preparatives.

The gentleman sent hither to the Master [of Glamis] could report the late commandment given to Archibald Douglas to depart out of England, and that he is now restored again to her majesty's grace that he might have the better commodity to do his old mistress service; wherein they say his part is well known in this Court, whatsoever he pretends in others. This I have thought it my duty to impart to your honour, with this special and humble suit, that if it be so—although I doubt not but your honour knows him thoroughly and can use him in his kind—it would yet please you to give that caution to others whom haply he might "creepe into" or circumvent, that my letters or the contents general or special, may by no means come to his view or knowledge, being so generally distrusted and condemned as he is, and myself having some special grounds and causes of jealousy and mislike against him, besides the respect of her majesty's present service, which I know may receive no little prejudice by his and others' ill offices. Wherein, if I find no better measure than was meted to your honour and others who have gone before me, I do not know how it shall be possible for me to do her majesty that service that in duty I ought, and desire I would, with her contentment and my own surety. And for the same cause also could I wish that I were restrained by her majesty's special commandment from writing to any but yourself, in case I be commanded to go forward, not so much in respect of any ease to myself as for the surety of her majesty's service, if my honourable friends in Court may be so satisfied and contented. Amongst whom I must beseech your honour to make my special excuse to my good Lord of Leicester, whom I forbear to trouble with my letters till my entry into Scotland, that I may more clearly judge and more certainly

Elizabeth.
1584. report what course they run, and what her majesty is to hope for. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davison.

Postscript.—I have presently received your honour's letters of the 20th instant with my instructions and direction for my going forward. To-morrow I purpose to write to the deputy warden, and with his safe conduct to send in a servant of my own.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. No addresss, etc.*

May 24. **142.** LORD SCROPE TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 54.

Great quietness has grown to the Queen of England's subjects by the taking of the Laird of Mangerton, which he was directed to do by the Lords of the Council. The state of the Borders of Scotland, by some ill meaning of the King, has grown into disorder. Is persuaded that the Laird's being in his own country upon sure bond for his "entrie" at all times when he shall be called for by him, may be not only a means to keep all under him in better order, but also be a help to bring and procure others to the same order. Desires to know their pleasure. Requests their lordships to consider, that forasmuch as the taking of him in his own country in Scotland, upon urgent occasion of the disquiet that was then here in hand, was a little beside the laws, and more than might well be done, it were good something to favour his cause, so long as by his means there may grow to any good purpose to the quiet of her majesty's subjects, which, for his own part and all whom he may rule, he has good hope of, as he himself has promised.

Was credibly advertised from Edinburgh that the Earl of Morton, in the excuse of himself and the Lord Herries with their companies not going forth to the King for the prosecution of the noblemen now forfeited, informed him that they understood that he [Scrope] was at that time ready and determined with the forces of this wardenry to overrun and spoil all the country, and the town of Dumfries also, to prevent which was the cause of their stay at home. Wherefore the King rests in that behalf satisfied with them. This Border was never in better quiet than at this time, considering the "tickle" state of Scotland, saving with regard to such things as before he wrote of Bewcastle.

Is advertised that the Laird of Johnstone is shortly to repair home with one Captain Bruce and 100 shot with him; whom he [Johnstone] means to plant at Aimaide or thereabout on the Borders. With whom, if he [Scrope] shall find good neighbourhood, he will use the like. Otherwise he trusts always to come even with them. In this "tickle" time their [the English] Borderers "have ben doing." But, if it shall be her majesty's pleasure that justice shall be ministered, there is no doubt but he will be well able to answer in all respects for the discharge of her majesty for those under him, provided he may receive the like generally for Scotland, as well Liddesdale as the March opposite him; without which he trusts her majesty and the Council will not think it convenient that he shall proceed in justice with the Laird of Johnstone. Has received her majesty's gracious letter and the Order of the Garter. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrope.

2 *pp. Holograph. Address torn off. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
May 25.

143. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.

"This Mononday I am arryvit wyth lettres from ye nobill men distressit wnto hir majeste, and am commandit be thame to use all possibill diligence, and tharfor I most ernistlie desyir your honour that hir majeste may be acquentit wyth my cuming, that gif it pleis hir hienes I may haif andience The hoill substance of my commission consistis in theis few heidis: that thair caus is ye self same good caus interprysit and begun about sevintein yeris ago be the erllis Murray, Mortoun, Mar, Glenkarn, Gowry wyth ye remanent of yat societie: that be ye good or bad succes of ye said caus sall insew quietnes or inquietnes to hir majestes estait: that yair wes never in Scotland this twenty zeres ane greter number joynit togidder in our caus, nether is thair ony caus of despair provyding it may pleis hir majeste assist thame so far furthe as scho may in honour, and for persuading hir majeste to yis effect thai haif furnesit me wyth sundry resonis as also willit me declair thair opinion how to remeid ye matter, qwche wyth the rest committit wnto me your honour sall se to morrow, lyik as I am commandit be thame so to do and to follow zour honour's adoys in all thingis." London. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

1 *p. Holograph, also address.*

May 24.

144. Mr. William Davison to Mr. Alexander Hume of Huton Hall.

Being despatched by the Queen my sovereign to the King your master to do some good offices tending to his particular satisfaction and preservation of the common peace and amity between their persons and crowns, I have thought good to give you knowledge therof to the end you may signify so much to his majesty and procure me such passport and safe conduct for my passing forwards towards his highness's presence as in such cases has been accustomed. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davidson.

⅓ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "xxiiij May 1584. M[inute] to Mr. Alex. Hume of Huton Hall, deputy warden of th'est March of Scotland over anenst England."

May 26.

145. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.

I humbly beseech your honour to pardon me if I seem too troublesome to you in my own particular, the cause I have to complain being so great, and the help or comfort I find so little, that I scarce know what to hope or whither else to address myself. This is not the first time by many that I have laid my estate before your honour, and acquainted you simply and truly both with the greatness of my debts, the daily increase of them by that consuming canker of interest and exchange which eats me to the bones, and the little, or rather impossible, means I have to clear and unwrap myself out of this snare without her majesty's gracious help and relief. I have been the more importunate with yourself and other of my honourable friends to entreat this for me, because it is her highness's service only which has reduced my estate to these hard and unhappy terms, which before my last journey to Flanders was not to be charged with a debt of 10*l.* in the whole world, whereas since my return home

Elizabeth.
1584. I sold both a house in London, for which I took 800*l.*, and my plate and divers other things amounting to as much more, and employed the same, as far as it would stretch, in answering of my debts. The rest whereof yet owing is so much that the uttermost profit of that poor suit I have made to her majesty can hardly set me clear. Now, what time I have spent in her majesty's service, how studious and careful I have been at all times to discharge my duty towards her without respect of my own estate, how slenderly I have been heretofore allowed in all my service, and how little otherwise relieved or considered, who to this day have never obtained the gift of one denier of France towards the help of my estate, your honour best knows. And what comfort I may take of hard success after five years continual suit in a cause so honest and favourable, and that with my infinite charge and loss of time, I leave to your consideration. And therefore as I would be loth herein to prejudge her majesty's bounty and favour, which being so graciously extended towards others her servants of my sort and condition, seem so straightened in my behalf, the cause whereof I can by no means ascribe to her highness's self, so must I beseech you to give me leave to importune and trouble you still with these my griefs till by her majesty's bounty and your mediation, together with other my honourable friends', the cause be removed. Wherein, if it shall please you to lay the particulars of my hard estate before her highness, I do not doubt but I shall, to my comfort, after many discomforts, find her no less gracious lady to me than she has been to others of as mean desert as myself, the rather because her majesty has found in her own experience that I have been hitherto more willing to deserve than ready to crave, and should not, I protest before God, trouble either her highness or your honour as I do at this time, did not my necessity and extreme hard condition force and compel me to it against both my nature and will. And therefore most humbly beseech your honour still to embrace it with that care, and recommend it with that affection which you shall find it in equity to deserve. And in the meantime, as by your honourable favour and means I have had some little breathing time given me by some of my creditors—with whom the suddenness of my departure and "unprovision" otherwise would not suffer me to take such order as I would—so finding myself followed hither by letters urging a discharge of some other debts which I thought would have been prolonged, and finding it greatly to import both my estate and credit, I am driven to be most bold, where I am already most bound, and humbly to beseech your honour that I may at this present dispose of your honourable favour and credit for 200*l.*, which will suffice to answer my present necessity, forbearing to urge your honour any further in the rest till I be further pressed, which I fear me will be sooner than I would. For your indemnity wherein I have appointed this bearer to deliver your honour, together with my own bond, such further caution as I can presently make, and will, I trust, satisfy till by her majesty's grace and favour I may ye able to unburden your honour both of this and the rest, being in the meantime both grieved and ashamed that after [being] so long apprenticed in her majesty's service, I am driven to be burdensome to others whose estate I know may ill bear it, and whom I am as loth to charge had I any other present remedy. Beseeching your honour therefore to pardon and excuse

Elizabeth.
1584. me, and to think your favour herein bestowed upon a man who has both conscience and care to see your honour thankfully and well discharged I for this time end. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davison.

Postscript.—I am like, as your honour may see, to find a "tickle" and busy service at this time in Scotland, wherein I would be loth to be clogged with my particular cares, which may breed some hindrance to my public charge, and therefore beseech you to take the more care of me in procuring her majesty's timely and gracious despatch of my poor cause, that I may do her that service I shall be able with the more freedom and comfort.

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

May 27. **146. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Has received some particulars of the Acts concluded in this Session of Parliament, which tended chiefly to the confounding and supplanting of the present state and government of that Church. Wherein the King has assumed to himself an absolute jurisdiction, discharging all the Assemblies General, provincial, and presbyteries to convene or meddle in any sort with the discipline of the Church, and devolving the whole spiritual jurisdiction thereof into the hands of the bishops, men either in lief [or] learning or both justly to be challenged. [He] restored Montgomery to the archbishopric of Glasgow and freed him by Parliament from the sentence of excommunication; authorised the bishop of St. Andrews to reform the universities within his diocese, and, under that pretext, specially to supplant, as it feared, the college of theology founded in St. Andrews as a principal nursery for that church; discharged all ministers from bearing office in the Session; appointed the ministers to take their stipends from the general collector, and for that effect to wait upon the Exchequer: taxed all abbacies and priories to pay as many pensions to the King's guard as they had monks living in the year 1560, the collection whereof to begin at Martinmas next, and all benefices above 1000*l.* value to pay the King 200*l.* yearly; annulled all provisions of benefices made to any successors, and gave to the King the first year's fruits of every benefice that shall become void, whereto no new provision shall be made or be of force till the said fruits or the value be delivered to the treasurer, comptroller or their officers, with many other "holsome" Acts, as to reform the Session and College of Justice. Power is given to Arran, Montrose, Maitland, and Robert Melville, with others, to deprive such as they think unworthy, and to modify all actions of great weight after they be decreed by the Session; to revoke in special, amongst many other things, the provision made to Gowrie's children, with all other provisions made by any of the lords or others in exile; that no gift of forfeiture, escheat, or anything else shall pass till it be subscribed by the Treasurer, Comptroller, and Secretary; to restore Mr. David Chambers, forfeited for the murder of the King's father, Lethington's and Balfour's children convicted of the same crime, and all others forfeited for the action of the Queen's mother, the Hamiltons only excepted; and finally to command all such as have the history and book "De jure regné" of Mr. George Buchanan to bring them in to the Secretary by the [ ] of July next to be revised and re-

Elizabeth.
1584. formed by him under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of 200*l.* Scots. In the concluding whereof the Lords of the Articles every time they sat were solemnly sworn to reveal nothing that should be treated for fear of opposition by the ministers, passing them without reasoning or contradiction in their public voting, except by some particular Abbots in that Act which concerned the monks' pensions appointed to the King's guard.

Amongst those appointed Lords of the Articles were the bishops of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Brechin, and the Isles, the Earls of Huntly, Montrose, Crawford, Arran, the Abbots of Balmerino, Lindores, and St. Combe, and for the burgesses, the Provost of Edinburgh and commissioners of Dundee and Perth. After the Parliament ended commission was given to the Provost, bailiff, and council of Edinburgh to apprehend and commit to strait ward all such ministers as should convene to their presbyteries or publicly in their sermons inveigh against these Acts aforesaid. Notwithstanding, the Sunday following, the ministers of Edinburgh, by authority of the Scriptures, freely impugned whatsoever was in this said Parliament concluded contrary to that Word, with public protestation of their disallowance thereof. And the next day, the Acts being proclaimed at the market cross, Mr. Walter Belquanquall and Mr. Robert Punt protested there openly in the name of the rest against them as repugnant to the Word of God, and recording their protestation by public notary; and finding little surety by remaining longer in Edinburgh, the said Mr. Walter and James Lowson, his fellow minister, were advised to withdraw themselves, and are this morning, at the opening of the gates, come to this town for their refuge, divers of the guard being sent after to apprehend them.

Mr. Andrew Hay is yet in Edinburgh under caution. Mr. David Lindsay [is] still detained and hardly entreated; whom, as he hears, Arran reports to be the greatest practiser with England, and so "enemy to the King's estate of anie of his Courte in Scotland."

Mr. John Clappton, minister of Galstreame on this Border, was sent for on Sunday last by certain of the guard, and [is] since committed, the cause yet unknown, though they want no pretext against such.

Montrose is made Treasurer and Sheriff of Perth, and named to be Provost of St. Johnstone's, and has since entered upon the houses of Ruthven and St. Johnstone's that were Gowrie's, whose wife and children find little favour. He is newly entered into band with Arran, who is made vice-chancellor, and Maitland secretary.

Argyll continues in Murray, and in some disgrace. Marishal, who lay sick during the Parliament, has since departed home, being first compelled for his surety to take remission for the foreknowledge of the act of Stirling. The King was appointed this day to remove thither, and from thence to Falkland to pass the time between this and the next Session.

The Countess of Cassillis, [was] notwithstanding her sickness, brought to Edinburgh by Bargany, and no appearance of favour or liberty to any of the rest captive. Berwick.

Postscript.—The deputy warden, to whom he sent on Sunday, being departed to Edinburgh, he thought good to send one Walker of this town after him for his safe conduct, whom they have com-

Elizabeth.
1584. mitted, and detain the cause, proceeding from some lewd information given by some bad instrument from hence, having occasion to send him in for her majesty's service some few days before. At which time both Arran and Stewart make great search for him in Edinburgh and Leith. How they will deal with him, he knows not yet. In the meantime his honour may see what good offices are done here, and how well disposed some men are to advance her majesty's service. Hopes that such parties may be in some degree rewarded according to their merit.

Sends him herewith the history of the dealing of Arran and R. Melville with Gowrie to take him in his own snare, wanting other matter sufficient to condemn him, which is delivered as a true narration of what passed betwixt them by a gentleman present at his death.

1¾ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 62. Copy of the same.

Inclosure with the same.

(Practices against Gowrie.)

"The forme of certaine devises used by Arren and Sir Robert Melvyll against Gowrie." Gowrie being detained in Edinburgh as a prisoner, Arran, accompanied with Sir Robert Melville, came to the chamber where he lay, and—after they had used divers "words of office" to him at the first entry, with protestations that they both tendered his standing and the welfare of his person as entirely as any of his best affectionate well willers or favourers could ever do—they began to let him understand the great evil will the King had conceived against him, especially because his highness took him to be the principal deviser of the Duke of Lennox's banishment, which extreme dealing his highness could hardly be moved to pardon. And therefore, considering the King was so evil affected to him—which they affirmed to be of verity—they advised his lordship to employ his credit with some of his special friends in Court to labour at his majesty's hands to accept him again into his favour, or else their opinion was that he would find himself in a great strait and in peril of his life.

Gowrie answered, that anent the exiling of Lennox his part was no deeper than the rest of the Council for the time; nevertheless he would fain do what in him lay to "conquer" the King's favour. To which effect he could find out none meeter to be suitors for him than they two were. First, because he was a prisoner, and therefore not able to solicit any other to deal for him unless they by fortune came in to visit him. And next, for that he knew none in Court that he durst better "lyppin into" than them, both in respect of the great familiarity and friendship he had especially with them above all others, and in consideration of divers other obligations [by] which he trusted they acknowledged themselves to be bound to him in the time of his credit.

"We would gladlie," said they, "do anie thinge for you we could: but to deale dyrrectlie in that cause it should procure unto our selves the Kinges displeasure." "Well then," quoth Gowrie, "if you will not do for me, let me have your good counsell whom other you thincke meetest that I shall have recourse to." "Certainelie," said they,

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1584. " the onlie moyen that we thincke is best to your lordship whereby you maie have respect to the preservation of your lief and insinuate your self againe in his majestes good grace is this, to write a generall letter unto his highnes shewinge that you have ben of the privie counsell of some conspiracies intended against his majestes owne person, and if it might please his majestie to suffer you to have accesse to speake with his highnes you should open uppe the specialities of the matter unto him." " Nay," said Gowrie, " that will I never do, for so I should promise the thinge which I could not discharge myself of. I should confesse an untrueth and put my self in a farre worse case then I am in. I will rather trust in the symplicitie of myn honest cause and upright meaninge, and take my hazard as it shall please God to dispone uppon me."

" Your lordship," said they, " maie do as your harte best serves you, but in our opinion the generallnes of the letter would make the Kinge curiouse to knowe further of the speciall, and to that effect it appeares his majestie would send for you to be better informed in it. Nowe ye havinge a place to take in privie with the King might open uppe the simple truth unto him, that he had devised the pollicie of the letter, onlie to have accesse to tell your owne tale unto his highnes, and that in verie deede you knowe nothinge of such thinges as were mentioned therein. So havinge made your excuse—which we doubt not his majesties clemencie and good inclynation will take in good parte—you maie laie open your owne inocencie, in the which the King is jealous over you and your sincere meaninge at all tymes to his majesties estate and person, and by that meanes conquere againe to your self that place in his majesties favour which you have over unprovisedlie lost."

" That pollicie is verie perrilous," said Gowrie, " for wher I knowe my self so cleare of all crymes against his highnes, I should by that meanes make myn owne dyttie, and not beinge sure of my lief nor how the Kinge will accept myn excuse, incurre the danger of forefaltrie for confessinge treason, to the tynsell of my lief, and the defamacion and utter ruyne of my house."

" Notwithstandinge all these dangers," said Arran, " which ye seame to fall into by that confession, thus farre I will certifie you that whether such thinges be or noe, you must confesse the foreknoweledge of them or ells it is concluded you shall dye."

" Goes it so hard with me ? " said Gowrie. " If there be no remedie in case I had an assured promise of my lief, I would not sticke to prove the devyce of the letter." " I will then," said Arran, " uppon myn honour faythfullie promise you that your lief shalbe in no danger if ye will so doe." Gowrie, persuaded by their dissembled friendship, but chiefly by this solemn promise, in the end condescended to the persuasions, and upon the forementioned pretences he wrote a letter to his highness to the very same effect as they had devised. The letter was sent to the King. Nevertheless Gowrie abode still unsent for till he was conveyed to Stirling. There his assize " elected and sett downe, and the dittay red," the assisors could find nothing whereof upon equity and good conscience he might be deprived of his life. When Arran perceived this he said, " my lords I can verifie that this man here confessed him self to have ben on the counsell of som conspyracies intended against his majesties owne person " ;

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1584. and therewith produced the before mentioned letter in presence of the whole lords assisors.

Then it was doubted lest the letter might have been forged by some of Gowrie's "unfreindes" and his handwriting counterfeited. In order to resolve them of this Arran desired Gowrie to be called in. Who said he would not deny the same to be his own handwriting, and reported the whole progress of the speeches between Arran, Sir Robert Melville, and himself. He told them how they two enticed him to write it, upon what pretence it was written, and how Arran promised to him in so doing that upon his honour he should warrant to him his life. Hereat Arran stormed and gave him the lie. Gowrie answered that he knew in what case he was that he durst use him with such terms, and that he would maintain the verity of that which he had spoken against him or any other while he was able to stand.

This contention was pacified. Gowrie was removed; and upon his own confession of the writing to be his, and reconciling of the confessed conspiracy he was condemned to death, according to the "preparatife" practised against the Earl of Morton.

At last, being on the scaffold ready to suffer before the whole people, he repeated over the discourse of the before specified conference in the self same words, and he took upon his soul and conscience at his latter hour that—howbeit the promise of his life moved him to direct that letter to his majesty—his meaning thereby was none other than to have had speech with his highness by that mean, and that he never was privy [to] nor knew of any conspiracy against his majesty's person, and therefore could accuse no manner of man thereupon.

3⅔ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 33. Copy of the same.

May 26, 27, and 28. **147. Declarations by Mary.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 57. 26. May. "Uppon the receipt of her majesties lettre unto the Erle of Shrewsbury in a packet sent from Mr. Secretary and receaved this daye, after the declaration of the contentes of the same unto the Scotish Quene."

First, she declared to us that she could not at this present but say to us as she had done before, viz., that her words were but in general terms, which she spoke to Mr. Waade without any intention to make any particular offers to him, who had no commission to treat with her. Nevertheless, albeit last year she had vowed that, the time being expired, she would not of herself seek the said treaty again, *etc.*, yet if this be the cause why the treaty does not now go forward, she said she would not stand upon that point, but seek the same at her majesty's hands, and defer all such honour and priority to her as to her eldest sister, and as she would have her son do to herself.

She was not so foolish as to take any advantage of any alteration lately happened in Scotland, as it is thought; for albeit she took her son's estate not to be sure in his enemy's hands, yet by the experience of her own time, and of other Prince's, she well knew how little assurance could be grounded upon such accidents, neither did she well understand what had happened; but that the French

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1854. ambassador had written to her that certain of the noblemen had taken Stirling Castle, and that it was taken again by the King, which she knew might be easily done; and so some of them were come into England. Whereupon, perhaps, the said ambassador's going into Scotland might be granted, and this treaty renewed. But she feared that some other course was now in hand, as, perhaps, that the French ambassador might be employed; but she thought that he would little prevail; for the well compounding of those things and reconciling of the noblemen, her help was as requisite as any others, as experience of time would declare. She complained that she could see no hope or certainty of resolution whereon to trust; for if there was certainty then could she frame herself accordingly. She protested to have dealt sincerely, and that in the treaty last year she had gone further than she had thanks either from her son or friends in France; and added that as the treaty was to be profitable to herself and her son, so she thought also it would not be unprofitable for her majesty. It might be that her majesty was persuaded that by keeping her in prison she might at all times make what peace she would. But perhaps her highness might be deceived, for she was a silly woman, and might die, and she had already put all power from her to the Duke of Guise to do what he should think best for the weal of her son and Scotland; which, on Lord Seton's last going to France, was confirmed by her son, and he addressed to the Duke for the despatch of his business.

Touching the point about the enterprise between her son and the Duke of Guise, she said she could but answer as she had done before. She had not any knowledge what had been done. Nevertheless, if she knew anything [she] would not discover it without assurance from her majesty whereon to trust at her hands; using this similitude, that having two doors open it was not good to shut any of them without assurance of the other. For then she should be judged a fool to lose all other friends and not be assured of her majesty. The only way to impeach such practices was by a good agreement and treaty between them, and if afterwards she offended, then might she be justly blamed.

Hereupon she told them that at another time, upon treaty with her at Chatsworth, as she remembered, the Queen's majesty was informed that she had passed her right to this crown [of England] to the French King who now is, then Monsieur, and thereupon she was required to certify her majesty of the truth; which she did, not only of herself, but also procured the King's and Queen mother's letters to her majesty that there was no such thing. Nevertheless, hereupon the treaty did not go forward, and said so, perhaps, it would not now. She said that she was to be bound either by nature or by obligation. If it would please her majesty to take her and her son as her next kinsfolk, then would she subject herself and perform the duties of such a one towards her, and bring in a manner Scotland under England; but so long as her majesty shall hold her for a free Queen and a stranger, she cannot deal otherwise. Wherefore being assured neither by nature nor obligation of her majesty's goodwill towards her, it were folly to lose her other friends for nothing; for she had been blamed for going as far as she had done in the treaty.

She was ready to perform all that might be required of her with

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1584. her honour, saying that Queen Mary—as appeared by the "Booke of Monumentes"—never required so much of her majesty, albeit she was a subject, as she would gladly perform towards her highness, or the French King [required] of the King of Navarre and other his subjects who had been in arms against him, and offended more than she has been charged with. Or if it would please her to do as the French King has done when any unkindness has fallen out between him and his brother, to send for him and pacify the same between themselves, she doubted not but that she should satisfy her, *etc.*, and that she shall do as much or more than the said Duke has done towards the King of France.

27 May.—A packet from Mr. Secretary directed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, without any letter to him, which contained only letters from the French ambassador to the Scottish Queen and Mons. Nau touching that which he had understood in Court touching these matters, which his lordship opened.

Afterwards having access to the Scottish Queen, she told them that whereas she understood by letters lately received from the French ambassador that three points of her answer were misliked, viz., her desire that the treaty should be first concluded here before any sending into Scotland; secondly, that the ambassador should not go without first speaking with her; and the third touching the "ampliation" of the articles propounded last year concerning her liberty.

(1) As she would not stand on those points, who should seek the treaty, but would do it herself, and defer all honour to her majesty, so also would she not stand upon this point of sending first into Scotland, she thought that it would have been well taken that the treaty should have been begun here, to the intent it might appear whereupon the parties who were to be sent into Scotland should proceed, to both the Princes' contentment. But if it shall please her majesty to have it otherwise, viz., that some be first sent into Scotland, she is well contented to yield thereto. And if her majesty will permit her to send any thither she will do her best to procure that her son shall join with her in seeking this treaty at her majesty's hands, provided she may be assured that thereupon the said treaty shall go forward, and that the sending shall not be in vain.

She will also use the best means and persuasion that she can to compound all such unkindnesses as may have grown between her majesty and her son. And having told them of a bruit mentioned in the ambassador's letter to be raised against her majesty touching her son and herself, she added that for her own part she was contented to forgive and forget all that was past, provided she might be assured of her majesty's favour and her son's safety.

Touching the noblemen, if they shall be contented to submit themselves and become dutiful subjects to the King her son, she will do what she can to reconcile and restore them again, provided that if they shall hereafter behave themselves undutifully towards him, her majesty will give them no countenance, but assist her son in the punishing of them.

Albeit the French King has acknowledged her ambassador ordinary and the Lord Seton sent from her son as ambassadors jointly from Princes of equal power and associated, and so the association has been there allowed of and published, yet if it will please her majesty she

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1584. shall have the honour of the publishing of the same in Scotland, and so shall her highness make them beholden to her: which thing she offered long since, and was desirous to have it done by her majesty's mediation before any other.

Touching her request to have the French ambassador to speak to her before he goes to Scotland: it was not to frustrate the King her brother's intent, but was upon this respect, that seeing the association was made by his advice, and he had of late received her ambassador and Lord Seton as ambassadors of Princes associated, and so allowed of the joint association of them both, in case the French ambassador shall go to Scotland to deal with the King her son only, it would be to her prejudice, and also contrary to the King's own fact, as though she were not associated with him, and so the King would disjoin that which before he had united. Besides, she said that she understood that the said ambassador's direction was to speak with them both, and therefore thought that the King his master would not like if he repaired to the King her son alone. And therefore in respect of her prejudice to the association she could not like of his going to Scotland without speaking with her.

Touching the "ampliation" of her liberty, she thought the difference from the articles propounded last year would not be so material, as that the breach of the treaty would depend thereon.

Finally, she said that she made these offers voluntarily, and meant to perform them sincerely if they may be accepted from her good heart.

As for the threats with which she had been "boasted"—as appeared by the said ambassador's letter—well might things by fair means be gotten from her, but she would never be brought by "boasting" or constraint to yield to anything that might touch her honour or the safety of her son.

28 May.—(1) She prayed license of her majesty to go to the baths of Buxton when the Earl of Leicester shall depart, seeing the Earl of Shrewsbury shall have his staff there. If her majesty grants her liberty to go thither, the Earl of Shrewsbury desires that it may be immediately after the Earl of Leicester's departure, in respect of the ease of the country.

(2) To have license to send away one of her servants, a Frenchman, who is sick, and has an issue in his leg.

(3) That Sir Charles Cavendish may be called before the Council and the French ambassador, and if he denies that he has been the author of the slanderous bruits raised of her, "to have an act of his refusall for her purgation."

6¾ *pp. Notes in the margin. Parts underlined.*

May 28. **148.** SIR HENRY WIDDRINGTON TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 60.

It is bruited that the King is presently to remove to Stirling, and no appearance of any liberty either for the Lord Lindsay or any of the other gentlemen who are in prison. It is likewise reported that the Laird of Burwhany's brother, one Mr. William Leslie, is to be executed for the last action, for that he was in arms in the field against the King.

There are sundry of the ministers and preachers of Edinburgh,

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1584. Leith, and other places committed this last week, as Mr. Davy Lindsey, preacher of Leith, Mr. Clapperton of Coldstream in the Merse. Mr. Andrew Hay, preacher of Edinburgh, was examined and committed; who is thought to be the accuser of Mr. Davy Lindsey and the others lastly committed, and he himself now discharged and set at liberty.

There came to this town on the 27th instant Mr. James Lowson, superintendent of the ministry, and one Mr. Walter Mackankoll, with one Storye, the minister of Chirnsyde. The cause of whose coming forth of the realm is for that they inveigh and deny the Acts set down at this last Parliament against the privilege of the Church; which are as follows:

It is concluded that all Assemblies, both general and sinodal, public and private, shall be discharged, except at such time as it shall please the King that they convene. Certain bishops are appointed judges to the ministry, having power to control their doctrine and deprive from their function such as they think good, the Archbishop of St. Andrews [Patrick Adamson] being one of the censors. The bishop of Glasgow, Montgomery, is relaxed and made free from the sentence of excommunication, and that by Act of Parliament, having found, after their manner, the process to have been wrongly laid against him. He is thought to be another of the judges of the ministry. The whole ministers are appointed to crave their stipends from the general collector, and for that effect to wait upon the Exchequer. All ministers are discharged from bearing of office in the Session, and ordained to wait upon their flock and function. The King is instituted supreme head of the Church.

Anent benefices.

The first year's fruits of all benefices are appointed for the King's use whensoever any shall be vacant; and in case the just value be not delivered to the treasurer, comptroller or their officers, the gift to be to no effect.

All abbacies and priories are ordained to pay forth to the sustentation of the King's guard as many portions as they had monks living "in the lx. yeare of God." All benefices that are worth above 1000*l.* by year must pay 200*l.* for the King's costs yearly.

These articles were published at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 23rd instant, where Mr. Robert Pont, a preacher, and Mr. Walter Mackankell, preacher, and ministers "tuke instrument" in the behalf of the rest of their brethren that they "desassented" to the same. The reason was, because they would prove them to be expressly contrary and repugnant to the Word of God. The King has pronounced that although he seeks the reformation of the Church, he is not to alter the religion.

Whereas these preachers are in this town as yet, and require to occupy the pulpit, I require to know your lordship's pleasure and direction therein.

And whereas I signified in my last advertisement to your lordship that the Scots did forbear and not frequent the market as they had done with victuals, the cause thereof was for that the common sort did mistake the proclamation, which extended no further than that no Englishman should pass into Scotland without license of the Lord Hume or his deputy, and no Scottish man to come into this realm or

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1584. intercommon with any Englishman without special license of the King and his Council. And now the market is fully furnished with victuals and all other things as before it was.

My lord ambassador [Davison] sent Mr. Walker on Monday last to Mr. Alexander Hume of Huton Hall for his license, who was not at home, and therefore [he] passed to Edinburgh to him, where at his coming he was apprehended and stayed, and [he] returned a Scottish man to give me knowledge thereof on Wednesday last. So that my lord ambassador stays for a day or two before he will send in again. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Woddryngton.

3½ *pp. Holograph. No address, etc.*

May 28. **149. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

By my general letter your honour may see what plain banner is now displayed against the Church, and how much this first breach made into the discipline—by which the doctrine has hitherto remained in purity amongst them—gives entry to an utter overthrow and subversion of the whole. Whereat all this aims is not hard to judge if we list to look into the alteration of the whole magistracy in every particular borough as a preparative to what has followed, and changing of their Session, with the rest of their proceedings against the nobility, barons, *etc.*, especially favouring religion and the standing amity between both realms, the last being alleged against the ministry and themselves as a principal objection and efficient cause of their hard usage. Yet must we be "borne in hand" that neither is that King carried in his mother's course, which every blind man there can see into, nor the Queen our sovereign and her estate at home, or religion and our friends abroad thereby in any peril. For myself I dare not be rash to give any censure or judgment of my own, and therefore leave your honours to the conference and examination of such circumstances as I think may suffice in the proof and demonstration thereof. Amongst which, besides the old building upon the ground-plot laid before the entry of Lennox, as specially in the death of Morton and concluded association between the King and his mother before his [Lennox's] departure out of Scotland—which La Mothe's congratulation might suffice to prove—the present state and course of things well observed will make that question clear enough if men list to shake off their affections and look into the naked truth of things.

To me and others who have had some particular cause to look into it, and means to observe somewhat, it seems an axiom necessarily gathered that the Queen his mother sits at the stern of that government, though elsewhere in person, and disposes of him and his estate as she lists by her own credit and labour of her instruments, who only have credit and place about him, and therefore would be glad to see how this can breed either surety to religion or the favourer thereof—to both which, in both kindgoms, she has always declared herself an enemy—or how this course may hold on with the Queen my mistress's safety, against whom she has showed so many tokens of hatred and revenge. Whose place she aspires to, and makes account of no gain but by her loss. I am loth to enter into the particulars, because it is a discourse fitter for others than myself, who may with more

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1584. authority conclude, and with more judgment discern the want, if any be. This much only I wish, that whilst others go on with effect, we be not rocked asleep by the bare words and faithless protestations of such as have made shipwreck of faith, honour, conscience, and honesty, and in the meantime suffer the earth to be taken away from about the root of our peace and surety till our adversaries be ready with open force to attempt the tree itself. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davison.

Postscript.—In expectation of the true copies of the Acts themselves passed in this Session, whereof I had some promise, and which I looked to have received this morning, I thought good to stay my general letter till now. But hearing nothing of them yet, or of the release of him I sent in, I thought best to suspend my despatch no longer.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 56 b. Another copy of the same.

May 28. **150.** ALEXANDER HUME OF HUTON HALL TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"I resavit your letter upon ye xxv. of yis moneth at viij houris at nycht be ye berar with quhome ze directit ye same, and yerefter presentit to sum of ye counsell of quhom I resavit ane gud answer. And becaus I had occasioun to cum hestelie owt of the town I cold not resaif it my self, bot hes left ane servand of myne to attend upon ye same, quho I luk salbe at me this nycht with ane answer to zour contentment. As to ze man he is ne wayis miswsit, as I understand, bot weill intertenit till ye consall tack sum tryall of sum thingis quhairof he wes suspect befoir. And if my man cum not hame yis nycht I sall not faill to send ane away to morn to haif ane finall answer of ze last letter, eftir ye resset of ye quhilk ze salbe advertiset." Huton Hall. *Signed:* Alex^r. Hwme of Hutoun Hall.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 28. **151.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO ALEXANDER HUME.

Having occasion to send in a man to you on Monday last with a few lines—who, hearing of your being at Edinburgh, followed you thither by my appointment to give you knowledge of my being here and direction to repair from the Queen my sovereign in her special service to the King your master—to the end it might please you to procure me safe conduct for my entry and passage forwards towards his highness's presence. I since hear that the same man, upon some untrue information or suggestion given or conceived against him for being in Edinburgh about some particular business of his own some few days before, is now committed to ward by commandment of his majesty or some of his Council, and detained as a prisoner, and in the meantime no cause or circumstance thereof signified to me, or answer returned to the letter I sent you. Which form of dealing I cannot for many respects but marvel at much, yet I conceive so reverently of the justice and equity of your government that I cannot forbear either lightly to judge or rashly to report thereof till I hear further of the cause and circumstances; for which purpose I have

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1584. addressed this bearer to you as the next ordinary officer to whom it appertains, and to whom I had before, as has always been accustomed, directed the other [messenger], praying you to let me know what his majesty's pleasure is touching the one, and what cause they have to deal so straitly with the other. I do not doubt but his majesty and his Council will take order that neither the Queen my sovereign shall receive that dishonour nor myself that disgrace, without cause, of having my messenger in so ordinary a case extraordinarily dealt with. I therefore pray to hear thereof from yourself with answer to my former [letter]. Berwick.

⅔ *p. Draft in Davison's hand. Indorsed.*

May 29. **152.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.

Received the King's safe conduct this evening for his entry into Scotland. The man he sent has been released. Purposes to set forwards to Edinburgh to-morrow, and to follow the King to Falkland, whither he repaired yesterday. Berwick. *Signed:* W. Davison.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

May 29. **153.** THOMAS, MASTER OF GLAMIS, TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

" Sir, I resavit zour letter and yerby onderstandis that yis parlament in Edinburgh hes doun mekle in declaring yer intentioun towart ye peice in religioun and commoun weill off boith yir realmes, quhairoff we thank God; quhilk we dout noct day by day ze will see and persave, being present amangis them. As towart ye last part off ye instructionis send be Mr. Colwill tueching the remeding of yir materes, the support quhilk we crewe is conditionall if we latt hir majestie and my lord Thesaurair and sic as we esteme and knawes to be weill affectit in yis guid caus of hir majesteis Prewey counsell and zow being presentley yer, ane sufficient numer off nobill and wyris to joyn with zow afoir ze depart furth of zour awin cuntrey, and also lett ze see how ye mater may be wyn and preserwet yeirefter—so far as man may juge off materes—thay seing yat nather the quha ar in Scotland off nobill nor gentillmen nor our awin particular freindis nor zit our selff can puit ony men togydder without yer knawleige, quhilk will do ws ane gryt skeyth, for in celeretie consistis oft ye wynnyng off Scottes materes. We crewe sum numer noct as hir majesteis men bot wyerwayes as ye schaw wilbe guid aneucht to conwoy ws to our appointit place off all our weil wellaris of all estatis, that we be noct compellit to withdraw our selff afoir our forces cum wnto ws. Bot yis I crewe yat it may pleis zow to lett me onderstand in quhat part of yis mater ze find the difficultie, that I may resolwe heirin safar as I can, and advertes ze theiroff. Wyth this assurance—for ye gryt guidwill declarit be ze in yis caus, quhairoff we have felt sum part alradey, quhilk with my small powar I never sell want guidwill, althocht I laik powar to acquit—that their sell na thing be doun in yis caus quhairwithall ze sell noct be maist familiarley acquentit noct only quhan we hewe tein our deliberatioun, bot afoir the sam with ye causes theiroff be zour awyis for to be wsett. As towart our answer from Edinburgh, I dout noct bot William Colwill hes declarit the

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1584. sam wnto [you]. Bot thes mekle we wald wys—their is in the castell of Edinburgh ane gentilman callit Jhone Reid quhais awyis ye captain off ye castell wses by all wyeris in all materes. This gentilman is ane werey discreit and wys gentilman and such on as they all yat ar heir trustes as them selff, being my lord off Maris neir causing and off quhoum we hewe hed gryt pruiff. We wald wys yerfore at zour cummyng to Edinburgh to send ony trustey man wnto him and will him to cum quyetley wnto ze quhan zour wysdoum thocht guid, and to deill with him as now we suld hewe delt, for we onderstand their was money prewey to yis deling quhilk ye thocht noct guid to knaw all materes. And he wilbe plane with ze, for gyff he resave any thinge and his maister assuir zour selff—as my Lords of Mar and Angus willes me to writ on yer credite—they ar suir and remanes constant. This is ane discreit man quha will—as I belewe—gett sum intelligence, bot yat zour wysdoum will lerne efter ze hewe spokein with him. I wald wyis to God ze war in Scotland, for yeir I trust ze suld sie gryt abuis in Curt tending to ye wraik off religioun and hurt of his majesteis persoun togydder with ye disqueting of ye peice of boith yir nationis, and ane gryter desyr in ye haill cuntrey boith in the nobiletie and broches to sie yir materes amendit nor I can writ. As towart ye intelligence to be hed from ws, it may pleis ze—becaus I think no Inglisman may mak oft passaige without suspitioun betuix ze and ws —it may pleis may pleis [*sic*] ze to lett me hewe ony secreit word that I may writ yat ane cognoscens yat ze may trust the berair ather to writ to spek, and I sell gett such ane Scottis man to carey the sam as I sell answer to ze for his treuth and honestey and wses in Edinburgh, and ewerey weik repares within fower or fywe myll to Berwyk, hawing his dwelling their. Alwayes quhansoever ony other cumes to ze yat we may knaw is trustey or zit cumes from zour selff, as zour wysdoum thinkis expedient, it is meit to writ with them. Bot quhatsoever ather ze writ or zit yat I will writ heirefter wnto ze, I wald think—remitting to zour awin wysdoum—meit to be wreting only with aill, and howsoun soever it is dry it wilbe bot only quyt paper, and also soun as it beis perfytley heit at ye fyer it wilbe werey perfytley red as if it war ink. And quhaever bringis ye sam away lett him bring bot glowes or pointis or ony such litill geir. Place yat quyt paper abowit them as if it war to keip yem clein. Alwayes if zour wysdoum thinkis ony wyer way more meit, I pray zour wysdoum lett me onderstand the sam. I am to remane tua or thre dayes with yir nobill men heir quhill we resave sum generall advertisment from Mr. Colwill, and yerefter intendes—be Goddis grace—to cum to Berwyk. Bot for yat I onderstand ze wilbe absent—on quhoum I only yeir repois—and we war desyrit noct to remane their, as ze knaw, I wald crewe yat it mycht be permittit to me to remane in Berwyk or in ony wyer part of hir majesteis Bordouris, and yis to be signefeit ather wnto ye governor of Berwyk or wnto ye warden of ye Est Merch or his deputie, quha is onderstand will find falt with my returnyng, if it be noct be licence. And yis I wald crewe quhan as ze send to Curt yat I mycht hewe yis licence or declaratioun meid wnto yem noct to find falt with my remanyng and traweling, for wyerwayes it wilbe langsam and onable to ws to gett trustey deling with our freindis at home." Newcastle. *Signed:* Tho. Mr. Glammis.

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

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May 31.
Harl. MSS., 1582, fol. 404.

154. MARY TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

Beale has departed. Malicious reports concerning the negotiations with him. Walsingham has falsified the text. Promise to be given by her to Archibald Douglas. Recommendation in favour of Monsieur De La Tour. Sheffield.

1 *p. French. Copy.* (*Printed, Lobanoff, vol. iii. p.* 475.)

May 31. **155.** MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

"Efter my departing from your honour I fand myself sunquhat evill at eis, qwiche hes maid me send Mr. Hoodsone to your honour. I haif skribbillit out ane melancolius letter to ye desolat nobill men so neir ye answer delyverit be your honour wnto me as I culd remember; qwiche pleis your honour peruse and yerefter to send avay gif it be to your honour's contentment, for thai will long muche to heir from me. The other lettres inclosit in my paquett ar partly to my Lord Angus concerning yat qwiche he hes ado with the Lord Hundsden partly concerning my awin particular effaris, qwiche all I vald humlie haif desyrit your honour to haif perusit gif ony matter of effect had bein continit yerin." *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May. **156.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The Queen of England learning of the raids, spoils, and other disorders that have of late been committed by the Borderers of both realms, but especially by those of the Middle March, one upon another, has willed him to direct him to lay before the King [of Scotts] the inconveniences that may in time follow from these disorders, to the open breach of the mutual peace and amity between the crowns unless speedy redress follows, and therefore require him to take some order how justice may be ministered to her subjects, and his stayed from committing the like outrages and insolences hereafter, which she thinks cannot well be done unless there be a special officer appointed to the charge of Liddisdale, as for her own part she means also to take the like order with her subjects if she finds him disposed to concur with her in that good cause.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

May. **157.** ADDRESS BY MR. JAMES LOWSON TO THE PROVOST AND BAILIES OF EDINBURGH.

"The spirit of the Lord Jhesus Christ comfort and assist you for ever."

It hath pleased God in his justice, dear brethren, according to the manifold and oft threatenings, which ye with your ears have heard, and we as God's messengers have pronounced, to bring that heavy cross upon us which our eyes do behold and our sorrowful hearts do consider. Our sins have deserved greater punishments, if any greater can be. And now because we are assured that many calumnies are set out against us, so that we have absented ourselves from you our own flock, which ever we loved more than our lives, we have thought good

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1584. to write to you the cause of the same and necessity which lay upon us, albeit we know you yourselves cannot be ignorant of this matter.

It is known to you how that for resisting the course which the rulers of Court had in hand—so dangerous to the Kirk of God, which appears this day, and will yet draw with it greater misery and "thraldome" in conscience if the Lord put not to His merciful hand to help in this desperate estate—we have sustained the burden of the great indignation of the greatest, and the continual reproaches of the rulers of Court, which made us most assured that they were bent against us, and would travail to be avenged upon us when they might see convenient time. In the meantime sundry Acts of Parliament are made, directly repugnant to the Word of God and doctrine which we for a long time past have taught; and especially concerning the policy ecclesiastical; and, to speak it in few words, our whole form of spiritual government, grounded on the Word of God—whereunto the cursed bishops subscribed themselves, as their handwriting will testify — which was growing and increasing in God's mercy amongst us, and did grow and increase until it came to a reasonable perfection, at this Parliament is almost cast down. That which was received as of God that was in use amongst us, followed out to the great comfort and edification of our Kirks, must be cast down, without recovery, by the earnest labours of ours and God's very enemies almost within the space of twenty-four hours, no reasoning being had of the weightiness of the articles by those who are called the Lords of the Articles, none of the ministry being heard nor permitted to come near them, yea they of the Articles sworn ofttimes to reveal nothing, lest, peradventure, this strange dealing coming to the ears of the ministry they should have "withstand in pulpit," according to the Word of God, their dangerous and wicked attempt. And that which is greatest of all, when we send down to Court Mr. David Lindsay our brother, a wise and learned man, desiring we might be heard, he is cast into ward, where he remains yet. What all these things tend unto, they who are of God and have the spirit of righteous judgment may easily espy. Our bishops, of whom some are great libertines and "bellygodes," whose infamies are seen and "groped" by you all; some sacrilegious and dilapidators of their whole benefices; some disturbers of the estate of the pure Kirk; all wanting warrant in conscience of their calling, yea all bearing testimony of an evil conscience in that they now condemn that which they before subscribed as undoubted truth; some suspended from their ministry; some deprived; some excommunicated—these men must be the only and whole rulers now in the spiritual government, and the same government must flow, not from Christ Jesus, but from the corrupt affection of those who call their unworthy souls to such high promotion. Besides, these articles were made, proponed and presented to some ministers to subscribe, submitting themselves to that tyrannical regiment, which, if any will refuse to do, he must be a traitor.

The consideration of these things and many others moved us in our sermons to affirm we would stick to the form of government grounded upon the Word of God; we would "oppone" ourselves against this new and sudden confusion—as in very deed was done by us. In token whereof protestation was made from the pulpit and from the "verie crose." Wherefore our enemies, yea yours and God's own enemies—

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1584. as experience has begun to teach, and assuredly will teach more hardly hereafter except the Lord provide speedy remedy—having the occasion offered, " purchest " a charge to the Provost and Baillies of Edinburgh, thinking to make our own flock—above whose souls so carefully we have watched—to be " burrdois " to us, to take and apprehend ministers who " convenit to the eldership," which before was almost the only bridle to vice—and held them in sure and fast prison. And " such like," whosoever spake either in private places or in pulpit in their sermons against any of their acts or this their unhappy course, be taken immediately by them, cast into prison, and handled as should be thought most meet. In the meantime wanton words were given out, that if we followed our course—which surely is of God—though our heads were as great as haystacks, we should want them. We saw also a good brother of the ministry apprehended, of whom we were assured they had not so great misliking as of us.

Of all these things our hard battle arose, and grievous temptation, which, how great it was, He knows who searches the hearts. To stay from our course we could not, for then should we be traitors to God who has been so good to us. To continue therein was counted treason to the King and hurtful to our flock, who got the charge to take us in case [of] our proceeding in our office, which is to condemn all acts made by men repugnant to the direction of the living God. " Thus wraslinge betwixt the tentacions and tossed heavelie betwixt wind and waw," in the end we resolved to travail to reserve ourselves to a better time. And of a truth this resolution was taken in the bitterness of our hearts and in many tears, especially remembering you our dear flock. This was done after many prayers, and after we were assured it was the will of the Lord—as we are assured the godly think. So it is indeed, and we further persuade ourselves that the Lord once shall let the world understand he had his great work in it to his glory. Let no good man, therefore, think that this is against the law of God or good conscience. Far be it from us that wilfully we should so offend, seeing we have walked in uprightness of conscience amongst you, and trust in God's grace so to do to [the] end.

We have many things to write to you which we dare not commit to paper or ink for your cause. In these dangers the Lord give you grace to stand, remembering and following the things which ye have heard and embraced. We fear wolves will intrude themselves upon you—as we hear some already have done—which is a sore wound to us. Besides, we are plucked away from you. We told you when we were with [you] that the contempt of the truth would bring on the plague of foolish pastors who sought themselves, and not Christ Jesus the great Pastor of the flock. This little burden of the Cross laid upon us by the merciful hand of our God we trust we shall sustain and bear in patience. We trust also we shall not be idle, but be profitable for the Kirk, even there in helping you with some of our labours which were begun amongst us, and could not be perfected by reason of our manifold occupations. We are in good hope the Lord shall unite us again. His good will always be done. " We cannot werie to speake to to you by letter, seinge we may not by corporall presence." The Lord forgive the authors of this separation, and make them once know they have lifted themselves up in their pride against Him, who shall humble them. Thus we cease to trouble you or wound your hearts

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1584. further by "remembringe upon us" and upon the liberty lost for a time, which our God did give unto us, and so commit you to the protection of Him who is most high. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you forever. Yours to be remembered in the Lord with many tears.

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copy. Mr. James Lowsonnes lettre to the provost, baillifs, *etc.*, of Edinburgh." [*Conway Papers.*]

[May.] **158. JAMES VI. TO SIR JOHN MAITLAND.**

Add. MSS., 23, 241, fol. 5. "Secretaire—Johne Andro hes informit me quhat the Session of the Kirke in Edinbrouch hes mineid at and sensyne revokit in a pairt. Thaire spyte in this hes maire offendit me then ever I was sen God creatid me at that unworthie sort of people, nother have ye done youre deutie in this matter, for youre deutie had it been to have dischargit thaire communion and also thaire session quhill I hadd taikin farder order for the repressing of that proude contempt, and thairfore to teache yow that quhen ye count without youre hoste in thay maitteris ye man count tuyse. I have directid a proclamation quhilk ye man cause solemnetlie to be publishit, and sen thay have kendlit up 'sopitos cineres,' I sueare thay sall never faill on my syde quhill I find anis als great pruif of thaire obedience as I have ever hadd of thaire contemptuouse rebellion. I wrett shairpelie, for quhen my proper actionis are callid in question 'tunc mea res agitur.' I have gevin Johne Andro his dispatche as his lettir uill informe you." Fairueill. In haist. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Holograph. Indorsed:* "To our Secretarye."

June 2. **159. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Has acquainted her majesty with the contents of his letters of the 26th ult. Is to let the King of Scots understand, in answer to the offer of his strait friendship and amity with her, made to him by Arran and the rest, and that some might be chosen to be special instruments therein between them, that she has appointed Lord Hunsdon for her part to treat therein with Arran or such other as the King shall depute.

Touching the motion that commissioners may be mutually appointed on both sides about Border causes, he is to let the King understand that for her part she likes very well therof, and therefore, upon knowledge given to her of the quality of the persons that he means to depute, she will give order that they shall be met with others of like quality for her. This, nevertheless, will require some time, for she must first give direction to her wardens to make collections of such matters as they have to demand redress for, and [appoint] the place of meeting. How far the redress shall "look back," and other like necessary circumstances, must be mutually agreed on before the commissioners can be despatched. Her pleasure is that he shall continue there until he receives other direction. Richmond.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. June 3.

160. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

They have some reason to think that the Lord Seton is likely to return out of France with no great comfort, for they have heard from thence, and out of the Low Countries, that the King [of France] begins now to bend himself to the embracing of the enterprise of the Low Countries, finding how much "yt standeth him uppon" to bridle the overgreatness of Spain. For which purpose he sees it very necessary to entertain strait and sound friendship with the Queen of England, having accepted in most kind and thankful sort the foreknowledge that has been given him of her meaning to send the Garter shortly to him, with promise to do the greatest honour and courtesy that may be to the nobleman who shall bring the same to him. Some motion has been made that a man of state might be sent over to be conferred with about the Low Countries; but they [the English] are so slow in these actions that he thinks the purpose of the sending of my Lord of Derby shall go forward, and that her majesty will wade no further into the action than to forbear to take the advantage "of the going together by the eares of the two monarches" by making her peace with Spain. Thinks the French King must in the end content himself with that assurance, being all that he is likely to have of them.

Has thought good to make him acquainted with this, to the end he may know that if in Scotland they receive no greater comfort from Spain than they are likely to do from France, they have no great cause to stand upon any proud arms. Seton, doubting lest he be intercepted in his return home, means, as he understands, to convey himself into Scotland disguised in merchant's apparel.

The Queen of Scots, who also of late stood upon very lofty terms, taking advantage of the time by reason of the late alteration happened in Scotland, begins now to grow somewhat calmer, offering to employ her credit for the relief of the distressed noblemen, and to do any other thing that may procure her majesty's favour to her, upon which she protests chiefly to depend, and very earnestly to desire the same. Westminster. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1⅛ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 3.

161. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Showed his letter of the 26th ult. touching his private affairs to her majesty, which ministered matter of long discourse, which neither his leisure will suffer him to impart to him nor does he see that it is greatly necessary for him to know it, save only that her majesty in her whole course of her speech greatly commended him and thought him a man worthy the cherishing, and concluded that at the Lord Treasurer's repair to the Court she would take some final conclusion with him touching his suit. She is content to yield to 80*l.* a year, promising also that when any office fit for his calling shall fall, she will not be unmindful of him.

Will have care that such letters as contain matters worthy of secrecy shall be used accordingly, yet this is hard to perform considering the contrariety of humours reigning in the parties, who for advice sake are to be made acquainted with the proceedings here.

The poor gentlemen who have retired into this realm are like to

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1584. receive but cold comfort, having fewer favourers here than he looked for, and such become their enemies as neither the authority of their place nor the care they ought to have of her majesty's safety make allowable in them. But it agrees with the course they now hold here in displacing and depriving the best affected ministers. Looks for no better fruits from those who use religion for policy and many times abused it for faction. Will procure his revocation as soon as he can, for he is void of all hope of any good to follow his travail there, unless they here were more religious and resolute than they are. At the Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Would gladly know what he has done with the 1000*l.*

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 3. **162. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.**

"Sir, this berar Jhone Muisneir deliverit to me this uther tickat frome the ambassadour of France, quhairbye your honour may understand his ernist requeste, and the said Jho[ne] on his dessire to repair towartes your honour to mak interpretation of quhat kynd he deissiris to haif the hondis. I haiff takin the boldnes to recommend this sute onto your honour wyth no lesse affection nor the ambassadour cravis it, quho zister nycht had conference vyth my Lord Tresoreire, of quhome he ressavit greit gud speache vyth no smale affermation that he vas the onlye performar, or at leist movare, of ony gud mynd or mater that his mistres bure or suld performe to the Queen of Scottis. And the like assertione he maid that sum thair vas moir redye to hyndre materes nor he vas able to fordar. As to the present action he likit werray veill of ane memoriale presentit onto hym be Mr. Bile, and in lik maner of the contentis of the letteris cummit from the said quein to the ambassadour, the sum quhairof he vas dessirit to impart onto her majestie. Or gif he pretensit to schaw the letteris extante, his answer vas he visshit at God that his mistres mycht be sufficientlye persudite to beleif the contentis of the saidis letteris. To the doing thearof he wold do all that he culd, bot be resson of uther bussines he was not able to repair to Courte before Saterday. Upon this occasion the ambassadour is not to seik audience schortlye nor unto suche tyme as the Consale may be convenite to go thir. In this meane tyme he makis ane depesch to his maister, and accumpanyis the samin vyth the copye of the Queen of Scotlandis letteris craving that he may be excusit in caise ony repugnance or contrarietie shall appeir betuyxt ony audience of hir majesteis ambassadour and his letteris. And that be ressone albeit sum matere vas deliverit onto him be derection frome the Consale viij dayis before the vritting of this depesche that nychte in sum degre movit him to think that the Queen of Scotland cravit no mediation presentlye of the King of France, zit he vald in no vise vrite thairof onto suche tyme that he ressavit answer frome hir self, quhairof he now sendeth the copye, craving that adwising mycht be had thareupon accordinglye, and reffarris all the remanent to his next audience. At quhilk tyme he lukis to ressave answer accordinge to his majesteis dessire and deservinge. Dyvers uther speches passite betuixte my Lord Tresorer and the said ambassadour, quhilkis I omit to vrite of. Thus far I haif thocht conveniente to mak zour honour acquaynted. London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

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1584.
[June 6.]

163. SIR JAMES MELVILLE TO THE LAIRD OF PITTENWEEM OR SIR ROBERT MELVILLE.

"Brother, yester day I raid to the well tre weall accompanied to meit the Englis ambassadour according to the Kingis majestes command. And because I taried lang and hard na word of hym I past till Couper incaice he had com another waye, and efter I had caused provyd his loging in David Welens, I raid out again and met him. The Lard of Bamowto brocht hym ther. He wald have reteinit his feid hors untill he mycht get audience of his majeste, bot I told him he nedit not, seing the lyk hors mycht be had in Couper. He rejosed and gaif gret thankis for that his majestie had caused hym to be honestly convoyed, and was glaid, as he allegit, to meit with me. It apperis that he has na hurtfall commission outwartly, and sais sa schone as the Stirling newes com to the court a soudain charge was geven to hym to com heir with diligence for the cair his mestres has alwayes had and has for the Kingis estait and preservation, bot being upon his journey Mester Widringtoun and Bowes advertist hym of his majesteis prosperous succes and sodain providence. Wherupon he toke some stay untill forther commandement mycht be geven hym as he has baith his first and second instructions, as I beleve, to schaw. He semes to be gentle and frendly and wissis he may be a mair happy instrument then uthers has bene this whill byegain, not that he will accuse the gud menyng of his compaignons and cuntre men, bot assures that the quen his maistress intention tendit alwais to his majesteis preservation, and that sche used sic meanis for the best, as was geven her be information of sic as hantid maist in thir partes, and as sche thocht suld best understand what was meitest to be done for the tym, and geve every man has done his deuty, it wilbe the better for him afterwart—as he doutes not bot the have. As for hym he sall do his best to satisfie his soveranis expectation, to wit that he is lest factious of all her sarvantes, and leanis only upon her self. Then—his dewty observed to his soverain—he professit to bear gret effection unto the Kingis majeste, and therfore be way of frendly discours desyred to knaw of me what meanis mycht be metest till entertein and augment frendschip betwen the twa prencis and realmes, for he estemed me to be a man of his awen nature, not factious, bot weall effectionate, withoute respect, to the Kingis majestie my soverain and to the weall of the religion. I schew hym that being seakly and inclynit to quyetnes of mynd I was semdle in court, and therfore understode not sa weall the particularetes and circomstances of thingis as culd do many uthers who had medled in the matters. Yet in my oppinion, I said, I douted not bot the quenis intention was gud toward the King my soverain, and that her frendly offers wer alwais faire, and that in her hart sche haited the rebellion of subjectis, and yet the procedingis of her consellours, officers and messengers appered to be utherwais unto men of clear sight, and unto his majeste, wha was now a man both in wit and personnaige, and culd parsawe weall anoughe what they wer doing in the warld, and toke greter head till dedis then wordis."

"I said the custom of some contres wer to hald ther nyboures in civill discord, and send ambassadours to and fra to kendle the fyre under coulour to mak concord. Nether had I that oppinion of his maistress, nor yet of himself that many had of some consellours

Elizabeth.
1584. and ambassadours; bot this far I assured hym, onles his maistress procedit utherwais with the King then sche had done yet, matters wer able to fall out to her unmendable miscontentement. I wald not speak of auld done dedis, bot now laitly when Mester Walsingame was sent his majeste was in gud hope of a streit amytie to be pachete up, in respect of his awen ernest inclynation, and the qualities of him that was sent, and culd find nathing bot ane apperance of changement of mynd in him other upon some new occasion or be the parswasion of some in thir partes. And nevertheless his majeste delt favorably and famylierly with hym, and schew favour unto sindry that wer suspect at his request, and kepit straitly some spechis that was betwen them. Albeit efterwart Mester Bowes allegit the contrary in sic sort as sindry thocht it was done bot to pyk a quarell. And wheras his majeste was mercyfully inclynit to all his subjectis to ther awen confessit contentement, baith they with some of England and some of England with them had practyses whereof her majeste had some foirewarnyng, yet drew to plain rebellion be them that cam hot fut out of England and Yreland, and is now returnit and traited ther again. And then ye will say the quen loves his majeste, the quen sekis his majestes preservation. What is this bot moquery? And anent the religion, when my Lord Burly was heir at the sege of Leith, hering the forveying * of our ministers, he gaif plain consell to put ordour unto them, or elis they wald subvert the haill estait. And now albeit na man can reproche his majestes religion nor yet his liff and conversation, quhilk is better reformid and mair godly then thers, yet they tak occasion daily to cry out upon his hyenes without rym or raison, and upon his best frendis and counsellours, quhilk I deduct to hym particulairly, and of the other slanderous practyses of some of them; quhilk he seames to disalow and be of my Lord Burly's oppinion in that pointe. He thinkis the sodain changement stranger and mair dangerous than he can mislyk of it. Bot he sais he will not be curious in a strange republik, nor he is not com to offend his majeste, bot rather to pleas hym and wherin and how thingis may be helpit. He feris my Lord Crownell [Stewart] has not bene over favorable to England. Bot I said he did all gud offices of amytie and speakis mekle to the quenis majestes prayse, bot fand falt with some frictioners baith heir and ther. He speakis nathing of my Lord of Arran bot gud."

"To conclud, I said geve the quen requyre frendschip sche mon lyk of the Kingis freindis, sche mon hait his ennemys and other delyver them in his handis or chais them fourth of hir contre, as sche did at his majestes mothers desyre after the slauchter of Davy [Riccio]. And mairover sche mon assist his majeste with substance and forces as sche did sometymes to some of his regentis. For I assured hym in sa doing sche nadit not to fear his majestes ambition, wha was yet, and apperantly wald be thir many yeares mair bent upon honest pastym, then gret handling of contres without he be compellit be sic kynd of doing as has past heirtofore. For he thinkis him self yong anough to abyd upon any thing that God hes provydit for him. This as ye find opportunite ye may schawe his majeste and secret consaill, and send word then the ambassadour is able to get audience, that horses may be provydit." *Signed:* Your brother, James Melville.

* Erring, or going astray.

Elizabeth.
1584. Postscript.—"I have as yet had bot schort conferrance. It appears that the kingis majestes gallant wreting moves them to be mair gentill. I have yet enterit with hym upon our ald purpos. Your schort wreting cam bot this day to my handis."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. No indorsement.*

June 6. **164. Mary to Huntly.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 64. Rejoiced to hear of his good imitation of his honourable ancestors. Accepts the affectionate and faithful offers he makes her.

¾ *p. Copy.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. v. p.* 476).

June 9. **165. James VI. to the Fugitive Ministers of the Kirk.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 66. Forasmuch as since the accepting of the regiment on our person we have chiefly endeavoured to establish godly and perfect order of policy in the Church of our realm for the sincerity of the Gospel being professed in our realm, and the troubles wherewith this realm has been vexed in our minority not permitting a solid and established order of policy, we coming to years of maturity have, by the Grace of God, chiefly disposed our intention to maintain the truth, set forth His glory, by whose mercy we govern and reign, and to establish such order whereby posterity hereafter may find comfort. And because this work of God cannot duly be accomplished without instruments, and that we are certainly informed of your good gifts and long time bestowed in godly learning, especially in the Scriptures, and that chiefly to perform this work we have need of men indued with such virtues, therefore we have given commission to our well beloved Mr. Archibald Herbertson, whom ye shall trust in our name, that ye may with possible diligence address yourselves hither to your native country and King, that we may have your counsel, assistance, and concurrence to so godly a work; assuring you upon our honour and on the word of a Prince that upon your returning to your native country ye shall find us disposed not only to consider the pains of your journey, but also to respect you likewise in your placing and providing for you in honourable rooms, which we desire to be furnished with godly, learned and quiet spirits. And like as we protest before God to mean sincerely, so we wish you to render that obedience to us whereby ye shall have good proof of our favour.

We have also commanded our well beloved chaplain and Chancellor, the bishop of St. Andrews, to write to you in these matters. Falkland.

1¼ *pp. Copy.*

June 10. **166. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

On the 29th ult. he signified to him from Berwick the receipt of his safe-conduct and purpose to set forwards the next day to this town, which by some indisposition of his health he was constrained to put off to the Monday following, and arrived here the same night. Not long after he had entered his lodging, the Provost and Bailiffs came to him pretending a commandment from the King and disposition in themselves to offer him what pleasure and service they might do him as well in respect of her majesty, whose merits at the hands of the King and country they acknowledged with many good words,

Elizabeth.
1584. as in regard for himself, who, as it pleased them to say, had always done good offices, both public and private, in nourishing the common amity between both crowns, and particular help of divers of their poor neighbours who have had to do in the English Court, *etc.*, with many other like officious compliments to that effect.

Within an hour after Sir Robert Melville repaired likewise to him under the same pretext, as well to sound and feel him as to "previturpre" his judgment with some tolerable opinion of the present state and course of things here, whereon he would have entered into particulars with him, but finding himself suddenly "distempered" and very ill at ease after his journey, he was compelled to break off his purpose.

The next day, feeling himself ill disposed and altered by the former night's accident, he forbore to send to the Court. In the meantime he was visited again by the Provost and Bailiffs, who renewed to him their former compliments and offers of courtesy, *etc.* About 3 o'clock the next morning he despatched one of his servants to the Court to know his majesty's pleasure for his audience. The same day, after dinner, the Provost repaired again to him accompanied with Mr. John Graham, a man newly called to be of the Session in the place of Mr. Robert Punt, lately used as judge upon Gowrie's assize, and let him understand that the King had appointed the said Mr. John Graham to attend on him to the Court when he should be ready, and in the meantime to do him what other service and courtesy he might. And so, after some ordinary words of office and entertainment, the Provost, pretending some business in their Session, departed, leaving his companion behind him. Who being, as he perceived, directed to the same end, after some insinuation and circumstance, laboured to "creep into" him, to see what he might gather concerning his charge and affection. But finding him somewhat "straighter laced" than he looked for, and perceiving him to "smell his drift," he excused his boldness, with desire not to be mistaken, contenting himself only with such generalities of the continuing goodwill of her majesty towards the King his master of his [Davison's] own particular inclination as her minister to those offices that might tend rather to the strengthening than impairing of that amity and friendship which had hitherto been between their majesties and their countries, *etc.* And so, after some other ceremonies to and fro, he took his leave, praying him to give him knowledge, after his man's return, of his diet and journey to the Court, that according to his majesty's pleasure and commandment he might wait on him.

The next morning, Thursday, his man returned from the Court accompanied with a gentleman from the Colonel [Stewart], who brought him word that his majesty had appointed him the next day for his audience, and commanded some gentlemen in Fife to meet him at Kinghorn, on the other side the water, to convoy him to his presence. But on his arrival there he understood they were appointed to convey him directly to Cupar, six miles beyond Falkland, where he was attended by Mr. James Melville [Malvin], appointed by his majesty to keep him company till he should give him further knowledge of his pleasure for his audience, deferred to the Monday following. At which time, being accompanied with Melville, he repaired from Cupar to Falkland, where the King now remains, and after an hour's

Elizabeth.
1584. stay and entertainment with Sir Robert Melville, the Secretary Maitland, and some others, the King being in the meantime scarce ready, as they pretended, was at length brought to his majesty's presence, whom he found attended on by the young Duke [of Lennox], the Earls of Huntly, Montrose, Arran, and Rothes, and some other lords and barons, *etc.* After he had presented the Queen of England's commendations and delivered her letters, he let his highness summarily understand how her majesty, upon the bruit of the late troubles risen within his realm, foreseeing the danger that might grow thereby to his person, and trouble to his estate, she had been pleased to make choice of him, the unworthiest and unfittest of her servants, to repair to his majesty to offer his highness all offices of her accustomed kindness and friendship, if he stood in need thereof, and to interpose her credit and his [Davison's] travail so far forth as it might stand with his own good pleasure and direction in the pacifying of these tumults and diverting the inconveniences which she feared might ensue therefrom. Being despatched with this charge, on his way hitherwards, he was advertised of his highness's success at Stirling and the flight of the lords there convened, and their retreat to England. Whereupon he thought it best to stay at Berwick till he should further understand his highness's pleasure. In the meantime his majesty despatched a gentleman to the Court of England to require the delivery of the noblemen, and if this were refused him he should be compelled to seek the help of other Princes to withstand such further enterprise of his said rebels as might tend to the danger of his estate. Let him understand that the Queen of England, finding the demand in itself such as she could not for the present answer, being then utterly ignorant of the true causes and circumstances of the late alteration, and finding the message somewhat strange in respect of the form, which "she takes a language impertenent and neadles" to be used with her of whose tender love and care of his well doing his highness has had so many proofs—her majesty hereupon thought it best to return her answer by a servant of her own, and for that purpose, being already on his way, it pleased her to command him to repair to his majesty and to let him understand that, as she has at all times been ready to do anything that might tend to his welfare and good, so would she still—so long as he shall forbear to give her cause to change her affection—be loth to refuse him anything that might stand with her own honour and his contentment. But because this action and attempt of the lords is a thing whereof she is not yet well informed, and that she has always understood these noblemen to be such as have with the hazard of their lives, livings, and fortunes maintained his majesty's action from the beginning, and who both during their continuance about his person and since his estranging from his presence, always carried themselves honourably and dutifully towards him, for anything she ever heard to the contrary, and finding no cause that might justly move them to enter into any attempt against the person or estate of his majesty, on whose only grace they pretend a desire to repose themselves, and beyond whose life they had no cause to look, considering in what terms both they and their whole friends stand with the Queen, his mother, and what old and inveterate hatred there is betwixt their houses and others competitors for his crown; besides that her majesty has always understood these changes and alterations

Elizabeth.
1584. to have grown from a special and particular mistake of some in Court, by whom they think his highness is drawn to do many things against his nature and reputation, to the peril of his own estate, hurt of religion, offence of his best subjects, and hazard of the amity between both crowns, rather than from any undutiful meaning against his majesty's self, which they had also protested by their own letters to her—a copy whereof he offered to show to him. His highness therefore had no cause to think much if for these considerations her majesty made difficulty to satisfy his desire in that which, without blemish to her honour, she could not yield to, nor himself in equity demand at her hands, seeing his highness, as he told him, had to himself and others many times misliked the delivery of the Earl of Northumberland in his minority, condemning it as an act that not only "nefaired" the authors and doers thereof, but also some way touched his own reputation, and therefore could not allow in her majesty's name what he condemned in others and misliked in himself. Besides that his own example in refusing the delivery of Holt last year, and the like example of the Kings of France and Spain, who have not only refused the delivery of such her rebels fled into their countries as were justly convicted of treason, and had actually attempted to pluck the crown from her head, but also gave them refuge and maintenance, were sufficient reasons to induce her to make difficulty in delivery of these noblemen, whose actions she does not yet understand to be in any degree equal with the others, and therefore doubts not but his highness will take this other excuse in good part. In the meantime, albeit she cannot in honour refuse them this refuge in her country, yet she has commanded him to assure him that during their abode in England she would take care that nothing should be attempted by them that might tend to the troubling or disquieting of his estate.

Because his servant Livingston, at his being in England, had made report of a letter written by Gowrie during his late captivity, detecting a conspiracy for the taking away the lives of his majesty and his mother at one time, whereby some have most slanderously, unjustly, and treacherously gone about to stain and blemish the Queen of England's honour as a party and procurer of such a practice, notwithstanding her majesty is very well informed what stratagems have been used in this behalf to make that nobleman, under fair promises and hope of his life, write that which might furnish some colour for his own condemnation, and slander of others whom they no less hate, yet she has thought it very strange that the credit or cunning of any her adversaries should be able to draw his majesty to tolerate the satisfying of their malicious affections with the wounding of her reputation, which has deserved other measure at his hands, or that he himself should be induced to credit any their slanderous reports against her whose life and government have been hitherto amongst all other Princes in the world most innocent and unspotted with any such dishonourable or unprincely deeds, and who has given so many proofs of her tender love and care over himself, and also of more than a sisterly affection towards the Queen, his mother, notwithstanding she has given her too many and just occasions to have dealt hardly with her, if the goodness of her own nature, free from the revenging humour and disposition of others, had not restrained her. But, as her majesty is content to make the whole world judge of her innocency

Elizabeth.
1584. in the cause, so she presumes that his majesty, if he have the same care over her honour that she has ever had over his welfare, he will not suffer these slanderous and dishonourable slights of her ill-willers —forged by them to make her more odious, and to turn their friendship into hatred, and peace into trouble—to go unpunished, the rather seeing that the prejudice and touch of her reputation in this case is a matter of ill example and consequence for himself, who may be subject to like slanders, untruths, and accusations.

These were, as he told him, the material things he had to say to his majesty at this time.

The King, after some little pause, made him in substance this answer: that touching his despatch towards him, it was long since he understood thereof, and was not ignorant of the cause. As for the message sent by Livingston, he thought he had good cause both to desire the delivery of his rebels, and if he could not receive contentment therein, to seek other means to assure himself and his estate against their practices, because he saw them received and countenanced so near his nose.

As touching the reasons for her majesty's refusal, he confessed they were such as had some colour of force and probability, but not enough to satisfy himself. Here he entered into a passionate invective against the persons of the lords absent, reproaching them with many hard speeches, but answering directly to none of the arguments, save that taken from the example of his own and other Princes' dealings with her majesty in like cases, wherein he challenged a greater privilege than other Princes in respect of neighbourhood, kindred, *etc.* And in the particular case of Holt, *etc.*, others her majesty's fugitives laboured to make the example appear unequal both in respect of the fault and quality of the persons, the one being of no reputation and able to do her majesty no hurt but as a single and mean subject, the others being noblemen of great houses and alliances, by whose force and friends they were able at all times, especially being so near, to trouble and disquiet his estate.

Touching her offer to foresee that during their abode in her dominions they should do nothing that might tend to his trouble, his answer was that he would look well enough to that himself, and provide that their malice should do him no great hurt, though in the meantime he could not think well of the favour and refuge they found in England.

As touching the letter written by Gowrie, he told him it was true that he had written such a general letter, which, he said, did not reach as far as to touch her majesty or any other in particular, besides that afterwards in the course of his examinations and arraignment there fell out nothing material in proof, and therefore her majesty's honour [was] in no way blemished by anything passed in that behalf, with many other reasons and discourses, to which he [Davison] replied, leaving him, as he pretended, reasonably satisfied. And so falling out of these public things into matters of pleasure, as of his hunting and other pastimes, he committed him to the Earl of Montrose, with whom he was appointed to dine. And his majesty calling Arran to him retired into his chamber.

After dinner, having been a while entertained by Montrose, Maitland, Robert Melville, and his brother James, who pretended a desire that things heretofore mishandled might be yet repaired, they pro-

Elizabeth.
1584. pounded the removing of the lords out of England as a thing which they thought might satisfy the King their master, and give him cause to think that her majesty meant well towards his highness, urging the example of her like dealing with my Lord of Murray, retired into England in his mother's time.

After he had replied to this with the same and other reasons he before used to the King, he let them understand that there were greater causes of jealousy and offence offered to her majesty by the late dealings and proceedings here, wherein they should be as willing to satisfy her as they are desirous to be satisfied at her hands; and so much the rather because she has heretofore given more testimonies of her good meaning towards them, than they have well and thankfully acquitted. And hereupon being pressed to come to particulars, he answered that he had now a long journey to ride, and the day [was] well spent, so that he must be driven to defer the further debate of the particulars to another time, assuring them that in the meanwhile, on the part of the Queen of England, there should be no just cause offered to dissolve that amity and kindness that had been thus long continued between her and the King, if she might meet with the like good dealing and correspondency at their hands, whereof she had many late occasions to be jealous and suspicious.

After many other discourses he thought it best to desire his majesty's presence again before his departure, to whom he made some overture touching the redress of the late disorders on the frontiers on the one side and the other. Referring him to his Council therein, he took his leave for that time.

After some discourse in the garden with Arran, who desired to speak with him—which he thought good not to refuse him—the particularities whereof were too long to rehearse, he went back to Kinghorne, and arrived here yesternight.

Since his coming into the country, has been unvisited by any of his friends and acquaintance or others than by the Provost and Bailiffs of this town, Sir Robert Melville, John Graham, and John Wilson, appointed rather to observe him than otherwise, the rest pretending for their excuse that they know there is order taken to note who they are that resort to him either by night or day, so that without their peril they cannot nor dare not do as they would. Albeit he has found just fault with this to such as have been sent to him, yet he sees them more curious to disguise the matter with him, than to alter their jealous and suspicious proceedings in that behalf; so that he doubts what good he will be able to effect here, or what comfort he may have to stay if his entreaty hold on as it begins. Would be glad to know her majesty's pleasure for his stay or return, in case he finds the time to afford him no better hope than yet it has done to do that good he wishes.

Requests him to excuse to her majesty the fault of a long and tedious letter, wherein he has rather erred on purpose to let her understand the particular circumstances, which he thinks not impertinent, than for any pleasure he takes in long letters. Edinburgh.

7 *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Davison's secretary:* "Minute. To S^r. Fra. Walsingham, 10 Junii, 1584. Edinburgh."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 68. Original of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584.
June 10.

167. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.

To make clear to his honour some things which haply he may be doubtful of, has thought good, besides his general letter, to let him see in a few lines what reasons he has to judge this King and Court to be guided and governed at the appetite of his mother, and consequently what the Queen of England may hope for if this course holds on long.

Shall not need to stand upon the general proposition, namely, that the conjunction of the mother and the son must of necessity be dangerous for the Queen of England's person and State, perilous to her friends, and most hurtful to the common cause of religion, seeing that the reasons of either being particularly considered will appear so plain and clear that they need no disputation. The assumption, therefore, and second part is, that he has to prove what, as he takes it, may necessarily be gathered from the special heads and arguments following:

(1) By the association concluded between them, which, howsoever it be disguised, may appear sufficiently by the last year's congratulation of La Mothe in the name of the King his master, the Queen's [of Scots] own confession, and testimony of some of the Cabinet Council, who by circumstance confess as much.

(2) By the effects since succeeding, as the alteration at St. Andrews, and the course since taken in altering and confounding the government of church and commonwealth.

(3) The rigorous pursuit of all such as have been constant favourers of religion, defenders of his own cause, and lovers of the amity with the English, some of whom have lost their lives, others are either withdrawn or captives at home, and the rest driven into exile abroad under a pretence of the act of Ruthven and expulsion of the Duke of Lennox, whereas others forfeited for the murder of the King's father and Regent's, or following the party of his mother against him, are, notwithstanding, remitted, pardoned, and restored by Parliament.

(4) The alteration of the magistracy through all the boroughs, not by any ordinary election, but by a special commission, removing such as are thought well affected either to religion or the amity with England, and putting in their rooms such only as are rather thought enemies to the one and the other.

(5) Deposing from their Session and College of Justice such as are known to be well affected, as Dunfermline and Mr. Robert Punt, in whose places they have brought in John Graham, a man fit for this time, and David Chambers, one forfeited for the murder of the King of Scot's father, and restored by this Parliament not only in blood but also to his lands, livings, and goods, and so is re-possessed of a benefice which some time he enjoyed by the dispossessing of a minister in late seisin thereof.

(6) The open invasion of the Church and ministry; first by the utter overthrow of the whole discipline and government thereof; next by apprehension, warding or banishing of the best and most godly, learned ministers, restoring Montgomery to the archbishopric of Glasgow and freeing him by Act of Parliament from the sentence of excommunication, committing the whole ecclesiastical government

Elizabeth.
1584. to some few bishops, some of whom are "infamed" in life, and suspected in doctrine, and others utterly incapable of any ecclesiastical charge, being only civil men enjoying ecclesiastical titles.

(7) His Cabinet Councillors at home and servants employed in special charge abroad are such as have always been devoted to his mother, in religion suspected, and in affection French.

(8) The negotiations of his said ministers in France, Spain, *etc.*, and their common intelligence with the bishops of Ross and Glasgow, and other her agents and factors abroad, professed enemies to the religion and peace of both countries.

(9) The continual intelligence betwixt his mother and him, the favour and reception showed to English Jesuits and fugitives, the dismissing of Holt, and voluntary oversight of others. His holding for good servants such as have "oppugned" his authority, and general hatred and suspicion of the contrary.

(10) His changing of his domestical servants, removing all such as were religious and honest, and taking in their places men of contrary humour and quality.

(11) His impatience at hearing anything in his mother's "dispraise," and his own often speeches in her favour, with the contrary against such as he esteems her adversaries either abroad or at home.

(12) His "putting at" the best and most religious burgesses of Edinburgh, some of whom are already commanded under pain of treason not to come near by twelve miles either to their town or the Court; and others to the number of six or seven like to underly the same punishment, under the pretext of an assembly and night watch made in one of the churchyards during the Duke's being in Edinburgh, not long before his departure; who, having at that time some forces in the town, was suspected of some enterprise against the ministers and better sort, which gave them cause to stand on their guard. Which extraordinary entreaty and removing of good men offers too much matter both of offence and suspicion.

(13) Their "putting at" the Captain of the Castle of this town—which strength only remains, as they take it, unassured to them, and therefore they cease not to devise how to remove him from that charge and to put in some other more apt for the time and course they run—with many other particular reasons, in his poor opinion, necessarily induce the conclusion that neither her majesty's person nor State at home, nor her friends abroad, nor religion in either country can be in surety if this course be continued and followed forth. Leaves it to his consideration how necessary and expedient it is for the Queen of England to seek the remedy. Wherein he leaves to be considered whether the mild way of counsel, which, so long as he is thus guided, has no great appearance of effect with him, or a more sharp remedy in removing of ill ministers from about him be more expedient. The latter of which he sees all men to affect, as fearing and hating extremely the present government, if they saw how it might be well redressed and reformed, and because the reputation of her majesty's favour and comfort, though underhand signified to the lords in England, will effect much in the assurance and encouraging of their friends here, he leaves it to be considered by his honour how expedient it were for her majesty to entertain them with that comfort that in good policy she shall find meet, for-

Elizabeth.
1584. bearing to practice that fruitless and needless remedy of working the reconcilement by the Queen [of Scots], which is the mark both she and her friends shoot at, to bring them and the rest home by her mediation, that she may have, by diminishing the Queen of England's credit with them and the rest of her friends, the better interest in them, and both herself and her son the more assured of them to follow and serve him in such courses as hereafter may be propounded to her majesty's peril, and pleasure of others. Which, if he be not abused, by some of special judgment is the mark specially aimed at. Or otherwise, in case they cannot be brought to that unhappy fellowship, that then they be removed out of her majesty's dominions, that being far off, and their friends and forces scattered, disbanded, and broken at home, they may meet with the less obstacles and difficulties in the plots and projects laid both here and there to her majesty's special danger and disadvantage, the remedy whereof is thought to stand chiefly in the alteration of this present Court here, and removing of the author of all this change, which, or either of which, will breed some new impediments which shall drive them to some courses and resolutions, in which, meantime, many things may fall out in bewraying more clearly the mischief and offering the further remedy. But in this he rather signifies to his honour the judgment and opinion of others, than of himself.

Assures him that the lords in England and others abroad have means enough to make their own peace and work their reconcilement if, abandoning the Queen of England's party, they can be content to use the mediation of her adversary, and will promise some overtures that are to be made to them. Wherein Sir Andrew Keith, before his departure out of Scotland, was made an instrument to sound the Master of Glamis by some of his friends, making him many large offers, as himself can more particularly assure him; the like being propounded by Arran long since to Gowrie, and by others to Marishal and other lords, whose refusal has since cost some of them very dearly. All which, with other particular proofs, if these suffice not, may let her majesty particularly see that all these changes and alterations here, howsoever they be disguised, have for their *summum finem* the offence and trouble of her majesty's person and State, not without a straight intelligence with some ill members at home, weary of her happy government and desirous of an unhappy change and alteration, the further opening and discovering whereof he leaves to time. Edinburgh.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of Davison's secretary. Indorsed:* "Minute to Mr. Secretary Walsingham from Edinburgh, 10 Junii, 1584."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 71. Original of the same.

June 10. **168. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Assures him that the proceedings of this present Court are thought so extreme and intolerable that they have not only bred a common hatred and mislike of the instruments, but also a decay of the love and devotion of the subjects to his majesty, which will very hardly be repaired without a change of this course, wherein he sees very little appearance or inclination in the guiders.

The want of their ministers exiled, the imprisonment of Mr. David Lindsay in the Blackness, and the warding of Mr. Andrew Hay in the

Elizabeth.
1584. north, who refused to subscribe their late Acts of Parliament, do not a little increase the murmur and grudging of the people, besides the lack of the ordinary ministry here, which is now only supplied by Mr. John Cragge and Mr. John Brand at such times as they may be spared from their own charges.

The King is exceedingly offended with such of them as are fled, blaming them to have withdrawn themselves without cause, notwithstanding some of their friends were already in hands, and warrant given forth for their own charging and apprehending before their departure. Immediately upon their retiring the bishop of Glasgow [Robert Montgomery] and Fentry, another excommunicated, came to this town and were absolved (*jure politico*) from the sentence of excommunication, and now have access to the Court.

The bishop of St. Andrews, preaching on the Friday following in the great church of this town, was fain to be countenanced with the presence of the King, and environed with his guard for his surety against the popular fury which he feared, few of the burgesses or others besides the courtiers assisting at his sermon.

Lindsay is delivered out of Tantallon at the great suit and labour of Crawford, who is become caution for him, and with whom he is gone over into Angus.

The Countess of Mar was by decree of Council commanded to Dumbarton; which is since changed, and she is committed to her brother's son, the Laird of Tullibardine.

The Countess of Cassillis remains here in custody of the Countess of Arran, and is to be removed to Durleton, in Lothian, pertaining of late to Gowrie, and now to Arran. It is generally thought she shall be forfeited.

Divers of the most honest and religious burgesses of this town are restrained under pain of treason from coming within twelve miles either of the Court or this place, and others to the number of six or seven score are to be likewise summoned and to underly the punishment under the pretence of a night watch in the churchyard during the Duke's [Lennox] being here.

The prisoners are yet all unrelieved of their wards, save Lindsay and Mr. William Leslie, who by the great suit of the Laird and Lady Johnstone has obtained his life. The bishop of Murray and George Fleck remain in Montrose. Bothwell has been an earnest suitor for Cowdenknowes, but has yet obtained no grace. He has gotten the grant of Cockburnspeth. Sir William Stewart has Douglas, the Secretary Maitland Bonele, and the Colonel [Stewart] Tantallon, all belonging to Angus, whose lady yet retains her dower. The Colonel [Stewart] has besides the tutory of Glamis, with the Master's living. Huntly has gotten Paisley and Buchan's lands. Montrose Bamanno belonging to George Flecke. Crawford has gotten the abbey of Scone, Montrose the office of treasurer and the lordship of Ruthen, Arran, Dirleton, Couslame, and Newton, all sometime belonging to Gowrie, whose wife and children are very extremely dealt withal.

Atholl stands on terms of interdicting, for that they suspect he will relieve and support them. Glencairn has taken the castle of Erskine; the Laird of Clackmannan has spoiled Alloway; both belonging to the Earl of Mar, whose living is yet undistributed, save the lordship of Brechin, which is given to Huntly.

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1584. The Laird of Johnstone has gotten Locquharnell belonging to George Douglas. The living of the rest in exile is like to follow the same course.

Arran is made Chancellor in the absence of Argyll, in Council, Session, and Parliament, Sir John Maitland Secretary, and Lord Fleming principal huissier. The Archbishop of St. Andrews is a daily courtier, labouring what he can both publicly and privately to deface and persecute the ministers, as he has done in supplanting the discipline, which his conditions could never agree with—the man being here openly and generally "infamed" with very foul crimes unfitting to a Christian, much less to a man of that calling. Edinburgh.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 67. Original of the same.

June 10. **169. Thomas Randolph to Mr. William Davison.**

We are sorry to hear such news as daily comes out of the country where you are, that the King is revolted from his religion, no account made of our amity or remembrance of the benefits past, that his mother commands what she lists, *etc.* If these things be true, then happy shall he be "qui non habet negotium cum rebus Scotticis." As I doubt not but these things grieve you not a little, so shall you know that others in other parts of the world live not without their griefs. But who is most sorrowful for that which now I purpose to write, I leave to yourself to judge.

Monsieur [the Duke of Anjou], who has been so long and dangerously sick, ended his life on the 1st instant at Chateau Firé, and his corpse is now brought to Paris. This being so many ways confirmed, you shall not need to doubt of the truth thereof. The King [of France] himself having but a weak body, and his mother [being] almost witless, for her senses, as we hear, begin to fail, some notable alteration is like to ensue, and all men's eyes begin to behold the rising. Some [are] in hope to have the Gospel thoroughly planted by the just successor to that crown, the King of Navarre, if the French King dies; and then has the King of Scotland showed himself too forward in altering the state of religion there, for which hitherto [his] country has been renowned far above any realm in the world.

I have over far passed myself: I meant no more than to have saluted you and to have sent you these letters inclosed, *etc.* Immediately on the surrender of Bruges to the Prince of Parma he sent a number of friars, mass priests, and Papists into the town, and within three days there was not one church in which there had not been a dozen masses. No freedom of conscience is left to any man, nor honest man left in the town. This example so indurates the hearts of all other towns against them that they are resolved rather to die like good Christians than "meschantly" to yield themselves to the enemies of God and falsifiers of their promise to all men. Ghent [Gande] upon this news have put out of their town all suspected Papists, and are minded and [have] given their oaths never to yield. The States have newly assembled and re-united themselves, all resolved to withstand the enemy. Proclamation is made at Flushing and all those parts that no man carry, upon pain of his life, any victuals to Dunkirk, Gravelines [Gravelinge], *etc.*, and [they] have set forth

Elizabeth.
1584. eight ships to annoy as many as assist them. Doctor Junius or some other man of good is daily looked for here from the States to inform her majesty of their intention. At home we do as you [when] you left us. *Signed :* Tho. Randolph.

Postscript.—I am willed by Sir Walter [Mildmay] and Mr. Harry [ ] to write their hearty commendations to you.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. No indorsement.*

June 12. **170. Demands of the Queen of Scots.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 73. "A consideration of sondry matters rysyng out of the Queen of Scottes demandes and offers delyvered to the Erle of Shrewsbury and Robert Beale."

The matters concern the Queen's majesty for her own person, her realm, and subjects for peace and quietness to be continued therein. They also concern the Scottish Queen herself for her further liberty and her personal residence, for her association with her son in the Kingdom of Scotland. They also concern the King of Scots for his estate, how to be conjoined with his mother, and how his reign from the time of her demise of the crown shall be interpreted ; and they also concern the estate of Scotland in general, and principally all such and their heirs, who were consenting to her demise, and who have withstood all contrary parts in defence of the King's sole government and authority.

These three points are thus to be considered as follows :

First, all things are to be surely provided, that her majesty may quietly enjoy without any molestation her most lawful estate in her crown as she has enjoyed the same almost twenty-five years. For the assurance whereof, although there be no needful cause to have any assent by the Queen of Scots or her son, or of any other potentate for corroboration thereof, having the continuance of the favour of God and the goodwill of her subjects, yet seeing that the Scottish Queen and her son make this offer to her, to enter into bond, league, and contract to do all things on their parts that may make perfect demonstration to the world and assurance to her majesty that they will further the quietness of her estate, it is not to be refused, [but] to be accepted in this manner following :

The Queen of Scots, in consideration of sundry attempts moved in her name by the French King who was her husband and by other her friends in France, and during her after-marriage to the disquieting of the Queen of England's estate is to affirm that she is sorry for the same as though done without her own direction ; and at this time to offer to ratify all articles contained in the treaty of Edinburgh, or as many of them as the Queen of England shall require. And if any things have been attempted by the Scottish Queen that may seem repugnant to that treaty, she is also to disallow all her actions or practices done or attempted since that time.

Item, she is also, for the more assured continuance of quietness in this realm, to bind herself that she nor any by her procurement shall attempt anything or consent to any other who shall attempt anything to the impugning of the government of this realm by the laws now established, as well for the maintenance of the religion here established as for the civil policy, but that she shall declare herself as an enemy or

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1584. a party adverse against any person, public or private, who shall attempt anywise by act, word or writing anything derogatory to her majesty's estate and government, or to the laws of this realm now established. She shall also be bound not to publish any pretence to any title of succession in this crown, but shall therein permit the same to remain in suspense, as it is during her majesty's life, and to stand to the determination of her majesty and the three estates of the realm during her life, as they shall determine by the laws of God and of this realm. And if she shall continue, her majesty to forbear also to make any title but with the consent of the estates of the realm, so that no disturbance grow in the realm by pretence of any title to be made either by her or any other. And because such offers, bonds and covenants as she shall make for these things above rehearsed may be of more force, and not to be avoided hereafter upon any "cavillation," because she is not at full liberty out of this realm, and it is reasonable that, besides her own assurance by her writing and oath, she procure the same to be ratified by Parliament in Scotland. And if her majesty shall so request it [shall] also be confirmed by the French King both by writing and oath.

And concerning her liberty, if the same shall be granted for her to remain in England at some place certain, with some to attend on her, it were requisite that some two or three hostages, being noblemen of Scotland and France, were delivered to the custody of the Queen of England for one or two years, and at the end, if her majesty should see cause to require any prorogation of the hostages, the same to be done.

For her association with the King her son, it is not meet for the Queen's majesty to allow thereof except the King and the Estates of Scotland shall have first made determination whether the same shall be received or not; or if it shall be, with what limitations and conditions for avoiding of any new troubles in Scotland either for hindrance of the religion there established or for the government civil. And therefore she is herein to be answered, that her majesty can in no sort treat with her by mentioning her association with the King until the King and the States of Scotland shall declare their determination.

To conclude, if hereafter there shall be any association accorded upon than the treaty and league to be made with them both; if there shall not be any association accorded than the treaty with [*sic*] the Scottish Queen may be a part, and the Scottish King [*ends*].

4 *pp.* *In Burghley's hand.* *Many alterations.*

June 15. **171. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

The little time since his last letter, of the 10th, has wrought this change in the behalf of Lindsay, that Crawford, who lately procured his relief out of his ward in Tantallon, is now expressly commanded to deliver him to Huntly, so that the late hope of his life is now turned into a constant expectation of his death. The Earl has made some difficulty in his delivery, being committed to him by the King's special warrant, and this re-delivery purchased, as he [Crawford] takes it, by Arran, whom, for this and other late injuries, he esteems his enemy; but he is to be charged under pain of treason in case of refusal.

The like charge has also been given for the apprehension of Dun-

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1584. fermline, notwithstanding he had license to depart from the country. Who being forewarned of the intent and counsel of his adversaries, whom he knew to aim at his life, embarked secretly on Thursday night last at Burnt Island, and having the wind fair, departed towards the Low Countries, preventing his enemies who the same day had procured order for his stay and committing. Upon a letter written to the magistrates of this town by Mr. James Lawson signifying the causes of his withdrawing himself from his charge, the King has caused an answer to be drawn and sent hither to the said magistrates and burgesses to be sub-signed by them, charging Mr. James and his fellow ministers with heretical and seditious doctrine, with other things very hard in their reproach. This having been presented to them and read in open council, the Provost, who has been heretofore condemned as a man too pliable to the hard commandments of this Court, suddenly broke forth into an exclamation desiring to live no longer, as one who had seen too much of the miseries coming on his "courting," and immediately, being ready to swoon in the council, was conveyed home extremely sick, and now lies "very hardly," and not like to escape. Notwithstanding, both he and the rest thought it good to depute certain of their company to repair to the King with their humble excuse and petition that they might not be forced against their conscience to slander those against whose integrity of life and soundness of doctrine they could never take exception. But *in fine* the persons and letter are returned with flat charge to subscribe it in the form it is or answer their contempt at their peril, the Secretary Maitland being appointed to see it done, and to take the names of such as shall refuse.

At St. Andrews the bishop has in the meantime played his part so well in the pursuit of good men, that both the professors and students in the College of Theology have abandoned the place and withdrawn themselves for their surety where they may find safest refuge.

Seton is daily looked for, and his forerunners Farnyhurst and Henry Keir, who was servant to the late Duke [of Lennox], returned on Saturday last with one Walter Adamson, who brought the packet from Seton, and went the same night to the Court. Is informed by an honest man who came in the ship with them, that in their company were two Jesuits and two Irishmen of quality, whose names, *etc.*, he cannot yet discover.

The King will in nowise relieve the townsmen lately warded and inhibited from coming within twelve miles of their houses or the Court, unless the town of Edinburgh, Provost, and Bailiffs, engage their goods and liberty that they shall be answerable for such crimes as he is to lay to their charge. Which hard and strange dealing against all honest men breeds a common expectation and fear of very hard and unhappy issue. Edinburgh.

1½ *pp.* *Copy in Davison's hand.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 75. Another copy of the same.

June 15. **172.** THE EARL OF ARRAN TO HUNSDON.

Received his letter dated the 24th of May from the bearer hereof, his servant Armorer, which he has committed to his majesty, who has given him commandment to write this to him.

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1584. Whereas he remits in his said letter the answer to that which he "craved for" in his [Arran's] last to him to that he wrote to him by Mr. Davison, how directly or fully his majesty finds himself satisfied thereby, he trusts his own letter makes him acquainted. The King of Scots has given him charge to assure him that if his majesty had not imputed the "diting" thereof to the Queen of England "in forme of forged untruthes," and some others about her—small friends to his majesty—he had "esteamed ye had been wery of anie good intelligence making" betwixt his majesty and her.

And whereas he affirms it is not a matter to be urged by his majesty to crave the delivery of his late fugitives and rebels according to the treaty of peace, as well in respect that the Queen of England's rebels are received by strange Princes, as also seeing the King of Scots receives some of them, his majesty has told him it gives answer to these two "heads" propounded by Mr. Davison. The special "head" concerning the delivery of others' rebels was not included in the treaty of peace betwixt her majesty and any of them, as these were both concluded and put in practice betwixt the King of Scots and the Queen of England. And as to her majesty receiving some of them, his majesty "had put the contrary in proofe." But because the Queen of England never did meet his majesty with the like, he thought that such dealing could no more stand only on the one side. Besides that they were but men of base quality whom his majesty could receive, "and sick of whom she had enough the lyke to punish in her cuntrey at her pleasure." Whereas, on the contrary, his majesty's rebels lately fled into England were men not only of great quality, but also so notorious rebels that they "left" none like them in his majesty's country.

As to the Borders, his majesty has given him charge to "shew" him that his countrymen [the English] daily heap insupportable wrong upon wrong on his majesty's subjects. Albeit his majesty will communicate his mind largely thereupon to Mr. Davison.

Requests him to continue a good instrument towards his sovereign, that the amity shall not fail, and that she will credit his rebels no more, only dealing with his majesty hereafter, only trusting him, whom she sees so constant towards her, using him as he would willingly use her, and delivering his rebels to him, or at least not receiving them any longer, which otherwise were not only dishonourable for her, but also perilous for his majesty.

These then being the only means for the increasing and maintaining of the happy amity betwixt their two sovereigns, and since it is now fallen into the Queen of England's hand to do it if so she likes, how happy then should these two crowns and realms be if her majesty so did, and what great contentment and immortal honour it would bring to them [Scotland] in particular, who should be esteemed the happy instruments thereof.

1⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same. Indorsed by Walsingham.

June 17. **173.** ELIZABETH TO THE EARLS OF ANGUS AND MAR AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS.

"To the Earle of Angus, the Earl of Marre, and the Master of Glamis at Newcastell."

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1584. As we were right sorry to understand your distressed estate—being forced for your own safety to retire out of your own native country into this our realm—so were we glad to hear as well by your letters sent to our Secretary at your first entrance into our realm, as also by a late report made to us by Mr. John Colvile, that whatsoever is given out against you in withdrawing by such as abuse the King your sovereign's ear by sinister reports, who has withdrawn his favour from his most dutiful and best affected subjects, you can no way be charged with any unsound or undutiful dealing towards him. For if any such matter could justly be proved against you, or that in our own conscience we did not hold you clear in that behalf, so far off should we then be found from favouring you that none should be more ready to prosecute you than ourself. And therefore, being persuaded of your innocency, as we are, and carrying a thankful memory of the great goodwill and devotion you have by many effects showed to bear towards us, so far forth as might stand with your duty to your sovereign, you may assure yourselves that we will not fail to use as well all means of mediation that may best serve for the removing of the King's displeasure conceived against you, as also to see you in safety and used with such favour as appertains to men of your quality and desert towards us. Richmond.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *No indorsement.*

June 16. C.P.,vol. XIII. **174. Walsingham to Shrewsbury.**

By reason of this new accident of Monsieur's * death, which her majesty takes very grievously, conceiving that she has lost a very good friend in him, the time has not been fit to deal with her in any public or private causes. Notwithstanding, upon receipt of his last letters, he took occasion to move her for her resolution upon the requests before propounded by him. Wherein she is content to yield to the Queen [of Scots] going to Buxton at such time as shall be thought meet by himself, and [upon] the departure of the Frenchman.

Also finds her majesty, upon reading to her Mr. Beale's report of the negotiation with the Queen of Scots, much better satisfied now touching the said negotiation, than she was before upon the receipt of the joint letter from him and Mr. Beale. So that he does not doubt but that when the ambassador of France has dealt further with her—who can yet have no access to her for that she keeps herself still private, being greatly oppressed with this grief of Monsieur's death—she will then yield to the going forward of the treaty whereof he hopes some good effects will follow, unless the stay grows from the Queen [of Scots] herself by reason of some ill dealing of hers that may in the meanwhile be discovered, or that the King her son shall proceed the more violently in his course of prosecuting the distressed noblemen. For his own repair up hither to her majesty's presence, her majesty has willed him to assure him that, though it cannot be presently by reason of the Queen of Scots going to Buxton, yet he shall not need to doubt but that she will take a resolution therein some time this summer. If the treaty goes forward, the ambassador

* The Duke of Anjou.

Elizabeth.
1584. having access to the Queen of England during the time of the Queen of Scots being at Buxton, it will begin presently after her return from thence, and it is reduced already to such heads that the conclusion cannot hang long after it is once entered into, so that his lordship may make full account that his stay cannot now be long. Would be glad to understand when the Queen [of Scots] may set forward, and how long she means to remain at Buxton. Richmond.

¾ *p.* *Indorsed:* "1584, June 16. M[inute] to th'e[arl] of Shrewsb[ury]."

June 17. **175. Walsingham to Mr. William Davison.**

His manner of proceeding there is very well allowed of here by her majesty and others. It is thought meet, for some respects, that he should stay there a few days, which he cannot with secrecy impart to him for lack of a cipher, having lost the counter-cipher of that which he delivered to him.

The news of the death of Monsieur has hindered his particular suit, wherein the Lord Treasurer is bent to deal most effectually when time shall serve. But now melancholy so possesses them that both public and private causes are at a stay for a season. Sees her majesty grown to that good liking of him [Davison] that he may hope for some goodness at her hands, though not in such full measure as his deserts or necessity require.

The noblemen remain at Newcastle, and receive no great comfort from hence; and as for the poor ministers retired into this realm, they are hardly thought of here, and therefore not likely to be used with that kindness that either Christianity or policy require. Writes this with extreme grief, for that he holds it as a presage of God's judgment towards them [the English]. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Her majesty looks to hear often from him during his stay in Scotland. Sends him such occurrents as he has received from foreign parts.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 19. **176. James VI. to Burghley.**

Lansd. MSS., No. 1236, fol. 50.

"Trustie and veilbelovit cusing, we greit zow veill. Being surlie informid off your ernist, cairfull and bent gudvill at all tymis quhen occatioun ves offerrit for ye furtherance off our adois in theis parttis, ve haiff thocht it ye smallest part off gratitud and thankfulnes to thank zow hartlie yeroff heirby, noct dowtting bot sen zow haiff imployit your self heirin yis tyme past at ye Queines your mistres hand, neither being requyrit be us, nether ellis haiffing sa fit ane occatioun offerrit unto zow, as now her honour being pressit to haiff bene staynit be sum our rebellis and fugitivs fled in ye said parttis alait sa far as in yem lay, ye goldin hilis promisit fallis into dros and dust, radie to be blawin avay vith everey vind, and schortlie ye trewght now scheynyng cleir in many thingis quhairin it ves dark off lait. Ve dowt noct yen bot all yir cawsis now coneurring—quhilk ver noct befoir—yat ye vilbe boithe moir villing, iff posseble can be, at least moir abill for renewing and continewing yat gwd turst and

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1584. intelligence betwix zour mistres and us, ye particularis quhairoff ye Lord Hunsden can schaw zow, quhome to ve haiff vryttin moir speciallie yeranent." Falkland. *Signed :* " youre maist loving frind, James R."

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

June. **177. Bishop of Glasgow to Mary.**

C.P.vol., XIII. Madam, if by my last of [ ] I have implored your pardon for my long preceding taciturnity, I have no less occasion at present to beg you very humbly to consider that for [ ] whole months there has not been an ambassador ordinary in France who could have audience with their majesties, and until the arrival of the King at the commencement of this month all deliberations of strangers had ceased, even of his private estate. So that I am constrained to confess that I am more a burden than profitable to your majesty in my service, for want of having the means, on account of the difficulties which present themselves from day to day to be able to approach the King, without whom nothing is done to-day in this Court. And he does not wish that the Queen his mother nor any other, whoever it may be, should meddle with anything in his absence. He wishes to do everything, and everything to wait. Will you please consider then, madam, that it is for want of audience with their majesties that I have not continued to write to you, and not for want of goodwill, to give you testimony by my more frequent letters of my duty and obligation to your said service. I will tell you then that I have had audience with their majesties the [ ] of the present, at which I proposed to the King two points only. The one of the estate of your person, begging the said King to consider that I had been duly advertised, not by letters from your majesty, not having had a single one since the [ ] of [ ] but by other sure ways, and by common rumour, that they intended afterwards in England to change your guardian and to remove you from the hands of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had already arrived in London, to the custody of other lords, and in consequence you would fall into the hands of your enemies or their adherents at the risk of your life, for which they will work day and night more than ever to obtain from the Queen of England, and to persuade her that it would be for the preservation and good of her estate; and that I did not see any means of counteracting their designs, if it will not please his majesty to be willing to take consideration of this danger in which he sees you clearly, and if, with his usual kindness to your majesty, he will not undertake your protection, and send an express man, a personage of quality for form to visit your majesty, and if by chance the passport should be refused him, to intercede at least with the Queen of England in his name that your majesty may not fall into this misfortune. And what convinced me most that your estate was such as I had declared to his majesty was, that by your said letters of the [ ] of [ ] your majesty gave me express commandment that when I did not receive any letters from your majesty I should not fail to do this office, to beg his majesty to take heed, and not to abandon you, reduced to such necessity, he being the only support on which your majesty relies, and from whom you

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1584. hoped to receive consolation in all your adversities, and that he would do office worthy of the greatness of a most Christian King when all opportunities ceased, as the only consideration of your long afflictions past. The second point was only your complaints showing him that during his absence it was so necessary that something should be done for you, that they had added another occasion to complain anew. On this subject your majesty will see more fully by my open letters.

To which his majesty replied to me, that he was very grieved at this account, and that he would work very willingly to help you as much as might be in his power, as he was obliged thereto, and that he would spare nothing to make you know that he had vowed to do you service. That, his majesty repeated by several phrases, and prayed me to assure you thereof. And that he knew well that he being absent, they would not have done anything for you, and, for the rest, that I should give in writing to the sieur Pinard what I had told him then. I made the same remonstrance immediately after to the Queen mother, and made her understand all that the King had replied to me, and the command to give in writing to the said Pinard. The said lady made show of being very grieved and angry at the discourse that I had made her, and assured me that on that same day she would intercede with the King her son, and would do all that it would be possible for her to help you and relieve you in this extremity. And on my departure she asked me of the behaviour of the King your son. I replied to her that his majesty behaved as a young Prince abandoned by those in whom he trusted most, as he knew by the reply made and given to his ambassador, and that I did not fail then on the said reply to remonstrate with her majesty on the troubles which would follow. And seeing her remain without replying, I told her that I had heard that she had sent a gentleman to the Queen of England to speak to her of the King your said son, and that it seemed to me that that was not the true means, as it was necessary to address your majesty, knowing the inclination of the mother and the son to this thing, so often repeated by your letters and according to your commandment by me, and recently by her said ambassador, as it appears by his letters that were presented to their majesties; and that she could assure herself that on the part of your majesties there was not any change of this goodwill. For a last reply she said to me "the King my son would never abandon them," and that she would do all the good offices of a good mother, and that she had not sent any one to England. John Francis, gentleman, serving the said lady, had written from Bloys to Madam de Montpensier your cousin: I have seen the letters.

The next morning I waited on the said Pinard—the occasion which had brought me to Court—[with] the points of my said audience: the wish of the King to give him in writing what I had delivered the day before, which I did with my own hand. He told me that he was very sorry I had not given it to him the preceding day, for that morning they had spoken of it. But, in short, he did not wish to tell me anything, but he would remind their majesties. And he was very pleased with what I had given him in writing, because it would be necessary for him also to give me a reply in writing. Which has not come

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1584. to pass. For, having pursued him to close quarters, to get the said reply, he only said to one of mine whom I had left there for that purpose to report to me by word of mouth, that the King this time did not find it expedient to send there an express man, but a good dispatch to the ambassador, Monsieur de Mauvissière, to solicit what I had asked for in my said audience; and being there a day after, he came to this town and told me by one of his that their majesties, not content with this first despatch, had made another written with their own hands to the said Queen of England in your favour and recommendation of your affairs, and in good time, if it would please me to write, he would certainly send my letters. Which I think has been done, because I pressed the sieur Gondy very much. My reply was that I could not write again to your majesty, as first I had not had reply on the two points that I had given in writing. For it angered me to write to her majesty so many good words that I had received from their majesties, and, as usual, at the end of the fortnight or thereabout, in writing that nothing had followed from what they had told me. And that by this way of doing things I had always to begin again. I also made known to him the same reply by Monsieur (——*). To which he said that it was quite another thing that touched your person, and was not of your grievances, and that I ought not to desist from making known to you the good inclination of their majesties. The desire that I have had of having audience again made me persist in not writing then, and that I had an idea that this would press a little, moreover, to get me a reply to both points. But the little appearance that I have seen of having it before the feasts, because the King does not cease to visit from time to time Monsieur M. who is ill at Fontaine, has persuaded me to write to you as above. And besides, to tell you that Don Bernardino de Mendoza arrived in this town at the end of the past month, and remains here as ambassador ordinary of the King of Spain, and the sieur de Taxis will be sent to Flanders very honourably appointed by his said master. Having visited them together and congratulated the said sieur de Mendoza on his arrival, the said lord told me that he had only come to condole upon the death of the late Monsieur, and, however, if he could serve your majesty in anything he would employ himself with as good will as your majesty had experienced in the past; and continued in these terms throughout the day without one or the other of them making me any overture of anything. But having visited them another time, and finding them as cold as formerly, I made them a discourse of the rumour of the Court that they considered it certain that the said sieur de Mendoza had come to reside here as ambassador ordinary, that they had already spoken to Monsieur de Pugny of going to Spain for the same occasion. Then they made everything known to me, and confessed to me that the said sieur de Mendoza at first had charge to condole, as I have said. But at the second audience that he presented himself to their majesties as ambassador ordinary, and that he had had this charge by the commandment of his master, and by a commission extraordinary which was despatched to him since his departure from Spain, given to him since his arrival in this town. Then I tried to sound both

* Cipher.

Elizabeth.
1584. by divers addresses what I ought to expect from the resolution of the King of Spain their master in the matters of the King your son, especially of the general enterprise so much desired by your majesties. But I could learn nothing, they referring always the one to the other, if not in general terms, that in time everything would be well. Except the said sieur de Taxis told me that he had charge to cause to be put into the hands of the Duke of Guise, when it should please him, the 12,000 crowns ordered for your son, and prayed me to be willing to give him hearing. And having inquired if he had nothing ordered for your majesty, he told me that for this time he had no other commandment than what he had told me. Then I was constrained to tell him that it was more than two months since he had assured me that before All Saints he would furnish me with both sums, and had caused the same to be said by Father Claud to the Duke of Guise, and on his word I had written of it to your majesty as a thing sure and certain. Whereupon he told me that then they had thus commanded him. But by the despatch of the last messenger they had not made him any mention of it. Not content with this reply, I said to the said sieur de Mendoza that this was one of the principal articles that were given him before his departure from here by my said sieur de Guise, and therefore I begged him to tell me what was done, without drawing from him anything else, except that that would be done. And pressing him still to tell him what had been written to me from Flanders, as to what had been ordered by the Prince of Parma on his departure from England, which he had not fulfilled, he confessed to me then that having arrived at Gravelins, he received letters from his excellency, containing in effect that his excellency had been advertised by your agent in Flanders, that to obtain the liberty of your person and to draw you out of this hard captivity it was necessary for you to have [ ] crowns, and that if it was thus he would command them to be given you with all diligence and without delay.

Having arrived near his excellency, and having told him that your majesty, not having sent or written him anything, will remain without any other resolution, and at present, for anything that I have been able to say to him, I have not been able to draw from him any other reply than that he thought that that was done.

Immediately after my departure from the said sieurs I despatched an express messenger to my said sieur de Guise to inform him of what had passed between us, to know his will for the deliverance of the money already arrived, and that it might please him to write a good letter on the lack of the part ordered for your majesty, and, because he was engaged on his word to your majesty, to pray them to write of it to the King on the first opportunity to have it forwarded. For otherwise he would be constrained to furnish it from his own. Which my said lord has written them both by my man on his return, and since more than once, and has shown himself very sorrowful and contrite for this delay and fault in a thing of so little consequence, so that on the receipt of his last he prayed me not to write to him any more. For they had sent such a good despatch to their master that they assured themselves the reply would be similar to it. And because it seemed to me that there was some little jealousy between them, and all that I could draw from them was almost by force, I have

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1584. remitted myself to the departure of the said sieur de Taxis to deal again with the said sieur de Mendoza alone, and think to do more to my profit. I am infinitely sorry for the release of the party that I considered already as safe as if I held him in my hand when I wrote to you by my last, and beg your majesty very humbly not to impute this fault to me. For I wrote to you the truth from the mouth of another without adding anything of my own. My lord of Guise sent word also, on the return of my said man, that the banker was paid as much of the principal as the interest, and the rest put into the hands of him to whom the said Father Claud had given the charge, who is the procurator-general in this province, at his departure from here, which has been forthwith done. I had been of opinion to cause what remained to be immediately sent to Scotland. But my cousin Fentrey told me by his last that the King had commanded him to make known to me not to put anything into the hands of the Master of Gray, nor send anything there without having news from his majesty.

This, madam, is what I can tell you at present of the part of Spain and of his holiness that I have been able to learn from his nuntio; without Spain one can do nothing, and he has always stopped short from being willing to contribute to the fourth part and nothing else. I hear the news from day to day from the sieur de la Rue of what he has negociated. I will not fail to send it to you at the first opportunity.

The Master of Gray departed from Rouen the [ ] instant to go to Dieppe, where he had caused a ship to be prepared to take him back to Scotland. He has been since his departure from here very grievously ill. God grant him good recovery, for since, I have not had any news. There is in his company a young Flemish man—his father was Spanish—whom the Master of Gray has often written to you to pray you to address yourself to. He came to France with the Chevalier Seton when he went to Spain, and on the departure of the said Chevalier from here this young man retired to Flanders near his parents, and a few days before the departure of the said Lord Gray from here he was authorised by the Prince of Parma and sent as his agent to Scotland, and has estate and provision to this effect. Although to me he pretends not to speak of his voyage, I have not wished to fail to inform you, for it is necessary to take care. He speaks good Scotch and knows as near as possible all our ways of doing things, so that by his reports he could do us bad turns if he is not nicely entertained and put in hope of being recognised by your majesty. Otherwise, it is to be feared that he will give us much trouble to return his blows, for there is no one who but trusts more in his own than in the reports of another. The Lord Fulgeam and his brother-in-law have delivered to me your letters of [ ] last, which were for their pension.

Monsieur ——,* your treasurer, has delivered to them 400 crowns according to the commandment of your majesty. There has only been difficulty about the term of payment. They desired that this should be for the past year. I have had your commandment followed word for word, and took acquittance of them for the present year. They

* Cipher.

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1584. are two very honourable and well advised gentlemen, and boast very much of your son. They do not trouble very much about the said acquittance, provided their pension may be advanced to them always at the beginning of the year, and they tell me that your will was such. That depends on your goodwill, otherwise they will have much to do. And they have chosen for residence the town of Rouen; and I believe that Fulgeam pretends to make his wife come. I have not omitted anything of what your majesty had commanded me, to make apparent your good affection towards them, and to offer them for my part what was in my power, as I assure myself by the first despatch they will make you understand. And in this place, after having kissed very humbly your majesty's hands, I will pray the Creator to give you, madam, very perfect health, very happy and long life. Paris, the 24 of [ ]. Your very humble and very obedient servant and subject [——*].

What follows is from André Peron to Monsieur Nau.

Monsieur, I have seen the liberality with which his majesty has treated me, as Monsieur [——*] has made known to me. That will incite me more to pray God for his prosperity and will keep me in the service of my master. For I can assure you that without the hope that I have always had in [——*] of which he had promised me to make me give some proof to his majesty to help me in my necessities and to assure my uncle in kissing your hands very humbly, I should have returned. I have been long in the service of my lord. I cannot do less than thank you for the good office that it has pleased you to do me in this respect. For without you I should not have had the 100*l.* which [——*] had express commandment from his majesty to have given to me by his treasurer.

I beg you to do me this favour and courtesy—to thank his majesty when you find the opportunity, and to assure him of my very humble and faithful service, and to honour me with your commandments. For I desire to remain all my life your very humble and obedient servant. Madam, from all that I have mentioned in my preceding [letters] there has only been paid the pension of my Lord Fulgeam, his brother-in-law, and another. The pension of poor seminaries will remain without being paid. I have advanced from mine 200 crowns for the term of St. John. Will it please you to command the re-embursement and tell me if it is your intention to continue it. I think I have forgotten to make known to you that the day after my said audience I saw the Chancellor to recommend to him my negociation and pray him to give you brief and good justice in the resolution of your grievances. He made me a short enough reply, asking me what your majesty had done with your seals. I told him truly that I had not heard anything nor received a letter from your majesty of any consequence since the [ ] of [ ]. Then he said "I wish you to say that I have learnt that his majesty has made choice of an advocate of the Court of Parliament, and I am not sorry, and protest before God that what I did in favour of the President du Gas was rather for the advancement of her service, than for other cause." Her majesty has written also that she found it strange that I had not written to her assuring her that if I had the advancement of the said President

* Cipher.

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1584. in recommendation I should not have forgotten to write to her of it in his favour. But I will keep myself well, for I serve a master so jealous and suspicious that I dare not write to a Prince or Princess of the world, and if he knew that I had done it, it would be enough to ruin me.

Your majesty will receive with the present a copy of a letter from my lord the most illustrious Cardinal Borimeo, which was sent to me by Dr. Lewes, English "referendaire" of his holiness, and vicar-general of the said cardinal. I have not dared to risk the original.

Monsieur Nau, I pray you to remember my last, which was that I trust you with those that I wrote to her majesty of the [ ] of [ ] if by fortune they fall into your hands. And I kiss very humbly your hands and those of all the prisoners.

Copia. Et si non possit magestatis vestre tam gravis et tam diuturna calamitas et aerumna, maximo mihi dolori et molestie non esse, et ipsiusmet nomine et relligionis catholicæ, cujus plurimum interest majestatis vestre incolumitas causa: magnam tamen hujus mairoris partem abstergit divinæ bonitatis erga ipsam fiducia. Solet enim Deus optimus maximus omnia mirabiliter temperare, et inexplicabili divinæ gratiæ suæ vi et suavitate rerum adversarum ictum mitigare, atque veluti stimulis quibusdam famulos suos excitare in cursu stadioque virtutis. Itaque minime mihi dubium est majestatem vestram in istis locorum angustiis quibus ejus habitatis definitur quam latissima habere spatia jucundissimaque libertate frui, quæ nos Jesus Christus donavit, et quam nobis adimere sine nostro consensu nulla calamitatis vis aut rerum eventus potest. Posuit majestatem vestram Deus in omnium conspectu ut ex ipsa omnes patientiæ fortitudinis, relligionis castitatis exempla capiant Qua quidem re multo melius Dei nomen illustrare et quam vero ejus amore teneatur demonstrare potest quam si rebus secundissimis uteretur unus Lodovicus vicarius meus mihi significavit majestatem vestram cupere ut ego eam Deo optimo maximo commendem. Id ego licet nihil sim nisi pulvis et cinis toto pectare, atque omni studio facere conabor. Quod si quid aliud est in quo studia atque officia mea majestati vestrae non inutilia neque incommoda esse possint, gratissimum mihi erit si ea quasi jure suo postulabit.

7½ *pp. French and Latin. Indorsed.*

June 22. **178.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The Queen of England finding by his letters that the King [of Scots] seems still to be very resolutely disposed to the violent prosecution of the noblemen and gentlemen who are well affected to the common cause of religion and the amity of this crown, but especially of Lord Lindsay, her pleasure is he should let him understand that, though he does not dispose himself to take that profit of her sound and princely advice that she in most friendly sort wished him for his weal and safety, yet she cannot but continue still her wonted care and desire for his well doing, wherefore if there follow not better effects than hitherto, the fault shall not be hers, but his, and the world shall have just cause to witness with her that she has left nothing undone that might tend to provide for his safety and preservation; and therefore has again directed him to dissuade him still from the violent

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1584. and bloody course he is entered into to make himself an instrument of other men's passions in banishing, imprisoning, forfeiting and executing his noblemen and other personages of quality, who have ever showed themselves well affected to the cause of religion, and most faithful and loyal subjects and servants to him. Which manner of proceeding cannot be of long continuance as over violent, but must needs make him odious to all sorts of his best affected subjects, and so, consequently, endanger his estate and person, unless he shall timely remember to follow the counsel of his best friends.

Is of opinion that he will regard as little any advice he shall give him in her name as he has heretofore, and that it will rather do the parties hurt than otherwise. Nevertheless, her pleasure is he should again try him in the matter, which he leaves to himself to perform as he thinks fit. Richmond. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—The Lord Treasurer has not yet had any access to her majesty whereby he might have recommended his suit. From foreign parts they hear nothing. The two Irishmen lately arrived in Scotland are sent thither to practice that some Scots may be permitted to go out of the islands to Ireland. One of them is named W. Nugent, and the other Magogegan.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same without the postscript.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 77. Another copy of the same.

June 23. **179. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

I have received your honour's letters of the 17th with the occurrents, an extract whereof I sent to Arran this morning, who is presently come over here to visit his lady, being ready to lie down in childbed, and another to the Secretary [Maitland], thinking it not amiss with these complements to entertain the time and make fair weather—and somewhat *captare benevolentiam* of an auditory preoccupied with jealousies and suspicions. Wherein I have used the particular letters of the Lord Scrope and Sir John Foster sent to me touching the spoils and attempts on the Borders, as a mean to break up the ice to some other purpose, having in her majesty's name prayed that his highness here would consider of some expedient how these inconveniences may be met withal for the better entertaining of common peace between the realms, assuring them of good concurrence on our part. And out of this [I] took occasion to "enter" with the Secretary—coming once or twice to visit me—touching the jealousies and dryness lately grown between our sovereigns, the incommodities whereof I laid before him, wishing some good way were taken to repair all these things, offering in my power particular to do the best offices I could, as one who tendered the continuance of the amity and kindness between them, if I might find that satisfaction and correspondence at their hands that I looked for. In all which the Secretary, pretending an equal desire and goodwill both in his majesty and himself, and others about him, to concur with me in so good a work, we fell into this consideration of the means how things might be best redressed; which offered matter of long discourse on the one side and other, chiefly touching the causes of this dryness. Wherein he specially

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1584. urged the course her majesty has hitherto taken by her ministers both in the Duke's [Lennox's] time and since, in seeking the contrary way to assure the King to her, rather by others than himself. The scope of all which speech was, that if her highness would yet recover him and his friendship, she must necessarily do it by himself and such as he loves—meaning the company now about him. Which opinion I thought it not best directly to "oppugn." But after I had laid down the difficulties falling out from time to time in the course of the proceedings here, giving her majesty both the first and continuing causes of most jealousy and offence, I finally prayed him to let me see how her majesty might be assured of the King his master by this course, that I might have the better ground and argument both to consent with them and give her majesty the better taste thereof. Wherein I was not dainty of good words and promises to do the best offices I might. But the circumstances were long to tell your honour.

This in sum we agreed on—because myself durst not wade far into the particulars without her majesty's warrant and direction—that I should signify and report to her majesty the good disposition I found both in his highness and them, and do the best I could to give her some good apprehension thereof. And in the meantime he promised for his part so to prepare the King his master, and to satisfy him so thoroughly of my own good meaning, that at my next coming to Court I should find a more frank and liberal dealing at his hands than I had yet met withal. And this morning sending down to visit my Lord of Arran and to impart to him such news as I had received, he took occasion to invite me to dinner by the Provost and bailiffs, whom he sent to me. But understanding my excuse, because I was under medicine, he came up to my lodging and spent two or three hours with me discoursing, as he can plentifully, of many purposes, but all tending to the blaming of her majesty's ministers employed here before me, and the several courses held in their several services, as if much more good might have been done, and, as he would persuade me, might yet be done in case I had not to follow their footsteps, pretending with many golden words that he had no French, nor esteemed any friendship in the world so necessary for the King his master as that of my sovereign, if he might have it and keep it with his honour and surety, which stood, as he thought, in the gaining of himself by himself and such as he favoured. And here he desired to know what one man in England her majesty would commit that power to join with him in doing good offices; who undertook that the King, by word or writing to myself or any other her majesty would appoint, should declare his allowance and approbation of whatsoever he shall say or conclude in his name, and prayed me to signify so much to her majesty, who, as he said, had the power to command him if it pleased her. But all his speeches were so sauced with repetition of impediments that he seemed to hold all desperate unless they were taken away, and here specially insisted on the removing of the banished lords out of England, who remain there under her majesty's wings. Considering what has preceded, he saw not what surety the King his master might have of her highness for whatsoever she promised. After I had replied to this, with much other discourse to and fro, letting him see in a generality what material causes and reasons her majesty had to justify her doings both in this and all the

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1584. rest, and yet seeming to allow well of the motion of gaining the King by himself, *etc.*—I concluded that I would not fail to make this overture known to her majesty, and handle the matter so that both her highness and himself should have contentment.

Many other things occurred which in truth were discoursed in so high and plentiful a style that either I did not well conceive or my memory does not well retain. But of all this I gather—as in plain terms he confessed—that he would be content for his standing and surety's sake to have the cloak of her majesty's good countenance, or at the least to serve his turn withal. Wherefore, if I must needs stay any time here, it were not amiss, under your honour's correction, that I had some matter to entertain them with *et faire la bonne mine* till we see what time may otherwise effect. In which case, because your own letters will be suspected, I could wish to have some few lines from my Lord Treasurer, if not from her majesty's self, how general soever it be, that they may be met withal in their own stratagems.

In the meantime some other motion has been made to me touching the Castle [of Edinburgh], the Captain whereof looks every day to be charged; and in case he does not obey this, such a gap will be opened to the redress of things that her majesty could not wish the like, for many reasons I could allege, if I might safely, and therefore would gladly know what comfort and assurance I may give, in case I be pressed, of her majesty's good countenance and favour, finding matter here to suffice her. But this I propound as a preparative, whereof, if there be cause, your honour shall hear further hereafter. And in the meantime I beseech you that it may be used as appertains, both for the matter and persons' sakes who are therein interested. And that I may hereafter write more safely, I beseech your honour to send me a cipher—for the counter-cipher of that you lost I never had—because I trust not much to the measure I may receive either here or upon our Borders in the visiting and intercepting of my letters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. D.

Postscript.—Because I have great need of my man Burnet, I would beseech your honour to return him back as soon as you may with some comfortable news, if it be possible, of her majesty's goodness towards me, which haply ere I depart hence she will think well bestowed, because I trust to effect something to her surety and contentment.

Postscript.—Your honour may see by the often passing of C. Armorer to and fro how necessary an instrument he is to do good offices between the two Princes. He is now made a wooing messenger to her majesty from this King, whose letters in verse he carries to the same effect, whereof I have by chance had a sight, but may not take knowledge of any such letter.

The persons who seem to be of counsel and acquaintance with this secret are only the King, Arran, and the messenger, who was by at the consultation and writing of the letters. The invention seems to be Arran's, set on, perhaps, by others too well acquainted with our climate. He is addressed with letters and directions to my Lord of Hunsdon, whose credit "they rack and make bold of" to break the ice in this grave business for them. How it will be handled there, I know not. There are reasons enough to assure you how we deal here after the Scottish fashion, "wherof your honour can pick out the English." But I beseech your honour to use it so that it does not

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1584. appear to come to light from hence, because it imports my credit somewhat.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 78. Original of the same.

June 23. **180. Mr. William Davison to Burghley.**

I have been so narrowly observed since my coming hither by such as Arran and his good lady have set to watch over my haunt and resort, that no friend I have, besides such as are publicly sent, have dared either openly or privately to visit me. And I, in the meantime, have been so ill disposed in my health that till within this day or two I have scarce gone forth of my doors since my return from the Court. So that I have neither had the mean to inform myself so particularly as I would, nor matter to advertise your lordship so certainly as I desired of the state and doings here, which in truth had made me write the more slackly to your honour and in the meantime to trouble you with impertinent letters. Yet lest my over long silence should prejudge my duty and respect towards your lordship, to whom I am so much and deeply bound, as in truth I confess myself, I had rather entertain your lordship with what is offered than [by] my expectation of better suspend any longer the remembrance and discharge of my duty towards you.

How great a change and alteration I find in the state and proceeding of this Court and government, your lordship may guess by that you daily hear. This especially I observe, that none who were corrupted before the flood with the old manners and sins of that time have any safe "retraict or alyeinge here but in the arke of her favour who bie her credit and instrumentes misguideth all." And albeit I meet with some who would gladly pre-occupy me with a contrary opinion, yet if either the association betwixt her and the King her son, confirmed by the last year's congratulation of La Mothe, and confession both of the Queen and, in circumstance, of the King himself and some of his Cabinet Councillors; if the alteration at St. Andrews, counselled and executed by such as are at her devotion and the effects succeeding the same, first in removing from Court; next in licensing to depart out of the country, and afterwards pursuing with displayed banner, under the pretence of the act of Ruthven, all such as were known to be, as they term it, of the English faction; if the charges following in the magistracy of the boroughs, in the Cabinet and Secret Councils, in his majesty's household and family, in the Session and College of Justice, and finally in the whole state and government of the Church; if the best men amongst the nobility, ministers, and burgesses be either discountenanced or severely "put at," when in the meantime the contrary affected only be received into grace and favour, and not only that, but such as stood forfeited for the murder of the King's father and Regents or otherwise oppugning his authority be remitted, pardoned, and restored to their lives, lands, goods, honours, *etc.*; if his Council at home and instruments abroad, the ordinary intelligence betwixt him and his mother, and correspondence betwixt their ministers, his ordinary speeches in her favour and impatience to have aught in her prejudice, the calling in of such books as touch her honour, as namely the history of Buchanan;

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1584. and, in one word, his liking where she loveth, and mislike where she hateth; if, I say, all these things and many other material circumstances may suffice to confirm her interest both in King and Court—the matter appears to be so clear as admits no contradiction. And what fruit may then be looked for of such a course, if it be followed out, that shall not peril religion, wreck her majesty's friends, hazard the common peace and amity, and undermine her highness's own particular surety, I leave to your lordship's consideration.

I can assure your honour that there are very few of any judgment who do not singularly prejudge the scope and end of this beginning both in the one respect and other, and are so desirous of the remedy that they generally confess the necessity thereof; but herein they all acknowledge that "hic labor hoc opus est." To seek it by mediation so long as the King is thus possessed and governed is, as the old proverb says, "oleum et operam perdere," and to attempt it before is full of difficulties; and yet this latter is confessed by all men to be that which only remains. But whether it were better done "aperto marte vel insidiis" breeds a new question. The last is generally thought the safest, but both the time and exile of the aptest instruments remove the likelihood of any present help that way, unless the home divisions amongst our present courtiers supply their want. The other, of open force, is the last remedy, wherein I find men unresolved, unless they might see an "outgate," as they call it, and "back" for themselves, understanding thereby our assistance. In which point haply your lordship may hear of another overture than I dare yet "forespeake" without more certain ground and foundation. This in the meantime I may assure your lordship, that besides the public slanders and offences which stir up common hatred of all men against this "duumvirat" and other accomplices, there arise daily so many particulars betwixt them and others of the greatest that it will be hard for the guiders of Court in Scotland, no better backed and grounded than they are, to go well through withal against so many as they daily provoke both at home and abroad.

Argyll has license to remain in Murray free from public business, whilst in the meantime Arran, made Chancellor by the Parliament in his absence—a thing never seen before—may rule the rest both in Court and in Session, where his wife sits daily, calling, preferring, and passing what bills she lists, making "open port sale" and merchandize of justice at her pleasure; wherein the other, as Chancellor, is specially "intercessed," besides that divers of his friends are "put at," his suits rejected, and himself contemned, your lordship can guess how Scottish natures carried with their particulars can digest them.

Crawford has been of late "at the dagger's drawing" with Arran; first about the relieving of Lord Lindsay out of his ward of Tantallon, and since for his redelivery and committing to Huntly, for which Arran had procured a decree of Council; but by the King's commandment and diligence of Montrose, Maitland, and R. Melville, loth to weaken their mistress's party by the division of such instruments, they have rather shaken hands than hurt. And so Lindsay remains where he was, though not altogether assured of himself so long as this Court lasts.

Huntly was not long since in like terms with Arran, and now of

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1584. late Ardkinlas, the Comptroller, a Campell, and near kinsman to Argyll, whom the other, as I hear, has reviled and used very insolently. The like complaint has Doun against him and others of their own faction. All which argues some unlikelihood of the long standing of this Court, if men's expectations fail them not. But herein time will teach us more.

Seton is daily looked for, and in the meantime this Court [is] prepared to embrace any comfort or follow any good counsel he shall bring them. Farnyhurst arrived this last week accompanied with Mr. James Sheene, principal of the Scottish seminary in France; and, as we hear, Mr. William Creichton [Reichdon], a Jesuit, and two Irishmen who were here about two years since, the one called Neugent, and the other taken to be a Desmond; but what his name is, in truth I cannot yet certainly learn. These are come before to sound the passage and discover the breach, and as they shall give courage and comfort the rest are to follow to the assault.

The bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, whose sermons at Court are nothing but invectives against the ministers—of far unlike reputation to themselves in doctrine or life—do what they can to fill up the ditches and make the breach to be more assaultable. For, besides the supplanting of the whole discipline, which has been their defensive wall hitherto against all corruption in doctrine, *etc.*, they go about to overthrow the head, foundations and anti-seminary colleges of theology throughout the universities, beginning at St. Andrews, where the professors and students being severally "put at" by the bishop, have abandoned the place and withdrawn themselves for their surety. By which course, and instruments, of which the principal is both suspected in doctrine, in fame, in life for incontinency, consultation with witches, perjury, cosenage, and many such virtues, besides a particular favouring of the league between the mother and the son, your lordship may consider what good may redound to the Church. To help the matter, there is such order taken for the answering of the ministers' stipends as, if nothing else may serve, the want of maintenance may compel them to seek elsewhere, and in the meantime proclamation [is] made that no part of what is to, or shall, grow due to those who are absent be from henceforth answered, but be retained to be disposed at the King's pleasure. And to give special comfort to the ministers of this town, who by their letters to their flocks excused their forced departure, the King himself has penned an answer which he has sent hither to be subscribed by the council of this town and elders of the church, which was at first generally refused as a matter utterly against their conscience, and their deputies sent over to the King to show their reasons and beseech his excuse, but *in fine* are returned with "sic volo, sic jubeo," and compelled, without exception, to sign it, which part of them have done, and others of the best sort refused—of which the Provost is chief—offering rather to underlie any penalty the King can lay upon them, than yield to that which is directly against their knowledge and conscience. Others who should likewise have been pressed with this subscription have withdrawn themselves, and all men generally condemn both the matter and form of this compulsion.

The burgesses of late banished under pretence of an old quarrel in the Duke's [Lennox] time, of whom some are confined to Linlithgow,

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1584. some to Haddington, are rather like to be followed by others than relieved themselves, notwithstanding the suit made for them. The Countess of Cassillis having redeemed her life with her living, which is bestowed on Bargany and Buchan [Blaquhan], kinsmen to the young earl, has obtained license, and is departed to England to her husband, Lord John Hamilton, who met her at Berwick two or three days since.

Cowdenknowes is relieved out of Blackness of the means of Bothwell and the Secretary, and has now the liberty of this town for his ward. By proclamation published last week all men are charged to be in readiness upon six days' warning with forty days' provision, after the next advertisement, to follow his majesty to the Borders, the narration thereof specially concerning the insolences and disorder of the thieves. Whereby it appears to be either to give them some terror or upon intelligence of our musters in England to put themselves in readiness that they appear not to be sleeping.

Another proclamation is likewise published this day appointing the Earl of Rothes the captain of the Castle [of Edinburgh], and the Colonel [Stewart] as lieutenant for the King in the March, Lothian, Tivedale, Linlithgowshire, and constabulary of Haddington, *etc.*, to apprehend, punish, *etc.*, all partakers, actors, and maintainers of the enterprise of Stirling, and in case they be fugitives, to take their escheats, *etc.*; and if any house be fortified to seize the same and "oppugne" it with fire and sword; the form of which commission is exceeding large, my Lord of Rothes having principal power either alone or with his associates.

The Colonel [Stewart] has procured the tutory of the young Duke [Lennox] from March's uncle, and some bruit there is that he shall be both Captain of this Castle and Provost of the town. Howsoever it be, the labour is great underhand to remove Alexander Erskine [Captain] of the place, who looks daily to be charged for delivery thereof; but ere he obey the charge it may be your lordship may hear more. In sum, the spoil of Gowrie and the fugitive lords and their followers, *etc.*, is such a bait to sharpen the hungry appetites of our present Court guiders, that there is nothing so unreasonable which they esteem not as lawful as lustful to them. Thus your lordship sees what matters this broken State affords me, and how I may weary you with the report thereof. Edinburgh.

2¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 23. **181.** [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.

The heat for removing of Lindsay out of Crawford's hands, growing upon some breach between him and Arran, is now assuaged by their reconcilement, and Lindsay remains where he was, though in the meantime it be doubted whether these men have shaken hearts as they have done hands. Crawford and Huntly have since been here, and are now returned to the Court, and Arran came over to visit his lady, who looks every hour to lie down in childbed. The Colonel [Stewart] in the meantime has kept the Court, and is now to come over to sit in commission of lieutenancy with the Earl of Rothes and Alexander Erskine, who are chosen lieutenants within the bounds of the sheriffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, Peebles, Selkirk, Edinburgh,

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1584. Linlithgow, and constabulary of Haddington, to apprehend and punish all such as have been either "art or part," as they call it, of the late enterprise of Stirling, or have intelligence with such as are fugitives, and to take their escheats, *etc.* But the principal scope of his coming hither is thought to be rather to lie in the wind for this castle, whereof it is bruited that he shall be Captain, and, besides, Provost of this town, their courtiers thinking that piece unsure in the hands of him who has it, notwithstanding all the proof the King has had of his long and faithful service. The Colonel [Stewart] has lately gotten the tutory of the young Duke [Lennox] with the consent of the Earl of March, who before had the same. Some new jar has happened between Arran and the Comptroller, Ardkinlas, which is yet scarce well raked up.

Seton is daily looked for with such good company as Farnyhurst has brought with him, whereof the one is said to be Mr. James Sheene, principal of the Seminary College of Jesuits in France, another William Creichton, a Jesuit, one Newgent, an Irishman, who was here about two years past, and another of that nation, his companion, said to be a Desmond. These are come to view the breach, and are to be followed by others prepared for the assault of this poor Church, abandoned of defence by the undermining of the bulwark of discipline and expulsion of the ministers, against whom the Bishops of St. Andrews' and Glasgow's whole sermons at Court are nothing but railing invectives, offering rather matter of laughter to the enemies than profit to the hearers. The College of Divinity at St. Andrews is utterly abandoned by the professors and students, which was a principal anti-seminary to those of the adversaries, and furnished with divers toward wits; the example whereof is like to be practised in the rest, so careful are these new Church rulers of the advancement of the Gospel. The stipends of the absent ministers are stayed by proclamation.

The letter mentioned in his last to be sent hither from the King, and penned, as the Secretary tells him, with his own hand, has been returned by the deputies sent over to entreat his highness's pardon and excuse the Secretary himself, appointed to see it subscribed, "sic volo, sic jubeo" prevailing against either reason or conscience; yet the Provost and others of the best sort have flatly refused to sign it with the stain of their consciences and injury of their poor pastors, though some others from fear or weakness have yielded to it: others, to avoid the storm which they foresaw, withdrew from hence. The Countess of Cassillis has gotten license to depart to her husband, and is now in England. Cowdenknowes is relieved out of Blackness. The burgesses lately banished are yet under their wards, some in Linlithgow, some in Haddington, like to be followed by others of their neighbours.

Proclamation was made last week that all men should be in readiness upon six days' warning after the next advertisement with forty days' provision to follow the King to the Borders. Edinburgh.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., E. VIII., fol. 76. Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584.
June 23.

182. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

"Pleis your honour, albeit of layte I haif not beyn dessirus to meddle ony fordar in materris bot in my ordinary vocation, that is to pray to God to helpe me ryst in the morning repair to the plaice in Chaipside quhair servantes ar to be hyrit to know gif ony man hes to do vyth service. Zit haif I takin the boldnes be theise few lynes to mak your honour acquaynted that the ambassadour yistirnycht—eftir the derection of his uther lettir onto yow—rissavit ane pacquett from France of the dayt xxvj. of this instant. The commone newis contenit thayrin ar that the Queen mother is to behawe her self as heir to Monsieur of all materris not apertening to the crowne of France, speciallye to the defence of Cambray [Cambrai]. Dome Bernardine de Mendosa is lik to return ambassadour resident in that realme. The Kyng hes not determinat as zit to send ony frome him in Spayne to occupy that place thayr. The queen of Navarre now greit governour to her husband upon sum femynin malice consavit aganis the Duck de Perma movit her husband to dessire the said Duck to leif the cumpanye of certayn capitanes that accumpanyit him and to repayr to him vyth small trayn. The gud ordour gevin apperis to produce quietnes in that realme. Feare to exceid my boundis movis me to absteyne frome vritting ony fordar of the said depesche onto suche tyme as I shall know your fordar plesour and quhen I may repayr to your honouris presens." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

June 26.

183. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.

Wrote to him somewhat generally in his last, of the 23rd., touching the several discourses he had with the Secretary and Arran. Finds his lying still without some colour of negotiation with them in one sort or other fosters and increases their jealousies. Because he sees not what good is to be done here by running an open course against this present Court, things standing in the terms they do, thinks the best way, for the time, is to make fair weather and occupy them with some kind of appearance that the Queen of England will be content to embrace their offers, *etc.*, if she may see how the amity may be soundly continued by them. Does not propound this as a thing that he dares assure to be sincerely followed out by these instruments, whom all men take to have vowed themselves to another saint, but rather to swim a little with the stream, and see what the meantime may offer and bring forth to the help and redress of things and her majesty's advantage. For, seeing her end, as he takes it, is to recover the King from the unhappy course he is in, tending in all appearance to the prejudice of her majesty's estate, whereto the rooting out of her best friends here and altering by degrees the whole course of this government both in church and policy are but the preparatives and inducements, without which the rest of their projects were hard to be executed, that which may best effect her desire in preventing the mischief with her least charge and most surety were simply the best way. Whether this were the better done "aperto marte vel cuniculis," weighing the present state of things, his honour can consider by experience of what is past. Does not find the time so apt, or the humours so prepared, that he durst as yet per-

Elizabeth.
1584. suade a practice of the first remedy; but rather with skilful physician to observe the time and be well informed of the disease, disposition of the patient, and other necessary circumstances ere the medicine be applied. Wherein haply he may inform him more fully hereafter. Meanwhile he sees not what prejudice may grow by making a little fair weather with them, and sailing some piece of their course till the storm divides them. For, to advise her majesty to shake off her old friends for the gain of new, no better qualified, to rely much on the promise or word of such as are smally esteemed, to keep faith with no man, to think those soundly devoted to her friendship who have made their market elsewhere—for he is credibly informed that Mr. William Bellenden, an advocate in Paris, came over secretly, not long before his [Davison's] arrival, with a golden hook of good value out of the Scottish Queen's store in France to take the best fishes here amongst the Court guiders by the jaws, and is since returned well satisfied—to think that her majesty can have sound dealing with such, whatsoever they promise or pretend, for his own part he dare not assure it. Yet seeing they offer so liberally, and that he sees not what the general trial of them can hurt, it were not much amiss to take the best that may be gotten by them, and make their profit of them, as they would do to them [the English], provided that in the meantime they do not lose their better friends—because he has not known a time when friends in Scotland were more worth, nor "foreslew" such other good opportunities and advantages as may be offered. And therefore if her majesty and their honours there think it so good, he would wish—if he must needs stay any longer—to have some matter to entertain the persons and time withal to give the better will to other things, making in the meanwhile some show of employing commissioners this way for the full compounding and knitting up of all things, and letting it appear to such as run that course with them [the English] that he [Davison] has given her majesty and their honours some good taste of the dispositions here.

Because he knows and finds there are both of their own near hand and others in Court more diligent than becomes them in duty to discover and advertise what they hear, and what they can observe and learn of that course he has to run, and because he has no factions or partial disposition, but in the whole course of his service aims simply at that march which his duty to her majesty and his country propounds to him, beseeches him to let his special letters to himself be the rather used with that care that appertains. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. D.

2 *pp.* *Copy in Davison's hand.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 80. Original of the same.

June 26. **184. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Yesternight the Earl of Arran, accompanied by the Earl of Rothes and the Secretary Maitland, who are to depart this morning to the Court, came to visit him, and to renew the former offers made to him in the name of the King their master and their own touching their good disposition to entertain and keep all good amity and friendship with the Queen of England, as the Princess whom they acknowledged the King most bound to. And because many things had occurred,

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1584. as they termed it, rather by the fault of ill instruments than disposition of the Princes themselves, which had bred some jealousy and drives between them, that it might appear to her majesty that on their part there was no lack of goodwill to repair what is past and to provide for what is to come,—they offered in the King of Scots' name, especially the Earl of Arran, that if her majesty were desirous to keep the friendship of their master, as of a Prince her loving kinsman and neighbour, and would be content to employ any of her subjects to concur with such as the King his master would appoint, he would undertake that he should choose out three, two, or one of his nobility and Council furnished with absolute power and commission, who should give her satisfaction in anything that is past, and such assurance for the continuance of straight and perfect amity between them hereafter that if they might find the like correspondence on her part, it should turn to the great quiet and contentment of both Princes.

And because there have happened of late many disorders on the frontier of either country which might breed matter of impediment to so good a work, they likewise offered, as having commission from the King their master, that if it may please her majesty to appoint commissioners for her part, as the King was ready to do for his, they would undertake to make redress not only for what has happened in the few years since he took the government on himself, but for whatsoever has been done since the crown was first put upon his head, if he might receive the like good and equal measure at their hands for attempts made by her subjects against his. Many other purposes they had to and fro, but this in substance was what passed between them; which both the Earl of Arran and the Secretary redoubled as things sincerely meant on the part of his highness here and themselves, the Earl of Arran offering him his hand to maintain with his honour and credit anything he promised. Would be glad to know what to answer to their overtures. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. D.

2½ *pp. Copy in Davison's hand. Indorsed.*

June 26. **185. James Colvile, Laird of Ester Wemyss, to Walsingham.**

"My lord, efter my humble commendatione of service; at my arryvel heir I vas of mynd to have visiit zour lordship, but hering of the estait of our cuntre, and oncertane of ony veritie, thocht first to have zour lordship's opinion quhat I shal do, and in kais I come to zour lordship, as presentlie materis standis I culd of nawayis pas in our cuntre, taking my jurnay from this I vil be les suspectit, sua quhan ever it be gif I may do the quenis majestie ony service I abyd on zour lordship's advertisment, quhilk I pray zour lordship hest to me, quherin zour lordship shal have prove of my gud vil to the hazart of my self and al that I have, as I most humble pray zour lordship to lat the quenis majestie onderstand. And also in zour lordship's particular ther is no man loukis bot zour lordship may mair assuredlie command nor me. Gif zowr lordship vil tak the panis to lat me knaw the estait in particular of our cuntre ze vil mak me bound to zour lordship. This uther letter send to my cusing Mester Jhone Colvill and this uther to Mester Archibald Douglas. Gif they can not be weil convoyet and in suertie I pray zowr lordship self to kep

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1584. them veil, albeit ther be na mater of consequence, for they may do me hurt. I abyd on zour lordship's guid adwis." Paris. *Signed:* James Colvill of Estevemes.

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

June 29. **186.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Cuthbert Armorer has arrived here. Incloses a copy of Arran's letter to Lord Hunsdon. On receipt of these new offers brought by Armorer the Queen of England thinks meet to make some trial whether the King and Arran mean now to show better fruits of some goodwill towards her than hitherto, the charge whereof is committed to Lord Hunsdon, who is to be despatched within two or three days to Berwick, and Armorer shall be sent before to see whether he can draw Arran to some convenient place on the Borders where Lord Hunsdon and he may confer together. For his own part he is so far out of hope of any good to come that way that he means to procure his revocation from thence as soon as he can. Richmond. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

June 29. **187.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

As he may perceive by the inclosed, certain poor fishermen of Yarmouth have of late been very injuriously spoiled by the Scots about the islands upon pretence that it is not lawful for them to fish in the Scottish seas; which exception, as the parties allege, is not taken to the subjects of any other Princes. Her majesty's pleasure is that he should in her name complain of this to the King, and pray him to take order for due satisfaction to be made to the parties so spoiled, and for stay of the like spoils hereafter upon her subjects; for that if the like hard course should be taken with his subjects, which cannot but in reason be yielded to in case timely redress be not had, the same will in the end break out into dangerous effects for both realms. Richmond. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **188.** HENRY REYGNOLDES TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The news that is given abroad out of France is stranger in men's mouths than any we hear by writing. Monsieur [the Duke of Anjou] is buried at St. Denis, very honourably accompanied by the King and all the rest of the Court. The Queen mother is declared heir to him in all things that touch not the crown of France. By virtue thereof she shall undertake the defence of Cambrae. His appanage shall return to the crown, and the King thereout is to pay his debts. The Duke of Deperna, coming to Gascony in very great pomp in message to the King of Navarre, was requested by him not to come near him with so great a train, but only with twenty or twenty-nine horse, which the Duke takes in evil part. He has received the Queen his wife into very great favour, and they live together wth great "tokenes" of love. The Duke of Joyeuse's brother is slain by young Lansac in

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1584. a private quarrel, who was apprehended by the mean officers of Paris, and after taken away by his friends, and apprehended again by the Provost Marshal of the country. The Duke of Guise understanding of it put himself in arms to rescue this offender, and in the conflict the Provost Marshal was slain. The King takes it in evil part. He labours to have justice executed upon young Lansac. The Duke has sworn by his gilt sword and spurs to keep him in despite of the King. It is thought the Duke is glad he has so good occasion by entering into this action to renew his old quarrel with the King. Monsieur Pinart, one of the Secretaries of State, is looked for to come from the King.

The death of Monsieur has somewhat disquieted the Queen of England, but now her majesty begins by little and little to forget it. Her majesty's progress was set down to begin the 24th of next month towards Portsmouth, but it is suspended by reason of some sickness that reigns in that country. Mr. [John] Colvile was of late at the Court and had audience of the Queen of England. The Court, at Richmond. *Signed:* Henry Reygnoldes.

Postscript.—Received letters three days since from "my lord," wherein he willed him to tell him [Davison], if he had come to the Court, that he had not kept promise with him.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

June 30. **189.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH FOR HUNSDON.

"Instructions for the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Gouvernor of Barwick."

Seeing how greatly it imports her, for the better continuance of the present repose wherewith it has pleased God to bless her government, to seek to draw the King of Scots to be at her devotion, though the experience of his unkind usage towards her might greatly discourage her from having any further dealing with him; yet upon the outward show he now makes, as appears by late letters directed to him [Hunsdon] from himself and the Earl of Arran, of an earnest desire he has to remove the hard conceit she has taken of him and to be restored to her good opinion—she thinks it very expedient to make some trial therein, and see whether these protestations of his will yield better effects than heretofore they have done. For which purpose he is to despatch out of hand his servant Cuthbert Armorer to the Earl of Arran, and let him understand by his letter that he has so far forth prevailed with her, that she can be content, in hope of better requital, to make some proof of the late earnest desire the King his master, through his persuasion, shows to have of her friendship, provided she may receive satisfaction in such things as she has appointed him to propound to him at the time of his conference on the Borders, which heretofore has been offered on his behalf.

Yet she thinks meet that on his first entry into conference he lay before the King the great wrongs that she conceives have been done by him to her, as the severe prosecution of all such as have been noted to be well affected to her; his inhibiting by public proclamation such as he has banished not to repair into England, to make the unkindness between them more apparent to the world; his reception and harbouring of her Jesuits and other fugitives, and not

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1584. delivering them according to his promise; his agreement with his mother touching the association without her privity, contrary to the assurance given by him to her; his employment of sundry subjects of his towards the pope, the Kings of Spain and France, and other inferior Princes, provoking them as much as lies in him by sinister and wrong information—as though she were his capital enemy—to attempt somewhat against her; and lastly the contemptuous usages of such ministers as she has sent to him. Is to tell him that if she shall not hereafter see that satisfaction yielded to her for these notorious wrongs and injuries which in honour appertains, whereby she may repute herself both dallied and contemned, she will then be forced, contrary to her own disposition, to take such course as the King and he shall be sorry for.

And whereas the Earl of Arran himself has—by way of complaint, and as a matter wherewith he shows himself to be greatly grieved—declared to his [Hunsdon's] said servant that he has been informed that she and such as are now near about her have a very hard conceit of him, to the end he may see she has reason so to do, he is to let him know that the cause and ground thereof has proceeded from himself. For how could she conceive otherwise of him, considering what a hard course he has held from the beginning of his credit with the King of Scots towards the late Earl of Morton and others affected towards her? Besides bringing the Duke of Lennox, a Catholic and Frenchman, though a Stewart, into Scotland, and so, consequently, no fit instrument to nourish or continue good friendship between the crown of Scotland and her, gave her much cause—he being the chief worker thereof—to conceive hardly of him; and herein she appeals to his own conscience whether she had not reason so to do. But for that she would be loth to be held so jealous or mistrustful that no protestations the earl can make of his devotion towards her can work a suspension of her former opinion conceived of him, she can be content—in hope of better measure hereafter—to lay aside the memory of things past, and to put on an opinion—howsoever he stands affected towards her—that he, having looked more substantially into his master's state, and finding that as no amity can so much benefit him as hers, so no enmity can so much peril him either for the present or the future, is now drawn to see his former error.

And for that she would be glad to make some proof whereby she may see whether these outward protestations are accompanied with inward meaning, he is to signify to him that she not being ignorant of some practices that have been of late set on foot—tending to the troubling of her State—wherewith the King and his mother have not only been made privy, but [it was] also intended that the King should be a party and principal actor therein—she therefore looks that he should lay open the said practices before her, as well in respect of the professed goodwill he now makes show to bear towards her—which can no way better appear than by acquainting her with such matters as may any way tend to her prejudice—as also for that the said practices are projected and nourished by those who, for the hatred they bear to the King [of Scots] and her in respect of their religion, could be content to set some dissent between them, and in the end laugh them both to scorn.

If on this motion—the same tending, if it be duly weighed, as well

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1584. to his master's as her benefit—he shall find that he does not deal so frankly as he looks for, and as he himself promised, but shall stand upon pacts and conditions, then he is to put him in mind, as of himself, how dangerous it is for the King his master, being inferior in strength and power, to have to do with her, every way more mighty than himself, and therefore forced to depend upon other's assistance, which may many ways fail, as by death, by home troubles, and divers other accidents. And the support having to come by sea, it might not, perhaps, arrive as soon as the prevention of the danger requires, she having her forces at hand, being far greater and better furnished than ever any of her progenitors had. This being weighed with that general discontentment in his own realm ought to move the King and himself to consider the matter well. In case he shall not find in the King and him plain and frank dealing [after] putting him in mind of his former promise made to him that he would at the time of their meeting discover to him all such practices as have passed between the King of Scots and other foreign Princes, he shall then quite withdraw that goodwill that he has heretofore professed to bear as well towards him as towards the King his master.

In case he shall find him inclinable to yield her satisfaction touching the discovery of the practices, though he shall in some sort insist on the delivery of the rebels or banishing them out of her realm, as also desire that some contentment may be yielded to the King in the requests propounded last year by Colonel Stewart at the time of his being here; for the first he shall let him understand that he, as of himself, cannot but advise him to persuade the King to forbear to insist thereon, and to think himself well used at her hands—considering the sundry wrongs that have been offered to her, as also the practices she understands have been entertained by the King against her—in that she does not use the opportunity offered to her to take an occasion of revenge.

Further, he is to signify to him that, as she is persuaded in her conscience that these noblemen intended nothing against the King's own person; whose discontentment grew upon hard measure extended towards the late Earl of Morton, as appears manifestly to the world by the favour extended to others who were not only privy to the death of his father, before the attempt thereof, but also aiders and abettors therein. And therefore the taking away of a nobleman, so well deserving at the King's hands—under the colour of justice—could not but engender a great offence, accompanied with those hard effects that since have ensued. Touching the points propounded to her by Colonel Stewart, he may assure him, if she shall see the King inclined to yield her better satisfaction than heretofore, he shall find her ready to extend towards him such effects of goodwill and friendship as he in honour and reason can desire.

He may promise the Earl of Arran that if she shall see his words and deeds carried in even balance, he shall then taste those fruits of her favour that he shall have cause to think that goodwill and devotion which he protests to bear to her well bestowed.

After this assurance given to the earl, he is to let him know in how thankful part she should take it if the King his master by his persuasion might be drawn to forbear the hard prosecution intended against the noblemen who have retired into England, by staying the

Elizabeth.
1584. disposing and forfeiture of their goods and livings; whereby, besides gratifying her, he will do his master good service and remove from himself the hatred that is now conceived against him as an author of violent counsels, which in all governments bring forth most dangerous effects; whereof no realm has yielded more dolorous and lamentable examples than that kingdom.

4¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

July 1. **190.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The extraordinary kindness that is now offered by Arran on the King's behalf grows through the cold answer they have received in France, returned by Adamson, the Lord Seton's man. And if it be true, as is now advertised out of France, that the King of Spain should be dead, they will be glad to seek the Queen of England's favour. Does what he can to procure his revocation, for that Lord Hunsdon is appointed to deal with Arran. Likes well his opinion contained in his letters of the 23rd and 26th [of June], touching the manner of proceeding with the guiders of the Stewart here. Will use his letters as he requires. It is true that the wooing matter is set abroach, but they hold it here but for dalliance. Stays his servant here to bring him her majesty's full resolution touching his suit, for which purpose he has this day sent for Sir Ralph Sadleir, who he supposes will deal friendly towards him. Is advertised that there are certain ships in Scotland put in readiness by certain particular persons with intent to assail such ships, on their return, as are sent out of England to Iceland a fishing. He will do well to have an eye thereto, and to advertise what he hears. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Cannot yet resolve him touching a castle he wrote of.

1¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 2. **191.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Has acquainted her majesty with the contents of his last letters, of the 26th instant [*sic*]. Her pleasure is that he should let the King understand, in answer to the offers of his desire of continuance of straight friendship and amity with her, that she has appointed Lord Hunsdon for her part to treat therein with Arran or such other as it shall please the King to depute for that purpose.

Touching the motion that commissioners may be mutually appointed on both sides about Border causes, he is to let the King understand that for her part she likes very well thereof, and therefore upon knowledge to be given her of the quality of the persons he means to depute for himself, she shall give order that they shall be met by others of like quality for her. This, nevertheless, will require some time, for that she must first give direction to her wardens to make collections of such matters as they are to demand redress of, and the place of meeting, and how far the redress shall "look back" must be agreed to on before the commissioners can be despatched. Is to continue there till he receives other direction. Richmond. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. July 3.

192. Sir John Maitland to Mr. William Davison.

"My veary guid lord, I could not till now returne zour letteris for that my Lordis of counsall convened not till this day. I hawe communicat thame both to yair honours, which caused immediatlie call ye Warden of the West March of yis realme, wuho declared he is and hes bene alwayes readye to give and take redress, bot could obtean no meating of ye opposit warden, and gawe in a note conteanyng a great nomber of attemptates committed be the disorderad personis of ye opposit Marche within ye boundis of his charge. The Clerk of ye Register will delyver zour lordship ye answer of this counsall, wuherby yow may persawe thair good will to quiet ye Bordours, so that yf yair salbe a mutuall correspondence on ye pairt of your cuntrie, the Bordours of ayer realme salbe quicklie pacifyed and all attemptates redressed at all handis.

"Wuhen your lordship sall hawe occasioun to repair to yis Court ze sall find in his majestie sa good a dispositioun to continew ye amitye and good intelligence betuix these tuo crownis yat yf zour lordship haif warrand of ye lyk inclinatioun in hir hienes zour maistress, yow may howpe assuridlie a good and happie issue in zour negoitatioun. Farder in yis behalf I remit to meating or yat I heir forder from zour lordship." Falkland. *Signed:* Jo. Maitland.

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

Copy of the same.

July 4.

193. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.

The late difference between Arran and Crawford—rather covered than quenched by the King's commandment—is now kindled again by some injurious words passed between them at their last meeting at the Court, whence Crawford is gone home. Amongst other hard speeches between them since their breach, Arran advised the other to remember that he had to do with one who had "plucked an apple from the craig bone," as he termed it, of as lofty a tree as himself, and durst do as much again where he should be provoked. As Crawford had much ado to bear this insolence for the time, so has it since rested in his stomach as a pill of very hard digestion.

The letter sent thither by the King to be subsigned against the ministers is so continually urged that divers who before made difficulty have been compelled to subscribe it, and many summoned over to Falkland to answer for their refusal, amongst whom one Blackborne absolutely refusing to subscribe against his conscience is committed to ward and laid in irons.

The other burgesses who were before banished the town and Court having returned home again under caution, are urged anew amongst the rest to sign this letter, and in case of refusal it is like to breed them at the best hand a new exile.

Mr. John Crage, preaching on Wednesday last before the King on the 82nd Psalm, made such plain application as stirred the patience of some of his hearers; amongst whom Arran, unable to contain himself, interrupted him once or twice in his sermon, and afterwards entered into great choler with him, charging him to have "wrested" the Scriptures and exceeded the bounds of his text, and threatening

Elizabeth.
1584. to bring him and his fellows to another pass ere long. But Mr. Craig answered him calmly that he came not thither to apply himself to men's private honours and to speak what might please them, his message being the Lord's, and His rule [was] prescribed him by the Holy Ghost, wherein he neither had aught without warrant nor exceeded the limits of his text, as his indifferent hearers, and the Word out of which he had spoken should one day be judge between them both.

The Irishmen he wrote of in his former letter have had private audience at Court, and are since entertained by the Master of Gray at his house; but what their business is, he cannot yet certainly learn.

There is some bruit of a treaty between Arran and Hamilton by the mediation of James Hamilton of Ormiston, who is said to have "obtained" of Arran for their bringing home and restoring to their whole livings, except Kenneil and some other things thereabouts, for which they are promised some of the lands of Mar and Gowrie. But whether this be a thing soundly intended or a practice to keep them from entering into any compact with the other lords in England, will appear with time.

This morning there arrived at Leith one Monsieur De La Fontaine, a gentleman who is said to be "towards" the Duke of Guise, accompanied only with two servants. He pretended to be come hither privately to see the King and the country without having other charge. Will be able to give him more certainty hereof in his next. Edinburgh.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 83. Another copy of the same.

July 4. **194.** SIR JOHN EDMONSTOUN TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Pleis it zour honour, thir ar the names that steillis fra me out of Ednem fiftie auld wedderis about the xxij day of Junii last Usie Lawder, ane of the Bowtones, Johnne Clerk, Avere Thommesonn, and outher, Johnne of the Cambe, or ane of his sones winnand in Leirmouthe, and ane callit Cairstoun, serwand to ye constabill of Wark. The maist part of thir foull, or ellis I ame ewill informit. To huyte this bill Sir Thomas Gray self, ane of his brether, the Constabill, all serwandis to Sir Thomas Gray winnand on the eist Merche, Crawing zour honoris answer with Sir Thomas Grayes gif I sall have my geir agane or nocht. Luiking for the same, committis you to ye Hiest." Edmestoun. *Signed:* "Jhone Edmestoun of yat ilk knycht."

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

July 4. **195.** MR. JAMES LOWSONE AND MR. WALTER BALCANQUALL TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"The Spirit of ye Lord Jesus Christ be withe zow for ever."

"Seing your lordship oblissis ws onto zow be gryt humanitie and monye curteseis, we thocht it our dewtie at ye least to salut and thank zour lordship withe this schort letter. And for farder compensatione—albeit we can not meit zour lordship with alyk—be Goddis grace we sal remember zour request and our promis at depart-

Elizabeth.
1584. inge in Beruik. Yat is to pray it may pleis our guid God to bles zow and that ambassage ze haif in handis, yat it make to His glorie, ye weill of ye Churche of bothe ye realmis, and interleyneng of amitie begun throche ye benefit of ye Evangell amongis ws. We haif bein heir at London yis fourtein dayis and talket withe ye godlie and zealous brethren. We se litill apperance that we sall find occasion heir of ye techinge of ye Word—sic injurie fynd we of ye tyme—quhilk is ane of ye hardest tentationis we susteyn. The caus of the staye zour lordship may easealie conjecture. Bot we await patientlie upon our God, quho knowis but quhat is maist meit for His glorie, and will in His awn tyme offer ye menis quhairbie we mae be occupeit in braking of ye bread of lyfe, quhilk we prefer to all erthlie thing, albeit it suld be in gryt povertie, and conjoynit withe quhat so ever croce. We haif thocht guid to request zour lordship also, that quhilles as ze haif communication with our King ze will declair simplie our part. To wit yat we ar not giltie of ony dealinge in materis besydis our vocation, as we trust ye Kingis grace be triall hes found and did confes. And we ar readie zit to submit our selfis to ye lawis of our cuntreye in all thingis. Onlie thus we culd not abyde ye suddane casting down of yat guid form of regiment in our Kirk, and devolving it in ye handis of onworthie men. We culd not subscryve yeronto, and necessite lay upon ws be ressone of our office to resist. And gif we had remenit and resistit farder certanelie yis wold haif wrocht grytar disquietnes in our cuntrey, danger to our awin flok, quha was commandit to apprehend ws in cas we suld oppone. Besiddis yat we suld haif appeirit in careing to haif temptit God. Many uther ressonis haif we quhilkis we trust sal anis appeir in our just apologie. We know zour lordship is occupeit thair with mony oyer besenes, and we are lothe to trubell zow." London. *Signed:* J. Lowsone. Walter Balcanquall.

1 1¼ *pp. In Mr. Lowsone's hand. Addressed by him. Indorsed.*

[July.] **196.** ADDRESS BY MR. JAMES LOWSON TO THE SESSION OF THE KIRK AND COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH.

"The spreit of ye Lord Jesus Crist comfort zow and assist zow for evir."

"It hes pleissit God in his justice dere brether according to ye oft threitnyngis quhilk ze with zour eirris have hard, and we as Godis messingeris hes pronuncit to bring yat hevie cross upoun ws quhilk oure eis dois behold and oure sorrowfull harttis do consider oure synnis hes deservit grettar punysmentis gif ony grettar can be. And now becaus we ar assurit yat mony calumnyis ar set out aganis ws, for yat we have absenttit oure selffis frome zow oure awne flok quhilk evir we luffit mair nor oure lyfe, we have thocht gude to writ unto zow ye caussis of ye samyn, and necessitie quhilk lay apoun ws, albeit we knaw ze zour selffis can not be ignorant of all yis matter. It is knawin to zow how yat for ye resisting ye caus quhilk ye rewlaris of ye Court had in hand is sa dayngerous to ye Kirk of God quhilk appeirris yis day, and will zit draw with it grettar myserie and thraldome of conscience gif ye Lord put not to his mercifull hand to help in yis disparit estait. We have sustenit ye burding of ye gret indignatioun of ye grettast and ye continewall reprochis of ye rewlaris of Court,

Elizabeth.
1584. quhilk maid ws maist assurit yat yai war bent aganis ws, and wald travell to be avenjit apoun ws quhen evir yai mycht sie ane convenyant tyme. In yis meyntyme sindry Actis of Parliament ar maid derectlie repugnant to ye Word of God and doctryn quhilk we of ane lang tyme have preichit, speciallie concernyng ye policie ecclesiastycall, and to speik in few wordis, oure haill forme of spirituall governyment groundit apoun ye Word of God. Quhairunto ye curssit bischopis subscryvit yame selfe as yair hand writ will testifie. Quhilk is growin and incressing in Godis majestie amang ws, and did grow and incres untill it come to ane ressonabill perfectioun, at yis Perliament is altogether cast doun. That quhilk wes ressavit of God yat wes in us amang ws followit out to ye gret comfort and edificatioun of our Kirkis, moist be cast doun without recoverie, be ye eirnyst lawbouris off ouris and Godis enymeis almoist in the space of xxiiij. hourres, na resonyng being hard of ye wechtynes of ye artiklis be yame quha ar callit ye Lordis of ye Artiklis; nane of ye mynistaris being hard nor permyttit to com neir yame. Zea, yai of ye Articlis sworne of tymes to reveill nathing lest peradventure yis straynge deilling cuming to ye eirris of ye mynisteris suld have bene withstand in pulpet according to ye Word off God thair dayngerous and wickit attemptis. And yat quhilk is grettest of all, quhen we send doun to Court Mr. David Lyndsay, ane bruther, ane leirnit and wys man desyring we mycht be hard, he is cassin in ward, quhare he remanis as zit, as we heir. Quhat all yir thingis tendis to, yai quha ar of God and hes ye spreit of rychtous jugement esilie may espy. Oure bisschopis of quham sum ar gros libertynis and bely godis, quoha is infameis are sene and grapit of zow all—sum sacrelegeous delapidatouris of yair haill benyfeces, sum disturberis of ye estait of ye pure Kirk, all wantting warrand in yair consience of yair calling, ze all beiring testimony of ane evill conscience in yat yai condame yatt quhilk before yai subscryvit as undoutit truth, sum suspendit frome yair menystry, sum depryvit, sum excomunycatit. Theis man maist be ye onelie and hoill rewlars now in ye spirituall governament, and yis samyn governament man flow not frome Christ Jesus, bot frome ye corrupt affectionis of yame quhat callis thair unworthy saullis to sik heich promotionis. Besydes yis articlis wes pennit and presenttit to sum mynisteris to subscryve, submytting yame selffis to yat tyranecall regement, quhilk gif ony will refus to do he man be ane tratour. Ye considerationis of yir thingis and mony uyeris movit ws in oure sermonis to afferme we wold stik to ye forme of governament groundit apoun ye Word of God. We wald opone oure selffis aganis yis new and suddane confusioun, as in verray deid wes done be ws. In token quhairof protestatioun wes maid baith frome pulpet and frome ye verray mercat croce; quhairfor oure inemeis, ze zourris and Godis enemeis, as experiance hes begun to teiche, and maist assuredlie will teiche man hardlie heirefter, except ye Lord provyde spedie remeid, having occasioun offerit purchessis ane charge to ye Provest and Baileis of Edinburgh thinkinge to mak oure ane flok abuse, quhais saullis sa cairfullie we have wachit to be burreouris to ws to tak and apprehend all mynisteris yat convenit to ye elderschip, quhlik before wes almaist ye onelie brydill to byte, and held yame in fast and sure prison. And siclyk quhasoever spak owyer in privie places or in publict in yair sermonis aganis ony of yair articles or yis yair unhappie cours to be takin immediatelie be

Elizabeth.
1584. yame cassin in prison and handillit as suld be thot maist meit. And in ye meantyme wantoun wordis wes given yat gif we followit oure cours, quhilk sureilie is of God, thoch oure heidis war als gret as hay stakis we suld want yame. We saw gude brether of ye mynisterie apprehendit, of quhom we war assurit yai had not sa gret mysliking off as of ws. Off all yir thingis did rys oure hard battell and grevous tentatioun, ye quhilk how gret it wes to ws, He quho serchis ye harttis knawis. To stay frome oure gude cours we culd not, for yan we suld be tratouris to God, quha hes bene sa gude to ws; to continew yair wes counttit tressoun to ye King and hurtsum to oure flok, quha gat ye chairge to tak ws in caice of our proceding in oure office, quhilk is to condampt all actis maid be repugnyng to ye decreittis maid be ye leving God. Thus wrasling betuix yir temptatioun and tossit hevilie betuix wynd and waw, in end we resolve to reserve oure selffis to ane better tyme. And of ane trewth yis resolutioun wes takin in ye bitternes of oure harttis and in mony tierris, especiallie ye remembring of zow oure deir flok. Yis wes done eftir mony prayers and eftir we war assurit it wes ye will of God. This we are assurit of, ye godlie thinkis, sa it is in deid. And we farther perswade oure selffis yat ye Lord sall anis lat ye woorld undirstand he had his gret werk in it to his awne glorie. Lat na gude man think yat yis is aganis ye law of God nor gude conscience. Far be it frome ws yat wilfullie we suld offend, seing we have walkit in uprychtnes of conscience amangis zow, and traistis in Godis grace so to do to ye end. We have mony thingis to wret unto zow quhilk we dar not comyt to paper and ink for zour cause in yir dayngerous dayes. Ye Lord gif zow grace to stand, remembring and following yais thingis quhilk ze have hard and inbrasit. We feir yat wolffis sall intrude yame selffis apoun zow, as we heir sum alredy hes done, quhilk is ane sair wound unto ws, besydis yat that we ar plukit away frome zow. We tauld zow quhen we war with zow yat ye contempt of ye trewth wald bring on ye plaig of fullis pastouris quha soucht yame selffis and not Crist Jesus ye gret Pastour of ye flok. This litill burding of ye Croce layit apoun ws be ye mercifull hand of oure God we trust we sall sustene and bear patientlie. We traist also we sall not be idill, bot be proffitabill for ye Kirk evin yairin; helping zow with sum of oure labouris quhilk wes begun amangis zow, and could not be perfyttit be ressoun of oure mony fald occupatioun. We ar in gude hoip ye Lord sall unit ws anis agane. Alwayis His gud will be done. We can not weirrie to speik to zow be letter seing we may not speik be corporall presence. Ye Lord forgif ye auctoures of yis seperatioun and mak yame anis to knaw yai have liftit up yaire selffis in yair pride aganis Him quha sall humyll yame. Yis we ceis to troubill zow or wound zour harttis farther be remembring apoun us and upoun ye libertie lossit for ane tyme."

2 *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

July [4.] **197. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Is continually pressed in the motion he acquainted him with touching the Castle [of Edinburgh], and requests that he may know what comfort to give therein. It seems the purpose to charge them

Elizabeth.
1584. continues still, though nothing is yet openly done. But in the meantime they whom it touches nearest sleep not. If it be followed his honour will find it a special mean to hasten the redress of things, as that which —especially if they may find the comfort of the south sun— will bring forth other fruit than appears yet above the ground. Forbears to wade far into the particulars, because he wants the help of a cipher. They have made provision within the place against a rainy day, and are resolved to ride out the storms that may blow against them for the time, in hope their friends abroad and at home will do their best to help them in case of extremity. Because the yielding up of this piece imports the relief or ruin of the whole cause, besides the particular dishonour and undoing of the gentleman who has the charge thereof, which he assures him can touch some of his great friends not a little, does not doubt but her majesty and their honours will take care that it does not appear that either their cause or themselves are neglected or uncared for. Wherein if it pleases her majesty that he let them underhand know so much, he will do his best to use it as appertains.

It were not, in his poor opinion, impertinent or unreasonable that the Queen of England should write an honourable and loving letter to the Earl of Argyll letting him understand how much she is grieved to hear of the hard course of things in this government, which, as she knows to be " unpleasing " to himself, whom she esteems to tender religion, the quiet of his country, and welfare of the King his master, so she does not doubt that he will do his best to enterprise his good counsel and authority to divert the evils which these beginnings might otherwise draw after them, to the peril of religion, his Prince, and country, *etc.* Begs him to procure this letter, secretly and circumspectly written, together with a passport for the earl and twenty-four of his company to pass through England to France for his health ; wherein he has been moved by Mr. John Graham, his servant, to write to him.

Hears that Arran, pretending to go to Dirleton, rode secretly, accompanied only with the Laird of Blaquhane to some place on the Borders, and met, as he is informed, Sir John Selby. Believes this the rather because he sent in one Tate three or four days before with letters secretly to him. Knows not what secret traffic is between them, or what warrant Mr. Selby has for him. In the meantime he cannot but think hardly of it, that her majesty having her minister here, and esteeming anything of his judgment or honesty, these by-courses should be thus entertained, to the discredit of the place and prejudice of the service. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—Received his letter of the 22nd ult., touching Lord Lindsay, which he has not yet thought good to meddle in, because the heat for his removing is for the time assuaged, and no present appearance of danger in his behalf. The Earl of Crawford being resolved rather to hazard his own fortune than to suffer that injury to be offered to his friend, and disgrace to himself, continues with him in Angus.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. July 4.

198. LORD HERRIES TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The Grames have taken forth of his own house one Thomas Maxwell, a servant of his, and still retain him most straitly. Requests him to write to Lord Scrope to cause Walter Grame, of Netherby, and "Robene" Grame, of Fauld, "takaris and withhaldaris" of the said man, to put him at liberty. Newbottill. *Signed:* Herys.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 4. **199. MR. DAVID CHAMBER OF ORMELLIE TO WALSINGHAM.**

"Pleis your honour, ye favour I fand of your lordship in France moveis me to tak ye hardiesse to lat your honour understand how I haif wreitten sindrie tymes thir zeiris past to ye Queen's majeste my souveranes mother schawand how I culd obteine no sic thingis as hir hienes commandit to pay my dettis. And becaus I cane have no answer yerof I have writtin to hir grace presentlie, quhilk I will beseik your honour, it beand your pleasour, to caus send to hir, and gif hir majeste makis ony answer, to caus me resave the same be my lord ambassadeuris moyen quha remaines heir. In the quhilk your lordship call obleiss me to requyt the same with sic service as I may do leifullie." Edinburgh. *Signed:* "M. David Chamber of Ormellie."

⅓ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

July 5. **200. MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.**

Has been curious to understand the certainty of Arran's journey towards the Border, where, as some of his [Arran's] friends reported, he should have met with Sir John Selby, but is this day credibly advertised that the farthest of his journey was to Presmynane, about five miles from Dunbar, where he met with certain Scottish borderers only to address them for intercepting of letters and intelligences, and taking of such persons as shall resort betwixt the lords, *etc.*, in exile and their friends here. So that the report of Sir John Selby in that point appears to have been untrue, though in other things his honour knows what his part has been.

De La Fontaine continues yet at Leith. Hears he has letters from the King [of France] and the Duke of Guise. Will do his best to decipher his charge.

Yesterday the King went to St. Andrews, and is appointed to return to Falkland on Tuesday or Wednesday. Thinks long for answer to his former letters and return of his man, whom he trusts her majesty will accompany with some comfort in his poor cause.

Colonel [Stewart] has been with him once or twice, and would fain appear to be what he is not. Hears that he has been sluttishly handled for his part of the late booty sent hither by Bellenden, wherein Arran has crept between the bark and the tree with him. It appears that his great hopes by France grow somewhat cold. He takes himself much injured by the reports made of him, and doubts not but time will try his innocency.

The Earls of Argyll, Rothes, and Bothwell have sought leave to depart the country. Bothwell has already obtained his, but Rothes

Elizabeth.
1584. is detained here with his lieutenancy. Begs him to remember the Earl of Argyll's license. Edinburgh.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 84. Original of the same.

July 5. **201. Mr. Thomas Milles to Mr. William Davison.**

Incloses a note of the last occurrents that Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] has received out of Flanders. Has seen advertisements out of France from the English ambassador that the King of Spain should be dead, and the day of his decease was the 21st of June "stilo novo." This bruit is believed but according to men's affections. This day at the French Church it was still confirmed, and in Court the truth is still hearkened after. The like is said of the Queen mother, but it is not possible Christendom should be so happy at once. Since the death of Monsieur matters in that country hang in suspense. Yet it is reported that the King [of France] "shows to affect" the King of Navarre more and more, and by a late letter written to him has given him the title of "Monsieur le Roy de Navarre." The intended embassy with the Garter by Lord Derby is put off till next year. It is proposed to send Sir Philip Sydney to condole the death of Monsieur. The Queen of England is in health. Sends his salutations to the Clerk Register. London. *Signed:* Tho. Milles.

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

July 5. **202. Leicester to Mr. William Davison.**

Cousin Davison, I have received your letter since my arrival, and would be glad to hear more often from you. I was by of late when her majesty took order with Mr. Chancellor for a lease for you. Mr. Secretary has solicited the matter very effectually for you. God send you as much profit by it as you have need of. I will use your letters as you require.

This day word is brought of the murder of the Prince of Orange —and after the same sort that the last was—by a villain who brought him letters before dinner of the death of Monsieur. After he had dined, standing in his way as he retired to his chamber, [he] stopped him, praying him for a few words more. Which he, gently yielding to, the villain shot him to the heart with a pistol. He fell and never spoke one word. He was slain the 1st of this month. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

Postscript.—I pray you remember the park I spoke to you of in Lancashire, that either you will let me have it or else forbear to take it. It is called Warmore [Quernmore] Park.

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

July 6. **203. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Received his letters of the 29th ult. and 1st instant signifying the coming of Lord Hunsdon to his government, which he is not sorry for, because he trusts it will be a mean to loose him the sooner from this place where he will be able to do her majesty little good service. Could be well contented to hear of his revocation.

Elizabeth.
1584. Colonel [Stewart] has blamed him to some of his friends for Lord Hunsdon's so long stay at Court, to the hindrance of their good proceedings here, as if it had been a matter procured by him [Davison]. So that it appears his coming will be very grateful, and, as they hope, advantageous for them.

Has heard nothing touching the preparation of ships here to assail English ships bound to Iceland. Has delivered the complaint touching the spoil of certain fishermen of Yarmouth to the Clerk Register, who is to repair to-morrow towards the Court, and has promised to communicate the same to his majesty and his Council and procure him answer. Before his departure hence he could wish to have some comfortable answer, though in general terms, touching the matter of "365" [Edinburgh Castle]. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davison.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

July 6. **204. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Delivered the two letters from Lord Scrope and Sir John Foster touching the late attempts of Liddisdale and the other disordered subjects of this Border to Sir John Maitland, a copy of whose answer he incloses. Yesternight the Clerk Register repaired to him with the King of Scots' answer to this effect; that the King and his Council were offended with the late attempts of Liddisdale and other broken men on their Borders, yet excusing themselves and imputing the chief occasion thereof to Lord Scope. Nevertheless, if a correspondence might be found in the opposite wardens of England, and the Queen of England would hold hand thereto, the King, he said, should cause meetings to be kept at all hands, and should direct from Court to see redress given and taken, so that there should be no occasion for breach on their part. It rests, therefore, now to be considered what her majesty thinks good that the meeting of the wardens should at the first be "craved" and agreed to, or whether such doubts as may be impediments to the agreement and proceeding of the wardens should be first accorded by commissioners, or betwixt him and some of the King's Council here. Requests some certainty what to answer and how to proceed in case her majesty be not pleased all the sooner to revoke him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davison.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*
Copy of the same.
Inclosure with the same.

(Sir John Maitland to Mr. William Davison.)

Could not till now return his letters, for the Lords of Council did not convene till this day. Has communicated them both to their honours, who immediately caused the Warden of the West March of Scotland to be called. Who declared he is, and has been always, ready to give and take redress, but could not obtain a meeting with the opposite warden, and gave a suit concerning a great number of attempts committed by the disordered persons of the opposite March within the bounds of his charge. The Clerk of the Register will deliver him [Davison] the answer of the Council, whereby he

Elizabeth.
1584. may perceive their goodwill to quiet the Border. When he shall have occasion to repair to this Court he will find in the King of Scots' good disposition to continue the amity. Falkland.

⅔ *p.* Copy. *Indorsed.*

July 6. **205.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

What resolution her majesty has taken in his particular, this bearer can inform him. Received knowledge of the death of the Prince of Orange this day. He can guess what toil this has thrown him into. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—Requests him to send him word how he has bestowed the Queen's 1000*l.*

¾ *p.* *Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 6. **206.** THOMAS RANDOLPH TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

They hear nothing out of Flanders, nor look for any good. What will fall out in France after the death of Monsieur, they may rather conjecture than write anything for certain. It was written out of France, and commonly spoken in this town, that the King of Spain died on the 11th ult. Trusts that Lord Hunsdon's going to Berwick will relieve him of many troubles where he is, and work some good accord between the King [of Scots] and the English. "At my howse in London." *Signed:* Tho. Randolph.

1 *p.* *Holograph, also address.*

July 6. **207.** HENRY KILLIGREW TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

This bearer can inform him of more particulars than he can write. Prays God bless his endeavours. Has offered his wife to do anything that lies in him during his absence, but she has not had occasion to use him. *Westminster. Signed:* H. Kyllygrew.

¾ *p.* *Holograph, also address.*

July 6. **208.** MR. J. CARMICHAEL TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"He wishit the comfortable assistance of God's holie Spirit unto ye end to strenthen zow in zour Christiane weirfair."

"I had rather write raggitlie 'quicquid in buccam venerit' then nothing in the sudane departure of ye beirar, least I sould incur suspitioun of negligence or forzetfulnes of my dewtie, eiking to Mr. Bowes memorial that we haif gottin ye King's confession alreadie, and in place thairof willis zour worship to cause travaill with Mr. Craig to haist ye last collection of ye disciplin and actis of ye Generall Assemblies. David Hume in Dunbar hes writtin ye historie of ye last zeirs since ye 1579. Quhilk gif in ye name of ye hail ministers heir and upon zour worship's autoritie could be attenit unto, it salbe in place of a greit treasure to us all. Thair is now over dolorous occasion offerrit to move hir majesty tak heid to hir awin estait, and not to be over credulous, bot rather suspect quhen hir majesty's unfreindis speikis and offers fairest. I mein of ye Prince of Orenge merther, quhais lyf hes bein lang socht, and will not satiate ye bludethristie confederates of Trent. Sche is now invironit more straitlie be France,

Elizabeth.
1584. Spain, and ye Law Cuntries. God forbid hir majesty sould be cast in a cairles securitie quhill ye hedge be closit on ye uther part of Ireland and Scotland 'cum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.' Yei, schot first at hir majesty, yei will continw. Throgmortoun's execution wes continwit thir aucht dayis, and in ye mein tyme ye Prince of Orenge is schot. The adversaris are leist sleping quhen yei rais brutes of ye King of Spaines death. It salbe weill done to spy and cause narowle be spyit our courteours countenance at thir newes, quhairof zour worship may collect how suspitious my conjectures in December last was, and quhat wald ye contenance be if yei had thair will of hir majesty. Beir patientlie ye craft and malice of ye manie adversareis of ye cause, and suffer not thair invy to be ane occasion to spoile it of zour patrocingt. Fycht lawfulie to ye end; ye mair honorable salbe zour triumph and crown after ye victorie. Quhat farther argumentes can be collectit of ye stur of our pepill be this lait malheure zour worship sall do weill to inlarge, and ye neirar perel to ye cause by drift of tyme, quhilk can not bot hazard ye hail. I crave zour worship's pardone. Zour worship sone Francis hes gevin guid pruif of his proffit in ye Greik to Mr. Melvil upon the first chapter of Mark, and had defendit ye parts yerof lik a man. The Secretaire likes weill asweill ye subject of zour present as ye ordour of intreating yerof, and will furnish fayer warandes for furtherance yerof to ye perfection. But I am compellit to schorten till ye nixt occasion, quhen God willing I sall impart ye last argument betuix ws at greiter lenth." *Signed*: J. Carmichael.

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

July 7. **209. Mary to the French Ambassador.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Monsieur de Mauvissière, as the recovery of my arm permits me to write to the Queen my good sister, I have not wished to fail to acquit myself of the thanks that I owe her for the favour that she has shown me in this my voyage, of which, if the end resembles the beginning, I hope to get more help for my health than from any other remedy which up till now I have used. It is incredible how this water has soothed my nerves and dried up from my body the harmful fluids with which for want of exercise it was filled so abundantly. But to prevent that this next winter I shall not return to that state, continuing in this miserable captivity and to end at once my so long troubles that I consider my greatest wrongs, I make now speedily all the instance that I can to the said Queen my good sister that it may please her to put an end to the treaty, so long kept in suspense, for my liberty; for which in presenting her my letters I beg you to press her as much as you can, both in my name and on the part of the King my good brother, and send me the reply that you have from her and from the gentlemen of her Council, showing them that up till now it has only been represented to me that things could not be done with more gentleness on the part of Scotland, and that I have not failed to offer what I could for the satisfaction of the said Queen also. I pray them not to impute anything to me of what could happen worse, for want of remedying it, as I wish infinitely as much for the good preservation and safety of my son as for the common tranquillity of this island. And not having, after so much conference, letters,

Elizabeth.
1584. and discourse on this subject, anything to add now, I will finish with my good affectionate recommendations to your good grace, praying God that he will have you, Monsieur de Mauvissière, in his holy and worthy keeping. Buxton.

¾ *p. French copy. Indorsed.*

July 8. **210.** EXTRACT FROM A SERMON PREACHED BY MR. JOHN HOWESON.

"Upoun Wedenisday the aucht of day July 1584, befoir none Mr. Johnne Howesoun minister at Cambuslang, preiching in the blak frier Kirk upoun the fourt chapter of the Actes of the Apostillis at the nynetene wers, beand 'But Peter and Johnne answerit and said, quhidder it be richt in the sicht of God to obey zow rayer nor God, juge ze,' teache as followith."

"Peter and Paull being puir fischearis, na scollaris, being callit befoir the counsell of Jerusalem, zea the thrie estaitis yerof, feirit not to answer—they being forbiddin to preache the Word of God—'quhidder it be richt in the sicht of God to obey zow rayer nor man, juge ze.' But quhat sall we say, thair is injunctionis now gevin be ane wicked and godles Counsell to stop the mouthis of the ministeris from teaching of the trewth, and sic a godles ordour maid as ye lyk hes never bene of befoir. Thair is a heid of the Kirk maid, thair being na heid bot Jesus Christ, nor can not be, stinking and baggage heides, a excommunicat sumgeour, a excommunicat willane, quha sall never be obeyit heir. We will acknawlege na Prince, na magistrat in teaching of the Word, nor be bund to na injunctionis, nor obey na Actes of Parliament, nor na uyer thing that is repugnant to the Word of God. Bot will do as Peter and Johnne said, better obey God nor man. Bot it is not the King dois this. It is the wicked, godles and willane counsell he hes, and uyeris godles personis that informis his majestie wrangeouslie, quhairof thair is anew about him. For my awin part I ken I wilbe noted. I regaird not. Quhat can the King get of me bot my heid and my blood? And will thay all do as I sall do they salbe drunkin with blood. I sall never obey thair injunctionis, lyk as I request all faithfull folk to do the lyk. For I am assurit schortlie ze sall sie this golk storm and this wicked ordour cum to nocht, and thir wicked counsellouris and evill personis be put to thair perpetuall confusioun, and not without greit blood, I am assurit, and the greitar multitude sall beir it away. They trow we be feirit, bot not sa feirit as they trow. I ken releif to cum schortlie, and soner nor yei beleiff, cum quhairfra it will. Bot I ken thair counsellouris ar freit, zea at everie rasche bus, thinkand thay ar men, and sum of thame within thir few dayis seing a cumpanie of nolt and hors wes swa fleit that yei wist not quhat to do."

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk): "1584. Accusacion of Mr. John Heweson, minister."

July 10. **211.** ELIZABETH TO ARGYLL.

When she remembers her princely care of Scotland from the beginning of her reign, wherein she has not spared any honourable

Elizabeth.
1584. or chargeable means to bring it to that quietness, without foreign interruption, wherein it has long continued to the great benefit thereof, but especially for advancement of the true religion and due obedience to their sovereign, it was the more unpleasant and grievous to her to learn—amidst these good things—of the hard course which has been lately practised there; when, in good policy, his sovereign, growing now by years and experience to gather some judgment, might rather have settled all things at his pleasure, to the great comfort of his people, by the sound advice of such as by these hard proceedings he has put from him, and so have assured to him in love and due obedience all his true nobility and other subjects. Whereunto there is no greater bond than the true knowledge of God—in which he has been so happily brought up—which, by prosecuting this late course, may be in peril to be dimmed by the pleasant persuading—but sinister practices—of some for their own ambition, with the hazard of their master's honour and ruin of that realm. But now, to prevent further proceedings in these unpleasant beginnings, she esteems no course to be safer or more honourable than the good advice of grave and wise persons, who by long experience can foresee the danger that may happen by dear example of former hard dealings. Does not doubt he will interpose his good counsel, credit, and authority to divert the evils which may accompany these beginnings, to the peril of the whole, which would be most grievous to her as to one who should in mind feel the grief which the good subjects of that realm may find in body or conscience when counsel will come too late. Richmond.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

July 10. **212.** COMMISSION FOR THE EARL OF ARRAN.

We having now attained to the nineteenth year of our age, and finding that nothing has been, nor can be, more expedient for the settling of our estate in constant quietness and surety than the observation and continuance of a sincere and perfect amity and entertaining of a sound intelligence betwixt us and our dearest sister the Queen of England, being the Princess in the world with whom God in his true religion, nature in blood, and an island separated from the continent world have joined us in one natural league, inclining our affection to her above all other foreign Princes, to the accomplishing and perfecting thereof, understanding that our dearest sister has directed the Lord Hunsdon to meet and treat with any our commissioner of a like quality and rank, we upon singular experience had of the wisdom, diligence, circumspection, and sufficiency always of James, Earl of Arran, High Chancellor of our realm, and our trustiest and most familiar Privy Councillor, and of his singular affection borne to the weal of us and our estate, have therefore nominated, made, constituted, and ordained, and by these our letters nominate, make, constitute and ordain our said cousin our special deputy and commissioner to the effect under written, giving, granting, and commanding to him our full power, special commission, express bidding, and charging, in our name and authority, to meet and convene with our said trusty and well beloved cousin, direct commissioner from our said dearest sister, or any other her messengers or commissioners authorised, being of like degree and rank, and with them to treat, confer, deliberate, resolve, and conclude

Elizabeth.
1584. upon the renewing, confirmation, or conservation of the amity as is set down by treaty; or upon further league or treaty to be made, indented and contracted betwixt us for the honour and surety of us both and our States, and generally upon all and whatsoever matters and causes of whatsoever weight or quality betwixt us and our dearest sister, our dominions and subjects, tending to the weal and surety of us and continuance of peace and quietness betwixt our crowns and countries; and especially upon the readiest and most expedient mean for the removing of all occasions of jealousies and griefs offensively conceived on either side; and thereupon, and whatsoever other things tending thereunto, to appoint, contract, indent, promise, subscribe, and interchange seals; and generally to do, use and exercise all other things that to the execution of the premises are necessary, although the same require more special commission, or that we might do [it] ourself in proper person. Promising on our princely and inviolable word of a King to keep, confirm, perform, and accomplish all and whatsoever things our said commissioner contracts, indents, promises, subscribes, or seals in our name in the premises, as if the same were passed, contracted, indented, promised, or subscribed by ourself and sealed with our great seal in most authentic form. Given under our great seal, etc. Falklande.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Broadsheet.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 87. Another copy of the same.

July 12. **213.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Your last letter, of the 5th instant, has so far forth prevailed with her majesty that her majesty is now pleased that for the furniture of the castle there should be delivered, for the provision of victuals, to Alexander Erskine or to any other person that you shall think meet 200*l.*, if a less sum may not serve.

She thinks meet that also you should nourish in the well affected hope of her majesty's favour and assistance, so that it may be made probable to her that the yielding thereof may fall out honourable for her and profitable for the cause, with likelihood of better success than has heretefore accompanied their former attempts. To prevent that the Lords John Hamilton and Claud Hamilton may not be severed from the rest, her majesty presently uses Mr. John Colvile's service, who gives hope that nothing shall be done by them without her majesty's assent.

Touching the by-course between Lord Hunsdon and Arran, there is nothing to help it but time and trial. You know Lord Hunsdon's passion, whose promixity in blood "doothe somewhat prevayle to inhable his credyt to more harme then good." And yet herein he should not greatly prevail were he not countenanced by the Lord Treasurer, who deals strangely in the action of Scotland. I find that men begin to look to the sun rising, and therefore it will behove her majesty to make much of faithful servants.

I send you herewith the passport you desired. But withal her majesty willed me to signify to you that she doubts the absence of Argyll will do harm, seeing there are few about the King who will advise to take a more temperate course than he is now in. And therefore her pleasure is that if you see any cause to conceive that his departure out of the

Elizabeth.
1584. realm there will rather do harm than good, then she would have you dissuade him from the same.

For that your former letters through lack of a cipher were somewhat dark, her pleasure now is you should now, by use of the cipher, set down fully and plainly what you think meet to be imparted to her touching the present state of things there, and whether there is any hope of a party, and what ground you have to conceive that the Castle of Edinburgh, " being held where it is," may serve to so good purpose as your letter imports.

Her majesty has no opinion of any good success of the " by-course," and yet has [thought] good to make some trial in doubt of redress any other way.

Her majesty desires that you shall carefully seek to discover the Irishmen's doings, as also upon promise of pardon to Nugent, who is attainted of treason, to see if you may recover him. But now this must proceed as a thing growing from yourself. His companion is one of mean judgment. The end of their repair into that realm is to breed some new trouble [in] Ireland. The Court. *Signed :* Fra. Walsyngham.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

Draft of the same.

July 14. **214.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.

Before the receipt of your honour's letters by my man, we heard here the unhappy news of the murder committed on the poor Prince of Orange, and, as it is generally lamented by all good men, so is there little better issue—without God's goodness—expected of Despernon's voyage to the King of Navarre, flowing, as is feared, from the same bloodthirsty Council [of Trent], howsoever it be cloaked and disguised. The Lord in mercy preserve her majesty, against whom the main battery of their malice and fury has been laid these many years, giving her grace to acknowledge from whence her former deliverances have come, confessing with the prophet David that the Lord is her refuge and defence in the day of trouble, and to depend still upon His mercy and protection.

What is continually molding here, at home and elsewhere, aiming and directing at that unhappy mark of her majesty's trouble and danger, may easily be conjectured by what you daily hear and see. For myself I confess I had rather err in fearing the worst, than in contempt of the peril which I find all honest and wise men here both to foresee and fear greatly. Yet I protest before God that, as near as I can, I both judge and report of things without affection.

De la Fontaine has till this day continued at Leith, but sent over a packet on Wednesday last to the Court, from whence Down was addressed to him the next day ; by whom his way has been prepared. He brought letters of address and commendation to him and others from Maineville, with many thanks for their good offices showed in delivery of Holte, and has special letters from the French King and the Duke [of Guise] his master to the most part of the nobility to entertain them in good humour and liking of this unhappy cause. I am " borne in hand " by a gentleman of great credit that he has not come without

Elizabeth.
1584. food to relieve the hunger of our courtiers, which they pretend to be well advised of, and that he has brought a sword from the Duke his master to the King, which is confidently bruited and believed to have been hallowed by the Pope and sent from him. It should seem that her majesty's difficulty to consent to the public voyage of Mauvissière and young Pinart has bred the employment of this man, that under the habit and cloak of a private person things might be carried the more secretly, and with the less note and jealously. Here is likewise some expectation that Mr. William Bellenden, who during his late being here had often and private conference with the King, should return again very shortly instructed with the secret of all things. as a person specially trusted by "50" and "260"; but in the meantime there appears no want of others to do good offices.

Mr. James Sheene the Jesuit, of whom I have heretofore advertised your honour, had, as I credibly learn, privy access [to] and conference with "40," at St. Andrews. It is assured me that he has secret commission from "20" and others, and has desired liberty for the home coming of divers of his fellow Jesuits; which he has thus far obtained, that they shall be "overseen" and not troubled by his majesty or his laws, so that they will take their hazard against the popular fury, and with caution that they be not over hasty therein till matters be better settled. Which traffic with him and his sort wonderfully increases the fear and suspicion of this King's defection or careless account of religion.

Arran came over hither on Friday night, and the next afternoon took horse and rode forth towards Rosslyn, five or six miles from hence, which is said to have been—though not so taken—the farthest bound of his journey that way. I am surely advertised that in his former voyage to the wood of Pressingnane above Dunbar certain horsemen to the number of fifteen or sixteen crossed the water about Norham so covertly that they should not be seen by the fishers, and so coming forwards into the Merse, returned again late in the night, which seems to confirm the first advertisement and prove some loose play on our side.

It is given out in Court by the enemies of the banished lords, *etc.*, that they have devised to amend their matters by one of these three means—either to impoison the King, to slay both him and Arran—for those two must necessarily be thought to go together—or, if the rest fail, to attempt open force. Which bruit brought originally to the Lord Fleming, and the author by him sent to the Court, doth bewray whence it cometh. In the meantime it serves well to this purpose, to enrage the King the more against these poor lords, and to draw him on against "600"; for the respects your honour can guess.

Mr. Robert Punt is this day forfeited for protesting against the Acts of Parliament the same day they were published.

The poor burgesses of this town are so tossed from post to pillar about the signing of the letter against their minister, that the like has never been seen. Divers of them by mere compulsion have, against their consciences, as they protested, subscribed it because the King will not be otherwise answered. But how much it wounds the hearts of all men and estranges their affections from his majesty is incredible. The Parliament is continued till October next.

The poor Countess of Gowrie, with all her friends and servants, are

Elizabeth.
1584. commanded to remove from St. Johnstone's and twelve miles thereabouts during the King's continuance in these parts. Five or six coffers of hers conveyed during her husband's troubles to Wester-Wemys have been discovered and seized, to the increase of that poor lady's misery, whom they have entreated with the greatest inhumanity that may be, leaving her nothing to sustain herself and her poor children; and, what is more, threatening interdiction to Atholl her son-in-law for tendering her succour and relief in this extremity.

It is still constantly affirmed that there is a charge purchased against this castle, but the execution stayed upon the King's further declaration of his mind. Glencairn is at the horn for refusing to obey an order set down by the King in a feud between him and Eglinton, whose part is followed by the Lord Sempill and his friends, and the other by the Maxwells, so that the whole west is in manner divided by their factions, amongst whom there were fifteen or sixteen slain this week past.

My Lord of Hunsdon's coming down is very glad tidings to our courtiers; but whether as purposing to run a sound course with her majesty by him, or, as Arran has vaunted, in hope to outshoot their adversaries in their own bow, will appear with time, although I doubt not but my lord is so well instructed and advised that he will always deal with them *servatis cirumstanciis*.

I must beseech your honour to think upon my motion for Edinburgh Castle, and to procure me a good answer. The reasons I have heretofore given you, and might enlarge, if I thought it needful. This your honour may be assured, that unless I found very good cause I would not be earnest in this behalf, who you know is naturally slow to wade far in things that might any way hurt or prejudge myself. I am pressed to solicit your honour for my Lord of Argyll's safe conduct, which I beseech you to remember and send me in the most favourable manner you may. He has had letters out of France amongst the rest, which are sent over to him. But his credit is under foot in this present Court. Arran in all letters addresed to the Session is styled as Chancellor, and appears *posse omnia in omnibus*. The heartburning continues between him and Crawford, who is more than half " discourted " for his protecting of Lindsay, whose life " 50 " daily thirsts after.

Here is some bruit of a reconcilement between Lords John and Claud Hamilton's neighbours, *etc.*, but I suspect the part of Lord Claud upon some reports I hear, which your honour can use as appertains, without noting me for author. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—It is five or six days since I sent to desire audience of his majesty upon receipt of your honour's letter of the 2nd instant, but hitherto am put off under pretext of the King's removing to St. Johnstone—or rather to hear first what good news De La Fontaine brings, who is gone this day to the Court.

Your honour may give some guess of our good natures in Court by their sorrow for the murder of the poor Prince of Orange, which " 40 " has openly confessed to be such an end as he deserved, and is generally allowed and rejoiced at amongst the most part of our " pollitiques " there.

Having written thus far, this letter being unclosed till this morning by occasion of some expected advice from a friend or two, I have in the meantime understood that Mr. John Heweson, minister of Paisley, is

Elizabeth.
1584. apprehended and to pass an assize the 22nd instant at Perth for inveighing against the late Acts of Parliament and course taken against religion; for which he is like to be executed, and the whole regents and others of the College of Glasgow for the same opinion summoned *super inquirendis*. So that you may see we are afraid of nothing more than that the world should be ignorant what mark we shoot at.

3 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 89. Original of the same.

July 21. **215. Earl of Arran to Mr. William Davison.**

The King of Scots has declared his intention to see justice done on the borders. Incloses a copy of a letter sent to the Laird of Cesford to that effect. The like is directed to the East and West Marches. Remits to him "participate" the same. To Lord Hunsdon. *Signed:* "Your lordship's most loving brother and gossop to be humle burdeynit. Arran."

½ *p. Holograph, also address. No fly leaf, etc.*

July 23. **216. James VI. to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Madam, this letter from the King of Scotland to your majesty, that after having read and reread, not being able at the time to add anything else, he commanded me to have it put in the cipher that I have brought him on your part to serve between your majesties as follows. This mark will serve for the name of the King your son, ♡

Madam, the little leasure that I have hinders me from writing this time anything else to your majesty except that I thank you very humbly for the honour and infinite favour that your have done me in sending to visit me Fontenay brother of Nau, Secretary of your Commandments, being the first that I have had from you since your captivity. I do not know how to express the extreme consolation that I have received from it, having heard from him several particularities of your estate, and especially the incomprehensible maternal affection that it pleases you to continue in my respect, by which I am forced more than ever to render myself by all duties of humility and obedience to the accomplishment of your commandments. The choice that it has pleased your majesty to make of the said Fontenay, and the manner in which he has proceeded until now, has made me hope all contentment on his part.

Beyond generally he has as yet declared to me but few of the particularities of your intentions, especially for our perfect union and association, which without fail I shall pass after the return of my Lord Seton, as Fontenay tells me he has recovered from Monsieur de Glasgow the letter patent and the Articles of the same to serve him there in the charges and negociations that I have committed to him. However I will prepare as much as possible the minds of my common subjects to ratify and hold as agreeable the conclusion of our said Association. Without other recommendation on your part the sympathy and conformity of our affections with the sentiment that I have of the injuries and treasons committed in respect of you by my Lord Lindsay have already made me resolve to make exemplary punishment, as I hope of his fellows, without that that there may escape from me a single one of those that I could catch.

Elizabeth.
1584.

Immediately that Fontenay has made known to me the other particulars of his negociation, especially of the secret instructions that your majesty forbids me to ever reveal to any one, I will not fail to write to you briefly my advice on the whole, and to follow such directions that it will please you to appoint to me. As to your deliverance according to the deliberation that for so long I have taken over it, your majesty can assure yourself that shortly I will send with Fontenay some of mine to receive your holy benediction and to inform you of divers of my intentions, as also to require of the Queen of England your deliverance, for which I wish above all the happiness of this world. Above all I promise your majesty that you will receive from me all the contentment that a good mother can hope for from a very humble and obedient son, such as I will be to you all my life. In this mind, having very humbly kissed your hands, I pray God the Creator, madam, to give to your majesty very long and happy life in perfect health. Falkland.

1⅕ *pp. French. Cipher. Indorsed :* " 23 Juillet, 1584. The King of Scottes to his mother. Deciphered Philippes." *Signed on the back by* Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Sir H. Cobham, and Walsingham.

Decipher of the same.

July 23. **217. Hunsdon to Mr. William Davison.**

Received his two letters, and wishes that he might any way " stand you in steed." Touching his [Hunsdon's] negotiations, the Queen of England is at last contented to try the King, and if he be as willing for her amity as he seems, and some of his ministers under him, he does not doubt but his meeting with the Earl of Arran will take good effect, to the comfort of both the Princes and their realms. If he finds them halt or draw anything backward, her majesty shall easily know what to trust to, and to trust no further than she has cause.

Is not ignorant that there are both in England and Scotland those who seek to hinder that good course as much as they may ; but hopes their privy practices shall take small effect. Means to refer the meeting of the Earl of Arran and him to his [the Earl's] best leisure, as he is here to attend nothing else. Thinks Falden the fittest place for the meeting, for it is the usual place whensoever there is any meeting between the Scotch and them. Hopes after they have conferred a while he shall be able to understand some part of their intention. Berwick. *Signed :* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—Does not doubt but he has heard that Francis Throgmorton is executed. He died very stubbornly, neither asking the Queen of England's forgiveness, nor would willingly have anybody to pray for them.

There is a secret bruit in London that Charles Arundel should be taken at Kingston coming to London.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 24. **218. Robert Parsons to Sir Francis Englefield.**

C. P., vol. XIII.

Concerning the French and the Scots, truth it is that they are somewhat " appassionate " about our matter, for the great desire

Elizabeth.
1584. they had for the advancement of the King of Scots and the Duke of Guise, without much mention or respect, as it seems, of the Queen of Scots. But, in truth, when all is done, it is but a passion, excited not a little, as may appear, by Don Bernardino de Mendoza at his being among them, for his emulation, I doubt, against the Prince of Parma and the Spanish ambassador at Paris; who promising them much with the King, and now performing little, the French and Scots are now [*sic*], whereas they were first most ready to stand to all order that the state of the Catholic Commonwealth shall appoint, especially since the time that they have understood his Holiness will do nothing without the King of Spain. And of this the Spaniards and the English may assure themselves the more, for that the Duke of Guise is to depart this Court within these four days greatly malcontent, for that he has divers ways understood, and that by most evident and certain means, that the French King seeks his life by secret means, being in very deed wholly inclined and bent by the persuasion of the Queen Mother to assist and favour the King of Navarre to the succession of this crown. Against which thing not only the Cardinal of Bourbon and his friends, but also the house of Guise and the Catholics offer to resist. And I am of opinion that Sir Francis Englefeld shall hear very shortly the whole matter between them herein if the King of Spain fails not to assist with money, as he has promised most faithfully. But yet Sir Francis Englefeld must take no notice hereof in Spain in any case, as I am well assured that Father Parsons "will use onlye to him selfe the advises receaved from Sir Frances." The towns, cities, and provinces of France have made exceeding great offers of money, munition, and horsemen to the Duke of Guise, and Father Parsons thinks that he will accept the same. From England there is no other thing than I wrote before. All goes in one and the self same manner, whereof I have written yet more in my former letters. The like I may say of Scotland, where [there] is no new thing since my last. My Lord Seton is here half in a doubt whether to pass himself or to send his son, Alexander.

Here in France there is no news. His most Christian majesty lies about this city, now at one place, now at another. Mons. Espernon is yet with the King of Navarre. Mons. Joyeuse is here in favour as before. The divorce of his majesty with his Queen is not so much talked of as before, and I hope it will prove nothing. It is said that the Queen of England deals what she can to put Puntos between his majesty and the house of Guise. In Flanders the Prince shows more favour towards English Catholics than ever before. Mr. Tressam is a captain, and wishes there were more, *etc.*

I cannot guess the cause of the Queen of Scots' slow answering of Sir Francis Englefeld, but that his letters be not delivered. Father Parsons has received [letters] only once or twice at the farthest now in nine or ten months, and that most brief, in five or six lines, whereas Morgan and others receive divers times every month; whereof, for my own part, I am very well content, for I have the less business in answering again, and if I could be rid of the whole it would be great ease and contentment to me, so [long as] all parties were satisfied. The Queen of Scots has written "alate" very effectual letters to the Pope and the King of Spain in the behalf of my Lord Paget and Mr.

Elizabeth.
1584. Arundell for pensions for them. What effect they will work we know not yet. Paris. "Yow know by whome."

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "24 Jul. 1584. Letters decifred of Father Parsons to Sir Francis Englefeld. The Ladye Hungerford to the Duchesse of Feria."

[July.] **219. Lady Hungerford to the Duchess of Feria.**

In a former letter of hers has signified to her grace in whose guard and keeping the Queen of Scots is. If she had come to her brother, St. John's house, she should have had full notice what to do, but not upon a sudden. Is glad she [the Queen of Scots] did not go thither, considering the suspicion and hate the Queen of England has to them, which, as she supposes, was the only stay. Thinks it good policy, and necessary also, that her grace continue writing to Doctor Allen, Father Parsons, Liggons, the Bishop of Glasgow, and Morgan, if he were out of trouble, as well to draw them to a course of writing to her as for other respects; and in her letters to Doctor Allen, Father Parsons, and Liggons to write them that she was moved by some of the Queen of Scots' friends to write to her brother St. John for the well entreating of the Queen [of Scots], "which yow wold have done or any thing els for to have done her pleasure or service if she had come thither, although it had bene with the hazard of yowr life, yett were there some who have sowght to embarre and keepe from yowr grace those persons and theyr affayres as come hither for soch cawses." Wishes she had a cipher with Father Parsons, for he is a rare man and of much credit and account with the best four nations. If the Lord Paget or Mr. Charles Arundell write to her grace she thinks it were not amiss for her to entertain them, for they are men very much esteemed with all Catholics in and out of England. For Sir Francis Englefeld her grace has very well "consydred" that there is no dealing with him till the Duke be at liberty, and then to do as shall seem best to her wisdom.

¾ *p. Copy. With No.* 218.

July 26. **220. James VI. to Hunsdon.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 94.

The good endeavours and honest offices you have done me since first I employed you at the Queen your sovereign's hand have moved me now by these few lines of mine own hand to thank you heartily. And since you have come to Berwick to the effect that, remaining so near my realm, you may the more commodiously perform and put to happy end that inward and sincere amity which by your travails and good offices already begins, I will, therefore, in a homely manner desire you earnestly, since you have already taken the pains to travail, for the goodwill you bear me, so near the borders of my country, that you will take so much more pains as to visit me. In doing which you shall as well know by myself the great contentment I have of your good and honourable offices—which I cannot so well express by letters or message—as also you shall know my mind anent those matters that you have in commission to deal in more fully and plainly than you can do by message. Notwithstanding, in case your commission does not permit you so to do—as I should be sorry it should—I have commanded the Earl of Arran to be in readiness to

Elizabeth.
1584. wait upon your diet; who, according to my direction, is ready to meet with you upon your next advertisement. Falkland.

Postscript.—The good liking we have conceived of our young cousin, your son Robert, when we saw him, moves us now to desire you earnestly to bring him with you to us if he comes.

¾ *p. Copy. At the head:* "The Copie of the K. of Scottes lettre to the Lord Hunsdon."

July 27. **221. Mr. William Davison to Burghley.**

Every day time discovers more than "other" the effects of our former years' "comete" of association; which, obscured a while by the clouds, now begins to appear again anew. La Fontaine, of whom I advertised your "honour" in my last, has continued ever since in Court, well used and admitted to often speech and conference with the King, to whom he presented the sword I wrote of in the name of the Queen his mother. It is assured me that a special part of his errand is to communicate to his majesty Mr. Beale's last negotiation with her, and to instruct him in divers things concerning herself, and finally to ratify and conclude the association which has been so long on foot and has received so many interruptions by the accidents interhappening since it began. So that your lordship may see whereto all the former alterations here have aimed. Arran—who has confessed as much to me—pretends utterly to mislike it, and bears me in hand that the King shall never consent to it so long as he has credit. Which humour I nourish all I can by a hope of his standing and surety by her majesty.

The Cardinal of Guise, the Duke, and all the brethren, *etc.*, of that house have written earnestly to the King in his mother's favour by this messenger, who is fully instructed with their counsel and advice. He is fed with great promises from that side, and seems not a little to rely upon them.

The meeting between Arran and my Lord of Hunsdon is yet uncertain. It appears that his forwardness to deal with us grows "suspect" to others, who fear lest he wades too far and discover "le pot aux roses." They would fain have given him companions in this meeting, but that they know his nature is impotent of fellowship, and therefore under a pretext of pressing my Lord of Hunsdon's coming in, have found the mean to spend some time, expecting in the meanwhile some advice from the oracle. I take it that they desire to bring it to a more general treaty, as well of the ambassador of France and his [the King's] mother as ours, to see what may be purchased in her behalf, who wants but liberty "pour bien remuer mesnage." And surely if the association be ratified her majesty shall have need to keep a good eye upon her for fear of "afterclapps."

It is assured me that the whole course of the bishop of St. Andrews and his counsellors directs at the liberty of conscience. Howsoever it be they cannot sail amiss in matters of the Church, having such a pilot at the stern. This much I am sure of, that the French ambassador is a mean for a pension from the Queen in his behalf, as your lordship shall perceive by some letters intercepted and sent to Mr. Secretary by one whom I have used here; and no man in Court a more earnest persuador of this association as far as his credit

Elizabeth.
1584. will stretch. He has of late recovered the castle of St. Andrews by grant of the King, which in the opinion of some "astrologues" portends some such luck towards him, as Cardinal Beton found there, because that house is fatal to archbishops of that see.

Here is some bruit of the reconcilement between the Hamiltons and the other lords with us, which makes them fear a storm out of the south; and upon some jealousy conceived of this town and castle they have newly commanded very strait watch and ward, which is precisely kept.

Arran has been advertised of some enterprise against himself, but out of what corner, or from whence, the deviners cannot tell; "at qui sceptra duro sævus imperio regit, timet timentes, metus in auctorem redit."

Your lordship I dare say has heard how great a guider of Court I am become since I fell into favour with him and his lady, who would needs make me their gossip; since which time my company grows every day less contagious than others. I find by "Cuddie" Armorer that the chief scope of this secret traffic between him and my Lord of Hunsdon is a marriage between this King and his niece, which, as he confessed to me, was the mark they would be at. But the end will crown the work. I have not touched this matter to any other but your lordship, who I know will use it as appertains. If your honour has occasion to write to my Lord of Hunsdon I beseech you make it appear to him that I like well of the course with Arran, and report much in his advantage—because I see no way but to make fair weather for the time. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davison.

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

July 27. **222. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.,**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 95.

Sir, I have received your honour's letters of the 12th, with the license and letter to 100, which I delivered to Master John Graham, who immediately sent the same away, and assures me it will do good. I find by him that 100 is in utter mislike of this course, and wholly inclined to the redress thereof; but the chief difficulty appears to rest in the form. If Alexander Erskine be charged he is resolved to disobey it, and [is] assured that 100 will not abandon him; without whose advice he does nothing in this case. It is thought expedient that the Queen of England do underhand assure herself of those in the Castle of Edinburgh and further their reconcilement with Lords John and Claud Hamilton, leaving the rest here till the time, "which cannot suffer the wynd long in this corner." If Edinburgh Castle be charged and pursued it will draw on 100 the sooner, who being a party, you may make account of 90, 120, 80, the friends of Cassilis, Menteith, Gowrie, 175, 165, 160, 155, Forbes, Cesford, *etc.*, who with those abroad will find no resistance. Howsoever it be, it were no ill policy for the Queen of England to assure herself of him, whose power and fellowship is so great, which way soever he incline. Besides himself and 600, I see no present cause to bind any by benefits, the rest being drawn forward by necessity. I hear he is willing to compound the feud between 120 and 195, which would be some weakening to the adverse party. I have not yet delivered the sum prescribed

Elizabeth.
1584. to Alexander Erskine, because the time has not aptly served since our meeting. 100 will be shortly in Argyll.

I find that he affects a moderate course, and would be glad all things past were brought to a law of oblivion, which he takes to be the best way for the King's surety and peace of the state; but "hic labor hoc opus." Howsoever it be, I see no appearance that this course can last long, "invisa enim imperia nunquam retinentur diu," especially in this nation. In the meantime I make all the fair weather I can, and am become so great with my Lord of Arran and his lady that they would needs do me the honour to make me their gossip, as the suspicions and jealousies conceived of me at first are somewhat abated, and my company nothing so contagious as it was. I find his forwardness to gain her majesty grows "suspect" to the rest; who, fearing lest he should wade too far in his sole dealing with my Lord of Hunsdon, and knowing how impatient his nature is of fellowship, have found the means to put off the meeting for a while under a pretence of pressing my Lord of Hunsdon's coming in; which they know he will not do without new direction—a matter that will spend some time, and give them leisure to advise with the oracle how to guide and behave themselves. So that I am doubtful what this meeting will "prove to."

The King in particular seems very desirous of the coming forward of my Lord of Hunsdon—and pretends that he shall return fully satisfied. Wherein they expect his answer. Arran likewise has been earnestly in hand with me to the same end, as one who thinks his presence here might do much more good than their meeting on the Borders, whither he seems to have no great will to go, being forewarned of some mischief intended against himself by some enemies at home, yet has given order to a number of his friends to be in readiness to wait on him upon the first advertisement. Notwithstanding all this fair weather it is suspected that her majesty has reaped her best crop of the present Court; yet to entertain their offers and to meet them in the like cannot, for aught I see, prejudge the cause a whit, seeing it shall gain some time, which is a sovereign word in many things.

Your honour may judge somewhat of the traffic here by the letters which you shall receive from William Fowler, which I beseech you to use so that neither the cause nor the person receive lack by it. For by the same way we may happen, with time, to discover "le pot aux roses." You may do well to comfort him by your letters, and let him know that I have not been slack to cherish and entertain him in your honour's good favour.

Your honour may see that the bishop of St. Andrews is not fallen into this course suddenly or without advice of the oracle, whose pension he suits. Whereby all men may perceive what spirit it is that guides him. But this comfort there is in his respect, that "ubi non est pudor nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides, instabile regnum est." There is a reply cast abroad to his answer against Mr. Lawson and his fellow minister that troubles his patience, a copy whereof your honour shall receive herewithal, yet he ceases not to go on with the work he has in hand.

The mystery I suspected in De La Fontaine's journey hither appears to have some ground. The sword he presented to the King is from

Elizabeth.
1854. his mother, whose servant he pretends to be, and directed specially from her, though accompanied with letters from the Cardinal and Duke of Guise, and the rest of the brethren and others of that house. I credibly learn that a chief part of his business is to communicate to the King the substance of Mr. Beale's last negotiation with her, and to instruct him what course he shall hold with her majesty my sovereign in her behalf, and to ratify and go through with the former year's association, which 65 confesses to be true, and pretends to oppose himself against it. Wherein I have not spared to prick him forward with many fair promises and hope of his own standing and surety by the Queen of England. Which I beseech your honour to cherish by some letters as well to my Lord of Hunsdon as myself, making it appear that I do what I can to persuade her majesty of his good meaning and inclination; which haply may serve to good purpose if the matter be well handled till time provides some other remedy. In all his private discourse and conference with me he labours to persuade me of his devotion to her majesty, whom he pretends a desire to serve before all the Princes in the world after the King his sovereign. Assuring me that if it please her majesty to enter into a friendly dealing with the King he will undertake she may yet dispose of him at her own will and discretion, and that howsoever some busy themselves to disturb her estate, there shall be nothing done or intended either by the King's mother or any other tending to her prejudice that she shall not be timely forewarned of. Wherein I think he may be made a good instrument for the time, if things be discreetly handled, and her majesty no whit the further from her purpose, having other strings to her bow in case this does not last—which I suspect much. And because my Lord Hunsdon and he are already entered into a particular dealing together, it were not amiss he had some matter to entertain him with, taking care always that things be so handled that the opinion conceived of my inclination to this course be not prejudiced.

If this association goes forward her majesty had needs have a good eye to her guest at home, whose friends here live in hope of her liberty.

65, in discoursing of many things to and fro touching the friendship betwixt her majesty and his sovereign, confessed the Queen my mistress was ill handled, and, as he said, would hear more ere a month passed, as if he knew some secret which he would not particularise, albeit I pressed him much. So that it appears our enemies are not sleeping.

The whole course here in matters of religion appears to aim at a liberty of conscience, the very countenance whereof begun here will in some men's discourse suffice to awaken some that lie yet sleeping in other places. At least it is a matter feared and suspected by the wisest and best sort of men.

Mr. Hewson the minister's intended process and arraigment at Perth is deferred for a while. It seems they be grown somewhat calmer in his respect lest his departure should approve the departure of the rest, and confirm the suspicions and bruits of the King's defection; which in truth I yet think him wronged in, though I look for little better if this course holds on betwixt him and his mother. *Signed:* W. Davison.

Elizabeth.
1584. Postscript.—Since the finishing of this letter I have delivered the 200*l.* according to my direction, with such conditions as you shall understand by my next. Upon a jealousy conceived of some intended revolt, this town is commanded to keep strait watch and ward; but yet I understand no other apparent cause than that "conscientia mille terrores."

3 *pp. Holograph. No address, etc. Partly in cipher.*

July 28. **223.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

Lest the Queen's majesty might think some negligence in me that I have not hitherto met with the Earl of Arran, I pray you let her understand the cause; which is, that before Armeror's return hither to me out of Scotland, I know not by what chance, I took an extreme cold, which took me with so extreme a cough that myself and everyone who saw me thought it would have put me into a fever. And if I should have appointed with the Earl of Arran to have gone to the Borders and not have been able to have met him, he would have thought very much of it, and I might have been thought very inconsiderate, and might, perhaps, have hindered some part of the service. But this day finding myself past fear of any fever, and my cold very well gone, I have despatched away "Cuttie" Armerour to let the Earl of Arran understand that I will be ready to meet him whensoever it shall please the King his sovereign to send him. So that I think we shall meet either the end of this week or the beginning of the next; for I perceive his willingness to bring these matters to a good pass between the Queen's majesty and the King continues in him with great earnestness. Having this morning sealed up my letter to the Earl of Arran, ready to send away my man, I received a letter from the Earl [of Arran] from Edinburgh, and therein a letter from the King to myself, a copy whereof I send you herewith. And forasmuch as I find therein, as you may see, that the King is very desirous to speak with myself, and find also by the Earl of Arran's letters as also from Mr. Davison that my going thither to the King will further this service greatly, I am the willinger to do it if it shall seem so good to her majesty—although you know it will be no small charge to me. Praying you, therefore, to know her majesty's pleasure therein, for I perceive the King looks for answer thereof with as much speed as may be; for it seems there are some things that the King would impart to myself which otherwise he would be loth to commit either to writing or message. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

First inclosure with the same.

(Arran to Hunsdon.)

Is most sorry his lordship has taken so great travail and pains when he would most gladly have travailed in so worthy affairs—so godly and so necessary to both their majesties' assured weals and happy contentment. Has also communicated his letter to his majesty, who most gladly accepted the same. Will be ready to go to him to show his former meaning in effect. If any promise or dealing has not been heretofore "utterid" as duly as appertained, he is sure

Elizabeth.
1584. the fault has not been in his sovereign nor in the Queen of England, whom he reverences next him, but in the pernicious instruments who had these matters in negotiation. As to his part he will give his lordship account of all honest meaning, when God grants time, in their particular conference, when he will find him no less willing in all good offices concerning their amity than this bearer has said, whom his sovereign trusts.

Languishes till the time he sees him, whom unfeignedly he loves, credits and reverences. The King of Scots hopes to see him in person.

Minds to visit his majesty and hasten back, abiding his lordship's advertisement and pleasure for their meeting. Edinburgh, 20th July, 1584.

Postscript.—This lamentable news of the good Prince of Orange is come, but the right hand of our God is not shortened.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

(Arran to Cuthbert Armorer.)

Has received from the Netherlands the same lamentable fact conspired against the good Prince of Orange. Desires him to beseech his master to attend well to his sovereign. The devil and his organs are busy, but their God in the end must prevail.

Second inclosure.

(James VI. to Hunsdon.)

Thanks him heartily for his good endeavours and honest offices done for him, and desires him earnestly to visit him, when he shall know his mind anent these matters that he has commission to deal in more fully than he can by message. In case his commission does not permit him to do so, he has commanded the Earl of Arran to be in readiness to wait on him, who is ready to meet with him on his next advertisement. Falkland, 26th July, 1584.

Postscript.—The good liking he conceived of his son Robert when he saw him moves him to desire him earnestly to bring him with him to him if he comes.

¾ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

July 28. **224. Hunsdon to Mr. William Davison.**

The cause of his not sending to the Earl of Arran for their meeting before now is because of an extreme cold he has taken. But now, having overcome his cold, he has written to him to appoint his own time. Thinks Falden the fittest pace for their meeting. Has referred it to the earl to appoint the place, on condition that it be within three or four miles of this town, as also the number to go with them.

Received a letter from Mr. Secretary wherein he writes that Sir Philip Sydney was appointed to go to France to condole for the death of Monsieur, whereof the King was advertised by their ambassador there. And Sir Philip being at Gravesend, and some of his "carriages" gone over before him, there came letters from their ambassador that the King was going to Lyons, not being accompanied with such noblemen as were fit to receive an ambassador with; and besides he has given over mourning for his brother. And thereupon Mr. Sydney has returned. He also writes that they of the Low Country, on the death of the Prince of Orange, have taken more courage, and if they may have any help they will open their purses wider and

Elizabeth.
1584. willinglier than ever they did. To which end they have sent to the Queen of England for aid, and deputies are daily looked for from the General Estates. God send her majesty to hearken better to them than hitherto she has done, or else she will be "comber" with a troublesome neighbour in the King of Spain. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 29. **225. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Has got his "book" passed under her majesty's hand, but the years are yet in question; wherein he labours what he can to obtain the most for his benefit. Great protestations are made of the King's and Arran's devotion to the amity. Arran has yielded to meet Lord Hunsdon at any place he shall appoint, by which there is good hope that there may follow a perfect assurance of friendship with that crown. But for his part, having had good experience of the Scottish humors, and knowing the present state of things there, he will believe as he shall see fall out by effects.

The French ambassador in a late speech with her majesty let her understand how the King his master thought it necessary that somewhat should be done for the relief of the Low Countries, and that the same might best be performed by a common concurrence between France, England, and Scotland in a perfect sound league. Her majesty in her answer did not mislike that there should be help given by means of France and this realm, but she seemed to think it not honourable that Scotland should be associated with them, accounting him to be too mean a Prince to concur with the other two; and that it would breed in him over-pining to be accepted as an equal confederate with France and England; uttering besides some other speeches which, if they should come to the King's ear, cannot but greatly discontent him, especially now while there is new friendship framing. Leaves it to his judgment whether it be likely that they shall be repeated, being delivered to such a one as the French ambassador. Gives him knowledge thereof to the end he may be prepared to answer if he happens to hear of them. Yet it were hard to direct what excuse he should make, otherwise than that he assures himself that the French ambassador informs otherwise than stands with the truth, and that her majesty has not used to speak ill of Princes, much less that she would do it now while the amity is being renewed. The Court at Nonsuch. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 29. **226. WALSINGHAM TO HUNSDON.**

The Queen of England was very glad to understand by his letters, and the copy of the Earl of Arran's, the great protestations delivered by him of the King's love and devotion to her, and the earl's offers of his particular endeavour to do good offices for the continuance thereof. And although her majesty conceives by these good shows that there may be wrought a perfect amity with that crown, yet things are come to her knowledge which may move suspicion of hollow dealing in this matter.

First, the French ambassador informed her majesty that certain propositions being made by Lord Seton to the King of France touching

Elizabeth. 1584. the affairs of Scotland, the King refused to give assent to them only of purpose not to offend her. Which gives cause to think that those propositions contained offers of some indirect dealing against her, otherwise the King needed not to reject them for avoiding offence to her.

Also, by letters from the Lord Deputy of Ireland, it is advertised that there be certain Scots landed there, and more looked for shortly. It is given out there that the same is done underhand with the King's privity; which seems the more credible, because it is known that there is come of late into Scotland one William Nugent, brother to Baron of Delvin [Sir Christopher Nugent] and one M'Geoghegan, both undutiful subjects, who have been well received there, and had secret conference either with the King or with some confident person about him.

Besides, her majesty has certain advertisement that there are certain Jesuits, as well English as Scottish, presently repaired into that realm, not without the King's privity, and that divers others are to repair thither shortly. Who, being—as it is well known—persons who seek nothing but the subversion of the religion professed in both realms, and that such of them of this nation as have come hither from foreign parts have been found to be workers of sedition and dislike of the Queen of England's government, it cannot but minister cause of jealousy to see them harboured so near her.

These things her majesty thought good should be imparted to his lordship to be used as he shall see cause.

Touching the King's request for speech with him by mouth, her majesty does not mislike that it should be, but thinks the time will be more convenient for it after the meeting with Arran, and that she shall be advertised from him what has passed between them, and then shall he receive further direction in that behalf.

2¼ *pp. Draft.* Corrections and additions (*in Walsingham's hand*). *Endorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 98. Copy of the same.

July 31. **227. Leicester to Mr. William Davison.**

The reason why I have written to you so seldom lately grew through it having pleased God to visit and take unto His mercy my young son, who was one of the greatest comforts I had in this transitory world. Whereupon I went full of grief from the Court, meaning to absent myself for a time, to wear out these worldly crosses. Yet finding opportunity in the country, I would not forget my friends, albeit it be but with recommendations. I desire to hear from you now and then as occasion and opportunity serve. You may inclose your letters in the "baquet" to Mr. Secretary, who will from time to time convey them to me. My meaning is, if it pleases God, to be at the Court about the latter end of next week, where I shall be ready to requite your courtesy any way I may. I pray you cause these [letters] herein inclosed to be safely delivered, according to their direction, to one Roger Aston, the King's servitor. North Mimms. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

Postscript.—If Roger Ashton sends any letters by you, I pray you let them be included in your packet to me.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. July 31.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 99.

228. Mr. John Colvile to [Walsingham].

I know your honour is fully informed of the state of Scottish matters by Mr. Burnet, the ambassador's servant, so that I need not write anything thereof. I have travailed for a secret meeting betwixt the two parties here, whereunto they are both well inclined. But fearing that they cannot meet so secretly but that the same shall be revealed to their enemies in Scotland, they have abstained therefrom for the present. And the reason is because there are sundry quarrels rising daily among their said enemies in Court, "quhilk thai compone and knittis wp amang yair self yat thai may be ye better preparit to resist theis nobill men quho thai think to be already reconciliat togidder." Therefore it is thought best here that the matter should rest for a while, and that it should be given out that no appointment can be made among them, whereby they hope the courtiers shall be more encouraged to prosecute their particulars one against another. In the meantime they content themselves with the favourable speeches that I have carried betwixt them, tending to this effect;—that they perceiving the cause of religion, their King, and the Commonweal in danger, and the amity betwixt the two realms like to decrease, therefore they are contented mutually to remit all particular offences in blood or gear passed among them, and trustfully to join together in such form as pleases her majesty to appoint for remedying of the things aforesaid. Please your honour let me know what is Mr. Davison's opinion of our Scottish affairs, and what he thinks likely to ensue.

I hear from France that one Bellenden [Balladyne], a Scotsman, but a citizen of Paris, has lately been in Scotland and has spoken with his majesty, and returning with great diligence again to Paris, after conference with [the Archbishop of] Glasgow and our Queen's "comouser" there, he has ridden post to Rome. How far the Scottish estate has promised to the King's mother, to France and Spain, and what presumptions there are they have familiar dealing with the Pope daily, more and more appears; and now they are not ashamed to offer largely to this estate. How all this can stand, and none of the parties be deceived, I cannot but marvel. It is certain there is some notable practice in working against religion, whereunto, without all doubt, French, Spanish, Roman, and Scottish estates are made privy. Otherwise what "suld neid so gret busines of our Scottis ambassadoures to foren partis." I pray the eternal God preserve her majesty, for if her highness continue in good estate there can no great calamity fall upon the Christian religion. May it please your honour to communicate this to my Lord of Leicester. Newcastle. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

Postscript.—"The nobill men heir hes thair humill dewite recommendit to your honour."

1½ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Aug. 2.

229. Walsingham to Mr. William Davison.

They [the Privy Council] have received advertisements of late from sundry parts that the Queen of Scots' party in Scotland are now in very great hope to recover the King's favour for Lords John and Claud Hamilton; and that it is meant that they shall not return to Scotland, but remove from hence to France. Whereof he has

Elizabeth.
1584. thought good to give him notice, that he may have a more watchful eye over them. Would be loth over rashly to enter into any doubtful conceit against them, yet the secret treaty the Lord John had with the French ambassador last year without either her majesty's or any of her Council's privity gives some cause of mistrust. If he shall find any reason to lead him to put on a doubtful opinion of them, he will do well to advertise thereof betimes, for that such here as do not stand the best affected to his [Davison's] cause could be glad upon any advantage to breed a jealous conceit of the rest of the well affected nobleman, which would yield that hindrance that all good men would be sorry for. Nonsuch. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Draft of the same in Walsingham's hand.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 101. Copy of the same.

Aug. 2. **230.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

The Queen of England finding by his late letters the great good affection the Earl of Arran professes to bear towards her, has willed him to direct him to signify to the earl in her name, that upon the singular good report he [Davison] has made of his earnest affection towards her, and of his desire to deserve her favour, confirmed also by Lord Hunsdon's letters and assurance, she has now not only removed the doubtful opinion that she before carried of him, but also means henceforth to put on a more favourable conceit of his sound and honourable disposition towards her; which, as she does not doubt that he will accompany with such good effects as may be answerable to his own protestations and her due expectation, so she prays him to assure himself for his part of so princely and thankful a requital thereof—for the benefit of the King his master's affairs, for whose service's sake he professes to be so well affected, and soundly devoted to her above all other Princes—that he shall have just cause to think his devotion very well bestowed.

Her majesty is very desirous to know what he has yet done in the matter of the Borders, wherein he received direction about three weeks ago, and has since returned answer that he could not provide therein, for that the King was then at [St. Andrews].

They have news out of the Low Countries that the enemies have forsaken Lille [Lilloo], as he may perceive by the inclosed. God still continues His merciful providence over His children by stretching forth His mighty hand miraculously to protect them when they are in greatest distress and most destitute of human help and support. Nonsuch. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Draft of the same.

Aug. 2. **231.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Her majesty greatly allows of his course in well using those who now bear sway in Court there. And to the end that the Earl of Arran may the better "affect" him he has let Lord Hunsdon understand what good report he has made of the said earl—as he may perceive by the inclosed copy—and also—with her majesty's good allowance—has written a "bye letter" to be showed to him, to encourage him

Elizabeth.
1584. to proceed in the course he is entered into in doing good offices between the two crowns.

The French ambassador threatens him [Arran] greatly, for that he doubts that by his means there may be some sound amity made between the King of Scots and the Queen of England without either his master's or the Queen of Scots' interposition. It will behove Arran to have a jealous eye over his companions now in Court, and for his safety to strengthen himself with their mistress's [the Queen of England's] party. Would he might be made an instrument to recover the King's favour towards the poor banished noblemen. Besides his own safety he should do his majesty good service as well for the removing of the difference between him and his subjects, so that he should thereby gain a sound opinion in her majesty's conceit that might profit him for the present and the future. But where passion and desire for revenge reigns it is hard to give advice that will profit.

The money disbursed according to direction is well allowed of. It is good where the foundation is hollow to deal warily. Suppose all be sound that is by them [the English] assured, yet his footing is but slippery, being subject to a general envy and misliking, which in all places and states is dangerous, but in no place more dangerous than in Scotland. Such as know the party who deals between him and the Earl of Argyll hold a hard opinion of him, and therefore he shall do well to deal warily with him. If the party depends on Argyll he is worth the having. Learns by the English ambassador in France that they are in great hope of recovering Lords John and Claud Hamilton. Has given Mr. John Colvile warning to the end there may be an eye had to him.

Learns certainly, by espial from "315," that the French King is not greatly affected to the King of Scots, and so he supposes the French ambassador (190) advertised his master. They build altogether on "320" and the well affected within this realm.

He who delivered to him the French King's servant's letters here is worthy the cherishing, and may stand him in great stead. But such kind of man is so ill considered of that he is loth to use their service. He may use some liberality to him, which will be allowed of. The man is cunning, and therefore he doubts not but that he will use him thereafter. The best course to be held with such kind of men is rather to receive from them than to deliver, unless it be such matters as a man would have known.

How coldly the Queen of England is affected to Lord Hunsdon (295) he may gather by the answer touching his repair to Scotland. Yet, for his own opinion, he wishes a thorough trial. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 2. **232.** WALSINGHAM TO HUNSDON.

Immediately upon receipt of his letters, being then at Barn Elms, he repaired to the Court and acquainted her majesty with his own letter and the copy of the King's. Also showed her Mr. Davison's letters, who wrote very effectually that his lordship's speedy repair to Scotland could not but be accompanied with very good effect. Notwithstanding, her majesty, continuing her former resolution, does not think it convenient that he should repair thither

Elizabeth.
1584. until such time as he [Hunsdon] has met the Earl of Arran, and that she shall understand from him [Hunsdon] the grounds that the King and the earl have given for the great devotion and good will the King professes to bear towards her; saying that she would be loth that his repair thither should be accompanied with as cold effects as others who have been employed before him there.

The Lord Treasurer and he, on receipt of his first letters, by which it then appeared that the King was very desirous to see his lordship, moved the Queen to license him to repair to him at any time when he should have seen it might have been for the furtherance of her service, but by no means could she be drawn to assent thereto.

Mr. Davison has made very good report of the Earl of Arran's affection towards her majesty. Her pleasure is that he shall let the said earl understand how thankfully she accepts of his professed good will and devotion towards her, and that he may assure himself that if she shall find due performance of that which the King of Scots and he have promised, they shall not fail to receive from her a most thankful requital.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 2. **233.** LEICESTER TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Cousen Davison," I have this 2nd of August received your letter of the 27th of July. It found me from the Court, whence I have been absent these fifteen days to comfort my sorrowful wife for the loss of my only little son, whom God has lately taken from us.

I thank you for your advertisements, especially when you hear me misreported [I pray] that you will give me knowledge of it. And touching this, that I should let fall hard speeches of that King, I will not strive to answer such false matters, for it either needs not or "bowteth" not when such reports be never brought to trial. When they shall, I pray God I may be made an example to all ill speakers of Princes. My bringing up has been too long about Princes to misuse anything toward them. God grant the informers as honest and reverend minds to them as I have and carry. I have had better means both by that King's own instruments here and the Queen my sovereign's there to open my mind plainly in any matter that might tend to their service, either by liking or misliking, and not to let fall any unfriendly speeches. And to be short in this, I would chiefly think myself most happy if it would please the King's majesty there to make trial of this honest report. If not, yet not to condemn a poor nobleman who has enemies, as others have, upon these lewd practices, or to think so basely of me, who, though I can now challenge nothing, yet I wish he had had no "worse willinger" born at home, than I have been from his cradle hitherto, and yet none otherwise than was pleasing and most agreeable with the Queen my sovereign's disposition. And I might very well call you for testimony of my good meaning, as also of many good and honest offices done towards him. But let them pass. I pray you believe, and faithfully assure the person who dealt so honourably with you as to tell it you, that if I be honest, honourable or a Christian, I never passed any ill words of that King to any man.

For the other matter, that the bishop of St. Andrews should say that he had this or that of me, I do not understand well what. But let it be what he would have it. Believe it, as this I will tell you

Elizabeth.
1584. may bring it credit. For if ever that bishop either privately or openly had any one word "togethers" all the long while he was in England, or that ever he did so much as send to visit me by any man, let all that he has said, and the former matter also, be taken for truth, and [I] will confess them true. I assure you, cousin, I never saw him but the first day he had access to her majesty, and four or six of the lords of the Council were present also; and he came and took me by the hand, but I assure myself he knew me not; for he said not one word at all to me. And from that hour till this hour I never saw him. Therefore, judge you how true a man this is. This prelate is like some of ours here, "that can say well in pulpytt, and doe unhappely when they have doun." God amend them all. And I pray you whatsoever he or others shall thus report, let my condition be better known to them by you, and none other than you shall think to be true. But [in] these dangerous days who can escape lewd and lying tongues. For my part I trust the Lord will give me His grace to live in His fear, and to behave myself faithfully to my sovereign, and honestly to the world. And so, shall I pass over these false calumniations. Grey's, Sir Fra. Knollys' house. *Signed:* R. Leycester.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 3. **234.** HUNSDON TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Received letters yesternight from the Court, wherein he received a packet from Mr. Secretary to him, which he sends him herewith, with a "bye letter" also to him. Sent his servant Cuthbert Armorour to Scotland on Tuesday last; of whose return he hears nothing. Which he marvels at, because the Earl of Arran at his first coming was very desirous to have him appoint a time for their meeting, and he now sees him so slack therein. Does not doubt but Mr. Secretary writes some things to him [Davison] in his letter, as he has done to him, of some causes of suspicion that things are not meant so plainly as they are professed. And therefore, if he has written any such matter, he requests him to seek to understand the bottom of it, that they may the better take heed of their practices, if there be any. Surely, for his part, he does not like of the Earl of Arran's greatness with Secretary Maitland and Robert Melville, who, he knows, run a far contrary course to that which Arran professes, "for they be wholie Scotish Quenes, boddie and soule." And therefore the writer and he have the more need to look circumspectly into their doings. Has received some intelligence this day that one named Balladine, a Scottish man, but a citizen of Paris and a procurator there in parliament, was sent to Scotland about six weeks since. Who spoke with the King, and, having a prosperous wind, returned speedily again to Paris; and, after he had conferred with the bishop of Glasgow and the rest of the Queen of Scotland's Council there, he took post to Rome. Requests him to seek to know if any such man came out of France to Scotland about that time. Understands that Lord Russell is dead, and that the Earl of Leicester's son is also dead. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—Incloses also a discourse of Throgmorton's late treasons, and a note of such speeches as he used at his death.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. July 1 and Aug. 4.

235. Examinations of George Drummond.

"The summe of the examinacionis of George Drummound of Blair, in presence of the Lordes of secrete counsell, at Edinburgh the last day of July, and at Falkland the fourt day of August, 1584."

"George Drummound of Blair inquirit and examinate, declaris that he being in waird in the Castell of Edinburgh, and finding Mr. Robert Douglas, Provost of Linclouden, in the same waird, thay fell oftymes in conference, upoun the occasioun of thair keiping in waird, talking how thay mycht best find out the way of there awin libertie, and to alter the present estate, and to cutt away the erll of Arrane, as he quhom thay thocht the author of thair trouble. And hering of sum misliking of the erll of Craufurd, thocht meitt to tempt him to tak part in yer devisit interpris, and to assist the noblemen and others now exilit in England. The deponar desirit to knaw of the Provest of Linclouden quha wald deall with the Erll of Craufurde, that he suld be a man of credite and upoun quhat heades. The Provest willed the said George to shaw my lord that the Master of Glammis suld put ane blank in my Lord Lindsais hand submittand all materis debatable betuix the Erll of Craufurd and the said maister to sic as suld be nominat or ony uther gude securitie he pleased. Quhilk the said George having reportit to the Erll of Craufurd, fand him to mislike of the Erll of Arrane, and of the present state of the governament of the Court, and reportit the effect of thair conference agane to the Provest of Linclouden, declaring that the Erll of Craufurd wes in effect won to thair party. At quhilk tyme the provest shew ane advertizement to this deponar cum out of England, declaring how the Hamiltonis, Douglasses and utheris now banissed in England wer aggreed, and that thay wer content that the said blank suld be subscrived and deliverit in the Lord Lyndesais handes. Further the said George declaris that the cutting of of the erll of Arrane suld have bene other as he past to the Bordouris or in his returning thairfra. Bot rathest in his returning. It wes spokin betuix thame that the King wald seke the wrak of sic as mellit in that mater. Zit wes it anserit and concludit better to wrak at liberty nor quhair thay wer. Thay thocht the cutting of of the erll of Arrane wes anewch to remeid all the mater. And sevin or aucht score of speris lichtand attanys in Edinburgh wes anewch to tak the toun. And he being dispatchit, thay tuke litle thocht of the lais. This deponer mislikit als far of the erll of Arrane as ony man did, seing he culd not get his favour. Zit my lord of Craufurde wald have knawin further gif he had biddin and delt with the men that suld have had the pouer. This deponar understande be conference with the Provost of Linclouden that he had dealing with England lang before the lettre quhilk he shew to this deponar. And at his last meting with the said Provest in the castell, declarit that he wes bown to write to England. The said lettre and advertizement come fra the erll of Angus."

"Extract be me Alexander Hay, Clerk of our soverane Lordis Register." *Signed:* Alexander Hay.

1¾ *pp.* *In Alexander Hay's hand.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Aug. 4.

236. [Mr. William Davison] to Walsingham.

Wrote to him a few days since by his man, by whom he signified somewhat of the new fears and jealousies risen here; he knows not upon what ground, other than that George Drummond of the Blair, a great guider of the Earl of Atholl, being lately taken out of his ward in this castle, where he was a prisoner, to be removed to Blackness or some other place, and suffered to remain a while in this town under caution for the despatch of some business he had in the Session, resorted privately to the Earl of Crawford. Who, entering into familiar discourse with him, inveighed against the present government in the person of Arran, condemning him of insolency, cruelty, bribery, extortion, and other vices intolerable. Which being delivered in a great appearance of hatred, and mislike of the person and his qualities, gave some boldness to Drummond to open himself the more liberally, soothing all that the earl had spoken, and marvelling that he and the rest of the nobility could suffer such abuses so long unreformed, to the peril and dishonour of the King, hurt of his estate, and discomfort of all honest men; assuring him that if his mislike were such as he pretended, and that he would be content to hold hand to the redress of things, he could not want a fellowship in Scotland to help to bring things to another point, with other free and general speech to that effect. Crawford making his profit of this as a good mean to further an action or two then depending before the Session—wherein Arran and his lady, "who measure justice by their own ell," had promised him their help—discovered the particularities of Drummond's speech to Arran. Who immediately caused the party to be apprehended [and] put the town in arms, commanding strait watch and ward night and day, and himself going continually armed, as if he had discovered some great matter. But the party being examined very straitly, as well of the speech as of the treason and conspiracy, stiffly denied both the one and the other, offering to justify himself by the sword against the earl his accuser. But at length, being charged with some particularity he had before uttered to the earl touching the Provost of Lincluden, who was prisoner within the same place, he confessed somewhat in his prejudice. Wherefore, he being sent for the next day and straitly examined, denies utterly to be acquainted with any such conspiracy as they would threaten against him, offering to abide his trial. Whereupon Arran going over to the Court has taken them both with him, thinking to "boult out" some great matter by their confronting. At least he hopes this shall be a good mean to induce the King to remove the Captain of the castle [of Edinburgh], whom by this stratagem they seek to draw into the King's hatred and suspicion, that he might the rather recover that strength into his own hand which he has so long thirsted for, and without which he esteems himself and their course utterly unassured. So that the Captain looks continually when he shall be charged.

The greatest matter he hears against the Provost of Lincluden is that he should offer to be a mean in compounding the feud between Crawford and the Master of Glamis. At least such language was "held" to the earl by Drummond, who is said to have taken re-

Elizabeth.
1584. mission for his fault in this and the rest, being induced thereto by fair promises, to make the cause of the rest appear more suspected. Notwithstanding he has been very particularly examined touching the captain and the constables, yet he has not, nor is he able, for aught he can hear, to touch them in anything that may prejudge them. Yet it seems they have a purpose to summon and call the constable before them—to strip the Master of him and others he most trusts and is most advised by, thinking afterwards to have the better of himself—who, so far as he can learn, is resolved to keep him where he is, do what they list.

The " boots," a kind of torture used here, were sent over on Friday to the Court for the examination of one Rassyth * [*written* " Fassyth " *and* " Fausith "], a man of the Earl of Mar's who had been in the castle of Stirling and escaped over the wall, and is suspected to have been since with his lord in England, and a trafficker between him and others ; and being taken in Menteith was brought to the Court.

This town in the meantime continues strait watch and ward, and is appointed to fortify the battlements of the church for the better commanding of the high street. But there is other cause to entertain the King in a jealousy of the Castle and the lords abroad—who, as they give out, should have come in suddenly and seised this town. Understands nothing [of this].

Arran and his lady, before their going to Court, gave it out that they would bring over the King to this town forthwith, as well to hasten the removing of the Captain—who they think will yield to anything if the King be present—as to proceed in the forfeiture of the rest in this next Session of Parliament, which is now appointed to hold on the 20th instant.

The meeting between Lord Hunsdon and Arran goes slowly forward, the day being not yet certainly assigned, though warning be given to the officers of the Borders and others to be ready against the 11th instant to attend on him. It seems he has some diffidence of himself, and therefore means to go the stronger. Besides that he understands of some charge Lord Hunsdon should have to deal for the lords in England, especially the Earl of Mar, which makes him the slower—a thing entertained and nourished from Court, where they make no great haste to set the meeting forward, howsoever they disguise the matter. But herein his honour shall receive more certainty from Lord Hunsdon, whose servant Armorer is presently at the Court.

In the west Angus, M'Connell, M'Clane of Duart, great men in the Isles, Mackcawle of Lorne, and John Stewart of the Open have newly begun some alteration. It is thought to be a practice of some there to keep the Earl of Argyll occupied at home whilst they go on with their purposes here, as the man whose power and fellowship they fear most. He is yet in Angus, but [is] to remove shortly to Argyll, being earnestly written for by the barons of the country upon this occasion.

The Earl Marishal is at the Court to get redress of a wrong offered him by Huntly in the taking of a gentleman, his servant and follower, whom Huntly was charged under pain of horning to deliver, by letters procured from the King at the Earl Marishal's suit ; which the next

* Rassyth in the British Museum copy.

Elizabeth.
1584. day were, by means made with Huntly, countermanded. Hears he has very little countenance since his coming thither, where he minds not to stay long. It he does not obtain redress for his wrong, and exemption for himself and his from the lieutenancy of Huntly, which he and others can by no means digest, it is like to breed some betwixt them, which will trouble the most part of the north.

Hears that there be letters of discharge given to all the students of Glasgow and Aberdeen to retire to their friends, and the masters and regents thereof put in ward, two in St. Andrews Castle, two in Glasgow, and one in Stirling, for refusing to allow the alteration begun in matters of the Church, and submitting themselves to the power of the bishops, who confound and turn all things here upside down.

[The bishop of] St. Andrews makes great boast of his credit in England and of the disgrace he has procured to the ministers who are fled, making the King believe their reception is such with them [the English] that they will be glad to be at home ere it be many weeks, with any condition that may be offered them. "But his lordship is so familiarlie acquaynted with speaking more then truthe, that for the most parte men are redier to heare him then believe him." He is now a great courtier and a favourer of the association, which, for the pension's sake he lives in hope of, he would fain help forward.

De La Fontaine keeps still in Court, but what is resolved in his business he cannot yet discover, the secret passing through very few hands. It is assured him that Arran has his part in that trafficking, howsoever he disguises the matter with them [the English]; and that the Frenchman feeds him and the rest with hope of great things, if the King may by their means be kept in good humour and conform himself to the advice of his mother and other his best friends—as he terms them—for his own greatness. Wherein he appears already but too much inclined to satisfy them.

Hears it still credibly confirmed that Ballandyne brought home money which was disposed amongst those in Court, and that another sum was either sent home before by the Master of Gray or is now brought by De La Fontaine to relieve the King's necessity. Howsoever it be, the appearance is great that they have had a supply.

Finds them here to grow jealous of his stay, which will increase if this Castle be charged and refuse to obey it. Requests order for his return before his credit be prejudged, which may make him the unfitter for service in this place hereafter; besides that in staying he shall but increase her majesty's charges and profit her services little or nothing, Lord Hunsdon being so near and having the means to understand how things pass. Beseeches him to purchase her majesty's gracious answer as soon as he can. Edinburgh.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 104. Original of the same.

Aug. 4. **237.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO WALSINGHAM.

Has heard nothing from the Earl of Argyll. Thinks he defers his answer till his coming to Argyll or meeting with Mr. John Graham. He may be assured of his utter mislike of this course, although he [Davison] cannot yet assure what his part will be in the redress thereof. Alexander Erskine makes account of all that he [Argyll] may do for

Eliazbeth.
1584. him, and is resolved to ride out all storms for five or six months at the least, hoping for her majesty's relief if the meantime produces no other remedy. It were good if he might be revoked before any open trouble, lest her highness be charged as author and he as instrument of those things that may happen here amongst themselves; the rather because, amongst the rest of her servants employed here for these few years past, he stands yet least prejudiced in the King of Scot's opinion. Finds some of "our own" ready to bring him into degree with the rest, and therefore beseeches him to be a mean for his revocation. Edinburgh.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.* (*With No.* 236.)

Aug. 7. **238.** HUNSDON TO WALSINGHAM.

This morning "Cuttie" Armerour returned with a letter from the Earl of Arran, a copy whereof he incloses, whereby he will see the cause of his long stay, which appears to be by a conspiracy betwixt the Scottish lords in England and some others in Scotland for the sudden apprehension of the King, killing the Earl of Arran and some others about the King, taking Edinburgh Castle with the consent of the constable, the Captain to be thrust out of doors, and the lords in England to be called home and have the charge of the King. These matters are discovered and confessed by the principal practisers thereof to be uttermost, as he shall hear more at large after his meeting with the Earl of Arran, which is appointed for the 13th instant. If these lords be privy to this practice it will go hard with them; for he fears her majesty will not be able to do that good for them that otherwise she might have done. Would not have doubted to have procured Mar's restitution again, and Angus might have been the more easily brought in afterwards. But now fears all is overthrown.

His [Hunsdon's] man's credit—which Arran will not commit to pen—is to let him understand of one who is very inward with the Scottish Queen, who is desirous to speak with him, and seems to be very desirous of the Queen of England's good favour and to do her good service. Knows he may do this if he will—no man better or so good. He is to come to him before his meeting with Arran. Knows him to be a Papist and greatly addicted to the Scottish Queen, and therefore will take the better head of him, and make the best profit he can of him for the Queen of England's service. Will not blame him until he has spoken with him.

As his man came over at Kinghorn, staying for the tide, he went to a house, where he found two Englishmen walking up and down, who presently, on his coming in, went into a chamber, where they tarried till he was gone. When he was in the boat they came as though they would have passed over likewise. But finding him in the boat they turned to Burnt Island. "Yet as my man landed besides Leithe they landed jumpe with him"; but instead of going to Leith they went to Seton. They were Fuljambe [Fowljam] and Witliffe. "Yf eather three that was with my man within a myle of Kinckorne had come thither with him, or that they had stayed at Leith, I think my man had gon verie neer to have brought them hither." It is thought they will go to England, and if they do, he

Elizabeth.
1584. hopes to hear of them. Received his packet yesternight, and sent it to Mr. Davison this morning at the opening of the gates. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 106. Copy of the same.

Inclosure with the same :—

(Arran to Hunsdon.)

After the receipt of his letters from his servant Cuthbert Armerour he "concluded with himself" with all haste to have directed the same messenger fully instructed concerning their meeting. "But the same daie and in the verie artickell of tyme of this my former conclusion, God Almightie, the God onlie of all truth move the hart of a wicked conspirator to utter a plate of treason concluded betwixte theis his majestes reabells and some their faverours amongst us, with all their conclusions for their divelishe execution against his moste innocent majestie and other worthie nobellmen of his Councell." Since which time he has been continually occupied in examinations and trial-taking, and in apprehending some guilty. In the end—all praise to God—some persons have confessed the whole purpose and subscribed their depositions themselves, as he hopes to let him see shortly face to face. Perceives, as he doubts not his lordship does, the unhappiness of this decrepid age of the world, wherein no honesty, no truth, or no example can avert the minds of disloyal persons from their undutiful attempts. Minds, therefore, with as good heart as he has to assist the happy amity betwixt these realms to his uttermost power, to meet him on the 13th instant. Will direct to him two noblemen of his majesty's Privy Council the night before to know the most convenient place. Renders him thanks in the King's name, "who yet abydeth still mocioned with a loving affection to see your lordship," [for] his own letter, "most acceptable to his majestie *next the intercepted*,* which hathe don greate good. Further not meet to be comited to penne, pleaseth your lordship receve of this bearours relacion." Palace of Falkland.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of* (Hunsdon's secretary). *Indorsed in two hands.*

Aug. 8. **239. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

After dinner yesterday Arran came over from the Court with the commission he has so long aimed at, to charge the Captain with the delivery of this castle. And immediately after his arrival the Secretary, Sir Robert Melville, and the Clerk Register were sent up to him to signify the King's pleasure that he should give it up within twenty-four hours under pain of treason. The Captain took this charge in very ill part, finding it strange that the King would deal so hardly with him, who had lost his friends and ruined himself for his service; and now to be so suddenly put from his charge without giving him time to yield it up with his credit and surety, desiring to be spared till the Parliament. But that demand being refused,

* The words in italics are underlined in the MS.

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1584. he answered that he would not disobey the King's charge, though he saw it tended to the wreck of himself and of his whole house and friends. Upon which resolution, the constable, who with other his friends persuaded the contrary, laying before him the strength of the place, their sufficiency of provision to inure a year's siege, the hazard whereinto he should cast himself and his, his promise and assurance given to his friends, and faith to [ ], finding the pusillanimity of the man such that all this did not prevail with him, and seeing otherwise no remedy, he withdrew himself out of the place this night and is fled to the lords in England. So that this day Arran is to take possession thereof, to the common grief of all men here, especially in this town, who foresee the misery like to grow to themselves by this change, and may of them determined to abandon the place. This success makes Arran presume of his fortune, and will, he does not doubt much, push him forward to that which with time will be the wreck of his master's person and estate.

He came this morning to visit him, and discovered to him the circumstance of the late pretended conspiracy, which he amplified with many particulars, whereof he can yet learn no other ground than his own report. But howsoever it be, the stratagem has, as it appears, served well to the purpose at which he directed it. Linclouden [Glenclodell] is still at Falkland, but stiffly denies the accusation of Drummond, and offers him the combat. The other was brought over again. He was in the boots, but not pinched.

Mr. John Colvile's wife is apprehended and committed to ward for intelligence with her husband. Requests him to procure his revocation as soon as he can, because he sees his stay will be to little purpose. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—Could wish Lord Hunsdon was entertained in a good opinion of his liking of Arran and his course, for he finds the condition of the time to admit none other. But to repose upon him will little "advantage" her majesty, as she will find with time. The man has strange conceits, and aspires—in the judgment of very wise men—to greater things than the world yet dreams of. He confesses to him that La Fontaine dealt with him about the association, and that he delivered himself an enemy to it. The rest he will communicate to Lord Hunsdon, with whom he minds to keep the meeting on the 13th instant, and purposes to go very strongly accompanied, having to that end warned, besides the officers of the Borders, a number of the noblemen and gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, and other places.

In the Border causes, more than that has passed between the officers of the East March. Sees nothing to be done till they see what this meeting will effect. Arran told him this morning, dealing with him upon that point, that the friendship going forward between the Princes, her majesty should have redress for the whole time since the King began his reign; which the secretary [Maitland] likewise confirmed. It were not amiss to go forward with the trial if it may do good. Is to receive again the sum disbursed. About 12 "this forenone" the Castle [of Edinburgh] is to be delivered up.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 107 b. 2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Original of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584. Aug. 12.

240. [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNSDON.

The Queen of England is sorry to understand by his late letters that the State of Scotland continues still subject to such jealousies and practices as commonly are incident to those governments where violence carries sway. She hopes that the noblemen retired into this realm will clear themselves of such matters as they are said now to be charged withal. If this fall out otherwise, then shall she be able to do the less good for them.

Her highness greatly desires that the interview between the Earl of Arran and him were performed; for that she hopes she shall be able thereby to guess what assurance she may make of the Scottish amity, which she conceives can hardly be sound so long as they bear so great sway with the King who are known to be altogether at his mother's devotion. And although the Earl [of Arran] himself is no way thought to be devoted that way, yet reposing, as he does, great trust in Maitland and Robert Melville, it is to be feared that he shall be hindered through their persuasions from doing that good he would otherwise of his own disposition. Finds her majesty earnestly bent to make trial what performance the Earl of Arran will make of the great devotion he professes to bear towards her; and in case she shall find the effects agreeable with the assurance given by him, she seems to be thoroughly resolved that he shall taste of the fruits of her favour.

By reason of the contrarieties of winds they have heard nothing from foreign parts since he last wrote to him. They are in very good hope that all things will do well [in] Ireland, from whence they hear that all doubtful persons daily come in to the Lord Deputy and give pledges for their good and loyal behaviour. So that good friendship standing between the King of Scots and her majesty, there is great likelihood that such a reformation will be wrought in Ireland as in many years heretofore has not been performed.

2⅔ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 108.

Copy of the same.

Aug. 13.

241. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Has been very earnest with the Queen of England for his revocation, but can by no means induce her to assent thereto, though he showed her sundry reasons to lead her to see that his abode there might rather do harm than good. But she supposes that his departure at present would confirm some jealousies they have already conceived, as though he had been a dealer therein underhand. Hopes after the meeting between Lord Hunsdon and Arran there will be some good opportunity offered to renew the request for his revocation. It will be fit hereafter that such instruments be employed in Scotland as Lord Hunsdon shall like and make choice of.

Hears that the King of Scots greatly desires the company of Mr. Robert Carey, who, being agreeable to the King, well liked of by Arran, and no way inclined to those here who mislike of the present course there, shall be a far more fit instrument than himself [Davison], who is "heard" for a man suspected, whatsoever outward show they make to the contrary, in respect of the favour they know he bears to the poor distressed ministers, who receive very small comfort here, as the bishop of St. Andrews gives out. "And it may be true, as he

Elizabeth.
1584. saith, that the same groweth from himselfe, who sent a speciall instrument into this realme with lettres to the archbishop and certain others of the clergye who have so prevayled with the Queen as they are nether suffered to preach nor no man dare harbour them for feare of offence." Thus he sees how kindly they are dealt with who have best deserved at their [the English] hands, which cannot but greatly wound and grieve the best affected men of that realm. Is glad to understand by his last letter that their [the English] money is saved, though he is sorry for the cause.

The inclosed, to William Nugent, is written from his brother the Baron of Delvin. He advises him to have recourse to him [Davison] in secret sort, and to pray him to be a means for the recovery of her majesty's favour towards him. Greatly doubts, as he hears nothing from him [Davison] touching him, that he is departed towards Ireland, or at least towards those parts of Scotland that are opposite Ireland, whereby he may have means to have intelligence from thence, and to set abroach such practices as he has brought from Rome and other foreign parts. If on the receipt of his brother's letter he shall seek to have recourse to him, he shall do well to assent thereto, and to assure him—as so warranted by him [Walsingham]—that in case he shall discover to him such practices as he knows and has been an instrument in, tending to the renewal of the troubles in Ireland lately appeased, as also how far forth Scotland is a party in that cause, and who of that realm be the principal furtherers thereof, that he will then not only procure her majesty's pardon, but also that he shall be restored to her good opinion with as great grace and favour as though he had never committed any offence against her. Incloses the letter he desired to the party he writes of. Her majesty has assented to fifty years, and there is order given for the speedy passing of his "book." Oatlands. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—He shall do well to write letters of thanks to her majesty for his book. Is glad he has dealt so warily touching Edinburgh Castle, otherwise Lord Hunsdon would have made him profit thereof to the disgrace of both of them [Davison and Walsingham]. Made the Queen of England only acquainted with the matter. Assures him that the most part of the English Councillors incline to the King of Scots and "50" [his mother]. Never saw so great discontentment as well in Court as elsewhere as presently reigns. Arran sends the Master of Gray to Hunsdon to discover to him these practices, under the colour of an extraordinary care Arran shows to have of the Queen of England's safety. This matter is only imparted to "280." Knows all is but abuse, as he will show him on his return, which he will procure with all expedition, for Hunsdon will work his disgrace if he stays there. Fears the Earl of Leicester has some dealing underhand there. Has charged him withal, but he denies it. If he has, [Roger] Ashton is the mean, who God knows is but a weak instrument. He will do well to deal warily with Fouler. Suspects he is used but for an underminer. The letters he [Fouler] delivered are of no great importance. Sometimes delivers such baits to his instruments as were stolen by corruptors of some about him.

3 *pp. Partly in cipher. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 108. Draft of part of the same.

Copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584.
Aug. 13.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 112.

242. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

I send you herewith the letters you desired to the party you wot of. Her majesty has assented to fifty years, and there is order given for the speedy passing of your "book." You shall do well to write her letters of thanks.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p. Copy.*

Aug. [15].
C.P., vol. XIII.

243. ELIZABETH TO SIR RALPH SADLEIR.

Whereas she has made special choice of him to supply the place of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the charge of the Queen of Scots, she sends by this bearer, her servant Sommer, whom she has also appointed to attend on him to assist him in the said service, such instructions as she has thought meet to set down for his better direction how to execute the charge committed to him according to her will and pleasure. Will have a care to ease him of the charge as soon as conveniently may be.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "M[inute] from her majestie to Sir Rafe Sadler apointed to take charg of the Sco. Q. Aug. 1584."

Aug. 15.
C.P., vol. XIII.

244. ELIZABETH TO LORD DARCY.

Whereas she has appointed Sir Ralph Sadleir to have the custody of the Scottish Queen in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, she has thought good to signify so much to him, and require him not only to be assisting and aiding to him in such sort as from time to time by his letter he shall require the same at his hands for the better accomplishing of her service, but also in case he shall hear or understand of any matter tending to the hindrance thereof, that he forthwith advertise him of the same.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "15 Aug. 1584. M[inute] from hir majestie to the L. Darcy of the North. Towching Sir Ralph Sadler's dispatch for takyng charge of the Q. of Scottes."

Aug. 15.
C.P., vol. XIII.

245. ELIZABETH TO ALL JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, MAYORS, ETC.

Whereas Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight, is for a time appointed to have the charge and custody of the Scottish Queen, and thereby may have occasion to use their service, she wills and straitly charges and commands them and every of them that when they shall be directed by him to keep watch and ward by some of themselves in their several limits, accompanied and assisted by so many of her good subjects of the same limits in such places, at such times, and so long as by him shall be appointed during the time of his charge, or shall receive commandment from him either by mouth, letter or warrant signed with his hand, for any service to be done by them, that they fail not, as they tender her pleasure and service, to discharge their duties in that behalf, as they will answer to the contrary at their uttermost peril. Oatlands.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "15 Aug. 1584. M[inute] of a commission signed by hir majestie for the takyng uppe all necessaries for Sir Ralph Sadler sent to take the chardge of the Sc. Q."

Elizabeth.
1584.
Aug. 15.
C.P., vol. XIII.

246. ELIZABETH TO THE SHERIFFS OF DERBY, NOTTINGHAM, AND LEICESTER.

Whereas she has appointed Sir Ralph Sadleir to have the charge of the Scottish Queen in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, her will is that if he shall by his letter at any time require their assistance and aid they shall forthwith, upon such signification, resort to such place so accompanied with such numbers as he shall require. Manor of Oatlands.

¾ *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "15 Aug. 1584. M[inute] from hir majestie to the Sheriffes of Nottingham, Derbie and Leceyster," *etc.*

Aug. 15.
C.P., vol. XIII.

247. MONSIEUR FONTENAY TO MARY.

Madam, since my arrival here I have sought for, but have not been able to find the means to write to your majesty or to render you account of all my proceedings both in France and here. Before my departure from Paris it was not in my power to draw any news from [the bishop of] Glasgow, and, in consequence, less from the Duke of Guise, beyond that he commanded me to tell the King of Scotland that he had sent him not long since 6000 crowns in awaiting a greater sum, and that as soon as the forces of the King of Spain are ready he will not fail to be present in person, to pass promptly here. The rest of what he told me only being compliments of his good-will towards the King of Scotland your son.

The [ ] of [ ]. I arrived at "Petit Lith" whence, according to the commandment of your majesty, I despatched one of my servants to my Lord Doun to pray him to advertise the King of Scotland of my arrival. Whilst awaiting the reply several lords came to visit me. Except Lord Seton's children, whom he had informed of my coming, the others returned without having known me or my affairs, except that I had come only to visit the country.

The King of Scotland hearing of this my way of proceeding was very pleased, knowing by that, that I did not wish to discover anything or negotiate with anyone except at his direction, therefore he sent immediately my Lord Doun to fetch me and conduct me here, for at the time of my arrival he was hunting. Which reminded me of your majesty, who was doing the same when my brother-in-law and I arrived at Tutbury. The next day, having done me the honour to hear me, I presented the sword to him, declaring to him what your majesty had commanded me at this conference. At which he began to laugh. He protested to me that he would be a good and loyal cavalier to you all his life, and that in a few days the head of my lord Lindsay, and of all the others that he could catch of your enemies, would be a proof how religiously he wished to keep the oath of chevalier that when he was an infant in the cradle was made for him to your majesty; of which can be seen a more full and particular testimony in the letters that he wrote to your majesty here inclosed.

Besides what your majesty can see in the said letters to have been done by me for the advancement of your service, I have achieved several other things as follows. In the first place, fearing that the King your son, industriously, himself, or at the persuasion of those who possess him, did not wish to draw out longer your association, I decided to prove further his willingness by enquiring to which

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1584. people he desired that your majesty should send your letters of commission to pass with him the said association. After having delayed two days to think it over, he at last named the Earls of Arran, Montrose, Argyll, Eglinton, and Sir Robert Melvin. If your majesty thinks this good, it seems to me that it would not be out of the way to add the Earls of Crawford and Huntly. For this reason, madam, I pray your majesty very humbly to send me the said letters of commission, to the end to bring to an end the subject here after the return of Monsieur de Seton, to prevent deferring longer the conclusion of this thing for want of the said letters of commission, and especially as the opportunity will never be so good of passing the said association as at present, during the banishment of the traitors, as the greater part of those who remain here, knowing to-day the inclination of the King towards your majesty, cry daily for forgiveness for the wrongs that they have done you, promising never to do so again and to be faithful subjects and servitors to you all their lives one and all.

As to the treaty for your liberty, the King is of a mind that your majesty should pursue the conclusion without dissembling more, but with the best and most advantageous conditions possible, for the common good of your majesties, having told me that he desires before the conclusion of the said treaty to have entire communication, because according to the contents of the same he could advise your majesty of several things that you do not know, as in a like case he has been advertised by you of several other things that he did not know.

The desire that he has for the conclusion of your deliverance makes me think that he is now unwilling to treat of anything with the Queen of England. The Earl of Arran, to whom they say Monsieur de Gray has revealed the enterprise, has put the idea into his head, and Monsieur de Gray nourishes it to disgust him with the enterprise, from which I have found his majesty very much alienated, at seeing it almost entirely without hope. To obviate which, and to remit the King again to the good opinion that he had of it, I have forged a letter that I have made him believe, and the said Gray also, to have lately come to me from France, in which they give me good hope of the said enterprise, and that the King of Spain had sent his resolution to the Duke of Guise, who awaited shortly for the execution thereof, which I give expressly to be understood, so as to retain the said Gray in the negotiation and treaty that Arran and he ought to have conjointly with my Lord Hunsdon.

At the beginning, seeing that the Earl of Arran was alone comprised in the commission of the said treaty, fearing that the King of Scotland should allow himself to be abused by him, I made instance to his majesty to depute some one with the said Arran, to assist him on the part of your majesty, who otherwise would have suspected this interview, and would take very bad opinion if anything passed without his knowledge and consent. On my remonstrance the King promised me to send the said lord Gray, whom I should like better if he was not quite so much under the will of the said Arran.

Having told the King that your majesty would find it very agreeable to know whom he would send to visit you, he replied that he had not yet decided. Nevertheless Monsieur de Gray told me that he

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1584. made certain account of being sent there. My lord Doun desires very much to have this charge, and I myself should desire, with the will of your majesty, that the King should give it to the Earl of Arran, because your majesty could, in doing this, win him entirely to your side. And also I am assured that the Queen of England would grant more easily your liberty, if once the said earl undertook to ask her for it, being a man, clever, brave, and of execution.

I have had all the trouble in the world to turn him from an opinion that he held, that is to say, that it is not necessary yet that the King should declare openly to the Queen of England the union of your majesties, the affection that he bears you, nor that he should make any instance of your deliverance. His reasons were to provoke the said Queen of England to take up arms against the King his master, or rather, when she did not take them, to put her in danger of villainous shame, if it happened that she should refuse your deliverance. Whereupon he asked me what means your majesties had in case of refusal of avenging yourselves on the said Queen of England, and to compel her to do the will of the King your son, and in my opinion he tried cautiously to draw from me something of the enterprise. On this occasion, without touching on any particularity, I held myself in these terms, that your relations in France in my opinion would not leave your majesties in such extremity of shame and danger, besides, that he himself at the beginning of our discourse had said plainly that he did not fear at all the forces of the said Queen of England, and that his master was too subdued to resist her, a thing marvellously contradictory, to his last apprehensions and contemplations, which put me in greater doubt of the affection and fidelity that he promised me towards your majesty, even to telling me that, if necessary, he offered with [ ] horses to go near to the castle of Tutbury to attempt your deliverance against [ ] and in spite of all England, knowing well, said he, the brave guards who are around your majesty, or rather that if you would advise other means he offered to execute them.

Taking him at his word, I prayed him to write to your majesty, assuring him that you would have therefrom great consolation, and obligation to confide in him henceforth your most important affairs. Which I did expressly with the intention, as now I hope to do, to engage him thereby to your majesty. Nevertheless, at the time he told me that he could not do it without express commandment from the King, mentioning besides several inconveniences that could happen if his letters should be intercepted. To do away with this apprehension, I offered him on my life, and the little good and honour that I have in this world, that if he wished to trust the letters to me I would deliver them to your majesty so safely that no harm could come of it.

Seeing himself pressed by me so closely, he promised me at last to act entirely by the will of the King, appointing me a time on the next day to confer together in the presence of his majesty.

Before entering there I decided to recount to him separately what had passed between the said Arran and me, taking occasion on this proposal to prepare his majesty for my intentions, by all the reasons that I thought most persuasive, and conformable to his humour, which I know well to be very fearful of the malediction of God and of your majesty, and for the rest very ambitious, I under-

Elizabeth.
1584. stand, of a virtuous glory, and does not wish to seem to have any fear of any King who may be in the world.

Thus some time after having called on the said Arran, I commenced to propose, if it was expedient, on that day, to show openly in England, and elsewhere, the reverence and friendship that he owed to your majesty as his mother. Which I maintained against the reasons of Arran to be not only honest and profitable, but necessary for the common good of your majesties. It would be outside the purpose, and superfluous to repeat the reasons and passages that I discoursed of with the King; the most important was that he gave me the victory. The King then having concluded for me this first proposition, to the end that the effect might follow the word, in virtue of the execution of that decision, I requested his majesty to command two things to the said Earl of Arran when he would treat with my Lord Hunsdon. First, that he should avow to him and make known plainly the affection of his master and him towards your majesty. This first point was not only granted to me by the said King, but expressly commanded to the Earl of Arran. My second request was, that they should make instance to the said Hunsdon to get a passport from the Queen of England to go and visit your majesty. After several reasons on one side and another, it was resolved and commanded by the King to the said Arran, that if he remained on good terms with the said Lord Hunsdon, he should make instance for the said passport; if not, that he should not ask him for anything. That if their treaty should remain in terms indifferent and undecided, whether of friendship or enmity, they should defer asking for the said passport until, and according to the conclusion of the affairs. But in conclusion the King promised me that, whatever should happen, he would send some one to visit your majesty shortly.

As to demanding your deliverance from the Queen of England, I could not sound the ideas of the said Arran without giving him knowledge of the enterprise, which the King had expressly forbidden me, and therefore, without going further, it was resolved that the execution of this article should be done as soon and conveniently as possible, according to the course that the affairs between your majesty and the Queen of England may take. After having obtained what I demanded, for proof of the affection of the King towards your majesty, I decided to engage the said Arran therein as well as his master. On this occasion I made him promise and swear on his oath to sign your association as soon as Lord Seton has sent the letters and articles. Moreover, in waiting until it was convenient for him to write to your majesty, I begged the King, since he wished to employ himself in the management of your common affairs, to take, even at that instant, oath from him to his King, and son of the Queen his mother, that he would be to you for ever a very faithful and very obedient subject and servant under pain of incurring not only the bad grace of your majesties, but also the dishonour and punishment of traitors. The King having taken from him this oath promised me that he would answer to your majesty with his own life for the said Earl of Arran, assuring himself that he would never break his oath. When the said Arran had gone the King promised me that he would find means to make him write to your majesty, to the end to oblige him as well by letters as by word. If once your majesty can entirely win him, your

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1584. majesty can promise yourself all that it may please you to have done in this country. His wife contrives to win him, believing more in herself than in God. Money and grandeur are the means to win her, being proper instruments to serve them for their ambition and avarice. And he and she equally have a mind quick, penetrating, subtle, desirous of goods and greatness, arrogant, confident to understand, and capable of many things, in short *who possess so much more than the King* that the most part of the people and lords esteem truly that he has been bewitched by them.

All that I fear in this is the hatred that universally all the greatest lords and people bear him up to death, which makes me apprehend a prompt revolt and mutation of this estate if God does not intervene, having already discovered a conspiracy against him to kill him and seise him from the King.

There are four prisoners in this castle, of whom the one has been perpetually a servant of your majesty, and calls himself the Provost of Lincluden, a relation of George Douglas. He has not yet confessed anything. The other is called Drumond [Dromont], who withdraws sometimes from his confession; sometimes he continues it. The two others are of low condition [I]not knowing their names. Madam,I have not had cause to say anything to the King of the ministers, for he is himself well prepared for their ruin. Only I have confirmed him in the good opinion that he has of them, so well that he has promised me to have two or three hanged to serve as an example to the others. I only fear one thing, that he wishes to make himself head of the Church, so that afterwards, having procured the goods thereof, he could persist more obstinately in his doctrine,which, nevertheless, is quite separated from Luther and Calvin, holding many points with us, among others that faith is dead without deeds, that there is no predestination, and other like maxims. He holds a false opinion which, nevertheless, is profitable to the Catholics, it is, that entire faith in God saves a man, of whatever religion he may be, inferring from that that his predecessors and your majesty even can be saved. This opinion is partly the cause that he hates the Catholics less, besides that in treating them well he thinks it to be received very kindly by your majesty, having asked me several times if you were not very pleased with what he had done for the poor banished English. He had had them entertained on the land of the Earl Huntly, whom the said English praise very much for the good treatment that he has done them continually, for which they desire that it may please your majesty to thank him for them by some few words by letter, for they believe that the said Huntly has done them these good offices in your consideration. Monsieur Foljambe and his father-in-law ought to leave here in four days to go to France, where they have not any means of living without the kindness and generosity of your majesty, for love of whom they lost all their goods.

Madam, I have as yet only mentioned to the King his marriage generally, as a thing that can be treated of more at leisure. As to the secret instructions, the King has promised me what follows. For the first article—the death of my Lord Lindsay and the Abbot of Dunferline. His majesty does not know the bastards of the house of Mar. With regard to the Douglases and Hamiltons, he told me that at the last Parliament he had anticipated your commandment by an

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1584. edict declaring that no one henceforth had to seek for, demand or require of his majesty restitution, remission or other grace for that which once would have been punished as a crime of high treason, under pain of incurring the same pain of forfeiture, without exception of persons, estate, condition or quality whatsoever. The execution of the Earl of Gowrie preceding my arrival here has rendered void the article which concerns him. As to Colonel Stewart, the King told me that he considers him as a man of as few words as of a simple mind, in no ways malicious, brave in war, and faithful in his service, who truly hitherto has been an adversary of your majesty, but at present very affectionate towards you. Moreover, that these last days, speaking to him of something he was silly and presumptuous enough to say to his majesty, that it was decidedly necessary that he should act therein at his own discretion, but he made him feel very much ashamed by commanding him to leave his presence and never to return, asking him whether he thought he had the means to make him as much of a rogue and vagabond as he had become in his service, and so make himself more of a scoundrel than he was. Then his majesty told me that on this he began to cry very much, and threw himself at his feet to ask his pardon for his silly indiscretion, promising him with clasped hands that it should never happen that he would forget himself towards his majesty. He has not failed at this time to lose much of his credit, together with the alms that Arran gave him daily. And, nevertheless, with all that, the King has commanded me, and the said Colonel requested me, to write in his favour to your majesty to assure you of the good affection that he has to serve you faithfully during life, without sparing anything in the world that may be in his power. To the end to oblige him more strictly to this duty, he prays your majesty very humbly to be willing to write a few words to the King of Spain in his recommendation, so that it may please his Catholic majesty to give back and restore to his wife the possessions that have been taken from her in the Low Countries during the war, the said Colonel promising in this case to remain for ever a good and faithful vassal of the said King of Spain. And as a proof of this he would put into the hands of the Prince of Parma all the companies that he had at the service of the state, which he promises to be able to do easily, under pretext that he has not been paid by them, having assured me that they owed him more than——* crowns. Besides the said letters, which he begs your majesty to send to the King of Spain by the shortest and most usual way, he prays again your majesty to do him the favour to send here two other letters on the same subject, the one to the said Prince of Parma, and the other to the Duke of Guise, to recommend to them his affairs. Madam, I pray very humbly your majesty to grant this favour to the said Colonel, because I know well that he can deserve it in your service, and that of the King your son, having already imparted to me much intelligence that he has received from England touching the designs that the Earl of Leicester made or devised to seek for your majesties and to have good intelligence with you, especially since the death of his son, whom he had promised to the Countess of Shrewsbury for the little Arbella. Whatever it may be, he favours your party, whether with goodwill or from the necessity of his private

* Cipher.

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1584. affairs, which could not exist without those of the King his master, forcing him to take your part. In which, before the King dismisses me from here, I will strengthen him as much as possible with hope of goods and greatness, which are the only sirens which can charm the most part of the lords of this country. For it is foolish to preach to them their duty towards their Princes, the honour of just and virtuous actions, and the memory that they ought to leave to posterity, they knowing more of this discourse than all the philosophers together. But, for all that, they do not wish to do otherwise than the Athenians, who knew what was good and just, but did not wish to do it. It is a common misfortune here that the most part of the lords do not wish to extend their sight further than their feet, without taking any thought of the future, and less still of the past.

As to the article of the fortresses, the King has begun by changing the Captain of Edinburgh castle, not for any doubt that he has of his fidelity, but for his leniency, and too great friendship with his wife, whom they consider to be very avaricious and corruptible; besides which he is uncle of the Earl of Mar and bears the same name as he. Last Monday, Arran entered into possession of the said castle, of which the King has given him the keeping instead of the other.

As to his finances and liberality, I see him in good resolution to take heed more carefully than ever, and to enrich his crown as much as possible, there being already reserved for him the most beautiful and best of the possessions of the Earl of Gowrie.

With regard to the alliance between France and Scotland, he assures me that he has given charge to Lord Seton to renew it, but only to confirm the old one [*sic*].

He finds your majesty's advice very good, to hold open the door to all the other Christian princes, whom he purposed to observe carefully, especially with regard to the King of Spain, to whom I see he bears more affection than he wishes to be made apparent, and would have still more without the length at which they have held the enterprise up till now, being sorry that they entertain it with words without any effect.

Treating with his majesty of the said enterprise, I have discovered that he very much apprehends the foreign aid, having told me that he has enough men if he had the money to pay them, and that above all he does not ask the King of Spain for anything but 20,000 crowns to bring the said enterprise to a happy end. Which makes me think that he will never consent that the forces of the said King of Spain should pass here or into England. As for the Pope, he hates him extremely, and does not wish to hear him spoken of in any way. Nevertheless, I am certain that if he had conferred with Tirens or another man, learned in theology, he would be converted in two days, because in disputing with one who has very great judgment, he understands, and easily grasps reason, not hating our religion so much from opinionativeness and bad inclination, as from ignorance of the truth that the ministers have hidden from him always, making him believe ten thousand wickednesses of the Pope, the monks, and the priests. He has promised me to write shortly to your majesty his intention on all the particularities of the said enterprise, which, as he considers very wrongly, have been communicated by the Laird of Fentry [Monsieur de Fentray] to the Earl of Montrose [Monsieur de Montrose], and

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1584. to Sir Robert Melville, although he considers them faithful servants of your majesty, because he said that these affairs cannot be kept secret enough. This is one of the principal causes of the little credit that he gives to Monsieur de Fentray, who, nevertheless, has protested to me only to have revealed the said enterprise to the abovesaid, Montrose and Melvin by commandment of his majesty.

Declaring to him the names of your friends and partisans in England, he was very astonished and pleased that my Lord Burgley was one of them. As to his cousin Arbella, your majesty may assure yourself that he will not advance her further. And with regard to the good opinion that he ought to acquire with respect to the Catholics of England, he promised me he will work for it henceforth more than he has done in the past. Madam, these are shortly the replies of the King your son, to the contents of each article of my instructions, both general and secret, except what concerns his marriage.

For the rest he told me that altogether he has only received from the Duke of Guise and [the Archbishop of] Glasgow, six thousand crowns which were lately brought him by M. Ballantin. He had done so little that he did not wish to touch them, so he delivered them into the keeping of Monsieur de Gray. Nevertheless, he knew that your majesty had sent him much more. Yet the Duke of Guise had commanded me to tell his majesty that the said 6000 crowns were of his own money. With regard to the other 6000 crowns that Monsieur Fentray brought to the lords, the said Fentray after having made all the refusals in the world to tell me what he had done, in the end, seeing that I had commandment from your majesty to know, told me that he had only brought 4000 pistolets that he had distributed according to your majesty's order. The King told me that he had only spoken to him of 3000, of which he had delivered one thousand or twelve hundred to the Earl of Montrose, head of his house, 500 or 600 to my lord Doun, and the rest where it seemed good to him, his majesty complaining severely that he is a great villain to use your money in this way at the discretion and fancy of Glasgow, being very astonished that the Duke of Guise possessed such a man and such an enemy of your majesty's. He is likewise very sorry that he communicated all your common affairs to the Jesuits at the desire of the said [bishop of] Glasgow. His reason is that he says he knows well that the Jesuits by the vow of their profession are bound to reveal to their superior all that they know of the affairs of Princes. So that in treating with them no affair of importance can be kept secret. Which makes me say that Monsieur de Gray has put this idea into his head, as he related to me that once Father William Holt, hearing him in confession, refused to give him absolution, because he did not wish to reveal to him what he knew of your majesty's affairs, and that since he has hated the Jesuits like the devil, not wishing ever to negotiate anything which would be treated of with their intervention. That is why he told me he had written to the Duke of Guise and [the Archbishop of] Glasgow, not wishing to mix himself more in the enterprise, nor henceforth to have intelligence with any other person than your majesties, whom only he wishes to serve and no other.

Several have attributed that to ingratitude and fickleness, seeing that he was introduced into your majesty's affairs by the means of the said Duke of Guise and [the Archbishop of] Glasgow.

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1584. Madam, the King has forbidden me to deliver your majesty's letters to the Earl Marishal and the Earl of Athol, telling me of the first that he is a villain who has wished to find a companion in favour of the rebels; as to the other, that he is a young fool and disobedient to his mother—whom his majesty honours and loves infinitely, having commanded me to go and visit her without fail—and that he has played the fool as well as the other. Speaking to him of Earl Bothwell, he began to smile, telling me freely that he was both silly and foolish, nevertheless, that he had not been of those who attempted his last capture at Ruthen, but on the contrary that immediately afterwards he came to find his majesty, offering himself to alone be the means of his deliverance, and that he never spoke of your majesty except with regret, saying that he had certainly lost his good mother, because while he was an infant your majesty always called him her son as well as the King. Nevertheless (so said the King), this last time his wife has made him very angry because of his brother of Angus, in favour of whom he was willing to play the fool, and seeming to play at being discontented, as the others, without, nevertheless, passing further as he had not had the means or understanding to do moreover. All the house of the Setons is hated and discredited by his majesty as much as he can, because of the Earl of Arran, who pursues them cruelly. Also the King does not speak to me of them without mocking at them, either the father or one of his children, considering them as stupid people or of little understanding, avowing nevertheless their fidelity. The Master of Fentray is to him very distasteful and insupportable as all those of the party of [the Archbishop of] Glasgow, besides that he considers him a man of little conception and many words, and therefore little secretive, and who repeats a hundred times one same thing, telling me that I should find that true if I conferred only one week with him. His majesty adding that the said Laird of Fentray thought to make himself very agreeable by entertaining him all one day with vain hopes of his enterprise, of which he made a shield, or to say better, a repertory of his Bible.

Madam, to speak nicely to your majesty, besides the affection of the said Fentray towards the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Jesuits, I should desire for your service that he had much credit near the King, as those who have the most have need of prudence, secretion, and fidelity, or rather that those there should be as much people of importance as he; without that the Earl Montrose, who is his chief and in favour near the King, his majesty, would never see him. Madam, the King was astonished that your majesty had addressed me to my Lord Doun, and that you have so often written to him of your affairs, seeing his little understanding and capacity. To which, to satisfy him, I replied that your majesty had done it heedfully, to the end to give less thought to the others that I was here for matters of importance. The King did not cease to like him and do him kindness, because he knew him to be a good man, and very faithful and affectionate servant of your majesty, in consideration of which he has done me all the good offices of which he has been able to think. The King has reconciled the Earl of Crawford with the Earl of Arran, who made him like the greater part of his credit, so that he remains the greater part of the time outside the Court, where, nevertheless, I have seen him two or three times; but he never remains there a

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1584. whole day. I find him a very affectionate servant to your majesty, having promised me not only all favour to pass your association, but to deliver my Lord Lindsay to the King, as many times as he wished to search for the crimes that he has committed against your majesty, confessing that he has deserved more than death on this occasion. But with regard to the last rebellion of Stirling, he knows well that he is not so guilty as several others who have been saved by those of their blood, not being able to do less for his than the others.

The King told me that the Earl of Montrose a few days ago threw himself on his knees before him in his cabinet, crying in earnest, and asking his pardon for what formerly he had done against your majesty, swearing and protesting that he wished to serve you faithfully all his life. Which the King believes. The people consider him a just man and of good judgment, slow at understanding, of little enterprise, avaricious and timid as possible, in consequence little steadfast and constant. Being head of the house of Graymes, he is quite at the devotion of the Archbishop of Glasgow on account of the Laird of Fentray. He is Grand Treasurer of Scotland. I find also the Earl of Rothes very affectionate to your majesty. The King considers him as such, and told me that last year when they said that the Queen of England wished to have your majesty brought to London, he threw himself on his knees before him, to pray him to help you, or rather that he would permit him to seek for the means thereof, and to employ him as chief in this execution, in which he offered to employ freely his life and that of all his people. One does not find any fault in him except avarice, and the alliance that he has made of his children with the Earl of Angus and the Laird of Lochleven. The Secretary Maitland, otherwise named Lidington, brother of him who served your majesty in the same estate, professes to be very much your servant. I desire him as such, as being a man of importance, whom they esteem to be discreet and clever. He is of the triumvirate with Arran and Montrose, I understand, for the affairs of the estate and of the council. The King considers Sir Robert Melvin a very affectionate servant of your majesty, but too friendly with [the Archbishop of] Glasgow. I think both true.

The King has not told me good or bad of the Master of Gray, except that he considers him very affectionate in your service, having, nevertheless, forbidden me to communicate to him anything more than what he already knows, and has handled of the affair. And, nevertheless, outside the Secret Council of the State and important affairs, the said Master of Gray, since his reconciliation with the Earl of Arran, is one of the first in favour near the King, in which, at my advice, the said Arran, a man cautious and discreet, knowing his humour, keeps him. Which makes me so much more suspect both for the reasons which follow. First, I know well that both have been many times with Davidson, and have tried that the King should not have him dismissed, as his majesty had promised me. I know, moreover, that the said Arran has received from the said Davidson a thousand angelots; at which, nevertheless, they tell me that he has since laughed, saying that he would take as much when they were delivered to him, but that the English were so much more silly and unskilful, knowing well that he did not like them. As to the said Gray, they have not told me that he had received any-

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1584. thing from the said Davidson; but one morning he showed me in one of his hands six hundred pieces of gold, the most part angelots, rose nobles, and Portuguese, which were, by what he told me, worth in all about four or five thousand crowns. Further, one day laughing about the Duke of Guise, Glasgow, and Monsieur de Fentray, with their enterprise, he told me decidedly that he did not see any other better expedient for the good of your majesties than to accommodate yourselves together with the Queen of England, and assure yourselves as well as possible, adding also that the King your son for his own part was in necessity of taking that course for want of other means which can maintain him against a so powerful, rich and redoubtable princess as the Queen of England. Another time speaking to him of what sureties could be hoped for from the Queen of England for your majesties, he replied to me that he was certain at least that the said Queen of England would leave the King in peace, and that he would be bound to her with his body and possessions. They tell me that before his reconciliation with Arran he sang a different tune. Therefore the bankruptcy that he has caused to the Duke of Guise, [the Archbishop of] Glasgow, Fentray, and to the enterprise without the consent of your majesty makes the greater part of the Catholics and other good people consider him ungrateful, fickle, corruptible, and inconstant. His agreement and intelligence with Arran, the pieces of gold that he showed me, and the terms in which I see him to-day considering the affairs of your majesty, draw me almost to the opinion of others.

Nevertheless, I pray your majesty to receive this advertisement rather as a proviso, than as a certain judgment that I make of the intentions of the said Gray.

The principal affairs are governed by the triumvirate of the Earls of Arran and Montrose and the Secretary Ledington. The King by the Earl of Arran alone, and Monsieur de Gray is occupied principally in amusement and recreation.

The estate of the country is in great danger of not enjoying for long the repose in which it is—praying God that I may be very much mistaken in this opinion. The kingdom is divided into three factions, of which the least is faithful to your majesties, the second traitors, of whom some are banished in England, others here to rekindle the fire with their firebrands. The third is of those discontented against the Earl of Arran, and his mortal enemies. This faction is very much to be feared as being the strongest and the greatest in the number of lords, of whom some are neutral in affection towards your majesties. Although until now they have never committed treason, they are, nevertheless, nearly related to the traitors, who could easily draw them to their party under pretext of avenging themselves on the Earl of Arran. After several others I made it known to the King how this seemed to me, but since I have desisted, seeing that he did not wish to believe or understand anything, but on the contrary that he did not like to hear Arran badly spoken of, having told me familiarly that his nature is to hold so much more dear the thing that he loves when he sees it hated and disliked by others. For the rest, that when he received the crown from his subjects he did not promise them to love whomsoever seemed good to them. He has asked me, moreover, to write to your majesty in favour and recommendation of the said

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1584. Earl of Arran as affectionately as I can, to establish for him in the future a good intelligence with your majesty, wherefore I pray you very humbly to make known to the King and the said Arran, that I have acquitted myself of this commandment. Telling him this maxim—that he ought never to allow any too great lord in his kingdom over whom he cannot have control from day to day. He replied that that is why he had not wished ever to advance any earl or lord, but only simple soldiers and gentlemen like the said Arran and Colonel Stewart, whom he could always hold under when it seemed good to him, and ruin them as easily as he had made them, but that if the earls were in their places it would not be in his power to have his will of them.

Thereupon, telling me of some affronts of the Earls of Crawford, Montrose, and others on encountering him, he told me that the cause of such irreverence arose from the fact that for forty years or more they had only had for governors in this kingdom women, little children, and traitorous and avaricious regents, so that during the divisions and troubles happening in that time the nobility by an unbridled liberty had become so audacious in leaning on those who commanded them, that now it is not possible to subdue and reduce them all at once to their duty, but that little by little he would have them in good order.

He would be pleased if your majesty would write to the Earl of Eglinton, whom he considers a good man and a very faithful and affectionate servant of your majesty, in default of which, he commanded me not to fail to visit him on your part and make him your recommendations. On renewing these proposals in the company of the Earls Marishal, Atholl, and Bothwell, he said these words to me, "I am sorry that my mother has written to some that do not deserve it, some as being too silly and young, others wicked and traitors. They are scoundrels and rascals who do not deserve that the Queen my mother should honour them with her letters. I wish she had written to better men—as the said Earl of Eglinton and others similar."

Madam, according to the commandment of the King your son, I have visited the Duchess of Argyll, your bastard sister, who was extremely pleased to hear your news. I made her believe on your part many things of which the King instructed me. I like her very much, because she loves your majesty. If she had as much prudence and credit in this court as friendship in regard to you, I should promise myself a prompt and brief expedition of your affairs here. However, I have persuaded her to send you Mademoiselle d'Orkenay, her niece, who seems to be very pleased, unless perhaps her honest words do not come from her heart.

Madam, I have visited on your part the little Duke of Lennox, who is a very nice child, and promises much from his good nature. I gave him a sermon as small as himself to keep him in the continuance of our religion, and in the respect and fidelity that he owes to the service of your majesty, towards whom I find him very affectionate and desirous to serve you one day, indeed with more sentiment than his age can give him. According to your majesty's commandment, I have recommended him to the King, who holds him as dear as his own child. And nevertheless I fear that the favour of Arran or Colonel Stewart may crush the fruit of friendship that the King bears him, or that they may dissuade him from doing him any kindness. Moreover, he can only have recourse to your majesty, who is his

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1584. Queen and mistress, to maintain him in an encounter with the others. On this occasion instructed in my opinion by Cavaillon, he requested me to offer you his life and his good and serviceable will, in hope that God may give him grace one day to employ himself in your service and that of the King your son. Madam, his majesty had given him the abbey of Paisley after the death of the Earl of Gowrie, which at last, at the persuasion of the Earl of Arran and Colonel Stewart, the King has consented to be pledged to the citizens of Edinburgh for some money that his majesty owes them. There is only the danger that at last they will cause it to be lost to the poor little Duke, whose greatness they try to diminish by poverty. On this occasion, madam, he has commanded me to pray very humbly your majesty to write in his recommendation a letter to the King your son for the entertainment of his goods and his augmentation in giving him the said abbey of Paisley, as I have it on promise from his majesty, and also that it may please your majesty to recommend to him all the faithful friends and servants who are affectionate to him as they were to the Duke of Lennox, his father, and it may please the King to grant to the little Duke his son what he will require for them, his majesty not permitting that the other lords should oppose them, especially in what is just and reasonable, to the end that by this means the little Duke of Lennox can keep for himself in times to come the said friends and servants of his father. Moreover, that it may please your majesty to work for his friends by an alliance which could be made for the marriage of his three sisters, that is to say, the eldest with the Earl of Huntly, according to the promise and contract which is already made. The second to the eldest of Montrose; and the third with the eldest son of the Earl of Argyll, begging very humbly your majesty to speak to the King, your son, about it, and to write of it a few words to the said earls. Moreover, if the ancient customs and privileges of the Kings of Scotland are immediately renewed in France and the company of armed men may be granted, that it may please your majesty to have this granted to him by the King your son, and by the King of France, in consideration that those of the house of Lennox have always been esteemed. And although he may not be of a competent age to hold this charge, another could be named under him who could take his place during his minority. Madam, I entreat your majesty in the same way for the hope that you may have one day of the services of the said Duke of Lennox to do something towards the King, that he may not permit in any respect whatever that anyone but Cavaillon should have charge of the said Duke of Lennox, as I know that there are many lords who prosecute him, hating that he is such a firm Catholic, and such a faithful keeper for the good of his little master. I know well that they could give him a governor of a better house, more learned and clever, but not people so good, honest, and faithful to your majesties. I have sent to your majesty by way of France an open letter from Cavaillon, which makes known to your majesty the devotion that he has to do you humble and faithful service all his life, to which I should think it superfluous to add anything else. He has begged me to know whether it would please your majesty that he should use the cipher which served between the late Duke of Lennox and your majesties, which he has brought here by commandment of the Duke of Guise. He would esteem himself infinitely honoured if it would please

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1584. your majesty to write to him a few words, and command him as freely as he desires to serve your faithfully. Madam, this is all that I can at present write to your majesty of what concerns your service and his. This despatch goes by way of France in the hands of Morgan. If I can find shortly a quicker way by England, I will send your majesty a duplicate of the present with knowledge of what between now and then I have advanced in your affairs. In this expectation I pray God the creator, madam, to keep you in all increasing prosperity and health. From Edinburgh 15 August 1584, according to the old reckoning.

To Nau.

My brother, the letter which follows will remain secret between you and me.

My brother, as an excuse for the bad order that I shall observe in what I add to the letters of the Queen, I will not tell you anything else except that I am not contriving alone to [ ] negotiate, to write in several respects, namely, in cipher without having a man who writes under me or who makes neat my short notes which helps me in my work, being impossible for me, making alone my charge to write so fully and in the order that I should wish.

On this occasion, to gain time, I will tell you briefly in the first place that the Duke of Guise and Seton have done me the most traitorous and wicked offices possible. Before my arrival they wrote here to their partisans to thwart me. In the letters that the Duke of Guise gave me for the King he did not mention a single word of me, nevertheless, I know that a month ago he wrote to his majesty of my coming and to my discredit. I am infinitely obliged to the bishop of Rosse for the good offices that he did me at Rouen. I beg you to bring me again before the Queen in what will be desirable, especially in the place of Chancellor. I have made Fentry and Gray believe that on account of certain pirates I was obliged to throw into the sea all the papers of my negotiation. It was not necessary to change my name as several knew me here, having seen me formerly at Paris and elsewhere. Without the hope that I had of finding you here or that you would come here shortly, as Monsieur de Mauvissière had written to me, I should not have left France for all the Kings in the world, believe me. If once before my return I can see you, or visit the Queen, I shall consider myself very happy for having undertaken this journey, not desiring greater recompense for my pains.

The King received me very well; he treated me better in effect than in appearance; he gave me much credit without many caresses. Since the day of my arrival near him he commanded that they should make me live in his house with the earls and lords, and that they should let me go everywhere, even in his room and that of the other lords. The Saturday following my arrival he commanded his equerry to bring me one of his coursers that I should follow him and accompany him hunting. Since, his majesty has sent me as a gift by his equerry a very fine and beautiful horse. By the letters of the Queen above you will see that he has promised me everything I asked him, even in what I had to discuss against the Earl of Arran, and nevertheless he made me very little private confidence, expressly, in my opinion,

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1584. to remove from the lords the jealousy that they would feel, as some have already, at seeing me speak so often to his majesty. At one thing only I am astonished, he has never inquired anything of the Queen or of her health, or her treatment, her servants, her living, and eating, her recreation, or anything similar, and nevertheless I know that he loves and honours her very much in his heart. To tell you freely what I have known of him—he is, for his age, the first Prince who has ever been in this world. He has three parts of the soul in perfection. He grasps and understands quickly; he judges carefully and with reasonable discourses; he restrains himself well and for long. In his demands he is quick and piercing, and determined in his replies. Of whatever thing they dispute, whether it be religion or anything else, he believes and maintains always what seems to him most true and just, so that in several disputes on religion I have seen him take the cause for Monsieur de Fentray and defend him constantly against his adversaries, although they were of the same belief as he. He is learned in many languages, sciences, and affairs of state—I daresay more than all those of his kingdom. In short he has marvellous spirit—for the rest full of virtuous glory and good opinion of himself. Having been nourished in fear he has still this fault, that he often dare not contradict the great lords, and nevertheless he likes very much to be considered brave and to be feared. He has such a good heart that there is nothing so laborious that, for the sake of virtue, he would not wish to try and to support others therein. Having known lately that my lord Doun had been two days and two nights without sleeping, he passed three with him. But if once he saw himself surpassed in such exercises he abhors them ever after. He hates dancing and music in general, as likewise all wantonness at Court, be it in discourses of love or in curiosity of habits, not being about to see above all *ear-rings*. His ways for want of being well instructed are very rude and uncivil in speaking, eating, manners, games, and entertainment in the company of women. He never stops in one place, taking a singular pleasure in walking, but his gait is bad, composed of erratic steps, and he tramps about even in his room. He has a loud voice, and is very grave in his words. He likes hunting above all the pleasures of this world, remaining there at least six hours together chasing all over the place with loosened rein. He has a weak body, but is in no wise delicate. In short, to tell you in one word, he is an old young man resembling the sirens of Socrates. I have only noticed in him three things very bad for the preservation of his state and the government of the same. The first is his ignorance and lack of knowledge of his poverty and his little strength, promising too much of himself and despising other princes. The second, that he loves indiscretely and inadvisedly in spite of his subjects.

The third is that he is too lazy and too thoughtless over his affairs, too willing and devoted to his pleasure, especially hunting, leaving all his affairs to be managed by the Earl of Arran, Montrose, and the Secretary. I know well that this is excusable at his young age, but it is to be feared that continuance will confirm him in this habit.

For this purpose lately having mentioned to him some word of how it appeared to me, putting before his eyes the example of the last Kings of France, of the race of Clouis, who, although they amused themselves hunting near their castle of Santoing, would give time and means to

Elizabeth.
1584. the mayors of the palace to grind and forge the razor which shaved them into monks of St. Denis. He replied to me very secretly that he would guard well against such misfortune, because no affair of importance ever happened of which he did not know, although he did not seem to. And although he spent much of his time hunting he could do as much business in one hour as others would in a day, because simultaneously he listened and spoke, watched, and sometimes did five things at once. That nothing was done secretly by the lords that he did not know, by means of having spies at the doors of their rooms morning and evening, who came and reported everything to him. For the rest, he is a true son of his mother in many things, but principally in that he is weak in body and cannot work long at his affairs, but when he gives himself to it he does more than six others together, adding that sometimes he has wished to force and keep himself six days continually at accounts, but that immediately after he never fails to be ill.

He told me that on the whole he resembled the genets of Spain, who have only a brave course, otherwise the continuation carries them away. These are the same terms which he used.

My brother, the Earl of Arran, Gray, Fentray each set a good face on a bad matter. They are the strongest party that I have here. I pray you very humbly and affectionately that Monsieur de Lennox, Cavaillon and Colonel Stewart may know that you like me and that you have credit near the Queen. On the whole send me, if you please, promptly the letters, and ask her majesty for them. I have not been well since my arrival, being continually troubled with my kidneys and teeth on account of the continual dampness of the air of this country, which overwhelms me. If you like me and believe me it is time that I made a final retreat, offering on this order to do all that it may please you for the service of her majesty and for you, otherwise I will remain under the burden, leading a life continually miserable and unhealthy. My expenses amount to twice what they were in France, having two servants and three horses to feed without myself, besides all the extras that I am obliged to have to maintain my rank. I am staying at the house of the father of John Laudre, whom I forgot to recommend to you. He desires by your means that the Queen should obtain for him at the house of the King her son the office of valet de chambre.

I fear that the Queen of England may refuse to give the King of Scotland a passport for me to go and see the Queen, which I pray you to look to.

The bishop of Glasgow, from what I have understood here, accuses you of very bad offices, having said to some one that you were the support of the Queen, and that you fill your purse well through her. Being then in Paris Monsieur de Seton and Monsieur de Ross told me the same. I am afraid that the King of Scotland may have heard something, because he has never spoken to me of you, neither well nor badly, although before my arrival in this country he knew well that I was your brother.

Monsieur de Neubotel died this morning.

[The Master] of Gray is of very bad conscience, little secretive, unfaithful, and traitorous.

Fentray is a very good man, except for Glasgow and the Jesuits.

I do not know what to say of Monsieur de Arran for fear of lying.

Everyone hates him like the devil. And nevertheless, if I may be

Elizabeth.
1584. believed, the Queen will make use of him, for in all extremity it is a bad necessity. I have not the leisure to tell you anything more except that I kiss your hands very humbly and with all my heart. Praying God to keep you long in perfect health and to give you the accomplishment of your good intentions. Edinburgh.

7¼ *pp. French. Cipher. Indorsed:* "15 August 1584. Fontenay to the Q. of Scottes."

Decipher of the same.

Another copy of the same.

Aug. 16. **248. [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.**

By his last letter of the 8th his honour might understand how things have fallen out here, beyond all opinion. About 4 p.m. the same day Arran received the keys, and, having removed all such as he found there, put in others at his devotion. On Monday he conveyed thither bag and baggage, with his lady and household. The same afternoon, calling for the keys of the jewels and wardrobe—which were not to be had on the sudden—he broke up the chests, surveyed the jewels, and desired the keys of Sir Robert Melville, with whom, by virtue of his office of under-treasurer, they remained, telling him and the rest who were present that he did not mean to be simple captain, as others who had gone before him, but to have as well the disposition of all those things that were there, as of the piece itself, seeing he was now answerable for the one and other, as he who thinks it not enough to have the possession of the chief strength of the country. For Dumbarton, Stirling, Blackness, and Edinburgh are now at his devotion, with the whole treasure, jewels and wealth of the realm, whereof his lady and he are now become stewards. The Master of Mar, whose facility and want of resolution and courage all men exclaim of—the rather in regard of the great hatred they bear to his successor, and the unlucky fruit they "attend" by this change—went on Tuesday last * to the Court to open his griefs to the King and let him see his own ingratitude towards him, who from his cradle had showed so many proofs of his fidelity and tender care over him. He took with him the constable, who, avoiding only the first fury, returned immediately to this town, where he has since remained, and now is gone with the Master to offer himself for trial, in case he be charged with any such matter as his enemies, to "blear" the King's eyes and to obtain their purpose of this house, accused him and others of. But what reception they have had, he does not yet hear.

To comfort the Master, who has taken this disgrace very hardly at the King's hands, and now "forethinks himself" when it is too late, they have offered him the lordship of Erskine, which is his nephew's, though he rather desired to have his own lands freed of the debts wherewith they are entangled. But his success in either is yet doubtful. Arran at his coming from Court brought over George Drummond with him, but the Provost of Lincluden [Glanclowden] remains yet at Falkland, neither the one nor the other being further pressed in examination since he obtained his purpose.

The morning he [Arran] departed towards the Borders, which was

* 11th.

Elizabeth.
1584. on Tuesday, he came to him and with plenty of words, discoursed to him his affection to do good offices, protesting the fault should be theirs [the English] if such things do not succeed well. Told him he need not put that doubt, considering the many proofs her majesty had given of her disposition to peace and quiet at home and with her neighbours, and assured him rather that the want, if any happened, should grow from hence. He appeared to suspect some motion of the lords in England, and thought there could be no sound friendship contracted so long as her majesty inclined her favour towards those whom, as he said, his master had so great cause to hate. But because he [Davison] was not acquainted with the particular dealings between him and Lord Hunsdon, told him he could say little therein, but that he thought her majesty would propound nothing that might not very well stand with her honour and the King his master's weal.

He was accompanied to the Borders by the Earls of Rothes and Bothwell, the Secretary, the Justice Clerk, and divers barons of Fife, Lothian, Linlithgowshire, *etc.*, besides the officers on the Borders and others of his own friends, in all above 4000, because a less number might neither beseem his greatness nor stand with his surety. Amongst these there was not one joined with him in commission, or privy, as they pretended, to his charge, other than in generality, because his nature can brook no fellowship. But what effect this meeting has taken, his honour shall best understand from Lord Hunsdon.

On his [Arran's] return home yesterday afternoon he was welcomed with cannon shot out of the Castle, a ceremony seldom or never used but in parliament time towards the King himself. His lady, who remained Captain in his absence, has been diligent in giving directions for the making of new carriages for the ordnance, and supplying other necessaries belonging to their new gained strength, where they think to build themselves a sure nest against the justice of God and malice of men. It is thought he will procure the King to write to Argyll to resign up to him the title of Chancellor—whereof he already usurps the authority *pleno jure*—to the end there be nothing wanting to his greatness; whose immoderate and ambitious thoughts, in the judgment of some very wise men, aspire to other things than the world yet dreams of. His lady and he *penes quos est summa rerum* have enrolled above sixty persons of note to be forfeited in this Parliament—appointed to hold on the 20th instant—amongst whom are the two Countesses of Mar—albeit some think the elder, rather for shame than affection, shall be spared—the Countess of Cassillis, wife to Lord John Hamilton, the Lady Hume, wife to the Master of Glamis, "and other to whose dowries my Ladie of Arrane meaneth to be collectorese," having as many others in store against the next session of Parliament, which shall be purposely continued for their advantage. On their last being at Court, she, not contenting herself to be of the Cabinet Council whilst this pretended conspiracy and practice for the Castle was in hand, took upon her to sit amongst them in public council as moderator of the assembly, with as much discredit to the place as note of her own impudency, who esteem lawful whatsoever is lawful to her. But they feed themselves here with this comfort that "quicquid excessit modum pendet instabili loco."

They had general muster throughout the whole country on Monday last, which they call their "weaponshew day." On Thursday pro-

Elizabeth.
1584. clamation was made that all ministers should give up their rentals of their benefices into the exchequer, to the end that none hereafter receive any profit of their livings but such only as shall submit themselves and subscribe to the new framed policy. Mr. Andrew Hay, who, with divers others, has absolutely refused it, is commanded to depart the country within twenty days, with special inhibition not to repair to England or Ireland—whose air they hold as contagious. And for the same cause the university of Glasgow is, by the bishop's diligence, made utterly vacant, the college doors locked up, the students dismissed, and the regents and masters committed. The like curtesy is exercised towards those of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, as if these bishops thought their glory and surety to stand in bringing in ignorance and confusion into the schools, and, by the same degrees, corruption and atheism into the Church, wherein their labour has too great appearance of effect if this course be long continued.

The bishop of St. Andrews has addressed one Mr. Archibald Harbishonne to England as well to call home some of his countrymen of his own humour to occupy the rooms of honest men, as for some other purposes with the French ambassador. The man is determined to land at Lynn, and may very well be forstalled.

The King is to be here about Tuesday next; where the watching and warding continues still, and a new order is taken by commandment of the new castellan that no man stir out of his doors after the knelling of a bell at 10 p.m. upon great penalty. Little countenance be outwardly given hereto, or reckoning made of Fonteny, the French negotiator, whose business seems to be laid in the dock till they see what fruit this solemn meeting will bring forth. He is, notwithstanding, very diligent to solicit all such as he thinks may do aught, and has had oft and longe discourse with Arran and his lady, the secret whereof Lord Hunsdon is, he thinks, ere this time acquainted with from himself. The bruit his honour had out of France touching Lords Claud and John Hamilton, he [Davison] sees little to confirm. The King of Scots, he knows, has some favourable opinion of Lord John Hamilton, but the contrary of the other. The reason, he adds, is because he has given up kindness, as he terms it, with the Queen of Scots. Takes the scope of that bruit to be a stratagem to make them suspect the English and those they are to be reconciled with, and to have his "original" from the Queen of Scots or her friends, who fear the success of such a conjunction if it goes forward with the favour of the Queen of England; whereof here have been great bruits, "but suspect to my selfe," because he hears nothing thereof from his honour.

Here is news out of France that there is a "companion" to Rome calling himself the King's base brother, carrying a commission under the great seal of Scotland and the subscriptions of divers of the nobility importing the King's revolt to the Catholic religion, and desiring support of money from the Pope. This man is detected to be another Perkin Warbeck set out to deface the King of Scots. There is little appearance that the bishops here can long brook their new empire with quiet, either in respect of the cause or the persons, which are generally condemned. There was an alarm given to the bishop at St. Andrews last week by certain of the students remaining there, and others to the number of twenty or thirty persons, every man with his harquebus, who bestowed the most part of the night in shooting against the

Elizabeth.
1584. windows of the castle, where the bishop lay, and of his house in the town, leaving behind them a testimony of their good meaning towards him. On the morrow, the bishop, thinking to have gotten the trial of this fact, caused a few students of the college who remained to be convened in the public schools, making very diligent inquisition of the former night's disorder, but found nothing save that such as were suspected and examined, though they denied their presence, confessed they wished the bishop " so well as it was not slender a revenge as that could satisfie them for the publique hurt he had done," and willed him to remember how fatal that see had been to his predecessors, and to look for no better issue.

This last weeek the bishop of Glasgow, his excommunicated brother, accompanied with Lord Sempill and the Masters of Eglinton and Seton, and 80 horse, coming to Air, were met upon the bridge by a number of lads, boys and women, who followed him to his lodging with outcries of " atheist dogge, schismatique and excommunicat beast onworthy to breath or beare life, much lesse to be sene in companie of Christians," and were hardly withheld from stoning him out of the town. After he had dined he went, notwithstanding, to the church, where he broke open the doors, the keys being refused him; and having sent for the magistrates, they refused to come to him, but sent him privately an admonition in writing, which, being laid on the desk of the pulpit before him while he was at his prayers, troubled his patience when he perused, the persons who laid it there retiring without note. This kind entreaty made him shorten his invective sermon, and departing the town the same night, he went to Irwin. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—There are certain lasts of cannon and other shot come out of Sweden, which are conveyed up to the Castle. Hears they came from Sir Andrew Keith.

3¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 113. Original of the same.

Aug. 17. **249. Hunsdon to Mr. William Davison.**

Partly dealt with the Earl of Arran at their meeting touching the Scottish noblemen here in England. Who made a long discourse to him at the raid at Ruthven and at Stirling, and avowed constantly to him that they are privy to this last conspiracy, which he has promised him he shall see apparently. Told him it would be necessary for him so to do, or else it would be thought to be but a practice of himself and others their enemies to make them the more odious to the King, especially at this time. He assured him the contrary should well appear, yet he confessed to him that he had good cause to be their enemy, for they sought his life, and told him plainly that if her majesty should seek now to deal for them—especially for Angus—it might be some hindrance to the causes now in hand.

Received letters yesterday from the earls and the Master of Glamis, who affirm constantly that they never were privy to, or understood anything of the matter. The Master of Glamis offers that if it may be tried by him or any about him, he will either enter them or himself to abide the law to the uttermost. Will advertise the Earl of Arran of this, and pray him that he may understand certainly how far they are to be charged therewith. Touching the matters the Earl of Arran

Elizabeth. 1584. and he dealt in, hopes they shall take better effect than a great many in England and Scotland look for. Received this morning a packet which he sends him herewith. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 17. **250. [Mr. William Davison] to Walsingham.**

Yesternight, after the closing of the other letters, the Master of Mar returned from the Court, where he has been fed with many good words, the King labouring to remove his discontentment and to cover his own fault, bearing him in hand that he sent no charge for his delivery of the piece; but by Arran's importunity yielded thus far, that he should treat with him for goodwill, and found great fault that the matter was so violently and hardly handled. The recompense he has gotten is the countenance of the allowance he had for the castle—which is about 50 chaulders of victuals and 2200 marks Scottish by the year—for his own private use till the King may take other order for him.

The Colonel [William Stewart] at the Master's being there pretended to be sorry that he had been thus hardly dealt withal, complaining greatly of the proceeding of his competitors, and wondering what he aimed at. But his discontentment was the greater that the prey was taken out of his own hand, who had a great while aspired to it. It is certain there is a great heart burning betwixt him and Arran, who has done him many disgraces underhand, and labours to keep him under both in calling and in the King's opinion, that he may carry away the whole sway himself. The next day after the castle was yielded up there came letters from Argyll assuring his concurrence and goodwill to see things redressed; who determined to send hither "e d t b m i o" this parliament, instructed with his own mind and to sound the affections of his other friends.

It is here in the mouths of all men, and confirmed by one Abercromby newly come from Paris, as a bruit constant there, that this meeting tended to a marriage betwixt the King of Scots and Mistress Frances Howard, which, if it be true, was matter enough to occupy Folden Kirk for one day, and, as he hears, "it may be eyther that or what els pleased then," for aught the company can tell. For the Earl of Rothes, Lord Fleming, the Secretary, and others of the Council who accompanied Arran thither kept scout watch in the open churchyard whilst they two were together—a thing much noted and stomached.

The two Englishmen who have [been] this while past entertained in the north by Huntly were brought by Robert Collingwood to the Colonel's [Stewart] lodgings late in the evening during his last being here; but of their traffic together, he can learn no particular. On their going through Cupar they met with Fonteny, with whom they had long discourse, and they are now at Seton.

Has had no speech with Arran since his return, neither has he been hasty to send to him, because he would not seem curious in his dealing with Lord Hunsdon. Requests to be revoked, because he sees no great use of his stay here, where he is still observed notwithstanding all the fair weather. Hopes he will return his man. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—The ministers licensed to depart the country are this

Elizabeth.
1584 day by public proclamation inhibited without further order from his majesty, but to what end or whereupon this stay grows is yet in question. As he was going to make up his packet the Earl of Arran came to visit him, and discovered to him generally what had passed between him and Lord Hunsdon. He stayed with him almost three hours, passing from one purpose to another, but of the secret, if any be, he opened nothing to him. He pretended to be very well satisfied with Lord Hunsdon, whom he greatly commends. He complained of the West March, which, he said, made a raid into Scotland and took divers prisoners whilst they were at this meeting, with many other things which were long to write and not greatly necessary. Requests him to use his letter with care.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 115. Original of the same.

Aug. 18. **251. [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO BURGHLEY.**

By his last [letter] to Mr. Secretary his lordship might understand of the sudden and unexpected delivery up of this castle, and what has fallen out since he may perceive by the copy of his general letter to his honour, which he incloses herewith. The Master of Mar is since returned from the Court, where he has been fed with plenty of good words, the King labouring to remove his discontentment and to cover his own fault with Arran's importunity, bearing him, notwithstanding, in hand that he gave no charge against him, but only yielded that Arran should treat with him for his goodwill, and finds great fault the matter was so violently and hardly handled. The recompense he has yet gotten is the continuance of the allowances he had for the Castle, which is about 50 chalders of victuals and 1200 marks Scottish by the year for his own private use till the King may take other order for him. Colonel Stewart pretended to be sorry that he had been thus hardly dealt with, but his discontentment was the greater that the prey escaped his own talons. There is great heartburning between him and Arran. It is in the mouths of all men here that this meeting tended to a marriage betwixt the King of Scots and the fair gentlewoman he advertised him of. The company that attended on Arran thither pretend to be utterly ignorant of any particulars. The Englishmen who have been entertained with Huntly have arrived in these parts.

The late bruited conspiracy, for aught he can hear, is ended with the possession of the Castle, for Drummond, who was noted the discoverer thereof, waited on Arran to the Border.

Is assured by men of great credit that Arran is fed—by the wisdom of his wife and others her like, whereof her country of Atholl affords many—with an expectation of greater things than he has yet attained to, which makes him push on his fortune as he does, though all men think and hope it will be rather such an advancement as Walter, Earl of Atholl, obtained in the days of James I.

Here is yet little appearance of any sudden change, though desired of all men. But when the storm rises here it is very sudden, violent, and hard to avoid. For himself he would not be a persuader of her majesty to hazard much amidst so many uncertainties; for, though she gives but the looking on, things cannot last long in the terms

Elizabeth.
1584. they are. The Earl of Arran pretends great liking of Lord Hunsdon, but blames Lord Scrope as one who does not favour the present Court. During his being at the Border there was, as he says, a raid made by the English West March. The ministers licensed to depart are now stayed. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—Finds by some of Arran's friends and by some part of his own discourse that he looks that her majesty should buy his kindness. But, to speak truly, he knows not what it may avail her, other than a loss of the hearts of all the rest.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed. Postscript in Davison's hand.*

Aug. 18.* **252.** [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO HUNSDON.

Received his letter this morning by this bearer, with a packet from Mr. Secretary. Finds by his [Hunsdon's] that the Earl of Arran has, amongst other things, at this meeting "agreved" to him the fault of the lords in England, whom, besides former attempts, he charges with a late conspiracy, and promises to give a plain detection thereof. Confesses, albeit he has been curious to know the ground and circumstances of that pretended enterprise, yet he in truth understands nothing but what the Earl of Arran has told him, and therefore has been slow to write anything thereof to him, unless he saw some particulars that might probably induce the confirmation.

The Constable of the Castle, whom they especially suspect, has been with the King and offered himself to abide any equal trial: from whom he has been favourably dismissed, which gives some argument for the innocency of himself and the rest. Besides, he does not hear any constant report either of the persons or the form, or other circumstances which must necessarily concur and be considered in such attempts, whereof here is now very little speech.

The Earl of Arran was with him yesternight and discoursed generally to him of his meeting with him, pretending to be greatly satisfied with him, of whom he speaks all the good that may be. Hopes this beginning shall break the ice and make a good way to the reparation of the unkindnesses which these few late years have contracted between her majesty and this King, who, if he be not mistaken, may be yet made hers. What he may do here to set forward so good a purpose, he would be loth to fail in. Incloses a packet for Mr. Secretary. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

[Aug.] **253.** [ELIZABETH] TO HUNSDON.

Since her former letter to him in the behalf of the distressed noblemen of Scotland came too late to his hands to procure them that relief that she desired—the cause whereof proceeded partly by reason of the sudden holding of the parliament and the forfeiting of them in the same ere she could scarcely be advertised of his meeting and conference with the Earl of Arran, and partly also for that she conceived the guilt of the new imputation laid on them would make them incapable of the benefit of her mediation for them; wherein

* Wrongly dated, 17th.

Elizabeth.
1584. she has just cause to think that there has been double wrong offered to her; first, by the devising of such indirect means to stay her request and intercessions for them; and next, in the slander that her realm sustains by harbouring those who should attempt so disloyal and wicked an enterprise against their natural Prince and country—yet being still moved with compassion for their hard and lamentable case, and weighing what dangerous consequences may fall out for the King to drive so many his subjects of that quality, birth and alliance as they are to so great extremity and desperation as the hard hand that is held over them may cast them into, she would have him deal very earnestly and effectually with the King in her name to take a more mild and temperate course with his subjects, by suffering them at least to enjoy the benefit of their lands and livings, though not in their own country, putting him in mind of the peril and danger that he may otherwise cast himself into. The better to draw his assent hereto, is to assure him that she will undertake for them that they shall during their abode in her dominions carry themselves in that loyal and dutiful sort towards him that becomes them. If he shall refuse, then he is to let him understand that she will thereby have just cause to conceive that his outward protestations of amity and friendly meaning towards her and his inward disposition do not agree when the effects do not confirm the same in a matter tending so much to her satisfaction with regard also to his own honour and safety. For it has been found by common experience that in all cases the greatest monarchs, yielding to necessity to prevent greater inconveniences, have been content to receive their subjects estranged for a time from them to their wonted grace and favour; examples whereof are confirmed in the course of government of his own mother and the French King's, who in cases of far greater consequence, their subjects coming armed into the field, *etc.*, have, notwithstanding, yielded rather to wink at such undutiful demeanour as they conceived to have been used towards them, than stand to the hazard of the loss of their estate, which otherwise they might have put themselves into, whereas the case of these his subjects concerns but private quarrels between them and others of his nobility, which had their beginning in the time of his minority, without any purpose or intent in them to attempt aught against his own State or person. And for that she supposes he shall make choice of the Earl of Arran as the aptest instrument to prefer her mediation to the King, she thinks meet he should also let the said earl understand that if he looks well to his own state and consider the matter indifferently and without passion, he shall then find that he shall not reap the least part of the benefit that may grow by the re-uniting of the nobility in good friendship under the King's obedience, if he shall employ himself to do good offices therein; which she will accept at his hands in some part of amends of the wrong that before was done to her by charging the said noblemen with a slanderous imputation, thereby to make them more odious to the world and to stay her from using her mediation for their relief.

4⅓ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Aug. 18.
C.P., vol. XIII.

254. BISHOP OF ROSS TO MARY.

May it please your majesty to understand that I have deferred for a long time writing to you, for fear that my letters might bring you some jealousy or suspicion from the others, being content to give time to my spiritual functions that I exercise in this country, praying God daily for the health of your majesty and to console you in your affliction, as also to preserve my lord the King, your son, the virtues and good inclination of whom give to us, all your very humble subjects, great hope.

Now necessity constrains me to show your majesty the hard treatment that I receive from your treasurer, Monsieur de Channes, who, since the Feast of St. John the Baptist last, my having been twice sent as a messenger from this town to Paris, refused to pay me my provision that it has pleased your majesty to order for me, saying for his reasons that he has not any estate or commandment to pay me.

Wherefore I beg very humbly your majesty—seeing that I have no other means to keep myself in this exile—to send an order or express commandment to the said treasurer to pay me every year at the usual terms, without waiting for estate or commandment, and that it may please you to send it to me to present to him. Which would be the occasion that I could better be at leisure to pray God for your deliverance, and to reserve me to do very humble service for your majesty, whatever it may please you to command me. Hoping shortly to have a reply from your majesty I beg the Creator, madam, to keep you in His holy grace. Rouen. *Signed:* Jehan Evesque de Rosse.

1 *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 18.
C.P., vol. XIII.

255. BISHOP OF ROSS TO MONSIEUR DE MAUVISSIÈRE.

Monsieur, this present is to beg you will do me so great a favour as to forward a certain letter that I send, to the Queen my mistress, forasmuch as the said letter is very important to me privately, as you will see by the same, as for this purpose I have not shut it up or closed it, begging you again to do me this courtesy and friendship to take care of the said letter that it may be safely and faithfully carried and presented to the majesty of my said Lady and mistress, and that by your good means I can have a reply thereto shortly. Doing which you will oblige me more and more to do you very humble service in whatever respect it may please you to employ me, and to pray God, monsieur, to give you very perfect health and long and happy life. Rouen. *Signed:* Jehan Evesque de Rosse.

In Mauvissière's hand.—Monsieur Nau will send me if it pleases him the reply that it will please the Queen to make to the Bishop of Ross, who prays me to send him a servant.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 19.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 116.

256. HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM].

I received your letter of the 14th on the morning of the 18th, and presently despatched Cuthbert Armerour to the Earl of Arran with such matters as were contained in your other note, whereof I had dealt with him before, according to a former note sent to me from you. Whose answer at our meeting was as I have written to

Elizabeth.
1584. you. And now I have written to him that her majesty being certainly advertised that the arrival of those Scottish men in Ireland is very true, and therefore it cannot be without the King's privity, which he cannot be ignorant of, has therefore required him, that, as he has seemed and protested to deal plainly with me in all things, I may understand from him the truth and certainty of this matter. For if the King be not privy to it, then are the Earl of Argyll and Mackintosh to be sent for by the King to answer how they dare send any man to Ireland to disquiet her majesty's estate there without the King's commandment or privity; for those Scottish men must needs go from thence. And the same Mackintosh is a very loose fellow and has done the like before, though not in great numbers, and therefore the liker to be his doing now. For I think the Earl of Argyll will not do anything to offend her majesty—at least he has professed so heretofore.

I have also written to the Earl to require him to look well into this late conspiracy, that the distressed Earls and others may not be slandered nor their faults aggravated without just cause, and that it touches him greatly in honour. For if they be guiltless, as I can see no likelihood to the contrary, the world must needs condemn him of doing it out of malice, to make them the more odious to the King if the Queen's majesty my sovereign should any way deal for them. And therefore [I] have required him, according to his promise, that he will set me down directly how far and in what sort they or any of them are to be touched therein, and by whom: the rather because I had, the day before, received letters from the Earls and the Master of Glamis. And for that the Master of Glamis wrote to me at more length than the other, I sent a copy of his letter to the Earl; wherein he writes that if he may be justly charged to be knowing or consenting to any such matter, he is contented, although he is a stranger in this realm, to abide the uttermost of the laws of this realm notwithstanding; and that if any of his here in England be either privy to, or have dealt in that matter, he promises me on his honour to send him hither to me to be delivered into Scotland to be tried there. And whereas it has been given out that his hand should be "at a blancke," if that be true he will enter himself into Scotland. And if any friend of his in Scotland may be justly touched herein, he wishes he may "have the law." He makes discourse also in his letter what enmity there is, and has been, between him and the Earl of Crawford, and therefore [it is] not likely that he would put himself so far into his enemy's hands, although there had been a reconciliation between them before. And for the conspirators within the Castle [of Edinburgh], his acquaintance with them was so little that he never had any dealing with any of them.

I pray you let me know her majesty's pleasure whether I shall send Robin Carey to the King or not, for he seems very desirious to have him come to him; and it may be that his being there may do some good in this matter. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—The Earl has written to me to pray me to make haste for the passport I wrote to you of for the Master of Gray, who is ready to come away as soon as I shall advertise the Earl thereof.

1⅔ *pp. Postscript in Hunsdon's hand.*
No flyleaf or address.

Elizabeth.
1584.
Aug. 20.

257. [WALSINGHAM] TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Incloses an extract of the conference that has passed between Lord Hunsdon and Arran, whereby he may perceive that there is new matter of a pretended conspiracy laid to the charge of the lords and the rest of their party, which, though her majesty conceives to be but a cunning device to frustrate her request for their relief, yet she would be glad to understand upon what ground this information arises. In this she desires to be plainly dealt with, to the end that, if the accusation shall appear [to be] untrue, she may then by her ministers press the more earnestly her request for their relief, and state the wrong that is done to her in that such excuses are devised to delay satisfying of her reasonable desire.

Touching their desire to repair to Berwick and other places nearer the Borders, her majesty conceives that now, when new accusations are laid to their charge, their repair to those parts will serve them to small purpose, but rather irritate the King's mind and such as are their enemies so much the more against them; in respect whereof she could wish they deferred the same for the present. So careful is she of their well-doing, and so desirous to satisfy them in their reasonable request, that if she may know that [they have] cause, notwithstanding, to repair to those parts, she will presently give order for licensing them so to do.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 20.

258. [BURGHLEY] TO HUNSDON.

The Queen's majesty called me to her even now when she was ready to take horse, and told me that Mr. Secretary had showed her all your last letters and writings containing your negotiation with the Earl of Arran—all of which, I thank your lordship, I also understood by your own [letters] to me—and she could perceive no such ground of matter worth your meeting with the earl whereupon to build any certainty with the Scottish King or to give faith to Arran. For she says that his answers to most part of your articles of charge are either so general that they contain no certainty, or are so manifestly untrue in divers points that either she has cause to think that Arran cares not what he says to serve his purpose, or else is made more ignorant of the King's actions than he would seem to be, and so is abused himself, or that he is appointed to abuse her majesty.

In the third article, her majesty being so well assured of the receipt of Jesuits and harbouring of them in that realm, and of their resort to the King, thinks that the earl's answer, so peremptorily denying the same, cannot but be an abuse to her. But, for the fourth, concerning the association with the Queen mother, her majesty takes his answer also to be without credit, specially in that he affirms that it is not intended. And to the fifth, her majesty says that the Queen of Scots herself could not deny to Mr. Beale but that there were means used both to her and her son to trouble her majesty; but she said she was not bound to tell the names of them.

Lastly, her majesty willed me to put you in remembrance of the former earnest writings to your lordship many times how her majesty should be certified of a number of matters meet and necessary for her to know. But, as she says, for anything that now passed betwixt

Elizabeth.
1584. your lordship and Arran, there is no manner of thing passed from him to her satisfaction, but in generality of words of kindness and goodwill; so that her majesty is in more doubt of their good meaning than she was before, without that hereafter your lordship may attain to more particularities to make her majesty better assured of the King's firm intention of good amity with her majesty.

And now for the coming hither of the Master of Gray to her majesty with offer to discover to her majesty matters of importance, her majesty doubts greatly of his good meaning, being, as is certainly known, a professed servitor to the Scottish Queen, and, by common report, either a great Papist or worse. But she is content to make proof of him, and wills that your lordship shall let him know that her majesty is so content, so that he will deal plainly with her; and in so doing he shall find her majesty to have regard for him. And if he shall assent hereto, then she would have you to make choice of some trusty and discreet person to come with him—such one as Mr. Arrington. But she says, when the Duke of Lennox was conducted hither the parties did not well use themselves, for he was suffered to have intelligence on the way at his will, whereof she would have better regard had if this gentleman shall now come hither.

1⅔ *pp. Copy in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *Indorsed.*

Aug. 20. **259.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO LEICESTER.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 127.

"Please your lordship, what extremitie our goode cause is cast into be this laite mediatione, and howe injustlie wee are sclaundered Mr. Colvile can enforme your lordship thereof, and of all other materes concerninge us, to whose sufficiencie wee committ the same. Earnestlie desyringe your honoure truste him. Surelie the ingyne of man colde not have invented a greater distructione for us and our saide cause, except wee had loste our lives. For remedie whereof wee are to sollicite her majestie in some heades wherein wee have desyred the said Mr. Colvile to followe preciselie your lordship's advice as the chiefe worldlie comforte and assuraunce wee have next her majestie." Newcastle *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. Mr. Glammis.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed. Wafer signet.*

Aug. [20.] **260.** PERSONS FORFEITED, ETC., IN THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 117.

Archibald, Earl of Angus.
John, Earl of Mar.
Dame Agnes Drummond, Countess of Mar, younger, *etc.*

3 *pp. Copy. Printed,* "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," *vol. iii. p.* 336, *etc.*

Aug. 21. **261.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Incloses a copy of Lord Hunsdon's last letter, by which he may see the course of proceeding between Arran and him. Her majesty does not rest well satisfied withal. She finds it convenient to continue him there till the end of the next parliament, and, besides, conceives

Elizabeth.
1584. that if he should now depart thence at this time of their discovering of this new practice that they charge the lords with, it would minister to them some occasion of suspicion that he was a party in the said practice, and therefore made haste to shift himself away when he saw that the same could not be brought to pass. But when the parliament is ended she means then to license him to return, as a thing proceeding upon his own suit. Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 22. **262.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Understands that one James M'Connell [M'Onell] a principal leader of the Irish Scots, who depends altogether upon Arran, was at the Court of Scotland in January last, when the plot was laid for the attempt of Ireland—though Arran, as he may perceive by the inclosed copy of Lord Hunsdon's letter, seems to take no knowledge of the landing of any Scots in Ireland—and that at the time of William Nugent's being there, he had commission and money delivered to him to proceed in the enterprise. Therefore prays him to use all the means and diligence he can to discover the truth of this matter, for it greatly imports her majesty to know the same. London. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—It shall be a charge well bestowed to send some well chosen person on purpose to these parts to discover by virtue of what commission or authority the said numbers were sent over to Ireland, how many they were, in what sort appointed, and what further preparations are made there.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 23. **263.** [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNSDON.

Sends herewith the safe-conduct for the Master of Gray, which could be despatched no sooner by reason of her majesty's departure from Oatlands "towardes a litle progresse." It appears by credible advertisements that this matter of Ireland was contrived in January last in Scotland, and that James M'Connell, a principal leader of the Irish Scots, who depends altogether on Arran, was then at the Court. Which practice was now revived and partly put into execution upon William Nugent's repair into that realm; for which purpose M'Connell received commission and some supply of money, howsoever they otherwise plead ignorance and seem to take no knowledge of the matter.

Touching the new pretended conspiracy that his lordship has before written to him of is laid to the charge of these distressed noblemen in England, they from their hearts protest their innocency therein and refuse no indifferent trial to clear themselves of the same, nor any punishment if it may be proved against them; and therefore it is a very hard and strange course that the Earl of Arran should suffer himself to be made an instrument of such slanderous imputations, and seek to deface and make the noblemen odious to the Queen of England and to all the world, thereby to thrust himself into the charge of Edinburgh Castle and to frustrate her majesty's reasonable

Elizabeth.
1584. request for their relief. She herself being touched in honour cannot in reason look for any sincere dealing at his hands, who shall devise such false and malicious plots. As one who loves and honours his lordship he cannot but wish that he may receive better measure at his hands than he fears he shall, and that all these goodly outward shows and vehement protestations of friendship and sound meaning will fall out to be but a device to win time to serve their own turn.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 124 b. Another copy of the same. Dated 24th August.

Aug. 24. **264.** [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.

Immediately after the despatch of his last [letters], of the 16th and 17th instant, received his of the 13th, and the next day others of the 14th, together with an abstract of a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland touching landing of 2000 or 3000 Scots in that country and appearance of some combination between them and others, both Irish and Spanish, for the troubling of the peace of that realm with the privity and consent of the King of Scots. Wherein he has done the best he can to discover the truth by such of the Earl of Argyll's friends as are in this town and best acquainted with the doings in those parts, and, amongst the rest, by his wife, who arrived here on Tuesday night last, and others; by whom he can only learn that Lauchlane Macclane of Duart and 800 of his fellows are passed to Ireland with the last O'Neill's son, born of Maclane's father's sister, to put him in possession of some part of his father's living by strong hand if the present O'Neill may not otherwise be brought to reason; and upon whose refusal, as it is reported, they have entered into this country and committed some spoil on him; but advertisement is since come to the Earl of Argyll that they are entered into some terms of agreement, the particulars whereof are yet unknown. The rest of the forces gathered about the same time in the Isles are bent, as they assure him, against M'Cloyd [M'Gloyde] of the Lewis, who having intended not only to disinherit his eldest son Torchell M'Cloyd of the Lewis, and to prefer the children of his last wife, also banished, and at divers times sought the slaughter of him and of his nephew John M'Cloyd, both of whom are the Earl of Argyll's dependers. The said earl has been moved in their favour to send the Knight of Cawlder, his lieutenant, with the assistance of M'Kenny and others of his friends to assail him in his country of the Lewis and to bring him to reason. These, as he is diversely informed, are the true causes of the late "motions" in the Isles, and that other attempt there is not.

As touching Nugent he can discover no other thing, but that he and his companion were recommended to the King [of Scots] by letters from the Duke of Guise. Those letters he delivered in the garden at Falkland, and afterward had speech with his highness in his chamber. He was afterwards committed to the Master of Gray, who conveyed him and his company to his father's house, where he was entertained till a few days before his departure. His company remains yet here, and since one Morris Desmond, brother's son to the late Earl [of Desmond], arrived at the Isle of Arran, and lately came hither, where he has had conference with the Earl of Arran,

Elizabeth.
1584. who, he thinks, has signified the substance and occasion thereof to Lord Hunsdon. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—It is confessed to him in Court, and not denied by the King, that Nugent made some overture to him for the troubling of the estate of Ireland, offering him a party there. But he denies having consented to anything to her majesty's prejudice.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed. Postscript in Davison's hand.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 120. Original of the same.

Aug. 24. **265. [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.**

Presses for his revocation. Doubts not that he is by this time acquainted with the huge promises and offers on this side recommended by Lord Hunsdon, who is grown into a great opinion of his new acquaintance, and reports great things in his praise upon this little experience. What the ground and scope of all this traffic is, he can learn nothing from themselves, who do not desire his acquaintance, though he hears by other means that it is a continuance of that motion he gave him knowledge of a good while since. Hears that "Cuddy" [Armorer] on his last coming thither brought the King very fair wrought shirts, pillowberes, coifs, and other furniture; but from whom, his honour can best judge. Finds the King very desirous of Lord Hunsdon's coming forward. Assures him it is "affected" by few others, and he sees not what may grow of it but hurt to the cause of religion, discomfort to her majesty's friends, and a furtherance and establishment of their credit who seek to build their nest in the ruin of the Church and common weal. Could be much more particular herein with him, but hopes to be at home shortly and to acquaint him at full length with some things. Edinburgh.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 24. **266. [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO WALSINGHAM.**

The next day after his last despatch, which was Wednesday, his majesty came to this town and has lodged since in the Provost's house. He did not mean to tarry longer than this day. On Thursday the Lords of the Articles began to sit, keeping the form of their last parliament in swearing them at their entry not to reveal anything till the Acts—which were before penned and resolved on by the direction and counsel of Arran and his lady, who bear the sway in all these proceedings—should be publicly read in parliament, where no one Act was reasoned or voted, but concluded and passed *pleno jure* to the general offence and mislike of all men.

The old Countess of Mar and Lady Hume—the latter at the suit of the Master of Gray—are continued till the next Session, which is appointed [for] Sept. 22nd; but the rest of the poor ladies [are] presently forfeited without respect or favour.

The poor Countess of Gowry, who, since her husband's death, is wasted with grief and affliction, met the King in a litter beyond the water on his coming hitherward, and falling down before him to move his pity and compassion towards herself and her poor innocent children, hardly obtained the hearing of the King, who departed and gave her no answer. And with what inhumanity she has been

Elizabeth.
1584. used since her coming to this town by such as have been instruments of all her woe and calamity, he takes shame to write. The same day she first compeared she moved the most part of her judges to tears, but finding no grace, the next day, being the last of the parliament, she returned to the place, purposing to tarry his majesty's coming, but commandment being sent by the Constable in his highness's name for her removing out of the house, the poor lady, seeing no other remedy, was compelled to obey it. Being led forth into the open street she there awaited his highness passing by on foot, where, falling on her knees and beseeching his majesty's compassion, Arran, going betwixt her and the King, led him hastily by her, and she reaching at his cloak to stay his majesty, Arran putting her from him not only overthrew her—which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her. Who, partly with extreme grief and partly with weakness, swooned in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life for her. Even their most affectionate friends utterly condemn and cry shame of this inhumanity.

Amongst others appointed to be forfeited in this parliament was the Laird of Gatheland in Galloway, for that his servants in his absence lent a horse or two to the Earl of Mar, being on his journey out of Ireland towards Stirling; but having paid to the Treasurer [Lord Ruthven] 1000*l.* Scots for his composition and given caution for 3000*l.* more, which is to be answered to the Master of Mar, bestowed on him by the King for his relief, he has obtained his pardon, though with much difficulty, because that booty fell into the hands of "my Lady my Commere" [Countess of Arran], who made her full account thereof.

One Hamilton, goodman of the Hagges, being likewise summoned and to be forfeited at this time for a cause of like importance, has made his composition with her for 3000*l.* Scottish, and procured his exemption out of the sentence. The rest who are continued to the next parliament are purposely spared as well in hope of like composition, be they never so innocent, as for that they had no sufficient proof against them at the time. She has also at this Session, for 5000 marks Scottish, procured the restoring of the old bishop of Dunkeld, an excommunicated and professed Papist, and removed the other, the special "intrest" of the Earl of Argyll, who had from him the most part of the living of that bishopric in lease, "of all which they take no shame to profese an open port sale, no one day passinge over ther hedes without suckinge eyther land or monie from some one or other to take them under ther protection, which for gaine they spare not be the cause right or wronge." The rest of those who are either "continued" or summoned against the next Session to be holden in September look for no justice but such as shall be measured out by the ell of my Lady Arran's conscience and good nature, who is like there to carry no less stroke than at this time, because the King, who minds not to be present at it, has appointed ten of each estate to hold that Session and to proceed in the forfeiture, of which her husband, being ordinarily styled Chancellor, is to proceed alone, so that all men expect no other but just and equal proceeding at the hands of so equal and competent judges.

Is acquainted with little touching the success of the late meeting

Elizabeth.
1584. on the Borders. Is well assured by persons of good credit that Arran before going to the Borders—agreeable to what he had uttered divers times before to some of his familiars—sent this message to the King by a gentleman of credit, "that he should take no thought of any thing but his pastyme and pleasure, and for this meting let him alone," who, as he said, out of two points had gathered a third, which he assured himself should serve the turn to outshoot them [the English] with their own bow. But of the particular of things, there is not one in Court who pretends to know anything but by discourse and conjecture. Besides, the Master of Gray—being lately entered into a strait league with Arran since the French crowns came home, wherein he had some interest as a man especially trusted—is named to be ambassador towards the Queen of England, and to be very shortly despatched. This gentleman has always been noted in religion an obstinate Papist; in affection French; in devotion a professed servant of the Scottish Queen's; one who has confessed himself to be inwardly acquainted with the whole course, proceedings, and intent of herself and her friends abroad, and to have been very liberally gratified in France by the Duke of Guise, *etc.*, and at his last coming home by the Spanish ambassador in France, from whom, as himself confesses, he had a very fair cupboard of plate in gift to the value of 500 or 600 crowns, and since his coming has been steward in the dispensing of some part of that money the Queen [of Scots] sent home —which some of the King's [of Scots] own Council and men most privy to her doings have confessed to himself to have been little less than 20,000 [crowns], and that Ballandyne was the messenger—of which he bestowed by her direction lately 300 on Fuljambe and his company. This gentleman being so qualified and affected, and recommended for this service by Arran's special labour and procurement, he leaves it to her majesty and their honours there to consider what ground it has, and whereto it tends, himself finding nothing but bare testimonies of men accustomed to deceive. Dare not assure her majesty of any direct dealing from hence, whatsoever be pretended. Yet is borne in hand that the King for his own part stands well affected to preserve her majesty's favour and friendship, and that Arran, to gain himself credit with her, has procured him this ambassador and chosen out this person, best acquainted with the plots and courses of her enemies, to discover and lay them open wholly to her majesty with the King's consent.

The King departed this morning towards Falkland, but the lords of his Council remain here for a time to take order in such things as could not be despatched before his departure, and are driven to go up to the Castle and to sit there in Council, to the end that nothing be done without the privity of "my lady my commer."

Was invited to dine there one Sunday, where he "held some purpose" with his majesty of many things, and observed the strangeness of their behaviour towards the poor young Prince, who is so distracted and wearied with their endless importunities that "it pitied" him to see it, "and yf I be not abused groweth full of ther fashons and behaviour, which he will sometymes discourse in brode langwage, as he that is not ignorante how they use him." The Countess of Arran has since the breaking up of the chests of jewels made new keys without the King's privity or commandment, the

Elizabeth.
1584. old [ones] remaining yet with Sir Robert Melville, who is minded to resign them up to his majesty as soon as he shall come to the Court, because he will no longer stand charged with that which she has the disposition of, being, as every man suspects, too skilful in subtraction. It is certainly reported that she has also, in surveying the wardrobe, tried what garments, *etc.*, that were the Queen's may best fit her, and chosen out what she likes. This strange fashion of hers and her husband's will, in the judgment of the wisest in Court, hasten their change of fortune, howsoever they feed themselves now with an opinion of their long standing.

Finds that Argyll is not sleeping or careless though he be far off, and [he] is persuaded time will help all this. Has entertained "etu" with very many good compliments and assurances of the good meaning, favour, and affection of the Queen of England. But finds empty words move little. Lives here now only as a cipher, and may very well be spared, if it please her majesty. Besides, his honour knows what cause he has to desire home, to take some order in his own estate. Sees not what his stay here may avail, Lord Hunsdon's credit only sufficing with those who guide the stern. Edinburgh.

Postscript.—The Abbot of Newbottle died last week and was buried yesterday. The minister who preached at his burial, inveighing against the corruption and confusion entering into this Church by the ambition and wickedness of their bishops, was the same day sent for and committed. The same day, Sunday, the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen preached before the King in the great church of this town, labouring more to establish their own estate than to edify the hearers, who generally stormed and condemned them, and but for the King's presence had otherwise testified their misliking. But notwithstanding all this they push forward their own pomp, though with the common hurt of the whole state of this Church, whereof they appear to have very little sense. The Provost of Lincluden is brought again to this town and committed to the Castle. The forged conspiracy is at an end now the Earl of Arran has the mark he aimed at. The King himself, as he is assured by some of his own Council, has an utter mislike of the change, and has blamed the Secretary and Sir Robert Melville for dealing further in the matter than they had warrant from himself. But some think the Master's [of Mar] yielding in this, and his own extraordinary dealings against him without the King's warrant, will turn to Arran's disadvantage.

4 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 121. Original of the same.

Aug. 24. **267. Mr. J. Carmichael to Mr. William Davison.**

"My verie hartie commendations with all observance being premittit. This litil lazer at ye departure of ye beirar was not sufficient nether to giv zow hartie thankis in name of ye hail faithful for zour greit fidelitie and lawful diligence in ye common cause, nether zit in name of my wif and whole familie for your loving kyndness and liberalitie in my awin particular asweill heir as thair. Albeit my mynd could not conceave nor—after lang lazer—my pen expres fitt phrases for ye purpose, zet had I rather gif this smal and rude singification of ye ane then in silence negligentlie omit both; wishing the

Elizabeth.
1584. riche Lord to repay and requite that which we ar not hable in sic measure as our grate myndis to beg it at his handis. I am not ignorant how tymously the knawledge of ye mislykinge of our peple of our courteouris countenance and jugement of ye Prince of Erenge his murther is sent hither by zour information, and of uyer things narowlie markit and secretlie found out in ye estait of our Kirk, King, and cuntrie. The Lord hes His awin tyme quhairin zour travailis may haif ther awin fruit. The present tyme craves na les zour reply to Aran's lettre send to ye Lord Hounsden, to Aran's ansours unto ye lordis articles, and the conference betuix them; quhairin in effect he labours to controle manie things, the treuth quhairof hes bein writtin be zow. Quhairof I dout not bot ather the Secretar or ye Lord Hounsdan hes gevin zow gude intelligence. Bot it becumes me not to be curious *in aliena republica*. The Lord graunt zow wisdom and courage against zour manie croces and causes of discomfort offrit thair in ye confusion of all thinges, and move hir majesty to deliver zow out of that prisoun quhen He sall knaw maist meit to His awin glorie, comfort of his afflictit Kirk, zour awin saiftie in saule and bodie, and joy of all zour friendis heir. If thair can be anie hope of D. Hume's buik and Mr. Craig's collection of the Disciplin and actes of ye Assemblie to be sent to the brethren heir, I long to knaw. But we ar all more desyrous of Mr. Knoxes historie if it could be procurit by anie meanes from his wif, ye Laird of Breade or anie of Edinburgh, quhair we understand it es to be had, quhilk wald do us all singular pleisour and profit to ye cause; quhairunto if ye bischops injunction—quhairunto yei move all to subscrive—could be had to gither with ye secreit actes of last Parliament noct presentit bot registrat can be joinit be zour credit and zour worship sall eik a singular benefite unto all ye rest. I wald be glaidlie acquentit with my Lord thesaurar by zour mayne, quho hes neid of scharp spurres for all the keyes of ye cuntrie hinges at his belt. Hir majesty's interesse in our cause hes greit neid to be inculcat. If anie treuth be in the matter of Ireland it will gif new occason to paint out this double tricherie of Arans, geving him self furth to miskrals al thingis quhen he man be cheif author of all and is chosen as the fitest instrument to dissemble and dalie with my Lord Hounsden, quha hes best lernit to lie and least conscience to cousin almen, and boistis that he will not forgive his lies zeirlie for ten thousand pound." London. *Signed:* "J. Carmichaell minister of God's Word."

1 *p. Holograph, also address.*

Aug. 25. **268. SHREWSBURY TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. My noble good lord, I have received your letter touching the despatch of Sir Ralph Sadleir, who also lets me understand that he intends to be in this house this day towards the evening. Touching William Cavendish, if he denies anything that I have alleged against him by substantial witness, I will confute him; and that being performed, I trust his imprisonment in the Fleet shall not be reputed sufficient for his punishment. But, for that I have written to your lordship in a former letter touching that party, I will not trouble your lordship at this present.

Now, my good lord, whereas your lordship has been very oft

Elizabeth.
1584. solicited to write on the behalf of my son Gilbert Talbot, and of my wife, which hitherto your lordship has forborne until you might know what their causes were, I heartily thank your lordship for your honourable consideration taken on that respect, and very heartily pray your lordship not to yield to any requests hereafter by them to be made on that behalf. For, as to my wife, she has sought to impoverish me and to enrich herself; she has sought the ruin and decay of my house and posterity, and to raise up her house and name into that honour. She has sought my discredit and slander in the face of the world, and albeit she has "a litle changed the ayer," yet she carries the old mind, which has nothing now left to work upon but my old carcase, whereof I think she would make a sacrifice if I should receive her again.

And as to my son Gilbert Talbot, albeit I have loved him above all my children, and albeit he knows the practices which his mother-in-law has used, yet he "dothe combyne himself to her," and gives countenance to those who are her principal instruments. This notwithstanding, I would be good father to him if he would be good son to me; whereof, by his outward actions, I can find no hope. And therefore, my good lord, I take it a far better course, and more for my security, to estrange myself from intermeddling with him until such time [as] by due repentance and obedience he has washed away such faults as he has committed, whereof I do not esteem it among the least to hear the bruits which have been published by him, that I have taken the chiefest things of the heirlooms from him, which is "merelie untrue." Sheffield.

My good lord, being appointed by her majesty's commandment delivered me from Mr. Secretary speedily to remove this charge to Wingfield, and to see her settled there before my coming up, I mind to perform the same, although it be very troublesome to me, on Thursday next; and as soon as I can after, will, God willing, take my journey; and in the meantime shall think it long till I may perform my desired duty to her majesty and see you my so noble a friend, and so end with the scribbled hand of your lordship's most assured. *Signed:* G. Shrewsbury.

Postscript.—My good lord, albeit I have sent away my stuff to Wingfield, yet now Sir Ralph Sadleir being come hither has willed me to stay here till he may hear from Mr. Secretary again, affirming that his direction is no farther than this house. For my part I like not this contrariety.

1 *p.* *The latter part holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 25. **269. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**
C.P., vol. XIII. Departed from his house on the 18th instant, and arrived here this day. Learnt from the Earl of Shrewsbury that by the Queen of England's commandment, signified by his letters of the 18th instant, he had determined to remove the Scottish Queen on the 27th to Wingfield, and for that purpose had caused some provisions to be laid in there, and also sent thither some of the Queen of Scot's baggage. But forasmuch as neither by his instructions nor by any other means had he heard thereof, but rather that he should have special regard, among other things, to such persons of the Queen of

Elizabeth.
1584. Scots as resorted to Sheffield town and other about it, and no word of Wingfield, and that he finds himself unable to travel again so soon, has entreated the Earl of Shrewsbury to stay the removal till his lordship and he may receive her majesty's commandment in that or any other thing. Comparing the openness of the country about Wingfield, and the greatness of the house—and therefore the more danger—to the straitness of this, and so the stronger, he would rather choose to keep this Queen here with sixty men than there with three hundred—of which the Earl of Shrewsbury is also—besides the slow coming of convenient victuals from remoter parts, as they must do upon so short warning. Sheffield Lodge. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—Has not yet seen the Scottish Queen.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 26. **270. ARRAN TO HUNSDON.**

"Me lord and brother, eftir my maist humble commendation: ye greiffis direct to me quhylis I lay at Lanctoun being allvys upone ye incident bissines of his majesties parliament defferrit I communicat yem at last to his majestie in presence off Cuddie [Armorer] you lordship's servitour, quha upone his majestie to anser yem him self as verilee he did dyt yeis, it seaming for yis present noct neidfull to use many argumentis against yeis consavit greiffis causit partlie be his majesties haitteris and swa fals, partlie be his majestie upone a loving jelosie consavit off ye aversioun of his majesteis mynd from his majestie. Me think my former anser in yis sufficient to entingwis yis jelosie in respect I knaw perfytlie hir majestie hathe prime place in his majesties hart before any foreigne Prince, iff ye organis off ye divill vald cease be liing and dissait to avert hir majestes mynd be haipping up suspitionis to ye commun disquyet off realmis quhilk so far as lyithe in me sall find no place heir. I am assurid off ye lyk off your lordship and all in quhome yer is ony feir off God. Now it will pleis your lordship resaiff yeise anseris to ye greiffis propounditt, as call to mynd my particular resonyng upon everie heid, quhilk ver tedious to pen; the attentyk copie off ye depositioun against sik as continancethe yis lait treasoun subscryvit be ye Clerk off his hienes register; the uther complaintis geiffin in be ye inhabitantis off Reidisdaill I haiff directid it to ye var denis and to sik uther as it aperteynid to be anserit, by quhilk I think sall veill anser it so sone as it cumis to my hand zour lordship sall haiff it vith all speid send to zow the rest, remitting ye inditis in vryttis and the berar his relatioun, I hartlie commit zour lordship to God his holie protectioun." Edinburgh Castle. *Signed:* Arrane.

Postscript.—"I abyd ye berar his pasport in ye former purpois, quhilk defferrit doithe evill."

1 *p.* *Holograph; also address.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with them.

(Answers to griefs presented by Lord Hunsdon.)

(1) As to the strait prosecution of all such have been noted to be well affected to the Queen of England, it can no ways appear they were either punished or hardly dealt with for that cause, since of late his majesty has been so careful and diligent to choose out good instruments to deal betwixt her majesty and him—as his majesty has done

Elizabeth.
1584. in electing them. Besides that in all their accusations their good will and affection borne to her majesty was at no time laid to their charge, but many capital crimes of treason "cognocit" now by the whole three estates, and more than manifest to the world.

(2) As for his majesty's inhibiting by public proclamation such as were banished not to repair into England, the bruits and "quhisperinges" that came to his majesty's ears of their conspiracies and treasons—which since they accomplished as far as in them lay—worthily moved his majesty to inhibit them from repairing to any place near his majesty's realm, lest they should have attempted those things which shortly they attempted when farther off.

(3) As for the reception of Jesuits and other her majesty's fugitives, and not delivering them according to his promise, as he propounds, his majesty would be most glad that so it might fall out by his lordship's travails that no fugitives of either realm should be received by each other; and whensoever it shall so be, it shall not fail on his majesty's part. Albeit in very deed this time by gone his majesty has been constrained to receive her majesty's mean rebels and fugitives—contrary to his good nature—since her majesty received in effect the greatest rebels and traitors his majesty ever had.

(4) As for the agreement with the Queen of Scots anent their association, his majesty has commanded him to assure her majesty and him that it is altogether false.

(5) His majesty has commanded him to assure him that it is likewise false and an untruth that his majesty has by any means, directly or indirectly, sent any message to the Pope or received any from him, or that his majesty has dealt with Spain or any foreign state to harm her majesty or her realm.

(6) As concerning the contemptuous usage of her majesty's ministers, his majesty used none of them so; and if his majesty had, sufficient cause was given by them, as their own handwriting testifies, as he more particularly informed him at Fowlden at their late meeting.

[Answer] to Lord Hunsdon's letter from Berwick on the 18th instant.

Touching the arrival of Scottish Irishmen in Ireland; he has in the presence of his servant, the bearer hereof, received this answer "dytid" by the King's own mouth: "ze sall assure my good cusing me Lord Hunsdoun I never gaiff any suche charge direclie or indireclie, nether promisit to any quhatsumever to over se it or vink at it, nor knew at any tyme off any suche matter bot be yis zour lordship's lettir." It is true they came to this country recommended by a letter from the Duke of Guise, and they presented the same openly to his majesty in his garden at Falkland before the whole Court. [They were] men esteemed here of small quality. At that time he [Arran] was not at Court. Showed his letter to his majesty, and never had more to do with these Irishmen.

Incloses [a copy of] the accusation of the rebels received in England subscribed by the Clerk Register, upon receiving the purgation of Thomas Lyoun.

2 *pp. In Arran's hand. Indorsed.*

Aug. 26. **271. Hunsdon to Mr. William Davison.**

On Sir John Foster's arrival here he declared to him that he [Davison]

Elizabeth.
1584. wrote to him that Secretary Lethington promised there should be meetings of the wardens, and redress had for such attempts as have been committed within his wardenry. This he finds to be but words, for he has had no meeting since, nor can he get any one to answer for [the people of] Liddisdale, who have been, and are, the principal spoilers of the Queen of England's subjects in the West and Middle Marches of England. He declares also to him that on Wednesday after his meeting with the Earl of Arran they of Liddisdale, Ewsdale, and Annandale came with 300 or 400 horsemen only for murder and taking of prisoners. The murder they missed by a great chance, for the Herons, the Fenwicks, and others whom they lay for were at Hexham with Sir John Foster, who was there mustering horsemen, "or ells they had had their wills."

It is very strange and the Queen and her Council cannot but think it more than strange, that the King will suffer his lewd subjects thus to spoil her majesty's subjects; yet such men as he may take order with at his pleasure, as Martin Elwoode, the "Lordge Jocke," and sundry others, who are the principal of them, were with the Earl of Arran when he met him. Requests him to deal earnestly with the King and his Council in this matter, the rather because most of them are there now with him, and to let him understand that if he and they do not presently take order not only for the stay of these outraging people, but also for redress to be had for such injuries as they have done in England, according to the laws of the Borders, the Queen of England will take it in hand, smally to the King's honour, and less profitable to his country. For he assures him the spoils they daily and nightly make are so intolerable to her majesty's subjects that unless she will suffer her whole countries to be laid waste and desolate, she will not endure it. Requests him to deal with the King and Council that they may know a resolute answer what shall be done herein, and that if they mind to make any reformation herein, it may be done presently and not be driven off with words, as it has been these six or seven years. At their last coming they took ten or twelve of her majesty's subjects and carried them away prisoners. Sent a gentleman lately to the Earl of Arran with a note of above three score of her majesty's subjects of Tyndale and Redesdale taken by those of Liddisdale, and every man put to his ransome. Sent him the names of the prisoners, the names of their takers, the sum of their ransomes, what they have paid, and what they are presently to pay; which are things intolerable, for they can do no more in the time of war. Requests him to deal earnestly herein. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 27. **272.** Sir Edward Hoby to Burghley.

Incloses a letter he received from the King of Scots this day, and another from himself to her majesty. Knows there are enough who desire to have good means "to pick a hole" in his coat, but is certain their expectations will fail them, being resolved never to run course but agreeable to Queen Elizabeth's liking. Trusts she ever stood satisfied with it. Requests him to deliver both letters with his own hands, and with the best offices he may to continue him in her good

Elizabeth.
1584. favour and liking. To the end that his lordship may not find strange his presumption in addressing himself so earnestly to him, ordinary means and counsellors being ordained to that office, he is constrained more plainly to signify to him that they be alien; from whose malice he humbly besought him in his letter of the 7th instant to protect him. Whosoever has so nearly touched him in the highest degree, as they have done, shall never by his goodwill handle any cause of his.

His lordship here sees a great favour and liking—as may be gathered in outward show—the King of Scots bears towards him. It will be misliked by those "who wold the like and can not," nothing being well done—but to breed jealousy—saving their own doings. If it may turn to her majesty's service, beseeches him to be a means to her that she continue the same. Will seek to please none but the Queen herself, and next her, his lordship. Berwick. *Signed:* Edw. Hoby.

Postscript.—Received his letter of the 20th. Received the King's letter by one of the Humes, a gentleman servant of his majesty. Likewise received a letter from the Earl of Arran, and of his voluntary professed brotherhood nourishes with him the compliments, and so thinks it not amiss to continue for her majesty's service till he understands her pleasure to the contrary.

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

Aug. 28. **273.** ANGUS TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

Albeit I have not often troubled you with my letters since your lordship's passing into Scotland, I hope you will bear with me. Only now have I taken the occasion by this bearer, your servant, going towards you to excuse myself thus shortly, remitting the declaration of the causes of my so long delay to the Master of Glamis's letter, by which I hope he has more amply set down the causes thereof. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus.

½ *p. Addressed. No flyleaf.*

Aug. 29. **274.** HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.

It is strange to see what devices are to be wrought when some men are unwilling to have matters brought to pass that they are unwilling to further. Marvels wherein her majesty should doubt of his [Angus] manner of writing, for he has been long enough acquainted with him. But "beleke" he is angry that he did not make him acquainted with his letter that he wrote to her majesty, imagining "beleke" that he had written something therein against the earls [Angus and Mar], or else [he is] offended that he wrote what Arran had told him of those at Fowlden. But he serves but one God and one Queen. Is informed that being here it becomes him to write; which he did. Has dealt as earnestly for them as he could, as he may perceive by the last part of the earl's answers. Is sorry to see that some for malice, some for ambition, who have not the credit themselves to have the dealing in this matter, practise to hinder so good a matter by all the policy they can, not respecting her majesty's safety or the good their country shall receive by it.

Mr. Davison is offended because he is not made acquainted with these causes and made a dealer in them, as his lordship shall know

Elizabeth.
1584. by such speeches as he used to the King, being at dinner in the Castle of Edinburgh, this bearer standing by; as also what means are used by Roger Askam and Fowlar to the Earl of Leicester [to] have the doing of it. Truly he would any of them had the dealing in it, provided they would deal as they ought to do for her majesty's honour and the quiet of her estate. If the Master of Gray be well used he can do her that service that no man in England or Scotland can, for there has not been, nor is there, any practice between France and the Scottish Queen or any other practice against her majesty and this realm that he is not familiarly acquainted with; and the King of Scots or the Earl of Arran know nothing of those practices but by him, and so the earl swore to him.

Here is such continual posting with great packets from Mr. Secretary to the Mayor of Newcastle, and from him to Mr. Secretary, and likewise to and from Mr. Davison, that the like has not been. Is very credibly advertised that whatsoever he writes up is returned to them, and it seems so, for upon his last letters Colvile rode up presently. "And now that Robart Bowse ys come yntoo the byss-hopryke ther ys suche consultacyons betwene hym, the Master of Glammes and Colvyn whane he was there as passys, I feare yt ys for no goode." If the earls be not sent further into the land fears his lordship will hear of something shortly not to be liked, "and yett the poore erles nothinge acquayntyd withall." This bearer has been made acquainted with these matters of his negotiation by the King and the Earl of Arran from the beginning, and has been there lately. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 29. **275.** HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of his letter of the 20th had sent Cuthbert Armerar to the Earl of Arran for his answer in writing to such articles as he had proponed to him at Fowlden, which he then promised to send him, because he had dealt with him in many other matters at great length which he might fail in reporting as fully as was fit; and for his answer touching William Newgent and his fellow, and the sending of sundry Scottish men to Ireland, his servant returned yesterday, "beynge the 27 of thys monthe," who brought answer to all these points, penned by the King's own hand, and by his commandment written out by the Earl of Arran. Incloses true copies thereof, and also a copy of the Earl of Arran's letter to him, by which her majesty may discern whether the King means to deal plainly with her or not, and whether the King and the Earl of Arran go about to abuse her majesty, or that she has been abused by such as have informed her to the contrary hereof, especially for the association, which her majesty is so thoroughly persuaded "too be concludyd one betwene the King and hys mother." In his opinion this cannot be true; for if it be already passed, to what end is the Frenchman there presently about it?

Touching the six points which the earl [Arran] has now answered, they were but matters delivered to him [Hunsdon] to let the King understand what causes her majesty had to conceive hardly of him, and thereby resolved to have no further dealing with him. But

Elizabeth.
1584. upon such offers of goodwill as the King and the earl made to her by letters from them to him, and the great desire the King had to be reconciled to her, her majesty was pleased to make trial of their large offers. For the trial whereof he had but one point only to charge the King with. Whereunto he was frankly offered that her majesty should be as fully satisfied and resolved therein as the King could by any means do it. How and by what means it should be done he advertised her majesty by his private letter. If this does not fall out accordingly she has no cause to trust them any farther. If it does her majesty is to make her best profit of it, and not by others' practices for some private respects lose a King who being cut off will prove so ill a neighbour to her. Fears that if she loses him now he will never be recovered. Has stayed sending for the Master of Gray, expecting his passport daily, which Mr. Secretary wrote to him was granted. Having written this much, received a letter from Mr. Secretary with the safe-conduct for the Master of Gray. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Aug. 29. **276. ORDERS BY SHREWSBURY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Orders which have been set downe by y^e^ right honorable y^e^ Earle of Shrewsbury, and observed w^th^in his house for y^e^ garde and sure keeping of y^e^ Scottish Queene under his charge, as followeth, viz^t^:—The Earl entertains forty soldiers ordinarily within his house, besides his own household, furnished with calivers, partisans, and halberds, most of them being the sons of his lordship's tenants of good account, and otherwise well known to him to be faithful subjects to the Queen's majesty and trusty to him. Besides, two of his yeomen who watch and ward day and night at the stair-foot of the Scottish Queen's lodging, from which there is but " our " [one] way. Over these soldiers, under his lordship, Mr. Bentall, a gentleman of good wisdom and trust by long experience, has the charge, and being the gentleman porter has the care by daily attendance at the gate to observe all things touching that charge. All these soldiers within the house shall wear their swords and daggers until they go to bed, and every gentleman, yeoman, and soldier within the said house shall have such other furniture as shall be appointed to him, and his weapons always standing at his bedside, that he may be ready to offend and defend when occasion shall require. When the Scottish Queen goes abroad every gentleman, yeoman, and soldier shall be ready, upon warning thereof given, with such furniture and weapons as shall be appointed to them by the said earl's officer in charge for the time being to attend and wait on her, and none to wander or straggle abroad out of her sight until she has returned to her chamber.

None of her people shall pass out at the outer gates without leave, and upon such licence there shall be soldiers appointed to guard them, and to observe and see that they use no conference with any stranger, nor deliver or receive any letters to or from any, and not to go further than they are licensed. And that none of the earl's servants shall use any conference with the said Queen or with any of her people, other than officers for their necessary occasions. Watch and ward

Elizabeth.
1584. shall be continually kept about the said house with eight soldiers, more or less, at the discretion of the gentleman porter; and that such soldiers as watch shall ward in their courses accordingly.

Every soldier who is to watch and ward shall be ready at the sounding of the drum, which shall be sounded from Lady Day at 6 in the morning and at 6 at night. And the watch being charged and set, every watchman to keep his charge and place appointed within and without the house, and shall suffer none to pass without the watch-word, or with the officer in charge for the time being. When any alarm shall be given by the watch, ward, drum, trumpet, or otherwise, all who are in the house shall come forth with all possible speed to answer to the said alarm, and shall be ready to follow such direction as shall be given "to" [by] the said earl or by the officer in charge for the time being; and when such alarm shall be given, that none of the Scottish Queen's people shall come out of his or their chamber or lodging, upon peril of their lives, until they shall be called for by name, or specially licensed by the earl or his officer. The gentleman porter shall search and relieve the watch at his discretion from time to time, and if he find any default or offence committed by any soldiers, to appoint him such punishment as his offence deserves.

The gentleman porter shall deliver the names of such as watch, and the watchword, every night by 9 o'clock to the said earl or to such as shall be in charge under him. No servant within the said house shall ride abroad or lie forth of the house without special licence. The gates shall be locked up every day at 11 o'clock, and so kept until all the house have dined; and in the meantime none to pass to or fro, unless they be necessary officers of the earl's or about the earl's special business.

29 August, 1584. "Certen other things thought good to be added."

That all the said forty soldiers shall give their corporal oaths to the said earl to serve truly in the places of their charge, and in his lordship's absence to be obedient in such things, and at such times for the service of the Queen's majesty—besides the orders above mentioned—as they shall be commanded by Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight, one of her highness's Privy Council.

The two laundresses and the coachman shall give the like oaths, as to their several services belong.

The Justices of the Peace and constables of the country adjoining are also to be charged, and the constables sworn, to be careful in their several divisions and limits to observe all passengers unknown, and if any such come in troups, to advertise Sir Ralph Sadleir speedily thereof. The constables shall increase their night watches in every parish by two persons more than usual, and those to be discreet persons. They shall also appoint two like persons to ward upon the highways of every parish of their limits, and if they see any suspicious wandering person, man, woman, or boy, the watchmen or warders shall bring such suspected person to the next justice or constable, there to be examined and searched for letters or other "carriages"; and if any such shall be found about them, or other cause of suspicion, the person shall be brought to Sir Ralph Sadleir in the earl's absence. They shall have the like care of all other

Elizabeth.
1584. travellers unknown, lodging [in] or resorting to any village within their limits.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Indorsed.*

Aug. 29. **277. HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.**

Is credibly given to understand that a Scottish man who is staying here—whereof there are too many—belonging to the Earl of Angus, has lately sought with offers of good sums of money to a young gentleman of his, to let him know the secret dealing between the Earl of Arran and him. When he refused he sought to have him promise that he would not bewray it. Wrote to his lordship what going out and coming back there has been at the shutting of the gates. Since they seek to abuse him, will make a despatch of them all, for there shall not one of them harbour here above a night. Requests that if there be any mislike of him for his doing hereof he may not be condemned without answer. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

$\frac{1}{2}$ p. *Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 29. **278. WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.**

Incloses a letter from the Queen of England, to which he refers him as to his dealing for the noblemen. Have heard nothing out of Ireland since the first advertisements, but look daily to hear from him what he can learn of that matter. Her majesty would think it a charge very well bestowed that he should employ some apt person in the north to discover whether M'Conell or any other have been authorised by the king to make such an invasion. Barnelms. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

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

Aug. 29. **279. ELIZABETH TO HUNSDON.**

Whereas the Scottish noblemen retired into England, and the Countess of Cassillis, have made known to her that they understand there is a meaning to proceed to the forfeiture of their lands and goods at this Parliament which is presently to be held in Scotland, upon some new information given out against them that thay had a secret practice in hand for seizing the King's person and taking the Castle of Edinburgh—wherein they confidently protest their innocency and offer that if the same practice or any part thereof may be justly proved they are content to underly any punishment that the laws of England may inflict on them—and pray her mediation towards the King for a stay of the intended proceeding against them; she being moved with their solemn vows and protestations to vouch their innocency of this new imputation, whereof she in conscience holds them to be clear, and pitying their hard case, namely, the poor countess in respect of her sex and also for her young innocent son's sake, who is in danger of losing his patrimony, has directed Davidson to press the King of Scots very earnestly to stay the intended proceeding against them. Orders him to write to the Earl of Arran to employ his best means to satisfy her said request with that readiness that she may in reason look for considering the earnest protestations delivered by him of sound and friendly meaning towards her, the sincerity whereof is to be tried in the

Elizabeth.
1584. proof that she has now occasion to make of it. For if there shall not be that due regard had that appertains to gratify her in what she justly desires—the same being none other than to have this matter pretended against these noblemen deferred, and not to be dealt with at this Parliament—the world may then have just cause to judge that all this great outward show and offers of inward goodwill and friendship sound like hollow words, without substance, when they are not accompanied with effects, especially in a matter which she chiefly urges in respect of the King his master's own well doing and safety, knowing right well the danger that such like violent courses are commonly subject to. Thinks that he [the King] might do well, with due consideration of the present condition of his own estate, to make his profit thereof in his own case, which necessarily requires that he should seek rather to strengthen himself with the goodwill of noblemen of their alliances, birth, and quality whose friendship may stand him in so much stead, than by running on still a violent course against them and their party, to make himself subject to the violent issue that may accompany the same.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 126 b. Copy of the same.

Aug. 29. **280. HUNSDON TO [WALSINGHAM].**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 125. I have received your letter of the 23rd with her majesty's safe-conduct, which shall be sent to the King presently. Touching the Irish matters—having received letters from you before touching Nugent's going thither and for the landing of Scottish men there, and more looked for daily, I wrote presently to the Earl [of Arran] thereof. Who, making the King acquainted therewith, has answered the same fully—how truly, I know not. Which [answer] I send to my Lord Treasurer herewith, as also his answer in writing touching the six articles which I dealt with him in at Falden ; in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th whereof her majesty seems not to be satisfied. It may be that I mistook some of them, or did not write them so fully as he spoke them.

But now I have sent them penned first by the King's own hand, and so written out by the Earl of Arran and sent to me. Wherein, if they have not dealt truly and plainly with her majesty, she is to trust them the less in other matters, and so to use them thereafter. And so for my part I would wish her majesty to do. But if they deal plainly and cannot be believed, it may make them refuse to answer anything.

Touching the new conspiracy wherewith the noblemen were charged to be acquainted withal, because the Earl of Arran had charged them so far therein, at my meeting with him at Falden I required him that he would let me have in writing how far they had dealt therein and could be justly charged by Drummond or any other, for that it would touch him greatly in honour if they should be charged wrongfully ; and that the world would greatly condemn him to be his only doing, partly for the malice he bears them, and thereby to make them more odious to the King, especially at this time, and to work some gain to himself by their confiscation. Whereupon he has sent me Drummond's confession under the Clerk Register's hand, a copy whereof I send you herewith ; which in truth, for anything I can find in it, does not touch them at all, and so I write presently to him. For, before this time, the

Elizabeth.
1584. Master of Glamis having written to me at some length of his innocency therein, I sent a copy of his letter to the Earl [of Arran], as you may perceive by the latter end of the articles that he has answered. And for my own part I wish as well to the earls as any man, and dealt as earnestly for them as I could do; but it appears that it was fully resolved that they should be proceeded against at this parliament. For my own I thank you for wishing me well; but as I am appointed to deal here in these causes, so am I to write what I receive and find from the King and him, and trial must be their judge of their well or ill meaning. And as I am not to credit them too far, so am I not to condemn them too hastily till I see just cause. And if they do not deal as they have professed, I doubt not but her majesty shall soon find it, and then will use them accordingly. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

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

Aug. 31. **281. HUNTLY TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. "Pleis zour majeste, at all tymes heirtofor being maist desyrous to have onderstand of zour hienes gud estait, and gif occasioun had offerit to have latten zour majestie knawin quhou uilling I uas, and zit es, to do zour hines service in all thingis lyis in me, and never haifing the suir moyen to that effect, wihill nou be the aid of George Douglas zour hines affectionat and treu serviteur be quhais assurance of gud convoy, heirby maist uillinglie and affectionatlie offeris my maist humble and dewtifull obedience and service in anything heirefter it sall pleis zour hines imploy me, quhilk to my lyvis end sall never neglect, as pruif sall baire uitnes. I reaceivit ane lettre of zour majestis be Mons^r. de Fontainie in the moneth of July last by post, quhom I sall aid to the uttermaist according to zour hines command. The estait of this contrey I remet to the declaration of George Douglas and Mons^r. de Fontainie. In respect I have not ane cipher, quhilk gif it be zour majestis guduill to send me ane, therefter sa far as I may have intelligence to zour hines service and ueill, quhilk ever I sall uisse, zour majestie salbe forseine. Sua maist humble kissing zour majestis handis I tak my leif. Prayis God to be zour hines preservour, in gud health with prosperous returne in this realme to zour majestis and faithfull subjects contentement." Falkland. *Signed:* J. Huntlye.

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

[Aug. 30]. **282. PETITION OF WILLIAM GYTTINS OF BRISTOL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.**

About four years past having a ship of his called the *Phesaunt*, laden with mechandise to the value of 960*l.* sterling, lying at anchor in the river of Lough Foyle in Ireland, one Robert Jemyson, a pirate, of the town of Ayr in Scotland, violently entered upon the said ship and carried her away with all her merchandise and lading, to the petitioner's utter undoing. Whereupon he send a servant of his to Scotland to search out the said Jemison, whom he could not there find; but he revealed the cause of his coming to certain of Jemison's friends. Shortly after he had intelligence of a secret conspiracy against him, whereby he was enforced to return for fear of being murdered. The petitioner pursued Jemison to Spain and other countries, and

Elizabeth.
1584. met with him at Rochelle, where he caused him to be attached. But he [Jemison] removed the suit into the Court of Parliament in Paris, where it depended three years or more, to the petitioner's damage 300*l.* sterling. Through the subtle practices of the said Jemison and the friendship of the Scottish ambassador and the captain of the guard there, being a Scottish man, whom Jemison had procured to be solicitor in his behalf, the petitioner could not obtain justice, but was unjustly overthrown in his suit, to his utter undoing, as the ambassador to the Queen of England in France by his letters to them has at large expressed. Besides this, his factor, whilst he was following the said suit, was murdered. Requests license to stay any Scottish goods he can find within any of her majesty's dominions until he may be fully satisfied for his ship, goods, losses, and hindrances.

¼ *p. Broadsheet. Indorsed.*

Aug. 30. **283.** PETITION OF WILLIAM GYTTINS OF BRISTOL.

Abstract of No. 282.

¼ *p. Indorsed*: "He may have licence to arrest so much Scottish goodes as may contervayle his losse."

[Aug.] **284.** THE EARL OF ARRAN'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

No seal or handwriting to be interchanged by him but according to the old band. In all purposes of weight is to desire to be further resolved of his majesty, sometimes alleging such "heads" not to be in his instructions, sometimes that he is specially inhibited, "whereuppon ye blankes suffice; also the blankes brought with you to make your revocation as the necessity shalbe offered." If the league be kept with his majesty touching his rebels, is to let the Queen of England know her danger in all things. The King esteems the danger his own. If need shall require, is to offer in his majesty's name forces on foot and horseback to defend her and pursue all who would disturb her estate or realm.

If a league offensive and defensive shall be propounded to him, is not to cast it off, but shall demand the conditions and post them to his majesty, and he shall shortly be resolved of them; for that these ten years they [the English] have ever been seeking them; and when no other thing will serve, that will protract time and be in his majesty's option to grant or deny. If it shall be "condescended" that the rebels be banished, is not to "spare to condescend" that all subjects of England shall have access to all parts of Scotland without passport or license, "and all Scots in England in like manner." This will pleasure England greatly, and he [Arran] sees a commodity divers way to the King of Scots.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Aug. 1585 [*sic*]. E. of Arran's instruccions for the Mr. of Grayes."

Aug. **285.** ADAM FULLERTON TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

"Mr. Davidson memoreall for Adam Fullertoun."

"Pleis zour honour to tak ye panis for me, as to haif my commendationis to yair honouris underwrittin."

Elizabeth.
1584. "*Item*, to put hir majestie in ramembrance of my good affectioun to hir hyenes abuffe all Prinsses on ye erth, my soverane and nateif cuntre exceptit, and quhow wyllyng and kairfool in my callyng I labur nycht and day yat amatie be keipit betuix ye two crownis for ye Gospell saik and ye professouris yair of in boith ye landis becaus Sathan is besse to saw devesioun as experience dois teyche zou."

"*Item*, to haif me in ramembarance of racommendatioun of service to my rycht honorabillis lordis of hir majesteis Consaill, my Lord Thesaurer, my good Lord of Lychester, my Lord of Bedfourd, my Lord Houndisdane, Sir Crystepher Halton, Mr. Secreter Welsynghame, my verre good freindis and lordis; my verre good freindis of experience Mr. Randolphe and good Mr. Kyllegrew; and to Dochtour Daille and Dochtour Lovis [Lewis], Juge of ye Admerallate; with Mr. Baille and Mr. Vilkys, clerkis to hir counsaill; and to Mr. Myllis and Mr. Tomsoun clerkis to Mr. Sakreter Velsynghame."

"And yat zour lordschip call to mynde to put hir majestie [ ] lordschipis in ramembrance tuixing ye spolzeis done to ye subjectes of yis land, and in speciall twyching ye caus I had in hande, as zour lordship sall persaif be ye ordour quhilk I gaif zoue in write tuixing ye caus I had in hand will declair at lenth, and yat upone my awin chargis except j^{c} lb. I dout noct yf it sall pleis his majeste to command me to prosecute yat caus to devyse ye moyen quhow, all thingis salbe knyt up and hir majeste lytill trubillet for ye redres. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Adam Fullertoun.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address.*

Aug. **286.** FORFEITURE, ETC., IN THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

"In the Parliament holden at Edinburgh the xxij. day of August the yere of God 1584 yeres thir persons wer forfalltit." (*See* "The Acts of Parliament of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 336.)

2⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Sept. 1. **287.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Informs him that she has granted license to Mr. William Davison to repair home for his own private affairs, and requests that with his good favour and license he may depart. Oatlands.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "The Coppie of her majesteis letter to the Kinge of Scottes for the revocation of Mr. Davyson."

Sept. 1. **288.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Recommends Mr. Duncan Davidson to his favour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davidson.

½ *p. Copy in Davison's hand. Indorsed.*

Sept. 1. **289.** WALSINGHAM TO MR. WILLIAM DAVISON.

You shall herewith receive her majesty's letter directed to the King for your revocation, granted as it were at your own private suit, in respect of the necessity of your presence here for your particular business, as by the copy thereof you may perceive, which I also send you to the end you may frame your speech to the King accordingly

Elizabeth.
1584. at the time of your taking of your leave. I hope to see you here shortly, and therefore I will end the sooner, only I pray you that you will hasten hither as soon as you can. Oatlands. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 5. **290. J. MACKATNEY, DOCTOR OF MEDICINE, TO THE LAIRD OF FENTRY THE YOUNGER.**

Father Gordon has arrived in this town with Thomas Tyrie. Father Creichton and the bishop of Ross' servant, called Patrick, are detained at Flushing by the sea searchers. Requests his good counsel. Cosmopoli.

⅔ *p. French. Copy. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

Sept. 2. **291. JOHN SOMER TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P., vol. XIII. To one who never heard any other thing of the Queen of Scots but that which she delivered now to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadleir, she would seem to be "suche a one as wer meete she shuld be." With the most earnest words and protestations that may be said, she professes such goodwill and love towards the Queen of England that if it would please her highness to trust her and to make a trial of her, yea if it were possible that she might speak to her majesty, she would make appear to her that she has not a more faithful servant, friend, or younger sister than she is. But what avails her words, says she, when she cannot be trusted to do her goodwill, and, by her mediation, to perform all her offers, and till then her body to remain here as a good gage at her majesty's devotion. Therefore if things take other course than she wishes, by strange affections alluring the King her son to their appetites, she appeals to God for her innocency therein. And to stay things whilst there be yet time, before he hearkens and fastens upon a party which she says he will seek shortly, she requires favour to send one of hers (Nau) to the Queen of England to utter her whole mind and to procure her resolution; and then, with like license, the same party to go to Scotland, there in the presence and hearing of some minister of the Queen of England—or otherwise if he may be trusted—to treat with the King her son, whom she doubts not yet to stay in her majesty's devotion if they may find favour at her majesty's hands. But if her highness would trust her upon good pledge to go thither herself, then all should be as her majesty would wish. Which imports an assurance in expectancy, *etc.*, whereat in her speeches she glances, rehearsing still her blood and nearness.

It is thought here that a trial by suffering her to send into Scotland in that manner she requires, herself remaining in safety, would do no harm, but rather discover her credit, and her majesty to take the benefit of it without charge. The spending of her years from twenty-four to forty in captivity, as she terms it, the griefs she feels by a distillation fallen into one of her legs, and other evil habit of body caused, she says, by suppressing of tears and grief of mind—whereof we saw upon every unpleasant speech great plenty distill

Elizabeth.
1584. by her cheeks—her doubt not to live long, the absence from her son, whom she esteems more than all the world, she living only for him, as she says, and will never be divided from him for anything that may be laid upon her, and desire to be with him, may, perhaps, move her to take a great deal of pains, and to yield to any conditions, that she may lead the rest of her life at liberty. Whereof she seems to despair, seeing, as she says, none dare speak any good word for her to her majesty. Sheffield, 2nd Sept, 1584, "being the removing day of this Queene towardes Wingfeld." *Signed :* Jo. Sommer.

Postscript.—The Earl of Shrewsbury has appointed his journey from Wingfield towards the Court on Monday the 7th instant.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Sept. 2. **292. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIII. The next day after my coming hither I spoke with the Scottish Queen, who, after my Lord of Shrewsbury and I had let her understand the cause of the Queen's majesty's sending me hither, thanked her majesty for the choice she had made to send one of her Privy Council well known to her to take this charge in my lord's absence, with divers other good words to that end, showing herself glad to hear of her majesty's good health; adding that now that my Lord of Shrewsbury goes to her majesty he can inform her highness of her doings whilst she has been under his charge, and required no other favour but that he would say the worst he knew by her. No other thing passed between us at that time.

The last of August his lordship, I, and Mr. Sommer went to her upon her own motion, when she said that she looked to have heard somewhat else of me, and was not well satisfied, said she, that seeing my Lord of Shrewsbury was now to repair to the Court, and she to be left in another's custody, her majesty had not signified so much to herself by some word under her highness's hand, and feared, therefore, lest her majesty had now conceived of her otherwise than she seeks to deserve. Thereunto it was answered that his lordship and I had told her at my first coming that her majesty had sent me to supply his lordship's place in his absence. But yet to satisfy her with the sight of her majesty's hand, my lord and I showed her majesty several letters to us both for that purpose. Wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied, and told us how desirous she was to do anything that her majesty might like, and was very sorry that her majesty had not answered her to such offers as she made to her highness long ago; wherein, she said, her conscience bears her witness that she means uprightly towards her majesty and this realm for the weal of both which she would well make appear, if her majesty would make proof of her, as she has offered before times. Some other particularities she uttered, all to this effect; which I have thought good to write to her majesty, not doubting but you shall be made privy to them.

The same day I received your letter [in] answer to mine of the 25th touching the stay of this Queen here or removing her to Wingfield, as her majesty should be pleased to command; wherein I perceive that her majesty, referring the matter to you, and you to my lord and me to make choice thereof, we, considering one, and the chiefest,

Elizabeth.
1584. point mentioned in your letter, which is for the avoiding of this Queen's intelligence, which by long continuance in this place may be the more easily had here, and that in your former letters to my said lord you signified her majesty's pleasure to have her removed to Wingfield—we have resolved to follow that course, and this day, God willing, to see her safely conveyed thither. His lordship having taken so good order, as though this removal was uncertain, yet there shall be no lack of anything meet for her lodging, diet, and safety; and she being settled there, his lordship means to depart thence towards the Court on Monday the 7th of this month by the way of Leicester, Northampton, Dunstable, *etc.* With your letters I received a packet for this Queen. I pray you make mention in your next, upon like occasion, whether I shall open further packets and letters or not. After she had perused her letters therein from the French ambassador, she finds great want that she hears nothing from him in answer to her letters of about the 10th of August from hence, directed to you for the said ambassador. They contained a request to her majesty that she might send one of hers to her highness to treat with her upon the points of her offers, and to procure some resolution from her majesty. The same request she has prayed me to make to her majesty on her behalf. I beseech you put to your good helping hand to help to relieve me from this care so soon as it may stand with her majesty's good pleasure to have consideration of my years and the cold weather now at hand. I have found the posts by the way somewhat slack. I think they measure their paces according to the diversities of the endorsements of the packets. Your patent letter to be sent to them all by your next commodity will, perhaps, quicken them a little, *etc.* My Lord of Shrewsbury appointed one of his own men at this town to take that charge from hence to Doncaster at his own costs. From my lord's house in Sheffield Park. *Signed:* J. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I send to you herewith such orders as my Lord of Shrewsbury has set down for the safe guarding of his charge, with some additions as by my instructions I am appointed to do.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Orders by Shrewsbury.)

Copy of No. 276.

Sept. 2. **293. Mr. Liggons to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIII. By his last [letter] from Mamure, he confirmed the receipt of hers of the 12th of March, and advertised how he was prepared and ready to leap on horseback to go towards the camp, according to her appointment, where he was for some three weeks before he could "come to the speech" of the Prince of Parma, by reason of his earnest and continued travail about the besieging of Dermound, an important town in Flanders, and the slackness of such as should have preferred him most in the end, after the town was rendered. Used these words to him: "Plaise a vostre altesse davoir souvenance quil y a quelque temps quil a pleu a vostre altesse de donner certains articles touchans les affaires de nostre pays a quelques ungs de nostre nation; entre lesquels vostre

Elizabeth.
1584. altesse daignoit de m'assigner—quoy que indigne—pour un diceulx qui debvoieat consulter et rendre resolution la dessus comme nous fusmes selon la brevicté du temps, le mieulx que nous pouvions pour alors. Entre iceulx articles il y auriont quelques unge concernoient la personne et estat de la Royne d'Escosse, auquels scachant que pas un de nous aultres pourrions donner si bonne resolution ny si satisfactoire comme elle mesme. Do[cteur] Al[len] et moy, tresumbles serviteurs de sa majesté, y consultans trouvasmes bon en advertissant amplement ladite Royne de la bonne volunte et affection que nous avions aperceu en vostre altesse[*sic*] luy faire plaissir de la demander quant e quant son propre opinion et advis touchant ces poincts senttement de qui la concernoient. Et dautant que son estat pourroit pour l'heure est tel quelle ne scaura, sans se mectre en trop grand hazard, recognoistre pour le present par lettres de sa propre main comme elle desire la tresgrande courtoisie et faveur de vostre altesse en son endroict, elle m'a commande expressement de dire a vostre altesse de sa part qu'elle entand par beaucoup dautres moyens lenuie et desir vostre altesse de luy faire de bien chose quelle proteste de ne oublyer jamais ains de tascher par toutes les voyes et occasions que Dieu luy donnera de s'en acquicter de son obligation vers vostre altesse. Et affin qu'elle pourra avoir moyen plus asseure de confirmer cecy apres par lettres de sa propre main ce que j'ay pronunce en son nom et faire entendre a vostre altesse son opinion ja demandee touchant les choses proposees et oultre davoir doresenavant quelque voye d'intelligence par laquelle elle pourra produyre a ladvancement de la foy catholique au service de sa majeste catholique. Et a seconder l'intention de vostre altesse de luy faire plaisir elle a envoye icy a vostre altesse un alphabet duquel icelle pourra seurement s'en servir. Car elle proteste que personne de monde a la copie sinon vostre altesse et elle mesme."

Delivered him the alphabet, which he took, and marked very diligently the sealing thereof, put it in his bosom, and said that ever since he has understood her case no man has more lamented it nor more misliked the injustice offered her, nor should be more ready to venture his life for her relief than he, and if any occasion were offered he would think himself happy in making show of his affection to do her service, and that whenever anything occurs that may tend to the advancement of the same he will not only with all his power set it forward, but with his own hand advertise her thereof; which he willed him earnestly to signify to her. Replied that although "he" had not commanded him to do [it], yet his honourable speeches gave him new occasion to confirm what she had heard heretofore of his affection and goodwill towards her; and further, that a more welcome and acceptable message could not be sent to her, than that which might assure her of his "affecting" her and their country's cause. Thought that among his many famous acts a greater could not be to his praise than to be renowned as a chief instrument in reducing a Christian country from heresy to the Catholic religion, and in restoring a captive Catholic Queen, circumvented and oppressed by her mighty heretical enemies and unfaithful subjects, to liberty.

He answered, when time served his deeds shall show his affection to both.

Asked him whether he should give the contents of what he [Liggons] had said to his secretary. He answered yea, and that he should

Elizabeth.
1584. repair to him often to understand the state of things and what occurred.

The next day after he had spoken to the Prince, and had given the secretary the copy of as much as was put down in French, went again to the secretary and told him the Prince's answer, and how that he had commanded him [Liggons] to repair to him. He said it was true that the Prince had already discoursed with him of the matter. Told him he was presently [going] to make a despatch to her, and that if his highness liked to commit to him any[thing] further to say, or that he would write himself, he would " do " his best diligence to " make " his letters be conveyed soon and safely to her hands. He [the secretary] answered that he knew the Prince's affection, that his affairs were presently exceeding great—as in truth they be—and as yet he had nothing worthy the troubling of her. Answered that when it should please his highness he would be ready at his commandment.

This is the effect of some of his speeches and doings. How far she will like them, he knows not. But if she shall dislike aught therein, he may allege for his excuse that his instructions were very short, and his credit little more than of himself; for Do[ctor] Al[len] wrote only to Secretary Cosmo, who, as is said, presented him slowly and coldly, besides the humours here be strange to deal with. Wherefore, and for divers other reasons too long to dilate, he thought good to show some plausible reasons why they advertised her of those matters, considering they were in general terms commanded to participate them to none but to such as were appointed to consult of them. Secondly, presupposed it not amiss to use some complaint to the Prince of Parma in her behalf, forasmuch as he has by speeches and doings at sundry times " shewed to affect " her, and to have a care of her person, if such things came to execution as seemed to be pretended, and, in particular, upon the first motion made for furnishing her with 12,000 crowns he sent word incontinent to Don B[ernardino de Mendoza] for the providing of the said money. Whose answer in excuse for not doing thereof at his being here the Prince nothing liked. All which he confesses he has done without express order or limitation of her letters. His will was to serve her. Craves pardon. The more credit she procures him here, the better able he shall be to serve her.

What occasion he had to advise her heretofore to have intelligence in this Court she may gather in part by what Al[lan] has advertised her. And besides, when he saw what was in hand, how vehemently they pretended to bring it to pass, and that she was nominated and meant to be made a chief instrument of the pretences, he thought that it behoved her to understand them, and, as opportunity served, to speak in her own person her opinion of them. But, to say truth, he does not seek now upon what cause this fury quailed, " but not the mynd of this Prince alienated from his first purpose ; for he hath of late given advise by what meanes ' D ' [the King of Spain] shall be solicited to geve him commission and auctoritie to go forwardes, wherby his goodwill appeareth, and that the resolution is not yit come from Sp[ain] nor fully concluded on ther, or if it hath bene alredy concluded on it is sith upon other advise differed, which I will untill I heare farther conjecture and beleve that it is stayed until ' D ' [the King of Spain] hath made him self maister of Brabant and Flanders—which can not stand long against him—wherby he may have the

Elizabeth.
1584. better means to transport men, munition, and all other necessary thinges for the maintenance of such a warre, and to bring to passe what farther he intendeth." Is sure this news shall be stale before it arrives.

The great town of Ghent [Gaunt] is now brought to such terms that it cannot choose but render or starve of famine. The Prince is presently occupied in stopping up the river with piles, and such like devices, the river of Antwerp. Mechlin and Brussels are all besieged at one instant. In the house where I am it has pleased God to call to His mercy the Lord Dacres, and two other English gentlemen who came in his [Liggons'] company are at the point of death. So of four there is but himself who remains in health, and of five servants there is but one able to serve, so is forced every day to dress his horses, and sometimes to go aforaging himself, for no money is to be hired. Bever.

Postscript.—Intends to send the counterpane of this by another means, that one of them may come to her hands. The other needs not to be deciphered.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Cipher. Indorsed:* "Liggons to the Scottish Queen." *In Mr. Phillippes's hand.*

Decipher of the same (C. P. vol. xiv. No. 90).

Sept. 2. **294. HUNSDON TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 131. May it please your highness; wheras by your letter of the 28th of last month your pleasure is that I should write earnestly to the Earl of Arran for the stay of any proceeding at this Parliament for the forfeiture of the lands and goods of these noblemen retired into your realm, your majesty shall understand that at my meeting with the Earl of Arran on the 13th of last month, I dealt with him therein as earnestly as I could, with the best persuasions I could use. Who answered me directly that the King was so fully bent and resolved to proceed therein that he durst not deal with him to the contrary, and though he might, yet there was no reason for him to do so, being the only man whose life they have, and seek by all the means they can, and therefore he the unfittest man of all others to seek any good towards them. Of which answer I presently advertised our Secretary. And accordingly at the day appointed, being the 20th, the Parliament began, and proceeded to the forfeiture of them all; and the next day they were proclaimed traitors at the cross, and their arms torn in pieces, so that it is too late for Mr. Davison or me to do any good therein.

And touching the late conspiracy wherewith they seemed partly to be touched, it appears plainly they were innocent thereof, as appeared in Drumond's confession; who is one of those who should charge them; whose confession I have sent both to my Lord Treasurer and Mr. Secretary. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 4. **295. SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Have brought the Scottish Queen hither, where she is well and safely placed, and all other things in good order, with the same manner of watch and ward as was used at Sheffield. Besides the forty soldiers

Elizabeth.
1584. —very stout fellows, and of very good will to discharge their duties—he leaves here about eighty of his household people, among whom as officers and good guides are divers gentlemen of good sort and very honest behaviour, and very well assured to his lordship, as he is persuaded of them all by good experience.

Incloses him in writing such talk as passed between the Queen of Scots and Mr. Somer on the way between Sheffield and this place, set down by himself.

Here will lack a post for this place, and another at Mansfield, from thence to carry the packet to Newark, which he learns to be a nearer way than from thence to Nottingham, and so to Grantham. The Earl of Shewsbury trusts to be at the Court on the 11th. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—Mr. Somer and he think good that these matters proponed by this lady, and these conferences betwixt them, be not made known nor disclosed to many, but [to] such as be meet to have knowledge of the same. Thinks himself most bound to the Queen of England in that it has pleased her to associate him with Mr. Somer, in whom her majesty has a good servant, and he a good friend and assistant in this service.

1 *p.* *No address.* *The postscript in Sadleir's hand.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Talk between Mr. John Somer and Mary.)

" 2 Septembris, 1584. Talk betweene the Scottish Queene and J. Somer ryding from Sheffeld to Wingfeld."

After she had again uttered her grief of her long captivity, as she termed it, having spent her years from twenty-four to past forty, and by sorrow and impotency become old in body, she delivered the like grief as she had done three days past to the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Ralph Sadleir, he [Somer] also being present. The Queen of England had not confidence in her words when she told the truth to Sir Walter Mildmay and Mr. Beale, as things have happened since in Scotland. Whereof, and of Mr. Secretary's evil usage there, going thither without something from her, she said she foretold, but could not be believed. But now, her majesty having found her true in that, if her highness would trust her, it should appear yet that she has means and credit to do her good service. Told her, as he had done the other day, that upon further proof and " leaving " to practise in England and to have unfit intelligence with her son and some evil ministers about him to the trouble of her majesty, she might have her to be her good friend; but that their writings, which are come to her majesty's knowledge, wherein is spoken of enterprise in England tending for her liberty and the increase of her son's greatness, and so meant to have come to her, have greatly offended her majesty, and also given her cause to think that she is a party in that enterprise, whatsoever it is. " As for to have intelligence," quoth she, " with my son, and to estime of them whome he makith accompt of as his good servants, and doth for such recommend them unto me, I must needes do that. For if I shuld leave my son, who is to me more then any thing in this world, and trust to the Queene my good sister's favour, which I cannot gett, I might so be without bothe; and then what shuld become of me. And therefore, surely,"

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1584. said she, "I must trust to the one." "But," said she, "if she might be assured to have the Queen her good sister's favour, and that she would trust her in the points which she has oft offered and now lately moved, and in other good offices that she would do, her majesty should find good cause to think better of her than she has done." "For," quoth she, "I have my son's awne hand yet to shew, that he offrith to be ordrid all together by me in all things, who also hath sent me certen things to have myne opinion upon them, whereunto he hath oft callid for answer, but I have of purpose," said she, "staid it yet, and done nothing therunto, hoping that the Queen my good suster wold have employed me in the good motions I have made." Therefore, quoth she, if it would please her majesty to be served by me, "it is more then tyme," for she fears her son will take another course shortly, wherein she shall not be able to stay him, as she is sure she can do yet.

"As to the enterprise you speak of," quoth she, "I know not nor have heard anything of it, nor, so God have my sowle, will never consent to anything that shuld troble this State, wherof I seeke now the quyet with all my hart; for if any unquietnes shuld happen heere, it wold be laid to my charge, and so might I be in greater danger."

As to another point which he told her of [concerning] an instruction to one sent to the Duke of Guise, "that he shuld hasten things, because the Queen's majesty (as was there written) was about to cause the Scottish King to dy by an extraordinary death," which was too great an indignity, an irreparable wrong done to the Queen of England, and far from her thought,—she said that indeed Lord Ruthven had told the King her son so, as she heard; but that she suspended her judgment therein.

"Well, madame," quoth I, "you hear what evil ministers doo, thinking to do yow and your son good service; but it is far otherwise, and therfore deserve small credet thus to troble her majestie and hindre yow. But seeing yow disavow the knowledge of these things, and do offer to do good offices for her highness's service, and to have her favour, may I be so bold to ask your grace, what have yow thought upon the matter in particularitee, and what would yow do to have her highness's favour to send to her and into Scotland?"

"Mary," quoth she, "to perswade my son to entre into a good mutuall league offensive and defensive with the Queen my good suster if she wold so like of it; and therin to comprehend the French King her good brother in respect of the ancient league betwene France and Scotland." She knew he has commended his ambassador, Mons. de Mauvissière, to have a special care thereof in case of such treaty. And such a league, she said, would be better for England than for Scotland, and so shall those two realms live long in peace, seeing no foreign Prince claims anything in them.

"This seemith to be a good motion," quoth he, "and is a thing which the Princes of both realmes have always sought by alliances and otherwise, but hath ben oft empeachid by forrain practices and ambition of som of that realme, as namely, of fresh memory, the motion and likelihode of a match betwene King Edward the sixth and your grace." "Therefore," quoth she, "it is good to looke to it now, whilest it may be holpen, assuring that my son will harken shortly abrode for a party, as he doth already." "Madame," quoth he, "what other thing have yow thought upon in this matter, for yow have good leasure?" "In

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1584. good faith," quoth she, "Scotland is poore, not able to mainteyn a King, and therefore England must give good pensions, for so surely my son is offrid in other places, and therby the Queen my good suster shall gaine much, for by these meanes she shall save greatly in her charges in Irland, where, if she needid, my son wold healp with his folk to gett her good obedyence, and shuld not neede—these two realmes being so united in amitie—to spend her money to maynteyn the warres in other contries, to keepe her awne quyet"—mentioning what her majesty had done in France and in the King of Spain's countries, who remember and have their eyes fixed upon her highness's doings. Besides that, said she, all her kinsfolk, whom she now suspects, would be her majesty's faithful friends; and commended highly the Duke of Guise for his valour and faithfulness to his friends.

Another thing in this case she said must be her care, that is the Pope's bull against all those of the Protestant religion, which she said she would take in hand to deal in. "That in respect of me," quoth she, "being a Catholik Queene, the same shall not tooche my realme, though my son be a Protestant, and then none will dare tooche thone realme for religion for [fear of] offending both."

"Thus Mr. Somer," quoth she, "yow see I speak plainly to yow, that yow may see and testify my good will, if it please the Queen my good suster to trust me, and I wold to God her majestie knew my hart, which in good faith she shall never fynd false to her, so as I and my son may have her majesties favour as appertayns, being of her blood and so neere."

Told her that if she meant any claim after her majesty, or if she or her son speak anything of that matter either in any treaty or by other discourse or message that she may make or send to her, he knows that they shall greatly displease her and her people, and do herself no good. "Therefore what so ever yow or your soon do think thereof, leave of to deale therin, and referring all to God's good will, be content with her majesty's favour otherwais, if yow hope to have it of her, for yow know (quoth I) by deere experience what it is to give her majestie cause of offence in such high matters."

She thanked him for his plainness and good advice, and said she would not offend her majesty therein, desiring that she might have, at the least, her highness's like favour and estimation as others of her blood had at her hands.

Asked her opinion where she thought the King her son had fancy to match, and [told her] that he had heard of the Princess of Lorraine. She said there was such a motion, but thought it would not hold. She said the Duke of Florence had offered his daughter, being fourteen or fifteen years old, and a million of crowns with her. "Why, madam," said he, "do you think that that Duke wold send his tender daughter from that warme and delicat contrey of Tuscane unto that cold realme of Scotland, where maners, languaige and all things ar so contrary?" "Yea, I warrant yow," quoth she. She said also that there was a motion made for a daughter of Denmark, with great sums of money and other friendship, but that crown going by election, her son was not sure of longer friendship after the King, and therefore did not greatly hearken that way. Asked her of any offer of Spain? She said merrily, if her son might have the Low Countries withal, it were not

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1584. amiss. "But who can warrant that?" quoth she. "But truely," said she, "I know of none there."

She asked him whether he thought she would escape from hence if she might. Answered plainly he believed she would, for it was natural for everything to seek liberty that is kept in strait subjection. "No, in good faith," quoth she, "ye ar deceavid therin, for my hart is so great that I had rather dy in this captivite with honor, then run away with shame." Said he would be sorry to see the trial. Then she asked him, if she were at liberty with the Queen of England's, whither he thought she would go? Thought to Scotland, to her own, and seek to command there. "It is true," quoth she, "I wold go thither, onely to see my son, and to give him good counsell." But said she would never stay there long, nor would seek to govern where she has received so many evil treatments. For her heart could not abide to see those folk who had done her so much evil, being her subjects, whereof there are yet some remaining—for he had told her that most of them were dead. "But," said she, "unlesse the Queen my good suster wold give me countenance and som mayntenance to lyve in this realme, if it may please God and her majestie to restore me to liberty, I wold go into France, to lyve emong my freends there with my portion, and never troble myself with government againe, nor dispose myself to marry, seeing I have a son that is a man." In her talk she ever besought her majesty to make a trial of her, that after some honourable end she may live the rest of her days out of this captivity, as she terms it. Has thought meet in duty to let this be known to the Queen of England, because here are, as he takes it, some very material points.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *Indorsed:* "2 Septembris, 1584. Talk betwene the Scottish Queen and Sommer."

Sept. 6. **296.** [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO LEICESTER.

Received his letters of the 2nd ult. a day or two before the King's coming hither to the Parliament; whom—knowing how he had been preoccupied with the untrue reports of some his ill willers—he thought it not amiss to acquaint with the substance of his said letters, adding what he thought fit in confirmation of the first part touching himself, wherewith he appeared thoroughly satisfied. For the latter part, concerning the bishop [of St. Andrews], he laboured to excuse himself, pretending to him that he "had wrong"; notwithstanding there were some of his Council and servants present who heard himself report it to the King, and his majesty afterward repeat it to others from his mouth. The next day the bishop came to his lodging, as it appeared, by the King's direction, accompanied with Sir Robert Melville and his brother James, in whose presence he laboured to purge himself, impudently denying that which his own testimonies could have witnessed against him. He, nevertheless, maintained her majesty's foreknowledge, and by conjecture, his lordship's also of the raid of Stirling, *etc.*, proving it by the forerunning bruits he heard of such a conspiracy before his coming from London. But when he saw by the like reason he [Davison] might have proved the King his master's foreknowledge of the last year's enterprise against the Queen of England's life, he was content to leave the argument, the rather finding him plain with him in that and other things which touched him more near the quick, and so broke off.

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1584. It appears to him that the greatest ground of this King's jealousy and ill opinion of his lordship arose from some information he had that he [Leicester] intended a match between the young lord whom God has taken and the Lady Arbella. This cause being removed by his death has abated his jealous conceit, grown, he knows not how, unless by the industry of his mother and her friends, who want no inventions to nourish as well a hatred and mislike between him and his best friends abroad, as of his best tried servants and subjects at home. But thinks his lordship will receive testimony ere long from him of his reformed opinion by the Master of Gray, who is preparing for his journey to the Court of England, and is to depart some time this week, as he hears. What the gentleman is, and how affected, his lordship may perceive by his last letter to Mr. Secretary. He will be sure to find him a Papist and a principal negotiator here for the Queen [of Scots], whose pensioner he is, and for those who seek her relief with the ruin of her majesty and wreck of religion, so that he shall wonder "if we gather figs of thorns or grapes of thistles."

Argyll is very extreme sick, and his recovery desperate, being wounded with grief to see how things go here. Certain Jesuits coming hither out of France have been intercepted in their way by Flushingers, but the principal of them, uncle to the Earl of Huntly and master of a college at Vienna, has bought his release with 100 crowns; and being landed at Scarborough is come home through England. Has this day received order for his return. Edinburgh.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 6. **297. Mr. William Davison to Burghley.**

Was driven to let the last post pass without any letter to him by reason of some indisposition in his health. Thanks him for his letter of the 19th ult. Understands nothing yet from Lord Hunsdon and the Earl of Arran, what passed between them at their meeting and since, other than in generality. They think it best to "disguise" the secret from him, which, notwithstanding, he suspects, and in great part hears to be a following out of the motion whereof he formerly acquainted him.

Hears credibly that Armorer when he was last here presented the King with shirts, "coyfes," night-clothes, and other furniture curiously wrought; but from whom he leaves him to conjecture. The choice of the Master of Gray to negotiate and follow this matter set abroach by Arran makes men suspect some other mystery than yet appears by the outward face thereof, the gentleman being well-known to be an obstinate Papist, a pensioner to the Scottish Queen, and a principal factor for her here, being put in trust with the custody of all that money that was brought home by Ballandyne—which Sir Robert Melville and others have confessed to him to have been near 20,000 crowns—and a suspected pensioner of the Pope's, and one that, by his own confession, had at his last coming out of France a cupboard of plate in gift from the Spanish ambassador to the value of 6000 crowns, besides other gifts and presents from the Duke of Guise, the Bishop of Glasgow, and others the Queen of Scots' friends in those parts, and has yet the disposition of her money here, whereof he delivered of late to Fuljambe and his companion by her command-

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1584. ment 300 crowns, as himself has confessed. So that he would wonder, as his lordship says, how her majesty "may gather figs of thorns or grapes of thistles," especially understanding no cause or motive for this sudden pretended change. Doubts not his lordship will easily sound the bottom of this traffic and find out the mark which, indeed, they direct at. He makes solemn preparation and minds to come well accompanied and rightly furnished with apparel and jewels for a man of his rank, if that may grace his negotiation. But is yet as ignorant of his diet and setting forward as of his charge. Understands from himself that he is to depart about the end of this week or beginning of the next. This he is well assured of, that Arran has vaunted to outshoot them [the English] with their own bow, and that to serve his own turn in putting off the storm he feared by the bringing home of such as are with them, and to wreck them and the rest—by whose fall he thinks to build up his own greatness. There is no "sleight" that his wife's devilish brain or his own can devise which they will spare to put in execution, as they who care not what untruth they forge or whom they abuse to compass their lewd desires, as may appear in their late forged invention of a new conspiracy subborning Drummond to accuse such as he listed, to set the better colour upon his practice, tending only to the recovery of this Castle. This being obtained, the conspiracy was at a point, as Sir John Maitland himself and others who are best acquainted with all have not let to assure him. Wherein the King to this day pretends that he was abused, and has reproved Maitland and Melville for exceeding their commission. Is assured that he [Arran] has been in hand to procure the entailing of the crown, which he thought to have compassed this parliament, first on the Duke, next on himself, and afterwards on Atholl and Bothwell. Howsoever it be, he is well assured that the wisest in Court vehemently suspect his ambitious scope, especially since his recovery of this strength, with the jewels, munition, and whole wealth of this crown, some of them confessing their fear to himself in this behalf. His lady essayed her credit upon one of the jewels within four days after they fell into her hands, and may now do with them what she lists, having taken them out of the place appointed for their keeping and bestowed them in chests of her own at her discretion, because she could not get the keys from Sir Robert Melville, who by his office had charge of them.

Argyll is at the point of death, thrown down with grief, as his friends assure him, to see this King so guided to his own wreck, and peril of his estate. Fonteny, who brought letters from the Queen [of Scots] to the Earl and his wife, amongst others, dealt earnestly with his lady at her being here to be a mean to help forward the Queen's relief, of whose thankfulness he made her liberal promises, following out the like course with all others he has any access to, and who may do aught. Suspects that her friends are content to further a breach of the Borders, that at the best hand, things growing to the necessity of a general treaty, some mean may be made by this King for her liberty, for he sees a cold disposition here, whatsoever is pretended, to do justice to the rest of their wardens on the Marches, save Lord Hunsdon, who only has or can obtain meeting for his wardenry.

Here is a new expectation of Seton's return very shortly. Certain Jesuits of his forerunners coming homewards from Dieppe in a vessel

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1584. of this country, were intercepted by certain Flushingers about St. John's road with their furniture, books, and some letters in cipher. Two of them are said to be taken with them to Flushing, but the third, uncle to the Earl of Huntly and master of a college of Jesuits at Vienna, redeemed his liberty with 100 crowns. So that his lordship may see how ready these men are for the assault where the breach is made. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davison.

Postscript.—Received his revocation this morning, and purposes to make all haste homewards.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Copy of the same.

Sept. 6. **298. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Since his last of the 24th ult. received letters from her majesty accompanied with others from him [Walsingham] in favour of the poor lords in England, giving him order to deal with the King for the stay of the last Session of Parliament, or at least proceeding in their forfeiture at that time. If these had come a month sooner they might haply have effected something for them, though the appearance was not great. But the Session being ended, the persons forfeited, and the King departed hence seven or eight days before he received them, he found no cause to proceed in a motion so untimely or to make any mention at all thereof. This morning, as he was disposing himself to write to his honour, he received other letters from her majesty to the King, and from his honour to himself touching his revocation, which are very welcome to him. Means to send one of his servants to Falkland to-morrow to desire audience of his majesty. Will so accommodate his speech that his highness shall perceive his departure hence to grow from his own suit and for his own particular.

The Master of Gray makes solemn preparation for his journey, wherein he minds to spare no cost, if that may help either to his mistress's honour or his own credit, being for his apparel, jewels and money the best furnished for the purpose of any gentleman of his rank in Scotland, howsoever he be otherwise qualified. He makes account to set forward about the end of this week or the beginning of the next, accompanied with divers young gentlemen of his own humour. He has not made him acquainted with any particular of his diet or charge. What the gentleman is, and how affected, his honour might perceive by his last letter, whatsoever they pretend. The wisest here are abused if her majesty gathers any grapes of thistles, or if there be not some other mystery in the journey than appears in the outer face thereof. At least the choice of a person affected and qualified as he is offers matter enough to suspect it, if either his religion, the pensions and gifts he has received of the Queen [of Scots], the Duke of Guise, the Spanish ambassador resident in France, and—as is commonly spoken—of the Pope, to whose service it is well known he had dedicated himself, together with the sudden and slight motive of this pretended change, be well considered of. This last week he paid 1000 crowns to the Master of Mar out of that money of the King's whereof he has the charge, as a part of 5000 marks Scottish the King promised him towards the discharge of his debts, besides the 4000 he

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1584. has in composition of the Laird of Gathland for redemption of his forfeiture. The rest of that store he has remaining will stand in need of new supply if he spend as he vaunts in this journey.

Argyll is fallen extremely sick, and not like to live many days, being thrown down with grief to hear of the course and counsel this young King follows, to his own ruin and peril of his estate—with the less appearance or hope of remedy by this earl's death, who no doubt affected the help and redress thereof.

Here is a new expectation of Seton's return. Some Jesuits, his forerunners, coming homewards from Dieppe in a ship of this country, are said to have fallen into the hands of the Flushingers about St. John's road. Edinburgh.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Sept. 7. **299. SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Received his letter of the 2nd instant on the 5th, and therewith a packet for the Queen of Scots from the French ambassador. Is very glad to understand from him that the late alarm sent from Ireland of Scottish forces proves not so dangerous as was first informed, and that the suspicion of the Spaniard that way is cleared. Has let the Queen of Scots understand as from himself what he heard of the King of Scots having forfeited divers nobles and others of good quality in the late Session, as a hard course, thereby to drive them to desperation, which might be of perilous consequence, and the rather being so misliked of the people generally, far from the course and modesty of other great potentates, who, notwithstanding great occasions offered many years, forbore to forfeit any, hoping that in time they might return to their obedience and do them service. She answered that by her troth she had not heard of it, but if her son has done so, it may be for example to others, who, seeing the dealing with these, will beware how to displease him, and that if he should have holden a gentler course others might have taken more boldness upon them. Besides that, these men, she said, have had the King's favour once or twice before, and would not yet beware. Told her plainly that, in his opinion, it was through the ambition of those dangerous and needy ministers about him for their own particular commodities.

Received his letter of the 4th instant on the 6th, wherewith was also one to the Earl of Shrewsbury touching the hard opinion conceived of Mr. Bentall, the gentleman porter here. Whereupon his lordship has taken him up with him to avoid offence, though he assured him that he would trust him with his life and honour. Testifies, for his own part, to his readiness and care to acquit the trust committed to him in that charge since he has been here, so far as he could perceive.

The same night the Earl of Shrewsbury resorted to the Queen of Scots to take his leave of her, and he [Sadleir] with him. After she had delivered some speeches to the effect of their former letters, and finding his lordship unwilling to carry her letters now to the Queen of England, she prayed him to convey them to her with his, as he does herewith, causing Nau first to read them to him. She complained much at the evil writing of them, by reason of a sore middle finger of her right hand by a strain, and showed it. She likewise sends a packet to the French [ambassador], wherein is a copy of her

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1584. own letter, and others, which she caused to be read, containing her request to him to proceed with good offices for her towards the Queen of England, and some matters of his own particular suits for things in France, in answer to his letters. Among other things there is answer touching his recommending of Archibald Douglas to her favour, as he may see by the extract of the ambassador's letter inclosed. Her answer contained no consent in any special thing, but a general liking of him as an honest man; and she told him plainly that though she takes Archibald Douglas to be such a one, and one whom she can be content to gratify in reasonable manner, yet she does not so esteem of him as to make him her agent if her majesty would be pleased to admit such about her, but would have one of her own choosing, who should do as good offices as he, and for whom she would answer. Perceives she could be content to have one who should not intertangle her causes with the French, as this man would do. The Earl of Shrewsbury departed hence this morning, is to lodge this night at Leicester, and has appointed Mr. Wombwell, gentleman porter, who has supplied that place before in the absence of Mr. Bentall. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 7. **300.** [MR. WILLIAM DAVISON] TO HUNSDON.

The motion his lordship made in behalf of Sir John Foster has very slow answer. Purposes to repair to the Court to-morrow to take his leave. Will not fail to urge all that he can [to] Sir John Foster's contentment. The Master of Gray is making his preparation for his journey to England. Argyll is at the point of death. Here some jealousy is conceived by the Queen's favourers of the dealing betwixt him and Arran. Seton is looked for very shortly. Some Jesuits coming homewards from Dieppe have been encountered by Flushingers. Edinburgh.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Hunsdon's secretary.*

Sept. 7. **301.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO SIR JOHN FOSTER.

Has of late received two several letters from him, one from Berwick, the other by this bearer, whom he has detained in daily hope of sending some good answer to both; but having imparted them to the Secretary the same day he received them, who repaired to the Court yesterday seaven-night, and promised to send him his majesty's answer forthwith, to this hour he hears no one word from him in that behalf, so thought it good to retain his servant no longer, the rather because he is to repair to the Court himself to-morrow, and will not fail to urge the answer in one sort or other.

It appears that little care is taken here to do justice on the Borders, save to Lord Hunsdon, as if the rest of their wardens and other Marches might be satisfied by his contentment. But the pretence of their stay is to see what will fall out of this new contracted friendship begun by the dealing between Lord Hunsdon and Arran, which succeeding well, the rest, as they say, must necessarily follow. But herein the end must crown the work.

Has received his revocation, and intends to quit himself from hence as soon as he may possibly, where he sees the disorders and

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1584. confusions to increase daily, and one mischief to beget another. Argyll is at the point of death, and Arran like to be eased thereby of an eyesore; whose immoderate thoughts—though he be now his good gossip—can find no place to rest in; which offers matter enough for suspicion and mislike to the rest in Court. Wots not what to write to him that shall not bewray the lightness and unsettled estate of this government, whose changing nature he is much better acquainted with than himself. Edinburgh.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Sept. 8. **302. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.**

The ambassador has taken it in very friendly part that he is made acquainted with her majesty's answer. He has added the substance thereof to his former despatch that I "schew" your honour was ready to be directed to his master, with favourable and earnest motion by several letters to the secretaries of state that her majesty's upright meaning may now be well considered of and thankfully accepted. He has also by his said letters well conceived her majesty's reasonable excuse "towartis" the passing of the Lord Seton. May it please your honour herewithal to receive the copy delivered. Albeit I made motion to my lady his wife that her going to Barnelms might be delayed till the weather was more constant, that her pleasure in taking the wholesome air might be the more perfect; yet I find her so minded that she intrudes the first fair day to visit my lady your bedfellow "a la inprovise et en amye," as she terms it. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Sept. 10. **303. [Robert] Parsons to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIII. "The coppye of the letter written and sent the [ ] of [ ], this being sent a month after." I received a letter from your majesty of the 10th of this month of [ ], which letter bore no date [*sic*], "yett was I hope yt it had bene" [ ], for that there was mention in it of a letter received by your majesty from Mr. Fulgeam of the 30th of [ ]. But after, I perceived upon conference with Mr. Fulgeam that he had written no such letter, so that therein also I perceived an error, and could not imagine of what date it should be. Yet for that at that present [time] Mr. Owen was newly arrived out of Spain, and departing toward the Prince of Parma, I sent by him your majesty's letter inclosed in mine to the said Prince of Parma, with advertisement of your answer concerning your resolution to adventure your escape if fit and sure means might be provided for the same. Which answer of your majesty's came very opportunely, as it seems, both in respect of Mr. Owen's being there to carry the message to the Prince of Parma, being a man of very good "partes" and secrecy, and of special credit with the Prince of Parma and his secretary, as also for that, not long before, D[octor] Allen and I, having had a meeting together, had concluded upon consideration of our thwarts and oppositions that we received daily in all our doings, and men of our own side, and of the small success our former labours had brought forth. We had resolved, I say, to leave cogitation of such matters, and to follow only our spiritual

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1584. course, whereupon all depends, " though in longer time," persuading ourselves that God would never permit such lets and hindrances from among ourselves, except His divine providence foresaw that it was not yet time to relieve us temporally. I mourned, and being in this cogita tion and determination Mr. Owen arrived; who brought us new order and commandment from the King of Spain to renew — or rather continue—our suit to the Prince of Parma, for that he had commission to deal with him therein, yet in all secrecy, for that he should treat only with Doctor Allen and myself in France. This message brought some hope that perhaps they may have some meaning to deal in the enterprise in the end, whereof we fully despaired. But much more the answer of your majesty, at the very instant when I least expected the same, gave some heart and courage again. For plainly we see by experience that your majesty being as you are, whose person is the principal and only foundation indeed that the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Prince of Parma rest upon—for in very truth we find that they nothing respect your son in that case wherein he is, which makes the matter so hard, dangerous, and uncertain to recover your majesty's person by open invasion—that albeit for contentation's sake they give us fair speech and some promise. Yet I see that when it comes to the conclusion they demand always some assurance of your person, which by open force cannot be given, as they think, say we what he can. And therefore, finally, we perceive that if your majesty's person were on this side the sea, or otherwise in security, you could not demand so abundant succours as you should have offered you in all things. And being as you are, I see not—I say as I think—but that many years more may pass in fair promises and no deeds, as those heretofore have passed. Yet if your majesty does not resolve your escape we shall continue still to solicit as you shall appoint, albeit indeed we be already weary. But if your majesty could think it possible and convenient to attempt your escape, in our opinion there were no way so sure as that. And albeit we leave this point only to your majesty's own judg- ment, yet our opinion is that it may be done with as little, and less danger than to make your escape upon the arrival of forces, which cannot be made so secret but that some appearance will break out before, and then shall your majesty be sure to be made fast from escaping. But by this secret way we find not such difficulty, and the personal danger to yourself much less. For if your majesty should happen to be intercepted in flying—as we hope verily you should not— yet were the danger no more but straiter imprisonment. Whereas, per- haps, in the other case there would be used some violence against your highness's person. But now, for this manner of escape, if your majesty can assure us that you can " but " [put] yourself with one or two persons disguised about midnight without the house where " as " you lie, and so provide that it may be kept secret for two or three hours after, we doubt not but so to provide for the rest that all England shall never take you again. Whatsoever pursuit may or shall be made after you, we shall find, I doubt not, both tall and trusty fellows both by land and sea, and resolute to spend their lives in the service. And if your majesty can be brought to the seaside, there shall be a vessel ready, sufficiently provided to brook the sea from England in what way soever, if God say " amen." If the thing be attempted it must needs be in these long winter nights, and therefore it is " behove-

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1584. full" that your majesty answer as soon, and as often, and as particularly as may be, especially in these points following, or any other that your majesty shall think needful. First, at what place your majesty thinks that the enterprise shall be attempted, and about what time? Secondly, what company your highness will have with you, to the end that horses may be provided? But in our opinion the number must not be great. Thirdly, to what place your majesty desires to be conveyed? and whether, if the way would be found more expedient and less dangerous to Scotland, as heretofore I have heard some discourse, whether your highness could not like to be conveyed thither, albeit to divers here it would not seem so convenient nor profitable, perhaps? Fourthly, what persons your majesty would have made acquainted with the same here, and the fewer they be the better? for if many know of it, the less it is like to take effect? Fifthly, whether there be any means in England that the principal man who shall come for execution of the matter, or any other for him, may speak with your majesty or with any person from you before the attempt? For, as for such others as shall assist him in the action, they shall not be privy [to] what is meant to be done until the very time of execution. These and such like points your majesty may think upon " as seem necessary to be resolved on, as you can possibly," if it shall be determined to put the same in execution. I have taken order with Mr. Owen how to send and hear from the Prince of Parma with expedition and particular messengers, if there fall out anything for your majesty of importance. And I have " imparted " with the said Mr. Owen a copy of the cipher which I hold with your majesty, to the end he may advertise you immediately from thence if there be any need. He is a very active, diligent, faithful, and secret solicitor. He is experienced in matters, zealous in goodwill, and your majesty's, and, as I said before, in very good credit with the Prince of Parma. Mr. Ligons has some good qualities, with most faithful zeal, but lies at Namur, and follows not the Court, nor has that acquaintance and particular favour the Prince of Parma and his secretary. Wherefore I have counselled with Mr. Owen that if the Prince of Parma had not cipher with your majesty, and that they find difficulty in sending for Mr. Ligon's cipher to interpret this letter which your majesty has sent to the Prince of Parma—for I suppose it to be written in Mr. Ligon's cipher—to procure that the Prince of Parma send to your majesty a special cipher whereby your majesty may write to him in particular; who, in my opinion, if it be done often and earnestly, will be of more avail to the cause than all those who may be written to, and any on this side of the sea. For to the Pope or the King of Spain there can be no more said or urged than there has been; and it seems that the Prince of Parma is only the man who now puts things in execution, whereunto nothing will so much move him as your majesty's own effectual and frequent letters. To Sir Francis Englefeld I will give advertisements from time to time as your majesty appoints me, and as always heretofore I have done, albeit now we have little whereupon to continue our " occurrence." For both by Mr. Owen and by his late letters which I received at this instant, I see the good man is now fully persuaded that nothing indeed is meant from Spain, which heretofore he could not believe.

For the payment of the 12,000 crowns to your majesty from Spain,

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1584. I will do what possibly I may about it, although if you knew what mortification I have received in dealing therein for these twelve months and more, you would not marvel if I should say that I were very weary to deal therein. But that shall not suffice if labour will serve.

I wrote before how when the Prince of Parma had given commandment to [ ] in [ ] for payment thereof upon knowledge that it was not paid. After I have laboured all this summer past by letters to Spain, and caused Mr. Owen to solicit both that and the other 12,000 crowns for your son, and finally had answer that it was granted and sent away, and after long delay the ambassador Tassis told me it was come, yet afterwards, upon the sudden news that came of change of the ambassador in France, the 12,000 crowns for your majesty's son were paid, and stay made of those for your majesty, saying that no order was come for their pay. And Tassis answered further, that those 12,000 were promised your majesty in respect of your deliverance. To that I made answer as I thought convenient for the time, and wrote to Spain again; but what will be the event thereof, I know not. The 10,000 crowns that I mentioned to your majesty in my last letters were sent to the King of Scots, as I was informed by those who sent them, but yet, I understand since that 4000 were bestowed upon his nobility by his consent, so that himself had but 6000, as he writes to your majesty. And for that the greatest part of those 10,000 crowns were borrowed upon interest, as I am told, and some of their expenses made in [ ]—what in his majesty's apparel and rewarding some particular persons about him, there remain but 6000 more to be sent him of this latter sum, as they tell me who have the dealing therein. Which I am sorry is so little, and yet I must tell your majesty a truth, as I think it will be verified—it will be hard to draw any more money from these Princes hereafter for Scotland, except the King be actually a Catholic, and they are half angry with some of us already for extorting this upon hope that he would declare himself; which hope is lessened with them daily, and they will not be persuaded but that all are devices of ours to get money from them. God help us, and preserve and deliver, if it be His blessed will, the person of your majesty, wherein is all our human hope of this world. No man has the commodity to despatch the enterprise so easily and so quickly as the Prince of Parma; and I am more than half assured that if he would take the enterprise in hand and demand of the King of Spain the honour of doing it, he should not receive repulse. And as for the Prince of Parma, I am certain he has a desire to do it in respect of the honour, but much more in respect of some commodity that might ensue, perhaps, to him that way; whereof I had a conjecture at my being with him, albeit he dissembled the same very cunningly, and I would not seem to take notice of it. But yet now, for that the same is come to this issue, that he only is to be dealt withal for our matter, I think it not amiss to signify to your majesty, and leave it to your own consideration. In course of talk with the Prince of Parma when I was in the Low Countries, he asked me my opinion in divers things, as whether I thought your majesty would most willingly go if you could escape. Whereto I said I know not, but I presumed that you would trust no place sooner, if other occasions concurred, than the King of Spain's dominions, and where the Prince of Parma himself had the

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1584. government. Then he asked "what your majesty would dispose of yourself" if you were at liberty, or whether you would marry again. Whereto I said, that in that point I knew least. And when still he was questioning obscurely of such matter, I, to draw from him some part of his meaning said that, for your majesty's particular intent, I presumed not to know anything, yet for her general desire and wish for Catholics, I could show him it should be no small contentation if your majesty were in your royal seat and provided of such a husband as his highness was, for that would make a hope that it should be beneficial not only to England, but to all Christendom. At that he smiled and said that he pretended no such thing, "but to doe for your majestie onlye for good will," yet adding that he was not so mortified to the world but if all parties were agreed, he could accept such a preferment with thankfulness. "But this," said he, "I doe not pretende, nor am I worthye of it"; and so he made an end. To the very like effect also Como, his secretary, discoursed with me, who governs all. This only I touch by occasion of our present necessity. Your majesty may do herein as you please, and use the knowledge thereof for yourself alone. If you thought it convenient, and could devise fit means whereby to cast out some hope or good liking that way upon the motion of some honourable friend in England, I think nothing in the world would so much set forward the Prince of Parma and hasten execution; for your majesty knows that every man nowadays, whatsoever he pretends, seeks his own interest. But all this I leave to your majesty's consideration, craving pardon for my boldness in mentioning any such thing, for once I thought never to have touched it. Now, therefore, to make an end, I beseech your majesty to be of good cheer, howsoever things go, and to think this little part of Christ's Cross which you bear, and have suffered these many years, to be the greatest benediction that possibly your majesty could receive at God's hands. Howbeit, for the good of the Church, and we all must pray and labour that you may be delivered from it. But yet God's holy providence knows what is best, and in that cogitation we must rest and comfort ourselves, to whose holy providence and benediction, for our sweet Saviour, I commend your majesty most humbly. Rome.

Postscript.—If there be occasion of any business hereafter to be done for your majesty, I desire that the passage of your majesty's letters to me, and mine to you, may be recommended affectionately to [Thomas] Morgan, to be sent with diligence and secrecy. With Mr. Fulgeam I have spoken, and will do for him what I may possibly, as your majesty wills me, and as the good gentleman deserves. And if your majesty would deal with your son to demand Creichton at the Queen of England's hand, or else entreat for him, it should be a singular great benefit to us all, and a great honour and estimation to the King of Scots himself and all Princes and Catholics in these parts. Mr. Owen writes to me from on the way to the Low Countries, that it may be he shall be sent back presently to me again from the Prince of Parma, and wishes me in any case to exhort your majesty—if you resolve to go forward in this action—that you send hither some express man out of hand with ample instructions of your pleasure, which cannot be so well set down in writing. Whereto I add, that if your majesty has not commodity of such a man, there is a priest in London named Sherwood, otherwise now called Carleton, as I think, a man well

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1584. experienced in matters, who would serve very well, as I deem, for such an office, if "it should like" your majesty to use him, and every Catholic in London can find him out. He is about some matter of mine—at least by my appointment there. But this also I leave wholly to your majesty's consideration.

7 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "10[ ]1584. Parsons to the Scottish Quene. Decifred per Phelippes," *etc.* *Notes in the margin.*

Sept. 11. **304.** HUNSDON TO [BURGHLEY].

I humbly thank your lordship for your honourable dealing with her majesty in these matters, and am sorry my man dealt so negligently, for I commanded him expressly that he should deliver your lordship's letters first, and to know your pleasure for the delivery of the other. I perceive her majesty is still pressed not to believe whatsoever the Scottish King saith. If she will not believe him, what protestation soever he makes of his sincere and plain dealing with her, why does she deal with him? And if he understand that she has such mistrust of him, I think he will not be hasty to satisfy her as she looks for. For neither giving him any cause lately to bind him to her, nor believing him when he deals truly with her and seeks by all means he can to have her think well of him, but will believe whatsoever his fugitives invent against him, what has he to think but that her majesty makes more account of them than of him? Her majesty could not take the like well at any Prince's hand. I am heartily sorry to see two principal Councillors have so small care of her majesty's estate [as] for their private causes to lose her majesty a King, unless they could tell how to get her a better, or were sure to have him when they list, the one for malice that he was not so used as he looked, for which they say "was longe of hymselfe"; the other by ambition, because he is not made the instrument in this action, or else there is a further matter worse than this.

Touching my dealing with the Earl of Arran about these earls, truly I dealt so far therein as I had commission, and farther too. Whose answer I wrote presently to Mr. Secretary—a direct answer that he neither durst nor would deal with the King therein. So that if there was any lack, it was in Mr. Secretary, who, knowing the earl's answer, would not get her majesty to use some means to the King himself in time. I had no commandment to deal with the King therein, but only with the Earl of Arran. My lord, it is very hard that her majesty will condemn the King for using his laws against his own subjects, who—whatsoever we think of them—both the King and his subjects account them traitors and rebels, and yet themselves give out that their action was honourable, honest, and godly, which is small cause for the King to do for them. What the Earl of Arran did to the Countess of Gowrie, I know not, nor did I ever hear of it. But if it were so, what "toyse" be these to inform her majesty of, although it touched her in honour? What can they make of the earl's answer touching Nugent? He answered directly that he knew of no such man nor of any such matter, but so soon as he came to the Court he would seek to know of the King and would let me know truly. Which he did accordingly, and sent me word in writing how it was, as I have advertised. Wherein [it]

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1584. appears to me that he dealt plainly; for he was not at the Court when Nugent came. And besides I think that at the coming of the Master of Gray I shall receive, or he shall bring with him, the Duke of Guise's letter touching that matter. If they do this it appears they mean plainly.

Now, my lord, what harm her majesty may receive by trying of the King, my simple understanding cannot find it, provided it may be accompanied with some cause and kind usage from her majesty, without which I cannot see why her majesty should look for it at his hand. But neither to give him cause of kindness nor to believe any cause that he can give her of plain and upright dealing, I see not how he can be assured to her. But my lord, how much more honourable it is for her majesty "too have ynterest yn the King and hys realme by the hy way, and open doore, or att the wynde," her majesty can well judge if it please her to look into it. But if her majesty be persuaded that she can have no interest or surety of the King but by these two earls, young and simple, and such other crafty apostles that are with them, who have brought them to this mischief, I fear she will feel the harm of it when it will be too late to say "hade I wyste."

For anything to be looked for at the Master of Gray's hand, I know not what other folks look for, but his coming is to satisfy her majesty in that which was in my instructions to require to have her satisfied in. Which was to understand of some practices that were intended against her majesty and her State, wherewith both the King and his mother were acquainted, as it seems the King's mother confesses, but will not utter it. If the Master of Gray be the only man by whom the King understands all those practices, and is contented, for her majesty's better satisfaction, to send him to her majesty to utter the circumstances thereof better than it can be done in writing, it seems the King means plainly herein. But if he at his coming shall find himself to be thwarted and not receive that entertainment he looks for—which I greatly fear—her majesty must not look for that at his hand that otherwise he can, and will do. For this let her majesty assure herself—as I have written before—that there is no man knows the practices of the Scottish Queen and the house of Guise as he does, and [he] will utter the same if he be used well. If he be privy to all these matters, so great with the Scottish Queen, and so given to Papistry as he is noted for, [and] if the King has not only brought him from this course, in respect of pleasing the King, but by the King's commandment [he is] contented to utter the same to her majesty, yea and to do her some greater service than this, what cause hath her majesty to be jealous of this King, surely I know not, but beseech God to put into her head to discern who deals for her and her surety, and who deals for others. Thus am I bold to impart this much to your lordship more than I will do to any, and yet for her service will avow it openly, for I serve but one God and one Queen, Elizabeth. And when it shall please her majesty that I deal no further in these matters I will willingly cease to deal further in them.

Your lordship shall understand that either all or the most part of my Lord of Angus's forfeit is already given, as Tantallon to Colonel Stewart, and the rest to the Earl of Arran; and upon some controversy between the Earl of Arran and the Lord Hume about

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1584. Coperspythe, the Lord Hume was sent for to the King, and at Edinburgh received letters to yield himself prisoner to Tantallon, which he does this night. But I think that matter will be easily compounded between Arran and him. But two days since some grudge having been between the Earl of Bothwell and the Laird of Coldingham, son to Alexander Hume of Manderston, about Coldingham, the earl being at Kelso, at supper time one came to him and "rowndyd hym yn the eare"; whereupon he made a short supper and called for his horse, and taking with him forty-five men well appointed, rode near the house of Davy Hume, brother to the Laird of Coldingham, who was to ride to Edinburgh only with one man, and an Englishman, who fled out of England for killing of a man in his own defence, as he alleges, and set upon him and killed all the three, but hewed Davy Hume, who was the Earl of Arran's man, all to pieces; which is thought will be hardly taken at the King's hand against Bothwell. And besides it will breed such a feud in the March as was not [for] many years. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—I sent the Master of Gray's passport ten days since, but I hear nothing of his coming. But they say that he is "makynge of brave apparrell," and will be here shortly.

There was a strait proclamation made on Monday last that no man, of what estate soever he be, shall eat any flesh on Wednesday, Friday, or Saturday without special licence, upon loss of life, lands, and goods, enacted at this last Parliament.

3½ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Sept. 14. **305.** MR. WILLIAM DAVISON TO HIS WIFE.

Kate, I went hence on Tuesday last to the Court to take my leave, and returned hither on Friday night. On Tuesday next, God willing, I mean to begin my journey, and hope to be with thee by the end of this month. I would have thee pray my brother to take care of satisfying Mr. Sadler, because his day is past, and let me be recommended to him with a thousand thanks for his courtesy, which he shall find me ready to requite. Commend me to our friends, and tell my brother that I think to be furnished for his turn at my coming home. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Davison.

1 *p. Copy in Davison's hand. Indorsed:* "14 September 1584, to my wife."

Sept. [16]. **306.** WALSINGHAM TO SIR RALPH SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIII. Cannot yet draw from the Queen of England a resolution touching the Scottish Queen's request for the sending up of Nau. Mr. Sommers knows that they [the Privy Council] are long in their resolutions here, especially in matters subject to jealousy, which humour daily increases. Her majesty marvels that the said Queen should like so well of the hard proceeding in Scotland against so many principal persons of that realm; for although she may allow thereof in respect of the dislike she has of the said persons, yet considering the hard events that violent counsels are accompanied withal—especially in that realm—she should, for the safety of her son, howsoever her own passion carries her, both wish and advise that a more temperate

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1584. course might be held. Besides, the Queen of England, seeing her like well of so hard measure, yielded to such as are known to be affected to the amity of this crown, as a thing most beneficial; for the King their master cannot but interpret it as an argument of little goodwill borne towards her by the Queen of Scots, notwithstanding the great protestations she makes of her love and devotion towards her.

It was rather looked for at her hands that as well in respect of the safety of her son as for the recovery of her majesty's good opinion towards her, she should have offered to have interposed her authority and credit with the King of Scots by advertising him to take a more temperate course in his government—as not to suffer himself to be carried by such violent counsellors as, either for their particular feuds or the desire they have to enrich themselves with the spoils of others, nothing regard the mislike and hatred they throw him into of his subjects, which in the end cannot but work their ruin and his peril. Whereof there have been over many dolorous examples seen in that realm.

Her majesty would like well that she were drawn to offer to do all good offices of mediation between the King of Scots and his subjects, so that it might be wrought not as a thing proceeding by direction from hence, but by way of discourse between her and him [Sadleir], as one who wished the causes of jealousy between her majesty and her were removed, and that good friendship might continue between the two countries; whereof there is no likelihood if the hard course be held towards such as are noted to be well affected to this crown. Refers the ordering hereof to his good consideration.

The Earl of Shrewsbury is very graciously used by her majesty, who is very desirous to compound the controversies between him and his wife—a matter that will not be performed over easily.

3 *pp. Draft in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "M[inute] of a letter unto Sir Ralph Sadler."

Sept. 16. **307. Hunsdon to Burghley.**

Finding it strange that in all this time I neither heard of the Master of Gray's coming nor of any cause of his stay, and hearing sundry bruits both in England and out of Scotland that his coming was very doubtful, I thought good to write to the Earl of Arran what I heard, and to know the cause of his stay, the rather because at our meeting at Fowlden he seemed to desire the safe-conduct with speed, as your lordship shall perceive by the true copy of my letter, which I send your lordship herewith, as also the copy of his answer to my said letter. It seems that the earl looks for "Cuddy" Armeror, and therefore, my lord, I pray your lordship let him be sent away presently, and if your lordship shall think so fit, he shall return again with the Master of Gray, besides a gentleman of my own whom I mean to send with him. In the meantime I will let the earl understand that "Cuddy" is not returned, but I have sent for him. It is fit he should come, for I know neither the King nor the earl will impart so frankly to any other in this matter as they will do to him.

I understand credibly that upon the arrival in Scotland of certain Papists and Jesuits, the King, when he was acquainted thereof, made

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1584. proclamation that upon pain of death they shall depart by a day, and that whosoever harbours or receives them after that day shall incur the same pain. How true it is, I know not. Mr. Davison will be here this night. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

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

First inclosure with the same.

(Hunsdon to Arran.)

As he has made choice of him to be a dealer with him in this great matter between their sovereigns—a matter of great importance—so he requests him not to let their speeches prove true who give out that neither the King nor he mean any plain dealing with the Queen of England, but [wish] to drive time with fair words for some other purpose; wherein he hopes they shall be deceived, and so the discredit light on themselves. Yet he cannot but marvel greatly what the detracting of the Master of Gray's coming means, his lordship being so desirous to have him make haste for his safe-conduct, yet having sent it to him [Arran] by John Hume fifteen days since, he neither hears of his coming nor of any cause of his stay. Requests him to let him understand by this bearer what time he shall look for him, and the cause of his stay all this while, that he may advertise the Queen his sovereign accordingly, who he knows hath looked for him long ere this. Is enforced the rather to write earnestly to him herein, first, because he has heard nothing of his coming all this time; secondly because of sundry bruits; and thirdly that he stays about making of his apparel, which would have been made ere this time. Others say that the King's mother's friends so handle the matter that he shall not come at all; and others that he is to stay until the Parliament, with sundry other like reports, all tending either to his not coming at all or in such sort that he were better not to come at all—to which he gives no credit. Reminds him how deeply it touches both of them in credit, and the King in honour, to have such a man's coming to her majesty so openly spoken of in England and Scotland as it is, and to be a whole month delayed. If he is to come at all, let him make no longer delays, for small occasion will make much matter with some in the English Court now he [Hunsdon] is away. But for waiting for him he had been doing other services for her majesty, which he has put off because he would not be absent when he comes. Berwick, 13th September 1584.

1 *p.* *Copy in the hand of Hunsdon's secretary.* *Indorsed.*

Second inclosure.

(Arran to Hunsdon.)

Received his letter this day, being at his house of Derltoun. Made choice of him, indeed, before any other in that nation in this so great matter which tends to the weal, amity, and unity of both their sovereigns, whereof he neither repents nor thinks thereby to "gain" any loss. Neither does his majesty mean but most plainly, nor does he deal but most truly, with no fair words to "circummean" any, neither does he expect his lordship to be "circummeaned." Does in heart as he spoke. Esteems his lordship as of his father, and means to demonstrate the part of a "fideale" son, and [to be] a faithful servitor to both the Princes, in contending to keep the Christian amity betwixt them.

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1584. Whereas he marvels at the detracting of the Master of Gray's coming, begs him to remember that he "concluded" in great secrecy with him to make him privy to divers things by his servant "Cuttie," in whom he confided, and [in] whom he has always found great fidelity to him; by whom also he shall be informed from point to point of things at that time not known, yet nothing prejudicial to the prime purpose of solid true dealing on his majesty's part and his own in all things, speak what the enemy pleaseth, on his majesty's part and his lordship's, "and laste of myne, neither one dryfte, or els one Parliament nor no other whatsoever," but that by his servitor he may make him "forsene," and her majesty also, according to the first purpose concluded betwixt them. Neither does the King of Scots' mother's friends stay this course, nor does it lie in them to retard the same if it pleases him to haste "Cuttie" to him. "More poysens lyeth in your lordship's Cuttie than in all the force of Fraunce, yf as greate truth bee ment to us as in hart both before God and men his majestie and I also do meane." His lordship knows what advice he gave, and what he promised to send by his said servant. Haste him therefore to him. If sickness or other "impossibilitee" stay him let him certify him, and he shall see the next choice he makes. Howbeit he likes not to "alter meanes" in greater purposes, especially where he finds [that] honesty in that poor soul to them both which he has always found. Let him advertise him—but rather send "Cuttie" to him, and he shall "see them both" salute him with all "suddentie," to the making liars of all in England and Scotland who have untruly spoken to the contrary. Yet puts him in mind that he gave him advice to handle this matter as he should "give prescript." Therefore let him haste his servant, by whom truly he shall by word and writing receive the same.

"In companie with the Master of Graye with whome his majestie will utter his trewe meaning in fullnes to your lordship's honnourable sattizfaxcion, I do yet praye your lordship haste your man to me, for I thinke as greate longe as you doe. God Almightie graunt us bothe our godly harttes desier." Darletoun, at night, this 14th day of this instant September, 1584.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. **308. Mr. William Davison to Walsingham.**

Had his audience on Thursday last,* and took his leave of his majesty at Falkland. Received his letters to the Queen of England but yesterday, and arrived at this town yesternight, where he has thought good to rest for one day. Was met by Arran at Haddington, who would needs take his leave of him on the way and renew to him his old general discourses which he had oft before held with him, touching his good meaning to keep peace and friendship betwixt her majesty and his sovereign, with his particular devotion to herself, *etc.*, but with a correction which, with the rest of his conference, together with what passed between the King of Scots and him, he shall understand at full length on his coming home.

The same day he was at Court Argyll departed this life, having by his testament committed the young earl his son to the tutory of

* 10th.

Elizabeth.
1584. the Lairds of Auchenbrack, Glenurquhy, Caulder, Lochenyell, Ardkinlas, the Comptroller, and other barons of his surname, together with his mother during her widowhood; so that Arran is now eased of that eyesore.

The Parliament is to hold on the 20th instant by the commissioners appointed by Act in the last Session, of whom Arran is to be "roy" in the King's absence, with full power as well to make new laws as to proceed in the forfeiture of the rest summoned.

Atholl is entered into ward in Edinburgh Castle; the pretext is for refusing to answer his bond of cautionry to Crawford for 10,000*l.* Scots due to him with his wife, one of Atholl's sisters. But the end in truth is as well to see if, being in the hands of Arran his good brother and my lady his sister, they can bring him to entail his living to them—a thing they have been heretofore earnestly in hands with, as also to divide him from his wife, daughter to Gowrie, to increase the misery and discomfort of the poor lady her mother, whom he has relieved since her husband's death, and to take from her and her friends the help they might have at his hands in revenge of the dishonour and cruelty exercised against her husband and all his.

Hume is likewise entered into ward at Tantallon for resisting such as Arran sent to take possession of Cockburnspath, belonging to the Earl of Angus, which he has gotten from him and Bothwell, and would exchange with him for his third of Dirleton, which is the mark he shoots at in his warding, intending as much against Andrew Carr of Fauden Syde for his third, notwithstanding he has married his own sister. For so [long as] he gets his purpose in that or aught else, it is no matter *quo jure*. He has likewise gotten the escheat of Bothwell and the young Earl of Caithness his brother, with others of that company, for the slaughter of David Hume, son of Maunderstone, commonly called "David the Divell," who was very cruelly murdered by the earl and his company on Friday morning last, which divers of the Humes threaten to revenge. Bothwell entertains 100 gentlemen to attend upon him to maintain the feud. About the same time the Laird of Innerweik, in the north, was likewise cruelly murdered by the Laird of Crumy, whose father the other had slain before under assurance, and the Master of Yester having, as it is said, by accident struck his wife into the breast with a knife, and perceiving her to fall as if he had slain her, struck himself immediately with the same knife into the body, and would have slain himself, but they are both, it is thought, past danger.

The wives of the poor ministers of Edinburgh are turned out of their houses, and divers honest matrons of the town and others most commended for their piety are warded beyond the water of Tay, and a blank left in the charge for sixty or eighty others to be put in and sent after them at the discretion of "that quiet spirited lady," who challenges a liberty to do what she lists.

The Jesuits who are drawn home are by proclamation commanded to avoid the country within a month under pain of death. But how it will be executed his honour will hear hereafter. That they hope better he may perceive somewhat by the copy of a letter to Fentry, the original whereof he saw, and by the abstract of an instruction given by the bishop of Ross, amongst other things, to his servant taken by the Flushingers, both of which he incloses.

Elizabeth.
1584. Their new bishop of Glasgow is already deprived, and that place left vacant—it is feared—for him who is in France.

The signatures of all former gifts of any of the late forfeited lands are called in again by proclamation, so that no man is assured there of anything he has from the King so long as he continues a pupil under his tutors.

The Master of Gray's journey appears to go coldly forward, and some question [was] made thereof at his [Davison's] being at Court, notwithstanding his preparation. And albeit it holds, he understands, it will be eight or ten days ere he sets forward; but what the impediment is, he shall understand on his [Davison's] arrival at the Court.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 133. 2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

Sept. 19. **309. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Forasmuch as the posts have their hire whether they work or play, so that he need not spare their labour, writes these few lines the rather to minister occasion the sooner to hear from him, and to let him understand that touching his charge here all is well. Finds no cause to think otherwise but that the same shall be well discharged according to her majesty's expectation, for he finds all the gentlemen and others the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants so willing, serviceable, and diligent in the due execution of all things committed to them in this service, that he should do them great wrong if he should not give them due commendation for the same.

This Scottish Queen here is daily inquisitive to learn how her late offers are allowed and accepted by her majesty, and whether she shall be admitted to send a special man to her majesty well instructed to inform her of her good mind and intention to do all good offices for the conjoining of these two realms in perfect league and amity, wherein she thinks herself able to prevail much with her son, who, she says, knows will be wholly advised by her in all things reasonable if she may be permitted to deal with him whilst time serves. Requests not to be left to winter in this cold and miserable country, where he sees nothing but woods, rocks, and mountains; for surely if he remains here till winter it will shortly make an end of his old days. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—The Queen of Scots sometimes enquires of him what he hears out of Scotland, and when he answers her nothing thereto, but desires to hear somewhat of her, believing that she is not without intelligence, she assures him by her troth that this long while she has heard not so much as an inkling or common bruit from thence, other than Mons. de Mauvissière sent her word of her son's meaning to send the Master of Gray to the Queen of England shortly. If he would let him understand something from thence meet for him to know, he will satisfy her and think himself much beholden to him.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, except the postscript, also address. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] **310. [Walsingham] to Sir Ralph Sadleir.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Hopes within eight or ten days to give him some comfort touching the release of the charge now committed to him, for the Earl of Shrewsbury, doubting to be surprised by his ancient enemy the gout, will employ his own credit and his friends' to procure his speedy despatch

Elizabeth.
1584. hence. The greatest impediment will be the suit he makes to be discharged of the custody of the Lady remaining now in his [Sadleir's] hands; which difficulty he hopes will be removed.

Of late one Creichton, a Scottish Jesuit, was taken by a ship set forth by the Admiral of Zealand, and sent hither by him to the Queen of England; about whom there was found a very dangerous plot set down about two years past in the Italian tongue for the invading of this realm; and although it was torn in pieces and divers parts thereof lost, yet they have gathered the sense thereof, which he incloses.

His charge there [the Queen of Scots] and the King of Scots were made acquainted with all, and, as they are informed, gave their allowance thereof, which had been executed if Lennox had lived; and, as is confessed by Creichton, there is an intent and meaning when the King of Spain shall be rid of his Low Country troubles to proceed to the execution thereof. There is of late a match concluded between the King of Savoy and the King of Spain's daughter—a matter which greatly offends and grieves the Popish faction, for that they sought to match her with the young King of Scots. Thinks, when the Queen of Scots shall be made acquainted therewith by him, she will not rest the best satisfied withal. Knows she has these twelve years inclined more to Spain than to France. They find that in all these plots and discoveries that have come to their hands any time these two or three years the French King has no way been a party, which ought to move the Queen [of England] the rather to account of his friendship, which is like to continue sound so long as the house of Guise shall be no more inward with him than they are, of whose ambition the said King has taken so deep and hard a conceit that men of judgment think they shall enjoy no extraordinary portion of his favour.

The state of things in the Low Countries grows to very hard terms. Ghent and Vilvorde being already yielded to the enemies' hands, it is likely that Brussels and Mecklin will not long hold out, for that they begin already to enter into parley; so that if they [the English] do not duly consider how their foreign helps begin to wear away and their inward corruption daily increases, they shall then see just cause to fear the continuance of their happy peace that they have so long enjoyed. Prays God it may prove but a vain fear.

2½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed:* "M[inute] of a letter unto Sir Ralphe Sadler."

Sept. 20. **311. GEORGE DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.**

The rage of the abusers of our King's majesty has been so inflamed against me that, not being satisfied with the banishing and forfeiting of myself and two of my sons, they have also of late most tyrannously and unjustly expelled my wife with a number of little children out of her own house, being her proper heritage, whereby extreme necessity constrains me to have recourse to her majesty, and most humbly to request her highness to take such orders that either some mean portion may be allowed me whereon to sustain my family within this realm, or else that direction be given to the Lord Hunsdon to deal with my sovereign for my relief and restoring to my own country and possessions. Which I am so bold as to beseech your honour to signify to her highness, because I am not only persuaded of your

Elizabeth.
1584. honour's good liking for the cause, but also have proved heretofore your great courtesy towards myself. In recompense whereof I have no other thing to render to your honour but a thankful and "remembring" heart, at all times ready to do your honour acceptable service. Berwick. *Signed:* George Douglas.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Sept. 21. **312. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIII. Imparted to the Scottish Queen that the Queen of England had not resolved upon her request to send up Nau. And lest she might thereupon conceive that it was refused or "insperat," he told her that this despatch was made upon her majesty's first conference with the Earl of Shrewsbury of the matter, whereof he [Walsingham] had friendly advertised him, and that before, or at the Earl of Shrewsbury's return, which he had put him in good comfort should be shortly, her highness would send her resolution.

She answered that when she remembers so many fruitless answers as have been made to her good offers and sincere intentions towards the Queen's majesty her good sister so long since—though they were not so accepted—she fears still that, through some cross means, she can hope for no better; using most earnest protestations of her upright meaning towards her majesty, whose long life and prosperity she wished with all her heart. She also delivered great grief—not without many tears—in that her majesty would not use her service and prove her in her offers whilst there is time, for the benefit and quietness of her highness and her realm. Told her that by many dangerous intentions discovered, and now this other day again by the apprehension of one Creichton, a Scottish Jesuit bound for Scotland, much hurt had been done to the matter she sought for at the Queen of England's hands; and then told her what was found about him. Thereunto she protested deeply that neither by herself nor by any other by her means or knowledge had she at any time dealt with that man, nor with any other, concerning those matters, nor knew him otherwise than by report that one Creichton was a good schoolmaster to bring up children in learning; humbly beseeching her majesty to conceive no hard impression against her for any such matter, for God knoweth her conscience to be free from any such thing as is there mentioned.

Reminded her again of her son's hard proceedings in Scotland, whereof the Queen of England was informed she liked well. She answered that if she had been believed in time she would have interposed her credit and authority to have done good. But how could she then or now do it, having no way to send to her son? And as for her well liking of that hard course against those noblemen, she said she had not said so, but remembered her former answer—that she knew nothing of her son's particular dealing therein. But said, if her son had done so, it might be for example of others, and to take away from others the like encouragement to offend their sovereign; and that these men have had their grace once or twice before. This, said she, was her opinion of the cause of her son's proceeding in that sort with them, and referred to her majesty's own conscience what was meet to be done to subjects who stood up against their Prince. Her son is a King in Scotland, and for such would be obeyed. Said

Elizabeth.
1584. briefly that these noblemen were well known to be well affected to the amity of both realms, which they sought, and for that cause, it is thought, they fared the worse, though not directly at the King's hands, but by the ambition of some malicious and needy folk about him.

She said that she would not answer for those who are greatest about her son, for she had not appointed any of them to him. And as for the other, she referred to her son the offence done against him. But, for herself, though they had offended her, she with all her heart forgave them all, as she had ever done to any who had offended her and would acknowledge their offences, when she reigned, hating nothing in the world more than the shedding of blood; and protested that she is yet of that mind, and with God's grace would so continue.

Answered that he was glad to hear her to be of that good mind, and trusted that she would give counsel to her son to take the like good course, which would be to the liking of his people and safety of his person, remembering the ends of violent Princes in Scotland. Wished that she would offer to the Queen of England to do good offices of mediation between her son and the noblemen and other good subjects.

"I will do it," quoth she, "if I may have leave to send (and that requyreth some speed) so as the Queene's majestie my good suster will answer for them that heerafter they shall contynew good subjectes to him"; and on condition that her highness will accept of her and of her son, as belongs to Princes so near of her blood as they are, the same to pass among other things in the treaty. For it were no reason for her, she said, to procure such favour for those who have been so unkind to her and to her son, and yet be still eloigned from her majesty's favour.

He [Walsingham] now sees what she offers—according to her majesty's liking—to mediate for these noblemen of Scotland, if she may be suffered to send. Which being refused her, as she partly seems to despair, she discharges her conscience before God to have done her duty like a true and faithful meaning friend to her majesty, to have her favour now four or five times at the least, and beseeches her majesty not to charge her with any evil dealings to come from herself—which shall never be found in her. For, since she gave all power by authentic authority to her cousins of Guise, now five or six years past, to do all things that may be for her commodity, by their discretion, she has almost left dealing in anything. Wherein she has found great quietness. Yea, she hath rejected some who have offered to deal in matters, as, said she, some will do so long as she shall remain here in this sort; whereof she says she will never bear the "wyte," and that if she be found contrary, she is here in her majesty's power to answer it. She was weary to have so enlarged herself and her heart as she has done lately to him and to others, with a sincere goodwill to her majesty, and can see no good come of it, and therefore desires her majesty to consider her rank and to treat "nobly" with her. That was her word. Told her that he would make her majesty once again acquainted with her requests. Let her understand that a match was concluded between the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain's daughter, whereat she made no matter at all in show. She humbly beseeches her majesty, in case she will permit her to send

Elizabeth.
1584. up Nau, that she may also have leave at that time to write to her son letters which shall be seen here, only to let him hear from her, and by that means to hear from him again. Which may serve, said she, to entertain him a while, and may, perhaps, stay some hard dealing until, with God's good pleasure, things may grow to a further good course; and that such letters may be conveyed to and from by Lord Hunsdon's means, or other ways as it may please her majesty to appoint. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 22. **313.** WALSINGHAM TO CAPTAIN READE.

Whereas the distressed noblemen of Scotland remaining in England have been suitors to her majesty to license them to sojourn for a time in Holy Island under his charge, she consents that he shall satisfy their request. She also very well likes his having of himself showed a willingness to gratify them therein, and will accept in very good part any courtesy or friendship that he may do them during their abode there. Oatlands.

½ *p. Copy.*

Sept. 28. **314.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

The heavy loss sustained by this bearer, Andrew King, and others his partners, of the borough of Aberdeen, at the hands of English pirates "thir zeiris bygane," and the more grievous loss of time in suiting of redress thereof before her judges, and most of all the small regard had of the trial and probation used in their names by David Endeauch, one of their number, and the decree obtained by him before her Judge of Admiralty amounting to 2200*l.* sterling, have moved him to request her to let some pitiful regard be had for these his honest subjects' cases, "devolvit be thir mishappes, from ane substancious and wealthy trade" to great necessity and distress. Requests that some order be taken for their redress, according to their "pruiffis led" and her promise "interponit" in that behalf. Falkland. *Signed:* James R.

⅔ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 30. **315.** WILLIAM RYCHARDSON TO MR. JOHN RYCHARDSON.

"My dewtye premysed, yow shall understant yat I am wyllyd by mye brother Wylliam Robynson * to repayre ynto yowe, as I dyd a lyttell befoore ower last departyng, and I doo nott dowpt butt I hayve sayved your credytt as also fulfyllyd mye promyse. Yow shall understand I was stayd att Dower 4 dayes and so was the shepe. Yeatt I naymyd my selfe John Kar. Butt I wrootte upto my brother Robynson who sett me att lybertye. Butt I was commandyd to paye ye shepes chargyes by my brother commandment, which as yeatt I hayve nott doone by reason I hayve ytt nott. Butt my cosyn John Rycheson ys my seurtye. The some ys xiij Frens crownes. I praye yow yat I may hayve word from yow with sped. I wylbe ny

* See Hunsdon's letter of Oct. 1st.

Elizabeth.
1584. to Kelsaye. I must havye a horse to trayvell apone, for in treuthe I am cleare withowt mony and other garmenttis tyll I heare from yow I cane doo noo sarvyse. I landyd att Lethe xxiiij of September last." Edinburgh. *Signed:* "your powre cosyn, Wylliam Rychardson."

"Postea."—"Yf I had a horse I wold venture to come whear ytt wold please yow to apoynt yf yowe please, for I hayve noo tyme to wrytt by reason I knowe nott to hayve means to yow as yeatt."

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. No flyleaf, etc.*

Sept. 26. **316. THE ASSOCIATION.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 137.

"An extract touchinge the matter of the associacion."
From Mr. Bowes to Mr. Davison.

A. The Scottish King's answer to Mr. Bowes and Mr. Davison, by whom he was charged in her majesty's name to have concealed from them the overture and proposition of La Mothe touching the point of association, as is at large contained in the letter marked A.

B. The article touching the matter of associacion presented to the King by La Mothe 20 Jan. 1582[-3].

C. The propositions of La Mothe, with the King's answer thereto.

D. The King's answer to the third article concerning the matter of association, delivered with the rest to Mr. Bowes and Mr. Davison, March 1852[-3].

E. The substance of a letter written by the Duke of Lennox to George Douglas, in France, *etc.*

The contents of his last direction were well liked by the King [of Scots], yet because in performing them some fear was taken that grudge and slander of the people might arise against him, it was thought meet to be resolved on by so many of the Council as were well affectionate to that cause. Where, after some dispute, it was thought very dangerous for the mother and the son that the King should perform what he was most willing to do, by reason there is a despair entered into the hearts of the whole people of Scotland that they can be in no surety if the King shall grant himself unlawfully crowned, therefore they concluded for the advancement of the course of their affairs that it was best that her majesty [the Queen of Scots] request the King of France to acknowledge her son as King of Scotland in such form as had been advised, and with him ratify and confirm the ancient league. To this effect letters are directed to the Queen of Scots that will satisfy her desire. Has written of all these matters to the Duke of Guise.

F. 9 Oct. 1581. From Sir H. Cobham, ambassador in France.

Is informed that it is now agreed on here that upon the coming of certain commissioners out of Scotland, and that certain articles being concluded, the Duke of Guise will procure the King of France to be contented that the young King shall be accepted as sovereign in the same degree as his mother is, and that, consequently, all accustomed complements shall follow.

G. 13 July, 1583. From Mr. R. Bowes.

Albeit the case of association has been openly debated in Council upon reading the fourth head of her majesty's answer to the articles propounded by the ambassadors, and that the gentlemen returning with

Elizabeth.
1584. the said ambassadors have made it known that there was a treaty betwixt her majesty and the King's mother for her liberty, yet he [Bowes] has not yet heard that any part of the particularities of the said treaty is discovered. But sees " little " George Douglas, the Provost of Clenclowden, and others the chief instruments and servants of the King's mother, so very familiar and inward with the King and the lords made acquainted with this matter, that he thinks this secret will not be very long hidden.

H. 8 Aug. 1583. From Mr. R. Bowes.

That you may understand the causes of delay in sending the copies of the draft of the association promised by my former, *etc.*, I send inclosed a letter I received in that behalf from the Prior of Blantyre, *etc.*

I. 17th Aug. 1583. From Mr. R. Bowes.

Draft of the association burnt by the King's Advocate. 27th Nov. 1581. From one Cockburn [Cobron], a Scot, to Mr. Thomas Randolph.

That George Douglas was sent from the Scottish Queen with commission to declare to the King of France, the Queen mother, the Duke of Guise, and the bishops of Ross and Glasgow, that she was disposed to give over the title to her son's hands, reserving to be joined with him in all letters of disposition and commandment. Whereupon the French King was content to give the Scottish King the title of King, and to assist him according to the ancient amity.

1⅔ *pp. Copy.*

Sept. 28. **317. MARY TO MONSIEUR FONTENAY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Fontenay. As, being about to depart from here to Tutbury, I may not otherwise have the leisure for writing privately of the things herein to tell those whom they concern, I send you this memoir on leaving, in execution of which I charge you to apply yourself in my name, and to do as much as you can for the good of my service and the contentment of those whom it can concern.

First, recommend on my part to my son, with all the favourable intercession that you can, the young Duke of Lennox, that he may be preserved in all the goods of his late father and others with which since he could have been gratified.

Moreover, to make my said son intervene with regard to my cousin the Earl of Huntley, and to interpose also my recommendation for the accomplishment of the marriage between the said earl and the said Duke of Lennox's youngest sister.

Also recommend, in my name, to those of whom the Earl of Huntly will advise you, the marriage of his second sister with the Earl of Argyll, who has urged it, as a thing that I shall consider very agreeable. And as to the young Duke of Lennox's journey out of the country and his marriage with Arbella, these are things which do not require haste, and therefore I will refrain for this time from making a reply thereto. But assure Cavailles on my part that I will work for the good and greatness of his master as if he was my second son. And for the particular of the said Cavailles, I will not be ungrateful for the service that he did me under the late Duke his master hereafter when occasion will present itself to do something for him. However, recommend him on my part to my son to gratify him and

Elizabeth.
1584. serve him. Continue in the course that I have commanded you to take in favour of the Hamiltons, and especially of my Lord Claud, so that my son, separating them from the rest of the exiles seeking assistance here, may assure himself of them in future, the said Lord Claud being very capable and very sincere in intention to do him service; for which I reply to him myself, and therefore let him retain him in Scotland if possible and return him his possessions.

Make known on my part to my son the pleasure and satisfaction that remain to me from the embassy and negotiations of my Lord Seton in France, to the end that my said son recognise them according to the recommendation that I have made to him hitherto.

Intercede for the deliverance of the Laird of Cohel if he is still pursued.

Assure Colonel Stewart that I consider his behaviour very agreeably, and that by the first commodity, not having now any leisure to do this, I will not fail to write in his favour such letters, and to such people as he desires.

Make known to my nephew, Bothwell, that I have received his last [letters], and remain very satisfied with the assurance that he has given me by the same of the continuation of his duty and faithful affection for me and my son.

Deliver to Secretary Maitland the packet for him here inclosed, in which are letters, articles, and commissions for the association. Which commission I have left to the Secretary to fulfil, as among all others he will be the best advised. But I desire that the Earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Robert Melville may be named therein, and you also, especially if my son is going shortly to perform my intention in that, you will resolve to make a longer sojourn near him.

Excuse me to Robert Melville, because he has been put on one side, my state being such that I cannot give him any wages, my dower having been reduced to so little that I have been constrained this year to borrow the wages of my officers not actually serving for my maintenance here, and to pay the debts that I have here.

I have granted to one of Thomson's sons a prebend, not being able at present to do more for him.

2 *pp. French. Copy in Nau's hand. Indorsed by Mr. Thomas Phelippis.*

Sept. 30. **318. GEORGE NORTON TO MR. CHRISTOPHER SHEPARDSON.**

"Good frend Christofer Sheperdson, I praye yow send thys hearinclosyd to your mayster with all sped, altho ytt be nott derect to hym, for he wold nott for a 100 pond, butt yat ytt cayme to hys handes. I doo commend my selfe to yow and to all frendes." Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Norton.

Postscript.—"Good Christofer Shepardson send thys a waye with all sped to your master, for ytt doothe import."

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. No flyleaf, etc.*

[Sept.] **319. ADVERTISEMENTS.**

C.P., vol. XIII. He that offered his son for a pledge tells him [the writer] that he marvels much that he has not as yet received any answer touching so friendly an offer. If it were necessary for his majesty's service,

Elizabeth.
1584. thinks this service would be very fit for Ireland. The same also shows one Charles Browne, by whom he wrote, and with whom he had conference of weighty matters, to have him the readier, if need should require. Thinks this gentleman is now in Spain. An Englishman, called Blackewell, servant to the Duchess of Feria, has departed to the Court. He has had great audience and conference with the Council, and is suspected to be a spy and a great practiser. The Queen of Scots has sent the writer word how God is her witness that she looks for no relief but at his majesty's hands, and that she should think herself much beholden to those who would certify his majesty of this last hope of refuge that she has in him, and desire him to advertise her of his good health and second preparation for her better comfort.

In another hand :

" Quidam nunc fabulantur de Regine Anglie jure secundum Reginam Scotie. Quippe quæ in majoribus aviam paternam numeret Margaretam sororem Henrici 8 Britanniæ Regis, cujus Maria justa sobole defuncta regni controversia si vellet Scotica fortasin moveri posset."

Sept. **320. [ELIZABETH] TO HUNSDON.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 132. The delay in the despatch of the last letters to him, on behalf of the distressed lords, was partly owing to the sudden holding of Parliament, in which they were forfeited before they were advertised of his meeting with Arran, and partly because the new imputation placed upon the lords seemed to render them unworthy of their mediation.

Still is moved with compassion on their behalf, and weighing the matter from the other side, desires he will lay before the King the danger of alienating so many of his subjects of that quality and birth, suggesting that he allow them to enjoy the benefit of their lands though not in their own country. He shall show him the danger which his predecessors have fallen into by harsh government of others, and how all great princes have been compelled, for the preventing of further dangers, to receive back into grace subjects that for a time have been estranged from them, his own mother and the French King being late examples.

If this course prove unavailing with the King, he shall show him that his outward protestations of amity do not fit with his unwillingness to yield to her in a matter touching her satisfaction so nearly.

If he use the Earl of Arran as the fittest instrument to prefer this mediation before the King, it were meet he should let the earl know that by the reuniting of the realm together under the King's obedience, he would not be the least of those who reaped the benefit of the same.

If he should employ himself to do good offices therein his services should be accepted as amends for the wrong done by the indirect practice to charge the noblemen with a slanderous imputation, and so render them more odious to the world, and to stay her from using her mediation for their relief.

1½ *pp. Copy. In Walsingham's hand.*

Oct. 1. **321. MARY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

C.P., vol. XV. I have written to my son touching the overtures that you have made to me in his name for your journey to the Queen of England.

Elizabeth.
1584. If he can plainly soet I cannot entirely approve of this artificial demonstration of a discontent and new division between him and me, as prejudiced to both of us, for the reasons following, that is to say, if the Queen of England will not put any faith in it, and take it as dissimulation of a game designed on purpose between my son and me, this will suffice to hinder your journey to me rather than help it; or if she believes that the said division is true, it gives to our enemies near her the one advantage, that they desire to turn her from proceeding any further in any treaty with us. For without any doubt they have until now made her believe and founded her safety and her position on our division, *etc.*

Believe for certain that it is only fear in the extreme that can bring the Queen of England to act for us, and that nothing would render my son so contemptible towards her as if under the feeding of good promises she should once abandon and take away the stay and support of me and my friends and kinsmen, foreign princes, *etc.*

Therefore, if my son is persuaded, either by the good promises of England or elsewhere to show himself separated from me, he will secretly obtain from her better conditions; let him assure himself of the contrary, being the only thing which she goes about to give to him, as they say "la crocke en jambe"; and that she will take no trouble afterwards to perform and observe one thing that she has promised, *etc.*

1½ *p. French. Indorsed. With No. 472.*

Oct. 1. **322. HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.**

Received his letter of the 20th by Armerar late on Thursday night, and sent him the next day to the Earl of Arran, who was at Edinburgh, and would not suffer Armerar to go to the King, lest by his coming the King might stay a hunting longer than he was appointed. So that the King go this night to Kinneil and to-morrow to Edinburgh, for the plague is beyond the water. But the earl sent the Master of Gray presently to the King, and has sent him [Hunsdon] word that he shall be here with him on the 6th or 7th instant. As soon as he arrives he means to advertise her majesty after he has spoken with him.

It was time for Armerar to come, for before his arrival Colonel Stewart and the Frenchman who is there told the King that Armerar was executed at London, and had accused the Earl of Shrewsbury and him [Hunsdon], and that the Earl of Shrewsbury was in the Tower, and he sent for him. So when his man went to the earl, he sent for the Frenchman and gave him very great words, and asked him how durst he tell the King so manifest an untruth. Who answered that he spake but as he heard. But the earl was greatly offended with him, and he thinks when the colonel and he meet the colonel shall hear of it roundly, for the earl knows that he is greatly "in his contrary." Thinks that ere long the earl will displace him from about the King.

The colonel has done what he can to stay the coming of the Master of Gray, and surely there is not a greater enemy to the Queen's majesty in Scotland than he is, nor a greater hinderer of the proceeding with this amity between her majesty and the King [of Scots] than he is, for he is wholly the Scottish Queen's, yet better liked of by some than the Earl of Arran, who is utterly against her, Spain, and France, and leans only to England. What they mean by it will one day appear.

Elizabeth.
1584. Some think " beleke " to stop his [Hunsdon's] mouth or to make him not so earnest in this matter, by giving out that he is so earnest in this matter, because of a marriage which " beleke " they think he is in hand withal or hopes for with some of his kin. Doubts not but her majesty will justify him therein. But those speeches will make him " slake " her service neither in this nor in any other service that may tend to her quiet and surety. If the King might be brought to match with some of their kin, he is not ignorant what means and practices would be used. But has but one God and one Queen, and never will have eye to other, " as we ought all too doo, whatsoever we doo."

Incloses two letters that came yesternight, because he knows not what to make of them. But his lordship must understand that William Robynson is Mr. Secretary, and John Rychardson is Robert Bowes. What intelligence Mr. Secretary or Mr. Bowes have with George Norton, who is now in Scotland, he refers to his lordship's knowledge and consideration—only he knows that he was a principal rebel at the rebellion, and a principal practiser with the rest against the Queen of England long since. Berwick. *Signed :* H. Hunsdon.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Wafer signet.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 142 b. Copy of the same.

Oct. 2. **323. ANTHONY STANDEN TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. It is fifteen months since he wrote to her thoroughly of what he had to say concerning the negotiation the King committed to him to treat with the Duke of Florence on her behalf, and has awaited the answer by means of Morgan, to whom he addressed himself to cause his letters to be kept, according to the said King's direction, who let him understand on her part that such was her good pleasure. Has written several times to Morgan, who has answered that he has accomplished his letters, but as he has never had answer, it is because he [Standen] did not go sooner and make show to that Prince, so that he is mocked by him, and he once asked him since if he had heard anything of her. Whereupon he excused himself as best he could with the remonstrance that since the rebellion of the lords against the King of Scotland she has been so straitly kept that she has not had the means to write to any one. The marriage of his eldest daughter with the Prince of Mantua, a handsome young man twenty-two years of age, and one of the first Princes of Italy, took place in May last. His second daughter, who was very beautiful and gracious, died about five months ago, aged fifteen years, from a flow of blood through the nose. There only remains the third—very beautiful and much beloved by him and others ; but she is only nine years old. Many great personages of Italy are procured for the marriage of that Princess in this place, and, amongst others, three Cardinals, to one of whom it was then written from [ ] that the Queen of Scotland was enceinte by her host the earl. This fair news has run throughout the whole of Italy. One day the Cardinal de Médicis, his excellency's brother, had him called into his chamber, where, in the presence of the Duke his brother only, he asked him concerning this and other points. Told them that all that was said of the Queen of Scotland were delusions and malices forged by her enemies, ordinary things of heretics, declaring to them the earl's age and her majesty's manner of

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1584. living, whereof the Queen gave him very great contentment [and] full information, so that the Cardinal and the others appear well satisfied. Knew his highness's affection for her by the words he said to those Princes, praising her virtue and constancy, and he sent a gentleman of his chamber to seek a picture of the young King of Scotland, and told all that after her the crown of England appertained to him. He also showed them the same tree of the Kings of England that the bishop of Ross had heretofore sent him, wherein are also the Queen of Scotland and the King her son. Knows truly that the bishop of Ross was right when he once wrote to him that he ought to hold this Prince to her devotion, being wealthy and powerful, and one day will be able to serve for something. He said he would do as much for the Queen of Scots as any of the other Christian Princes, and desired much that her affairs and those of the King her son might be assisted.

Would be glad she wrote to him or let him understand touching what he enquired in his first letter in his highness's name, that is to say, if she would be content that the dignity of Prior of Scotland, of the religious order of Malta, be restored, as the three of England are, and that at his highness's request her majesty be content that the same dignity may be conferred on the Chevalier Jehan Tiliatsi, chevalier of the same religion, and now his highness's ambassador to the Pope. And the dignity is only looked to, without profit, as also without prejudice to the Scottish nation. This is no other thing than to maintain such dignities in power, to the end that they be not lost for ever. However his highness, as he already more at length wrote in his first letters, would desire that the Chevalier Jehan Tiliatsi should have that place, and that she [Mary] should write to the Pope, because the Pope has now altogether extinguished the said dignity of Scotland, which he could easily restore at the Queen of Scots' request. Desires to know her wish on this point, for nothing else than to content this Prince, and that he may know that she desires to please him. Is always near him, and the bishop of Ross has written to him that he should not stir again from this place without her commandment, for he wanted to go to Scotland to the King to serve his Prince, thinking that he had spent too many years in the Courts of foreign Princes without reaping else than his expenses, and those at great trouble. If the Queen of Scotland of her accustomed bounty had not given him some aid he could have done nothing, for it is not possible for him to follow the Court on horse, as he is bound, for 16 crowns a month, which they give him. Requests her to remember him, and that he is the first of his nation who took to her service. Is not envious or discontented with the others, but it seems to him very hard that all those who serve her since him are provided for, and that it is possible that for twenty years that he is serving her he has not any assurance yet of a morsel of bread. This point only consoles and maintains him, to believe, as firmly he does, that it is not her fault, but rather his misfortune and disgrace, which he hopes she will promptly remedy. When she does this he will be always bound to pray to God, as he does daily, to restore her to the place that appertains to her. Florence.

3½ *pp. French. In cipher. Indorsed as being deciphered by Phelippes.*

Decipher of the same in Phelippes' hand.

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Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 144.

324. Reply to Arran's Answer.

"Replie to the answere given by Arrane to the articles which the Lord Hunsdon proponit to him."

To Arran's first answer.—Two arguments are comprehended in Arran's first answer to prove that the distressed are not prosecuted "for the Queen's majestye." In the former it is said that the care and diligence used by his majesty in choosing out good instruments to deal betwixt her majesty and him declare the prosecution to have proceeded from some other occasion than for their affection to her majesty. To which it is answered that the persons chosen to be good instruments, as they term them, to be in that dealing betwixt their majesties, Lord Hunsdon only excepted, are all in religion obstinate Papists, or else professed enemies against the Queen of England, her estate and well willers. Therefore the argument is very frivolous to say that the choosing of good instruments declares the distressed [lords] are not prosecuted for their good affection to her majesty. Their affection for her majesty is the only cause of their prosecution.

Whereas it is said that the distressed in their accusations are not charged for their affection to her majesty, but only for actions of treason manifested to the world by the three estates; to this it is replied that, whatsoever Arran and the "remanent" of his society mean, it will be too gross an error to "proceede" from such practisians as they be if they should openly accuse the distressed for their affection to her majesty. But they deal more cunningly by punishing the distressed for their good affection, and by pretending outwardly other causes against them. But they are too simple and childish that judge of such men, for the craft of all tyrants has been, and is, under pretension of one cause to punish for another. So the distressed may say that they are accused for actions of treason, but are punished for their religion and good affection to England. For who is zealous in their land either in the one or the other that is free from calamity? and who is a Papist or enemy to the State of England that is not advanced, at least [is] in better case than he has been heretofore at any time since his majesty's coronation? And it may appear a strange matter that without exception all those of that nation who love England or are recommended by the Queen of England are noted to be rebellious; and all those who hate the same or are recommended by any foreign Prince of the Roman religion are all loyal and dutiful subjects. And therefore the writer believes that any indifferent man will confess that who persecutes Protestants and maintains Papists cannot be but haters of Protestants and favourers of the contrary religion; and he that troubles only such as are noted to be well affected to England, and use most familiarly the enemies of that State, must needs disdain the one for their good affection to the said State, and entreat the other for their hatred against the same.

And for the actions of treason manifested by the three Estates against the said distressed, it is to be considered that the whole form of justice used in Scotland—like as the writer thinks to be in other nations—is so subject to the inclination of the Prince and his family, that the same depends on the Prince's good or bad disposition, who, according as he is governed virtuously or contrariwise,

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1584. so follows the conclusions and acts of his judges criminal, Lords of Session, Privy Council, and Estates in Parliament as being of the same quality, whensoever any great or weighty matter is entreated before them whereunto it pleases the Prince to interpone himself. So that it is no new thing in Scotland to see the guilty purged and the virtuous condemned, when the State is governed with pernicious counsel. Yet the whole body of the State is not to be esteemed culpable of the same, although some particular members may be justly reprehended. The reason is because the three Estates convened in Parliament to judge upon a matter of treason now judge *secundum allegata et probata*; and so finding heinous crimes objected against any person, if the person does not appear to justify himself, nor any other by permission be licensed to plead for him, then what can the Estate do but pronounce *condemnatur*, albeit they should know the person accused to be most innocent. And this same form is also used before the Justices in Scotland, called Assizes, whereby these twenty years past have furnished many exiles within that land. For during the reign of the Queen mother, when David [Rizzio] the Italian, governed all, the Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Murray, Glencairn, and Rothes were banished and near the point of forfeiture, and the best of that land were esteemed the only traitors by declaration of the Estates. And after the murder of the King her husband, when the Earl of Bothwell guided all, was not the said Bothwell purged by an assize of that murder which he actually executed with his own hands? And at that time all the best friends of that murdered King were banished, forfeited, and cast down even by an outward show of justice and declaration of the Estates. In D'Aubigny's tyrannical administration Morton, the chief revenger of the murder aforesaid, was condemned as criminal of the same. Now by Captain [Stewart] and Colonel Stewart the Earl of Gowrie is beheaded, and the rest of that fellowship that "perceaved" the King, after the murderer of his father had married his mother and entered into possession of his kingdom, are banished and forfeited with no better form of justice than the Italian "Davy" used against the noblemen aforesaid, and with no less "wresting" of law than was practised for clearing of Bothwell of the murder aforesaid. Which invasion of justice is neither, as appears to be, imputed to the King nor to the body of his Estates, by reason they cannot but judge *secundum allegata et probata*, but to the colonel and captain aforesaid, together with some other crafty persons, dissembled enemies as well to the religion as to the State of England.

In the second answer Arran gives a reason wherefore the King restrained his subjects from coming within England, affirming that the same proceeded from love towards the Queen of England, in respect he was assured that they could not be faithful to her, being so unfaithful to their own sovereign—an answer more meet to be given to foolish children than to men of experience. For if his majesty restrained his subjects from repairing into Prince's dominions where he has a good affection, then why will they not restrain from going to France, Spain, or Rome? which places appear all to be more honoured and favoured by the State of Scotland than England is, by reason of open and honourable ambassadors sent to some of them, and private messengers to others, with continual intelligence and

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1584. testimony of favour passing among them. But Arran being ashamed of this answer forges another of no better stuff, saying that this restraint was because of whispering of bruits and conspiracies which since that time they have accomplished. Whereunto it is replied that this restraint had not been published if there had not been a difference in her majesty. For if her majesty's grave and well-settled government had been considered without suspicion of her sincerity, Arran might have well perceived that the greatest and mightiest of all her own subjects dare not presume anything at home or abroad by her privity, much less afflicted strangers, in number very few and evil furnished for attempting any enterprise. For which cause, let Arran colour as he will, he must either confess that her majesty is not able to compass and bridle the appetites of such as have arrived in her country for succour, or else he must grant that she is sometimes disposed to wink and dissemble. And as the former is most false, so the other is most absurd.

In the third answer Arran would excuse himself for moving the King to receive English Jesuits within the country, affirming that he would wish that neither of them should receive the other's fugitives, and that the King was constrained to receive some of her majesty's rebels because the greatest traitors in his country were admitted within her dominions. It is replied that there is great difference betwixt the form of her majesty's doing in this point and the King's. For her majesty has received none but such as are known to be zealous in true religion, of whom the greatest part are the most learned, grave, and godly of the ministry of Scotland. His majesty receives none but obstinate Papists, of whom the greatest number are seminary priests and Jesuits, the most cruel, crafty, and perilous men living. The Queen of England has received none but such as for no fortune will ever be moved to shake off their natural subjection and obedience due to his majesty. His majesty receives none of her subjects but such as have abjured their loyalty and obedience to her, and given themselves to be slaves to the Pope, esteeming her majesty to possess her crown by usurpation because of her defection from the Roman "seate," as it appears by the confession of sundry executed for the same cause. Her majesty has received none that have been known for public enemies to his life and crown in his youth or at any other time, howsoever they be traduced. His majesty receives none of hers but such as from their birth ever were "extrarious" and repugnant to her majesty. Finally, her majesty has received none but such as she knew well to be his defenders and preservers, and such as can have no surety but under his government, and that because for his preservation they have "purchased" the wrath of his mother and of the house of Hamilton. On the contrary, his majesty receives none but such as he knows well to be her majesty's ancient enemies, and such as can have no surety but by her destruction. And whereas it is said that her majesty's rebels received in Scotland are both mean men, it is answered that the more "moyen" and noble they be, having so evil disposition, the more are they to be contemned. And the others received in England, the more mighty and noble they be, being "presented" for righteousness, the more "lesome" it is to cherish and comfort them. After promise made for delivery of Holt, the Earl of Arran moved the King to send a privy commandment

Elizabeth. 1584. to the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh to set him at liberty, together [with] many such like uncomely actions whereunto the Earl of Arran has moved his majesty.

To the fourth answer.—Arran denies any agreement to be betwixt the King and his mother concerning the association. Whereunto it is answered that he does not deny somehow an agreement to be betwixt them; but he denies it concerning the association. Albeit it be very dishonourable to his majesty to have any agreement at all with his mother without the privity of the Queen of England and such others as, seeking to defend him, have offended her. And much more is the agreement "unhonest" if it be, as without question it is, *in odium tutii*, that is to say, to the destruction of those who defended his majesty's life. Has never seen the "indent" of an association passed among them, but there are forcible conjectures to some very worshipful and credible in England that her son was so bound to her by his "writt," that he could do no matter of importance without her consent. Whereupon the King himself being asked by her majesty's ambassador, confessed that there were certain articles presented to him by the Duke of Lennox, sent from his mother, which he subscribed after he had informed them in some things. This is one conjecture very probable. Another is a presumption infallible. Who is "forfaltit" in Scotland, who executed, who banished, distressed and out of favour but only such as the King's mother is offended at? Who rewarded and advanced but such as she likes? Who speeds evil that is recommended by her, and who smarts not whom she appoints for calamity? So that it may with reason be affirmed that no disposition of any greater matter passes without her recommendation. Whereby it follows that if she may be personally present to "subsigne" with his majesty, that she has an [ ] authority to do the same. And therefore let Arran protest as he pleases, they are blind who do not see an agreement confirmed betwixt him and his mother, and not only a general agreement, but also an agreement of association tending as well to the destruction of those who, defending the King, offended his mother, as also to the ruin of true religion in Scotland and elsewhere so far as in them lies.

In the fifth, it is affirmed by Arran that his majesty has neither directly nor indirectly sent message or received any from the pope. To this may be well answered, that there is great appearance to the contrary, when the pope's apostles and their novices are so familiar and secret with his majesty. It is certain that one Ballandine came last summer from Paris and spoke secretly with the King, and thereafter with all possible haste took post to Rome. Besides this, the King's ambassador and his mother's now resident in France "frequentis" daily with the pope's "nunce," and little with the ambassador of England, and [has] daily consultations and assemblies with the said "nunce" and other ambassadors of papistical States, which the said Scottish ambassador would not "lose" nor frequent without commandment and permission, and that for some end and purpose. Which end, if it be for the advancement of these States with whom he resorts, can bring forth no good effects either for true religion or for her majesty of England.

To the sixth answer, Arran would excuse the hard using of some of her majesty's ambassadors, *etc.* If Arran were not shameless he

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1584. could not deny the hard handling used against some of them and uncivil behaviour against others, who merited more honour than could have been done to him in that country. For if strait watching of their houses that no loving or familiar friend might come at them, directing of men to confer with them and to accompany those that they knew to be unfriendly to their estate, quarrelling with their servants in the streets, shooting of harquebuses in at the windows, despatching of some of them without compliments due to ambassadors, counterfeiting privily before the King in his chamber of their gestures, and mocking in manner more dishonourable to his majesty than offensive to them. The impudent denier was chief deviser of all their incivilities.

And whereas it is said his majesty had sufficient cause to use them hardly, how far Arran in this answer is from the princely humanity used in all Christian and peaceable governments, is easy to be understood. And if he had been disposed to behold her majesty's most commendable administration he had found out laudable examples to the contrary. For after the bishop of Ross, agent for the King's mother, was declared guilty of a treasonable conspiracy against her state and person, because he was a stranger he was set at liberty. The ambassador of Spain, found criminal in like manner, was not barbarously used, and that for the reverence borne to his master, howsoever he had offended, but was suffered to depart with all compliments due to an ambassador, and provision [was] made for his safe arrival within his master's dominions. By which it is evident that although her majesty's ministers had transgressed, yet things had been requisite on the King's part—the one to have tried their transgression before they were slandered, the other for reverence to her majesty, to have deposed them in liberal and princely manner. Arran says that Mr. Randolph's writing is extant to prove his evil offices. For that modest and worthy gentleman's defence it may be asked of Arran if that letter whereof he brags was in his hand at the time when Mr. Randolph was abused, or not? If it was in his hands why was it not produced—at least some mention made of it to her majesty for justifying of the King's part? But if it was not at that time in his hands, as the writer knows it was not, then why was Mr. Randolph so barbarously used, there being no other cause to charge him with? But it is as easy to judge how this matter proceeds, for the form of doing is not far different from the form of justice used by the Emperor of Russia, who first executes the person and afterwards finds out a process against him. So does Arran against the said gentleman. For Arran conceiving malice as well against Lord Hundson, because they were instruments sent for Morton's safety, he not having liberty to offend Lord Hunsdon, albeit he railed very contumeliously against his honour, "converted" the whole vengeance against the gentleman, and caused a harquebus to be shot direct against the same part of the chamber where the gentleman was most accustomed to sit; and being oft accused of this, could never clear himself till now of late amidst the spoiling and searching of the distressed noblemen's houses, he has perchance found among their papers some of Mr. Randolph's writings directed to them, expressing how careful he was to have the King preserved from the Earl of Morton's blood. And this he now uses for a fit excuse, and upon this small foundation builds up a mighty work. But whensoever

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1584. that letter shall be produced, if they have any such, it will be found to "make" as little against the said gentleman as George Drummond's deposition against the distressed [noblemen].

And for Mr. Bowes' part it may justly be said that, howsoever they traduce him, they can neither by writing nor witness convict him in evil office against the King. But, contrariwise, it may well be justified that he has done for the benefit of the King and that State, to his own prejudice, so worthily that if he had dealt with thankful men his benefits had never been put in oblivion—much less should he have been slandered and calumnied for his labour.

And for Mr. Secretary, who can deny but his honour has been more beneficial to that land than ever any stranger was heretofore? For who of that nation ever addressed himself to his honour that departed unsatisfied? Yea, often when he could not get their suit despatched he disbursed largely out of his own purse. And yet, notwithstanding the cold entertainment he received in Scotland, his honour is nothing in mind altered to that land. But Arran says from the King, "yf Mr. Secretary had acknowledged him a nobleman whome the King so estemed he had bene used more courteously." How short a cloak this is, and how frivolous an excuse to defend the misbehaviour used against a person of so great virtue, place, and good affection to the King and his estate, who for one pleasure that Arran is able to do to his majesty, is able to do a thousand, the writer leaves to the discreet to consider. But the King will take this course to countenance none but such as acknowledge Arran. Few modest or peaceable men shall be found about his majesty; and in the end it shall prove that Arran's violence, joined with the flattery of others who were ever professed enemies to the King's father and house, whereof he is descended, shall work his destruction.

And for the excuse for the incursion made upon Ireland, it is not likely that James M'Connell durst enterprise any such thing without oversight of the King. And it is certain that this winter past the said James was sent for to Court, where he remained two months, having no affairs except they were to this effect.

For the receiving of Nugent and others, which Arran would excuse because they were persons of small degree, and recommended by the Duke of Guise, it may be replied, that if the Duke of Guise's letter written in their favour had not been openly presented to the King there had been no mention made of it by Arran. And, moreover, seeing for a general letter of the said Duke's men of small degree and "puisance" are well received by his majesty, it may be well "collected" that noblemen and great persons would be much more acceptable if they were recommended in familiar and private manner by the said Duke.

And concerning George Drummond's deposition, howsoever the same be enacted and registered, yet it is all full of leazings, specially in that which he says of appointment betwixt the Hamiltons and Douglases, and of the Master of Glamis's dealing with Crawford and Lindsay. And albeit all were true, yet his deposition can make nothing against the noblemen in respect he is but one witness, and therewithal suspicious by reason he never joined in the cause with the said noblemen. And whereas Arran says he was ever their friend, the contrary is manifest, for he was the chief guider of the defunct

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1584. Earl of Atholl, who was during all the civil wars either neutral or else against the distressed [lords]. And after the said earl's death the said George had the government of the young earl, who was well minded to have travailed for Gowrie if the said George had not let him. And the present Lady Arran was daughter to the defunct Earl of Atholl and sister to this present earl. Leaves it to indifferent men to judge whether the said George appeared rather friend to Arran or the distressed [lords].

11½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Oct. 3. **325. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, I have received your letters of the 30th of September, according to the contents whereof I have showed to this Queen that she shall very shortly hear of her majesty's resolution touching the sending of Nau to her majesty, for that I understand by a short letter from you, having now made a despatch to me with other private letters concerning matters of my own, that you find her majesty well disposed to yield thereto. Wherewith she seemed to be satisfied, and to remain in better hope thereof than she was before. And to tell you my poor mind, I think it not amiss to essay and prove what she can and will do touching her offers which she has made. For she affirms to me that her son is wholly at her devotion, and will do nothing without her, howsoever men be persuaded of the contrary; and that she is sure he will be advised by her in all things he may honourably do for the preservation and maintenance of peace and good amity between these two realms, which, she says, is the thing she most chiefly desires to advance. For she says that there is no natural born subject of this realm who is more affected or wishes and desires more the weal and prosperity of the same than she does, and that there is nothing that she more rejoices in, or that more advances her in honour, than that she is come of the blood and noble progeny of England.

Such manner and kind of speeches hath she had with Mr. Somer and me to that effect divers and sundry times since our coming hither in sort as we have heretofore signified to you. Whereby in outward appearance she makes a greater show and demonstration of an inward affection and zeal to perform that she promises, and by making a proof and trial of this there can, in my poor opinion, come no hurt. Which, nevertheless, I refer to the wise and grave consideration of her majesty and her most honourable Council.

Furthermore, sir, whereas you write that my Lord of Shrewsbury makes great suit and means to be rid of this charge, though I cannot blame him therefor, yet I think that if it be meant that she shall remain still in this country, she cannot be well taken from him and committed to others without some blemish and touch of his reputation, and also without much greater charge to her majesty. And if it be meant to guard her at Tutbury, he is constable of the castle there, High Steward of the Honor, master of the game of all the forest, chase, and parks there, and the whole country thereabouts within his rule. So that, as I say, if it be meant that she shall abide in this country, there is no man so meet for the charge as he is, and surely no other man is able to take the charge and to answer it so "good chepe" by the

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1854. half as he is, considering the great furniture of all manner of provisions he has for that purpose.

Thus have I said my poor mind to you. I pray you, nevertheless, though I write plainly therein to you, for the better service of her majesty, that my Lord of Shrewsbury be not told so much, for I would be loth to give him any such cause of offence, that he should think I go about to prefer him to anything whereof he has no liking.

And so beseeching you to have me still in your good remembrance to her majesty, who I trust will not forget her most gracious promise made in respect of my years and old service, to release me from this charge before the winter comes, which is now at hand, and I already begin to taste of the coldness of this unpleasant country. Wingfield. *Signed :* R. Sadleir.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 3. **326. Elizabeth to James VI.**

Before his last Parliament, held in August last, she was very earnestly pressed by the distressed noblemen to have interposed her credit towards him by way of mediation for the stay of proceeding against them in the said Parliament, which she then forbore to do upon information given to her cousin the Lord Hunsdon by the Earl of Arran at the time of their conference, that he had discovered some new matter against them touching some intent they had to have attempted somewhat in Scotland, tending to the trouble thereof, not without some peril to her own person. But finding now, as well by such proofs as have been since sent by the earl to Lord Hunsdon for the maintenance of the truth of the said allegation, as also by the report made to her by Davison since his return, that the imputation has not fallen out is proof as was given out, but it is rather to be presumed that the same tended to make her mediation fruitless and to hinder her goodness towards them, she cannot—being persuaded in her own conscience that they neither have [carried] nor do carry any evil or undutiful meaning towards her own person, as they have most earnestly and religiously protested—but most effectually pray him for her sake not only to forbear the disposing of such lands as of late are fallen to him by forfeiture in the said Parliament, but also to be content to suffer them to enjoy some such parcel thereof for their maintenance during their exile as by him shall be thought meet. And whereas heretofore upon like mediation, for maintenance of his refusal, he has answered her ministers, who by direction have dealt with him in that behalf, that the example would be dangerous to deal so remissly towards such as had sought the trouble of his realm and peril of his own person, and thereupon has prayed her that she would forbear to press him any farther therein than she herself would like to be pressed in the like case—she cannot, notwithstanding, but advise him to consider and weigh the difference between troubles stirred up in a settled State and Kingdom where the authority of a Prince by due administration of justice is respected as appertains, and those which fall out in a State where the regal authority in the time of a young Prince's minority grows to contempt, and carries not that value and reverence that it ought to do, whereby there rise factions and partialities that breed many disorders which cannot be

Elizabeth.
1584. redressed or stayed by such as have but a temporary government during the Prince's minority, and therefore when a Prince grows to those years that enable him to take the government into his own hands, each faction seeks either by force or practice to possess himself either of his favour or person, that under the colour of his authority they may prosecute their particular revenges by charging the contrary party with disloyalty, whereof sundry examples have been seen not only in Scotland but in all other kingdoms during the minority of young Kings and Princes; for help whereof a young King well counselled ought, in the beginning of his entrance into kingdom, to seek some means by advice of Parliament orderly called, or otherwise to compound those factions and partialities, and not to suffer the countenance and credit of his authority to be abused by such as, upon the vantage of gaining his ear and person, seek their particular revenges, to the weakening of his estate and the peril of his own person, when men forced through desperation are carried into the use of violent remedies, whereof no country or kingdom has yielded more dangerous and dolorous examples than that realm. And therefore she, as careful of his well doing—whatsoever construction has been made to the contrary—has always advised him to a temperate course, foreseeing that violence carries perpetuity neither in government nor otherwise, and has therein dealt in such sort towards him touching the advice she has given him as she could have liked to have been dealt withal if she had been in the like state, finding nothing more dangerous or dishonourable for a Prince than to make himself a party of a faction in his own realm, who ought always to carry the balance even, and not to become a member of a head or chief. Herein she takes upon her to be the bolder to advise him, in respect that he has so earnestly protested to be at her devotion, and to prefer her devotion before all others, which has been lately testified unto her by the Earl of Arran, delivered to her by Lord Hunsdon, as also by Davison, delivered to herself; which, as she accepts in most thankful sort, so shall she be found ready to requite with all kindness and gratuity. And therefore she doubts not but if he shall well weigh her advice—though it may by some be interpreted that it proceeds rather of a desire she has to further the cause of these poor noblemen whose relief she seeks, than of any goodwill she bears him—it will be found, notwithstanding, by himself and such as he shall acquaint herewith who are not "lymed" with faction, but prefer his honour and safety before particular respects, that the same is no less profitable for him to receive and follow—the present state of his realm duly considered—than honourable for her to give. If this shall be accompanied with as little effect as other requests and advice she has heretofore given him—the same having always tended to his good—then shall she have just cause to doubt that these late protestations he makes are not accompanied with that sincerity that she could wish in one so nearly tied to her in blood and neighbourhood, and therefore cannot but let him plainly understand, as her nearest kinsman and neighbour, that accordingly as she shall receive answer from him, so is she hereafter to make account of his goodwill and friendship towards her.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 150. $4\frac{1}{8}$ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584. Oct. 5. C.P., vol. XIV.

327. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

Her majesty finds by the intercepting of certain letters that the Queen of Scots is very desirous to understand her majesty's resolution by some of her secret friends here touching the change of her keeper, which she fears greatly. Her pleasure, therefore, is that you should hold a vigilant eye over her, lest, upon doubt of the change, she might, perhaps, have some disposition to seek her own liberty. Her majesty, notwithstanding, would have the matter so carried that she might have no cause to think that she is misused. She would be glad to understand what number of men you have there, and with what weapons they are furnished, and what gentlemen of strength and trust dwell nearest you to assist if need were. I cannot yet get her majesty's resolution touching Nau's coming up, which I suppose might yield that Queen's contentment, and remove from her such jealousies as may, perhaps, draw her to take some extraordinary course. There is some cause to doubt the soundness of one Salter, a servant of the Earl's [Shrewsbury], who, as I suppose, supplies the place of gentleman porter. You shall, therefore, do well to observe his doings. The Court.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Oct. 6. C.P., vol. XIV.

328. WALSINGHAM TO SADLEIR.

A servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, named Baldwin, being discovered to have secret intelligence with the Queen of Scots, is apprehended. As she is very curious to understand whether she shall be removed from the Earl's [Shrewsbury] custody, her majesty thinks it meet that he [Sadleir] should have a watchful eye over her, and that if his own servants be not furnished with "dagges" or "petronells," he should in secret sort procure some furniture to be sent to him from some of the well affected gentlemen in that country. Supposes none would better furnish him than Mr. Adrian Stokes, but he dwells somewhat far off. It is also thought meet that he should underhand learn how the well affected gentlemen next adjoining to the place where he now is are furnished, if upon a sudden there should be any use for their service.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Oct. 6.

329. ELIZABETH TO ANGUS AND MAR.

How careful and ready she has always been, and presently is, to do anything towards the King, as otherwise, that may in any sort make their good, this bearer, Mr. John Colvile, can declare to them; for she cannot be unmindful of the great good will they have always borne her. Although hitherto such means of mediation as she has made towards the King has not been accompanied with those fruits that she looked for, yet she hopes hereafter, when he shall look into his estate, and see in what hard terms he stands through the general discontentment of the present government there—whereof she means shortly to put him in mind, as by a copy of a letter which she has delivered to Colvile, they may perceive—she hopes God will open his eyes and direct his heart to take some more temperate course than hitherto he has done, by seeking the recovery of their good will, and the

Elizabeth.
1584. rest of his nobility's, his good and faithful subjects and servants, who—whatsoever is given out to the contrary—she is in her own conscience persuaded, desire nothing more than his honour and safety. For the rest of the matters communicated to her on their behalf by John Colvile, she refers them to such answer as she has delivered to him.

1¾ *pp. Draft. Indorsed in two hands:* "From Otland vj[th] October 1584. M[inute] of a letter to the Earles of Angusse and Marre."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 151 b. Copy of the same.

Oct. 6. **330. ELIZABETH TO LORDS JOHN AND CLAUD HAMILTON.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 151. Understanding by a letter not long since written to her Secretary how ready they are to yield to any such order and course as she should think meet to be taken for the commanding of such matters in variance as depend between them and the Earls of Angus and Mar, for which she cannot but render them her most hearty thanks, she prays them to proceed to the finishing thereof. For which purpose she has made especial choice of the bearer hereof to be a dealer between them according to such direction as he has received from her. Wherein she trusts he shall find no great difficulty, considering the end of the accord between them tends to no other purpose but that they may be the better able to do the King their sovereign service; who, she hopes, though for the present, through the wicked and malicious practices of some evil instruments about him, he has withdrawn his favour from them, they will in time—when he shall see the drift of the malice of these wicked instruments to tend only to serve particular turns—restore them to the same, and use their service hereafter as appertains to men of their place and quality. For the furtherance whereof she will not fail from time to time to do all such good offices as may seem to her most apt. Oatlands.

¾ *p. Copy.*

Oct. 7. **331. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. The Scottish Queen having made the despatch now sent herewith, in answer to that which she received last from the French ambassador by your means, and for other her particular business in France, has prayed me to convey the same to you to be sent to the said ambassador. It is the greater by reason of many letters from her servants here, and of her reckonings and acquittances of her servants of the receipt of their last year's wages for her treasurer's discharge. The whole has been perused by Mr. Sommer. She desires earnestly the speedy delivery thereof, to be the sooner with her ministers in France, where she says, and as the course of her despatch shows, she has received wrong in her dowry, and much hindrance other ways, viz., being very slenderly recompensed for the Duchy of Touraine, which she yielded up to Monsieur at the King's request. He being now dead, she sues to have it again. Besides that the King has bestowed some offices which are of her gift. First, the bailiwick of Vitry near to Mons. de Mauvissière's government of St. Desir, which, nevertheless, she has given now to him by special mandment now sent to him. Also, her late chancellor, Du Vergier, having given up that office, and did not use her well in it, the Chancellor of France would name the President Du

Elizabeth.
1584. Gas to it; but she has now "meant" it to Mons. Brisson, who, being not capable of it by reason of his counsellorship and his presidency in the Parliament of Paris, which by special ordinance exempts all of that calling from serving any foreign Prince, is to have the King's license of toleration; which she now earnestly requires by her own letters to the King, and by the mediation—by her like letters—to both the Queens and to the Duke of Joyeuse. Here is also a packet directed to the Laird of Barnbogle, wherein are letters from this Queen and from her secretary Gilbert Curle, and from Mistress Mowbray, one of her gentlewomen, daughter to that laird, and to others their friends, requiring their liking and consent to a marriage talked of between the said Curle and that gentlewoman; which the said Queen earnestly desires you to cause to be sent by your next commodity to Berwick, and from thence by sure hand to Edinburgh, near whereto that laird dwells. All those letters have been also seen, and contain nothing else; and if any answer be returned to your hands—for thereupon stays their proceeding in the marriage—that you would send it hither to her. All is well here. Wingfield. *Signed:* Your own assured poor friend, R. Sadleir.

Postscript in Sadleir's hand.—I look every hour for some good and comfortable news from you touching my release from this charge here, which I long for.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 152. Extract from the same.

Oct. 8. C.P., vol. XIV.

332. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

This morning I despatched to you, and withal I sent a great packet of this Queen's for the French ambassador, and made mention in mine of the contents as well thereof as of a several packet sent from hence for Laird of Barnbogle in Scotland. The post of this place met in his way with yours of the 5th, by which I perceive that the Queen's majesty finds—"by meanes"—this Queen's curious seeking to understand her highness's resolution touching the change of a keeper, and fears it greatly, and that therefore I should have a vigilant eye over her, lest upon doubt of the change she might, perhaps, have some disposition to seek her own liberty. As touching the change of her keeper, she has often held talk with me thereof, because she understands by my Lord of Shrewsbury himself his desire to be unburdened of this charge after so many years, and also for that divers winters past his lordship has been constrained to keep his chamber and bed for the gout or other sickness. And I assure you, so far as I can perceive by her speeches or gestures at any time, she weighs not the change, provided she may be well used and her person be in safety. Whereof she says she has had some cause of mistrust in former times, yet is well assured of the Queen's majesty's great care for her health and safety of her person, as hath well appeared by suffering physicians to come to her at her need, and by giving her license to go to Buxton [Buckstones] when she required it, wherein she thinks herself also much beholden to you.

As for any disposition to seek her own liberty—whosoever be appointed to be her keeper—the tenderness of her body, subject to a vehement "rhewme" upon any cold, which causes a plentiful "dis-

Elizabeth.
1584. tillation " from above down to her left foot, wherewith—resting there —she is much pained, and is sometimes a little swollen ; the strength of this castle, having two wards, the gentleman porter ever at the one with four or five in his company, and divers soldiers at the other ; the watch in the night of eight soldiers, whereof four at least are always under the outward windows of her lodgings, and the rest walk about, who are visited nightly at 10 and 2 [o'clock], all furnished with shot and halberds, besides two who watch and ward day and night within at the door going to her lodgings ; the hard passages in this country compassed on every side with wild mountains and high rocks, and the villages about keeping watch ; the distance of this place from such great friends—I trust—as are able, or intend, to do any such thing ; and the dwellings of so many honest gentlemen upon the ways of passages on every side—I cannot see any danger of performing any such attempt, unless the stronger part of this company would be hers, which I nothing mistrust, being such that my Lord of Shrewsbury will answer for his, as hath been formerly signified, and I for all mine.

As touching the gentlemen of strength dwelling nearest this place, Sir John Zouch is on the east side, sometimes at Codnor four miles [off], and is now at Afferton two miles hence ; Sir Thomas Cokyn [is] eight or nine miles hence on the south side ; Sir John Manners eight miles hence on the north-west side towards Buxton ; Mr. Curzon, the high sheriff, nine miles hence on the south-west side ; Sir Godfrey Fuljambe seven miles north towards Sheffield ; and Mr. Basset beside Derby, eight or nine miles. With all these saving Mr. Fuljambe I spoke lately at a muster of the horsemen of this shire about four miles hence, and find them ready with all their means to serve her majesty whensoever they shall have warning, and to [be] watchful in their several limits over all suspicions. The Lord Darcy is eighteen miles hence, beside Sheffield, to whom I sent her majesty's letters, which were received most joyfully as a singular comfort to him, with like dutiful offer of his ready service.

Touching my own servants, I have here about forty-three men, every man [having] his sword and dagger, some pistolets and some " long shott," and in every chamber where they lodge—all within this house —there is for every man his halberd or partisan. And here are of my lord's [Shrewsbury] and mine, and at my commandment, above three score good horses and geldings standing in the stables within the base court of this castle, all to be ready upon a very short warning. [*In the margin*]—forty horses and geldings of mine and my company.

As for Mr. Salter, now gentleman porter here, I have only known him since his entrance into that charge, which my lord [Shrewsbury] meant for Mr. Wombwell, as I wrote to you, but the gout kept him haply from it, being so painful and thankless an office. And surely as for Mr. Salter, I see no cause to misdoubt him. In show he observes his charge very carefully. He is ever at the gate. If any others than ordinary repair thither, he suffers none such to come in or to depart without my knowledge, and has the report of my lord's eldest son to be a very honest gentleman, and good servant to his lordship, and namely so reported of by Mr. Stringer, his lordship's steward, whom I find so careful and serviceable that he deserves to be right well thought of. It is to be suspected that the same person who informed against Mr. Bentall, late gentleman porter, may, perhaps, cast somewhat also in this man's way.

Elizabeth.
1584. If my lord has not told you of it, I can inform you of the truth at my return. Yet I will observe his doings according to her majesty's commandment.

By mine of the 3rd of this month I wrote to you my opinion that her majesty's admitting Nau to come to her from this Queen could, as I thought, do no harm. Of that mind am I still, for there must be an end of this matter either by the death of this Lady or by some honourable composition. Of the former I see no other likelihood, but that she may live many years. For the other, I refer it to the wise consideration of her majesty and of such others as can look into the Scottish King's disposition, his "carrying" at home, and by whom, his years, his kinsfolk and friends abroad—by whom, perhaps, and by other motions of alliances he is sought—the respect also to the quietness of her majesty's mind—which I wish with all my heart, and fear [it] is too oft grieved with matters growing by reason of this Queen and of her friends in favour of her—which she says still she will help, if it would please her majesty to trust her, and to use her means and service yet whilst there is time; and still saith that she believes her son will do nothing of moment without her consent. Thus you may see, sir, how much I desire her majesty's quietness of mind, a very precious thing to us all, and [we] wish that her majesty might be assured of Scotland, which by my knowledge many of her highness's predecessors in all the times of my services have ever bought, but have been hindered by those means which now may fail if the opportunity now offered in part, and her majesty greatly "sought upon" for it, be not overslipped. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 9. **333. Mary to Sir Francis Englefeld.**

Lansd. MSS., No. 96. fol. 46.

Hopes for no good issue in the treaty for her liberty between herself and the Queen of England. Wishes the great plot and design to go forward to its execution without respect to her own peril or danger, for her life would be happily bestowed if by the same she might help so many of the oppressed children of the Church.

Informs him of this, that he should impart the same to whomsoever he thinks convenient, and prays he will use all diligence to procure from the Pope and Catholic King's hands, the execution of their design, some time next spring.

If that fail they shall see the complete overthrow of their whole cause, never to be again set on foot in their days.

Has received nothing as yet of the 12,000 ducats promised to her, and her son only 6000 of the 10,000 promised to him. He is not a little grieved therewith, but is still well inclined to their design, and will direct his course as she advises. He is to send a Catholic gentleman of his called Gray to the English Court, who may visit her, and impart by mouth his [her son's] resolution in all their affairs. Desires the 12,000 ducats be sent to her with all speed.

⅔ *p. Copy. Deciphered, in the hand of Mr. Phelippes. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Oct. 13.

334. HUNSDON TO ARRAN.

I do not a little marvel that you, knowing what opinion some about the Queen's majesty my sovereign have of you, will give them just cause to confirm that opinion of you, and give the Queen's majesty my sovereign cause to believe them the better, and to condemn me who hath been the only man who, upon the King's majesty's and your large promises, persuaded her to make trial of the King's good meaning towards her, upon such earnest letters as I received from his majesty and yourself of the great desire you both had to satisfy her majesty in anything you might, whereby her majesty might have cause to conceive well of his majesty. Having now made a trial in so small a matter, and being trifled with in this sort, what cause has she to hope for greater matters at the King's hand? Truly, my lord, if I had thought there would have been no sounder dealing than hitherto I find, I would not have trusted so much to fair words and promises. For, though the dishonour will redound to the King's majesty and yourself, the discredit and blame will light upon me. For how can I excuse myself when her majesty shall be able to charge me that by my earnest persuasion only she was induced to make some trial of the King, who so slenderly regards the same as to be almost three months in sending one to her, who, as it seemed to me by yourself, should have been there two months ago? And yet having his safe-conduct [is] stayed so long till I was fain to write to your lordship thereof, and then received a slender excuse of the stay thereof by want of Armerour's coming, and that on his coming the Master of Gray should be sent away within three days—and Armerour having been there with you almost three weeks, the other is as near coming as before. And, for anything I can find, when he does come "yt wilbe as good never a whit as never the better." For, as I sent your lordship word, so I know it most certain that he hath given out to his familiar friends—such as he professes to be Papists—that whensoever he comes to the Queen my sovereign she shall understand no matter of any moment at his hand, but such as shall be to small purpose. If this shall so fall out he shall deal with a Queen and such Councillors there as will soon "finde" him, and then what will fall out of it, I leave to your consideration. And surely, my lord, for my part I do not see but that whatsoever the Master of Gray has opened to the King, or will open to my sovereign touching these matters, might as well have been written to the Queen by his majesty as by sending of the Master of Gray thither, at whose hands I fear we shall find "parturient montes ridiculus mus."

My lord, bear with me though I write this earnestly and plainly to you, for it touches me nearer than any man. For if these matters do not fall out to the Queen my sovereign's contentment, assure yourself she will not bear so great an indignity at the King's hand, nor shall I be able to do those good offices between them that I would willingly do. And so praying your lordship that I may know certainly whether he shall come or not, and of the cause of his stay all this while, that I may advertise her majesty accordingly, I commit your lordship to the Almighty. Berwick.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 156.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Hunsdon.*

Another copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584. Oct. 14.

335. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"My lorde and cousin, Alexander the greit conqueroure of the uorlde reading one day according to his accustumatt maner on the Illiades of Homere, quhilk he ever cariit about uith him, he did burst furth in thir uordis following, 'I esteeme not,' said he, 'Achilles to have bene so happy for the goode succes he had in the ueiris as he uas in hauing so uorthie ane trumpetoure to blau abrode and immortaly, ze to all posterities and aages, his uorthy fame as Homere uas.' My lorde, abeit indeid Achilles uas ornit uith so diuers and rare uertus as in that cace I can on nouayes be iustly compaired unto him, and that on the uther pairt ye do farr excell suche ane blind begging fellou as Homere. Yit in one thing I may be compairit unto him, i meine Achilles, to uitt that thaire is so uyse and trustie ane counselloure as ye are about hir of quhoise amitie i have maid choise aboue all uther Princes, yf so sho uill accept of me, quho may, and i am assurit uill further that amitie quhilk nou he the bearer heirof my ambassadoure i do craue of hir, quhome i haue commandit not only to imparte his commissione unto you, bot also to use youre prescript in all thaise matteris. The cause that mouis me sa to do is the repoirt i haue hard hou ye haue bene the man about youre souueraigne thir tymes by gane quho hes had the cheif and only caire of the uelldoing of my affaires thaire, and hauing directit this berar uith maire speciall and secreit commission then any i euer directit befoir, i hauve geuin charge thairfoire to deall maist specially and secreitly with you nixt the quene oure dearest sister, as he uill shau you maire at lenth, quhome earnistly desiring you to credit as my self uith assurance of youre contineuance in the furthering of all my adoos thaire, and specially this present, i committ you my lorde and cousine to Goddis holy protection." Holy-rood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley:* "The K. of Scottes by y^e^ Mr. of Gray y^e^ ambassadour." *Part of the flyleaf containing the address and indorsement is pasted on to the back of the letter.*

Oct. 14.
C.P., vol. XIV.

336. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

According to the Queen's majesty's pleasure signified to me by your letters of the 6th of this month which I received on the 9th, I have now sent up to you Daniel Loggin, who, departing this morning, may be with you in one day after this. By reason of his absence from his house, I could not speak with him until yesterday. Upon conference with him I find that—as he says—there was unkindness between Lewes, the gentleman of the Earl of Shrewsbury's horses, and him, for that he informed his lordship that he had carried letters from Lewes to Godfrey Fuljambe, and to Tunstead of Tunsted, whereof my lord [Shrewsbury] has heard the whole matter between these men by way of examination, and then put the same in writing. Whereunto, and to the parties' own report, I refer you. Touching William Hawkesworth, on my sending for him he came to me from six miles beyond Sheffield. And after Mr. Sommer had assured him of the good opinion which was conceived of him above for his good affection in religion and dutifulness towards the Queen's majesty our sovereign, whereby he ought to receive great comfort, he entered further with him to move him to discover some particularities what

Elizabeth.
1584. he knew or had heard of the doings of the Scottish Queen, or of any other in her favour, in the time of his service with my Lord of Shrewsbury or since.

He answered to the matter, that upon his allegeance to her majesty his sovereign he did not know of his own knowledge of any particular or certain evil intent by the said Queen nor of any others, in her favour; and there began with his first service with his lordship as a soldier six years. Then as long in the charge of yeoman porter in the company of Mr. Bentall, the gentleman porter; and that in the time of this last service there happened some unkindness between Mr. Bentall and him, which he said grew upon these occasions: that he being not so fully instructed of my lord's pleasure as Mr. Bentall was, as it fell out since, looked more straitly to the passage of a groom of this Queen's stable, who had recourse to fetch provender and other horse meat for the Scottish Queen's horses; that he would not suffer one man to go so oft by this Queen's horse when she rode abroad to take the air—for she had always one of the soldiers to lead her horse in evil passages; that he would not suffer the "drumm slaugher"—who hath skill in surgery—to resort so oft to a Scottish boy of this Queen's kitchin, who had a very sore leg, as it was required; and finally for that he informed my lord that Mr. Bentall went sometimes to the chambers of this Queen's secretary, which he learned afterwards Mr. Bentall did by my lord's commandment to see to the safety of their windows and walls: that these matters being brought before his lordship, he examined them thereon, and can make report of the whole; and swore that he knew not of any other thing touching these matters worthy the speaking of.

Being demanded for what cause he departed from my lord's service, he answered that it was at his humble suit to be quit of that office of yeoman porter, seeing Mr. Bentall and he could not agree, and that my lord offered to entertain him in the place of a yeoman among others. Which he refused unless his lordship would set him about some other thing withal. And thereupon, with his lordship's good leave, he departed, and lived with his father, being an old man, until Michaelmas following, and then was entertained in service with Sir Godfrey Fuljambe, where he continued not a month by reason of his father's sickness, about whom he continued until he died, and ever since that hath continued with his mother, an aged woman above eighty years old, being made co-executors to his father. Being moved by good reasons, he repaired to the Court, that both the good opinion which was conceived there of him might be confirmed, and also to clear these matters whilst my lord [Shrewsbury] was yet there. He said that he stands bound in 80*l.* to pay certain legacies about Hallowtide next, and was not yet all provided to do it, the forfeiture whereof would be to his mother's and his undoing, besides the trouble it would be to his old and weak mother to have him so long absent from her; protesting that he would still continue her majesty's good subject, and were worthy [of] great torments if he would conceal any evil thing that were meet to be uttered; and with that mind he ever served his lordship and master. Afterwards I spoke with him, and he rehearsed and confirmed all this above written of him, craving humble pardon that he might not be compelled to go to the Court, considering his own causes above alleged. And so, seeing he could not be persuaded

Elizabeth. 1584. —for so are your words—to come to the Court, I dismissed him with this caution, that if hereafter he be sent for by you or by me, he be ready as he should be commanded. Whereunto he willingly yielded.

This Queen thinks the time very long until she may hear some good answer to her honest and liberal offers made with a good heart to do good; and so she beseeches her majesty to think of her. Such are her own words, and the rather because, by direction from you, I put her in good comfort to hear shortly of her majesty's inclination to her request for Nau's coming, whereof you saw some likelihood. And so I long as much to be rid of this charge, whereof I trust God and her majesty will deliver me shortly. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 14. **337. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 152 b. Having directed our trusty and well-beloved cousin Patrick, Master of Gray, gentleman of our Privy Chamber, to our dearest sister the Queen your sovereign, to open and communicate to her such things on our behalf as, being well accepted of, according to our expectation may prove greatly to the weal of both our crowns and countries—we will require you very earnestly that, according to the place of credit and counsel which you occupy, you will be a mean to further him to speedy presence and a convenient despatch and answer to his errand. Holyrood House.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy. At the head:* "From the King of Scottes to S^{r} Fran. Walsingham."

Oct. 14. **338. ARTICLES BY THE EARL OF ARRAN.**

The chief of his majesty's nobility and Council here know his majesty's intention to make solid amity with the Queen [of England], whereat some are glad, professing with them, some are malcontent, yet professing with them in this negotiation, and some are violent enemies, as "impostes" of France and Spain, and of the Pope the antichrist.

"Theyse laste two sectys obyecte too hys majestie, Inglande can be too hym no frende; the reason ys randeryd, that all that hys hyghnes rebbeles hathe dune ys by them; by them ar they mayntaynyd, and yett kepte too ingenderynge sume new or onaquayntyd sedytyon."

This "sumthynge" moves his majesty; yet he would not stay this so good and happy a work "which now yn nothynge wyll stay." But if this "caste yt of that hyr majestie delyver nott the rebbeles or at leste dyrecte them yn exyle."

Let her majesty, as she tenders her weal, so do that she may be sure of our master [the King of Scots], and so of us all, and this whole land to assist and defend her against all her enemies. I know his majesty is so bent. I never feigned with you.

Commission is given to the ambassador [the Master of Gray] to follow your advice. If this concerning the rebels be granted, her majesty will know things to her great advantage and surety.

I doubt not her majesty can well handle this young gentleman, who, as he shall find "hym" resolved anent the rebels, as a proof of her

Elizabeth.
1584. loving mind to the King, and of her innocency in their former conspiracies done to him, so hath he commandment to deal with her plainly and truly; and that his majesty will for her lose all foreign friendship. He has to deal with [the Earl of] Leicester as far as you shall think meet, and no farther, and has letters to divers, but is commanded to deliver none but as you appoint.

I beseech your lordship let not this which may be a common blessing to all this isle [and] a surety to both the Princes stay or be impeached for keeping these few perjured persons. For if that be not, then in these is there no hope. "Yf that be apon my credytt, affyrme she wyll have hym by all the world."

He has your advice "to crave and euse" in all his purposes. Wherefore, do according to this information, for you shall find, before God, sound doing and meaning on our part. If it were not, as God liveth, you should know. For I like no dissimulation. His majesty has commanded me to write to her majesty, which I gladly will. All the letters and writings his majesty sends to England at this time are his own "dyghtynge," except this—trust me.

Let her majesty be familiar with the ambassador for her own weal, and let him be well accepted and pleasantly used. "God Almighty grante me no gretar seurty nor I wyshe her majestie too be yn, whose ennymys ar not idell, and yett by hys hyghe and allmyghty power shall nott prevayle, for I wyll truste hym that saythe 'yt ys fallynge, yt ys fallen, Babylon the grete cytty, and ys made the habytacyon of dyveles.' Euse these dyscretly, not dyscoverynge my faythfull meanynge."

1⅓ *pp. Copy in Hunsdon's hand. Indorsed by him, and by Burghley,* "Brought by Cuthbt. Armorer."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 154 b. Another copy of the same.

Oct. 14. **339. Commission for Patrick, Master of Gray.**

Forasmuch as we have considered of the best and most apparent mean to settle our estate in quietness and surety, and our realm in a perfect tranquillity and repose, and finding the same chiefly to consist in keeping steadfast and inviolable the happy peace and long continued amity betwixt us and the Queen of England, *etc.*, we therefore having good proof and experience of the wisdom, diligence, circumspection and sufficiency always of our trusty and welbeloved cousin Patrick, Master of Gray, special gentleman of our Privy Chamber, and of his entire and dutiful affection borne to our estate and service, have in that respect made, nominated, constituted and ordained, and by these our letters nominate, make, constitute and ordain him our ambassador, orator, commissioner, deputy and special messenger to the effect under written; giving, granting and committing to him full power, special command, express bidding and charge for us and in our name and behalf to "conceave" with our dearest sister and cousin the Queen of England, her Council, and such as she shall appoint and authorize to that effect at whatsoever times and places, and to treat, confer, deliberate and conclude in all matters and causes betwixt us and our said dearest sister, our dominions and subjects, tending to the confirmation and entertainment of the said amity, and continuance of peace and quietness betwixt us, and thereupon to contract,

Elizabeth.
1584. "indent," promise, subscribe, and interchange seals, and generally all and singular other things to do, exercise and use that to the execution of the premises are necessarily required, although the same required more special commission than herein is expressed. "Firme and stable houlding and for to houlde" all and whatsoever thing our said ambassador, deputy, and messenger in our name in the premises "leades" to be done. Given under our great seal, *etc.* Holyrood House.

½ *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 154. Another copy of the same.

Oct. 19. **340. HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 158. This long looked for man the Master of Gray is come at last, for whose stay there have wanted no practices either in Scotland or out of England; for in Scotland Colonel Stewart, the factions of France and Spain, and the Papists have done their best. All the same factions in Ireland have not slept, and he has not only had word sent him how greatly he is condemned at the Court both by her majesty and others about her, and that he shall find so slender entertainment there that he will soon wish himself away. And to "feare" him the more it has been said to him that in his passing through this country his carriages shall be taken with all his writings, and himself not free from peril. Will take order well enough for his safety to Newcastle. No doubt but his coming offends many in England, for they know he can touch some of them deeply. He arrived here on Saturday afternoon, having express commandment to deal with him, and to make him acquainted with his negotiation, as he has done, and has promised him much; but he will neither trust him too far nor advise her majesty to trust him farther than she shall find cause at his hand. Because he is so greatly condemned already among them [the English] whatsoever he says, yea the King himself or the Earl of Arran must not be believed. "Thys mane for beynge grete with the Skotshe Queen and for beynge a Papyste, I know he can say mutche of the Skotshe Queen, few men more, but for hys Papystry I wolde all owars wer suche; for yesterday beynge Sunday he went too the chyrche with me, havynge a servys booke of myne, syttynge with me in my peu, he sayde all the servys, and bothe byfor the sermone and after he sange the salmes with me aswell as I cowld doo, wherby yt semes he had byn eusyd too them or els he cowld nott a dune yt so well and so reddyly, now lett hys relygyon be whatt ytt wyll."

His commission is very large. Incloses a copy of it. The principal points of his embassage are two. The first is to desire at her majesty's hands either the delivery or the putting from her of his rebels, as he terms them; for the King can neither think his realm free from practices nor his person free from peril so long as they be suffered to remain so near him. Upon which point they were in great argument. Told him that if that was the effect of his negotiation he would rather venture to stay him here or let him return again till he knew her majesty's further pleasure, than suffer him to pass with matter that should be rather offensive to her majesty than that satisfaction that has been promised, and which her majesty looks for at his hand.

In fine, after long debate, he grew milder, alleging that if his master

Elizabeth.
1584. should discover the practices of other Princes now his friends, and thereby lose them utterly, and her majesty not to show herself so careful of him as his suit and earnest request to deny the putting away of his rebels, he should stand in very hard case to lose his friends who have made him many great offers, and yet his enemies kept and maintained at his nose, and thereby just cause for himself and all the world to think that her majesty makes more account of the subjects than of the King. But, said he, if it may please her majesty to deal so favourably and lovingly with the King that, if she finds herself fully satisfied in such things that she would know of any practice against her State, then she will put his enemies from her, upon her assurance hereof there is no practice that has been practised against herself or her estate by France, Spain, the Scottish Queen or the Pope these five years but she shall know it, and how to avoid it. Otherwise he will return as he came, for he will not lose his master many friends of great Princes, and not make him sure of her majesty. For, said he, what love and faithful amity can he look for at her majesty's hands if she refuse him so reasonable a request, which she is bound to do by the treaty.

Now her majesty is to consider whether the knowledge of the bottom of these practices against her majesty and her estate, or the keeping of these men in her realm, whom he accounts for his rebels and mortal enemies, will stand her in most stead and be most for her surety. There is no doubt that as this man can discover all these foreign practices, so is he acquainted with most of their practices at home [in England], and the practisers, "whyche in my symple opynyon wolde stande hyr majesty yn more stede then these mens beynge heere, ye yf they wer att home. But that I refer too wyser men."

This he knows, that the King has said that if they were farther off and [he] might hear of their dutiful usage towards him, there is nothing so far past but that by their good deserts it might not be called back again, and some of them called home again. Dunfermline, who was banished, being very sick where he was, has returned home for his health without leave, yet the King is not offended with him, but on his coming to Edinburgh lay three days at his house with him.

Touching the King and the Earl of Arran, as he has written heretofore, no man knows the secrets of men's hearts but God; "but yf they be nott worse then dyveles, but that I may beleve opene and solleme vowse, ernest and lyberall protestacyons," her majesty may have the King [of Scots] ensured to her from all the world. Therefore, if he be worth the having, let her take hold of him whilst she may, for if she let him slip now, surely he will never be had again. And for the Earl of Arran, he must of necessity run this course; for in respect of his holding and continuing the King in this course he is greatly hated by the King's mother and all her faction of France, and by all the Papists, and more hated since he began this course than ever he was before. This he knows to be true, which makes him think that he deals plainly. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley, with No. 344.*

Elizabeth.
1584. Oct. 7.
C.P., vol. XIV.

341. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, MONS. DE MAUVISSIÈRE, TO MARY.

"In the French ambassador's letter to the Scottish Queene."

The King his master desires earnestly to be a mediator in the two Queens' amity. The King of Spain has concluded the marriages of both his daughters, to take effect shortly; the elder to the Cardinal of Austria, his nephew, and the second to the Duke of Savoy; the Duke's to be the first. The French King has returned from Lyons in very good health. After he [Henry III.] had done his devotions at Bois de Vincennes, where he has built a monastery of a very strait religion, called the "Iheronimites," where he is the chiefest and exactest observer of all the rules thereof, he went to see both the Queens and Senonceaux [Senonches], and from thence to Blois to consider of the affairs of the realm, and to cut off the way of all civil wars. If the causes with Mons. de Montmorency shall be compounded to the King's liking, he means to make war on the treasurers and other financiers, who are so far off in their accounts that some who thought to find the most favour and stay are gone to Almain, and among others are the Sieurs de Yideville and Milbon, and for this purpose has erected a chamber royal. The King of Navarre offers to the French King to do all he shall like. All Messieurs de Guise are in Lorraine, at their houses, whither they went when the King began his journey to Lyons. Men speak diversely who shall take the protection of the Low Countries. The States will not obey the King of Spain, and the Prince of Parma does all he can to redeem those countries to the King of Spain's obedience. He trusts that the Scottish Queen's affairs shall go well with the Queen of England. The saying is the King her son calls a parliament against the next month, wherein great things shall be treated for the weal of that realm. The King her son is very well, and is to send the Master of Gray hither shortly. He has delivered the 2000 crowns to Courcelles to be sent to her, and that since the coming up of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who should have received them, that charge was given to Baldwyn. But since he is committed prisoner to the Tower, and [it] is said that he had a cipher of Mons. Nau's. He has offered to visit the Earl of Shrewsbury at the Court and at London, but he has still pretended sickness or business, and could not be spoken with by him or any of his. The 2000 crowns are still with Courcelles, who has moved Mr. Secretary to have them sent. Thanks for the bailiwick of Vitry.

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 17.
C.P., vol. XIV.

342. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

Has received two letters from him since he last wrote to him. The first gave her majesty good satisfaction, understanding by the same the strength of the place, *etc.* Touching his latter letter, which he received this day in this town, he has not acquainted her with the contents thereof, who he knows will well allow of his manner of proceeding. To the end he may see what has passed between Baldwyn and Curle, incloses him a copy of Curle's letter, together with the cipher that passed between them; by which it appears that Baldwyn is very inward with them, and that they desire greatly to know whether

Elizabeth.
1584. that Queen shall be committed to a new keeper. The Queen of England has for sundry weighty causes summoned her Parliament against the 23rd of next month, but principally for the disabling of such as pretending title to this crown, shall seek to disturb her present possession during her life. It is meant that it shall not continue much above twenty days. The only cause of stay of her majesty's not assenting to Nau's repair up hither has grown by the attending the Master of Gray's coming, who is daily looked for. Her majesty would be loth that Nau and he should have any dealings together either openly or underhand, for he is a devoted servant to the Scottish Queen, in religion altogether devoted to popery, yet he is meant to be sent hither from the King her son, as an especial chosen instrument for the knitting up of some straight amity between the Queen's majesty and him. Is of opinion that without that Queen's [the Queen of Scots] assent—who altogether directs the King—there will be no hold taken of Scotland, and therefore—as he has been always persuaded—that there should be some trial made of her offers, with such cautions as she promises to give, wherewith he sees no cause but that her majesty should rest satisfied. The impediment grows principally through a jealous conceit that either of the two Princes has of the other, which he sees will hardly be removed. London.

1¾ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Oct. 18. **343. MARY TO MONS. DE MAUVISSIÈRE.**

C.P., vol. XIV. No answer from the Queen of England touching the proposed treaty. Her fears of the Countess of Shrewsbury, who has spread reports concerning her. Scandalous reports of her behaviour with the Earl of Shrewsbury. Offers to disprove her accusation. Desires prompt answer. Wingfield.

3 *pp. French. Indorsed :* " A copie of the Q. of Scotes lettres to Fr. amb^r. concerning the La. of Shrewsbury." (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 35.*)

Oct. 19. **344. HUNSDON TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 159. Having written so much in his other letter as he thinks he will acquaint her majesty with; having also written something to her majesty which he requests him to deliver to her, is to acquaint him with some other matters to be used at his discretion. This gentleman [the Master of Gray] is expressly commanded in all his doings to be ruled by his lordship's advice and his. He has brought sundry letters from the King [of Scots], copies whereof he has showed him, for that he is to deliver none but such as he [Hunsdon] appoints him. The King will by no means write [to] or deal with Mr. Secretary, for, said he, " I know hym too be my grete enemy."

The Earl of Leicester has thought great unkindness that he has not been employed in these matters, as his hand is to be showed, so that he has willed him to deliver all his letters. Because there are more particularities in his [Burghley's] letter than in any of the rest, and, perhaps, if he deliver it to her before he reads it himself she will keep it, he will deliver him a copy thereof.

He will crave to have these lords and some others delivered

Elizabeth.
1584. according to the truce and treaty, a copy of which article he brings with him, yet he will not persist thereon, on condition that they may be sent into any other country out of the realm, which may be granted him for a time. For if that be denied him he will utter nothing of those matters her majesty would know. If he does not fully satisfy her majesty to her contentment in this, she may revoke them at her pleasure. Assures him it is neither good policy nor fit they should be suffered to remain here with such troops and in such sort. There are near hand 100 of them in Newcastle, and every fair night they walk in the market-places with their pistols at their girdles, yea and on the walls, at 11 and 12 o'clock, which a great many of the best of the town greatly mislike; and though they be now here for their succour they may hereafter be called home again, and then, no doubt, they will be as their forefathers have been. So that it is not fit so many of them should be so privy to the secrets of that town as they be—not only of the town but of all the country both by water and land; for they ride and go where they list. They might at least be severed, some to York, some to London, and some to other places. Assures him there is such riding from Newcastle into Scotland, and out of Scotland to them, as is strange. On the other side there is fast posting from them to the Court and London, and from thence to them, and till his lordship was commanded to deal with them herein there was nothing he wrote up but they were advertised of it. Knows this to be most true, and especial letters [were] written that they should want nothing, especially the Master of Glamis and Colvile, so that whatsoever they do, none dare find any fault with them.

The King is greatly grieved with his ministry for going away without any cause given to them, whereby, he says, other Princes think him irreligious and ready to revolt from religion; whereupon they have sought to send Jesuits and books into his realm to poison it, as theirs is; and, what is worse, it is given out that he is not the King's son but "Davy's," which, he says, comes from these men. This he told "Cuddy" Armerar with water in his eyes, they two being alone. And to discredit the Earl of Arran with the King, some that are about him have given out "that he ys fedd frome me with angeles, by Armerar." Whereupon the King required Armerar, there being but they two, that he would tell him one thing. Who answered that if it no way touched her majesty nor could prejudice him [Hunsdon], he would tell him truly. Whereupon the King asked him "that questyon." He answered that, as he would be saved at the Day of Judgment, "he never delyverde halpeny or penny more or les or anythynge eles from me but letters." So that even they about the King would fain put the earl out of favour if they could by any practice, for then had they no obstacle in making him follow his mother's devices and in working him for France or Spain, as he thinks Mr. Davison has sufficiently advertised.

Fentry, who is about the King, has been very earnest with him to send to her majesty about Creichton, who is in the Tower, commending him above the skies. Who answered him, that if he himself had any credit to do what he thought good, he would never send about such a knave, let her majesty hang him if she will; and "seurly that Kryghton knowse muche yf ytt may be gotten owt of hym."

The Earl of Arran sent him by his man certain articles before the

Elizabeth.
1584. Master of Gray came, a copy of which he sends him to be used as his lordship shall think fit. He may make her majesty acquainted with some of them, which may be written out, but not with the whole. The King is very desirous to have him [Hunsdon] there, as he may see by a postscript which he has written in the letter he sent him—"My lorde for syc wayghtie cawsys as thys bearar wyll acquainte you wyth i muste desier you as ye tender my contentmente and weyle, and your honor too ryde up immediatly after thys forsayde bearar too courte. y dawght nott but whane he showse you the cawse ye wyll kepe yt too yourselfe only." This matter he dare not commit to writing, yet he will send her majesty his letter and keep a copy, so that she shall see the postscript. Surely he thinks he could do her majesty better service there than here, he being commanded to use his advice in all his negotiation, and he could soon be there in post, and half a dozen with him. This bearer will tell him of some of these matters at more length, and what his lordship shall direct him to do, he shall [do], and will deal with nobody else. Berwick. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

Postscript.—Thought good to send him a copy of his letter to the Earl of Arran four days before the Master of Gray's coming, when he thought he would not have come. Wherefore he thought some unkindness in him that he would mistrust either the King or him of plain dealing.

2¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Oct. 20. **345. MARY TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Considering that it is for the Queen of England's service, he will receive this in so much better part if she proceeds freely with him. Requests him to consider the advantage that she can receive by the proposed treaty. Requests him to suspend his judgment on what he has heard from the Countess of Shrewsbury, who has accused him of having attempted her life. Wingfield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 42.*)

Oct. 21. **346. BURGHLEY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 162. Has received two of his letters, one written yesterday, the other this day. With the former received Sir John Foster's letters of the 15th instant directed to him [Walsingham] containing a pitiful complaint of an invasion made on the 13th instant by the power of Liddisdale and others into Riddesdale. And with the latter received another letter of Sir John Foster's of the 17th to himself, with a letter to him of Lord Hunsdon's of the 16th instant. By all which writings he finds the case very hard, and very needful to be speedily remedied. His opinion is that if Sir John Foster were able to execute that which Lord Hunsdon advises him, that were the readiest way, and likes it the rather if Lord Scrope would give his aid at the same instant to the invading of those of Liddesdale. But doubting that Sir John Foster's power cannot be sufficient to execute the attempt, that is, to ride into Scotland and to leave a standing guard within his March, lest while he was occupied in Liddesdale some lewd neighbours of some other part of the Scottish Marches might invade his Middle March, therefore

Elizabeth.
1584. he thinks he has great reason to require a supply of some shot waged to lie at Harbottle, to be used either for defence of his March or to help to the revenge of the fact of Liddesdale. If Lord Hunsdon might be warranted and moved by the Queen's letters to lend him 50 shot of the garrison, and also help to take up 100 more at the Queen's wages; and Lord Scrope being also privately directed to give him assistance in the west of Liddesdale, and Lord Hunsdon also at the same instant to give him some countenance on the left part of Liddesdale towards the East Marches, he thinks the revenge might be effectually made. Wishes that before the revenge be taken in hand or notified, poor John Hall and his company might be delivered upon ransome or bonds. For if he remains prisoner in Scotland whilst revenge shall be sharply taken by any killing which cannot be avoided, then he and his fellow prisoners shall be in great danger. Doubts not but Sir John Foster will have due regard to this, although sometimes he found by John Hall when he was here that he made a doubtful account of Sir John Foster's friendship to him, which percase came from his own deserts.

Thinks it very necessary that her majesty should assent to such a charge, which cannot be great. But if it be not remedied by this way, he cannot well esteem how great the charge will be hereafter, besides the dishonour to her majesty, and discomfort to her subjects to see themselves overrun by the Scots for lack of succour; whereof the Scots and all their faction will make their vaunt and advantage.

Although he wishes the revenge to be taken by Sir John Foster, yet he thinks it good that all means be used that it may seem to come from the warders themselves and from the complaint of the people wronged. For otherwise if her majesty should take knowledge of it she should in honour, by virtue of the treaties, first require redress before any actual revenge should be taken. Is sure that on request nothing would follow but words, and therefore he wishes it so done that the Scots might rather complain than hear of theirs, yet surely he fears the attempt has been so great, and especially as so many persons of service [have been] taken, that he doubts how by the revenge any satisfaction can be made.

Is bold thus to tell him his private opinion, wishing that for the proceeding herein after her majesty shall yield some succour, the execution hereof might be very secretly considered by Lord Hunsdon and Lord Scrope. Marvels that Lord Hunsdon writes nothing to him of the Master of Gray either coming or not coming. Will to-morrow send him the instrument of the association, when he shall have the Chancellor's hand and seal, having already the three earl's hands, with their hearts, as he is persuaded by their most earnest protestations and solemn oaths. "From my house at Westminster, late at night."

2½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Oct. 21. **347. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. This Queen being very desirous, seeing she may not send as soon as she would, *etc.*, has required me to send her letters in such sort that they may pass unseen by any until they be safely delivered to her majesty's own hands. And also she has now written a special letter to you, I think partly to that end, and another to the French ambassador, which you will do well to look to, if you so think good,

Elizabeth.
1584. for it has not been opened here; and therefore I have thought good at her earnest request to make this present despatch to you.

She is marvellously grieved with the Countess of Shrewsbury for the foul slanders of late raised upon her by the said countess and some of hers, as she says; which, having touched her so near in honour and reputation abroad, she says she can no longer sustain, but trusts that her majesty will suffer her to have justice, and that the said countess may be forced either to prove or to deny that she hath said and done in that behalf, so that this Queen may either be cleared and her honour saved, or else convicted and used according to her deserts.

Many other things she says she can and will charge the said countess withal, which she will first disclose to her majesty only, and afterwards will avow the same in sort as it shall please her majesty to permit her. This, as I perceive by her speeches uttered to me in general, without declaration of any particular, is the principal cause of her writing to her majesty at this time.

I received your letters of the 17th instant on the 19th, together with the copy of Curle's letter to Baldewyn, and [the copy] of the cipher between them. Upon consideration whereof it seems to me that these words, "Mr. Sommer, letters," contained in the said cipher signify the carrier and the carrier's man are not rightly taken, but that the same words should rather be, as I think, some names of some others of the earl's men meet for the purpose; the truth whereof I think would easily be found out upon examination of the said Baldwyn. Wherefore, may it please you to look better upon the original of the said cipher and to let me understand whether I may confer thereupon with this Queen, and also with Curle, or otherwise as you shall advise me. Mr. Somer is very angry with Curle, and so am I, as we have good cause, for he has falsely belied us both; yet I find Mr. Somer, having a very clear conscience, to be never a whit troubled with the matter. Indeed his sincerity is such, and so well known to all who know him, that the slanderous reports of such varlets as Curle is, cannot blemish or impair his credit, whereof her majesty has had good trial by long experience, let Curle and Baldyn be as they are, peevish, lewd and false fellows, and their words and deeds be reputed, esteemed, and accounted of thereafter, for they will fail when honest men shall prevail, "quia veritas liberabit."

I would gladly know what other matter shall fall out upon the examination and confession of the said Baldwyn, who I have learned is a very subtle and lewd person. And I fear there be some others of the earl's men as ill as he, which I would fain know. Yet for those who are here, both gentlemen and yeomen, I assure you I find them so honest and dutiful in all outward show, that I cannot accuse or suspect any of them. But if they be otherwise inwardly—which I cannot see—then is it not meet that this Lady should remain in this place, nor in this guard. For in that case—if they are false—it cannot lie in me to discharge this charge according to my goodwill and duty, though I be, and will be, no less vigilant and careful thereof than of my own life. And therefore if it be meant that the earl shall be discharged of her, the sooner it be done the better it will be, in my poor opinion, The castle of Tutbury might soon be put in areadiness to receive her, if by warrant and commandment of her majesty order be given to the sheriff of the shire where the Lord Paget's house is to convey and bring

Elizabeth.
1584. all his household stuff, plate and napery, which is there at hand, to Tutbury, and there to deliver the same by inventory to such of her majesty's officers as may be sent thither from thence and appointed to receive the same to her majesty's use. Whereof I have thought good to put you in mind, for that if it be meant that the earl shall be discharged, then I think it not meet that she should remain in any of his houses, but that she should be removed, and all his servants discharged as soon as may be conveniently. And as I have learned since my coming hither, the castle of Tutbury is a far better, and a more convenient safe place to guard her in than this is, and she may be soon removed thither, being within fourteen or fifteen miles of this house, whensoever order shall be given to that end; which I refer to be better considered where the resolution and good expedition thereof rests. And so trusting that her majesty will remember her most gracious promise in respect of my years to release me from this charge, which I daily expect, for that indeed my old and feeble body is not able to endure the same, I end. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 21. **348. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, upon the sight of yours of the 17th of this month, and of the discoveries there included, wherein one, by the "note" of "Caryer, and his man," is said to be ready to convey safely what the writer of those devices commits to them, I have communed with the man of that note, taking upon me to have such credit with him, by so many years good testimony, that I, entering into his soul, find that he is far from any such thing or readiness that way, that he has never had any private conference with that deviser, of all others, being more subtle than wise. And to let your honour know what I think thereof, my conscience, the foreman of my jury before the great Judge, doth witness with him that his truth is in this answer so round, and his ground so even that he need not fear any rubs. If this testimony and answer will not serve, or if there hover any jot of doubt of the man, the happy calling him away may clear all. But first, that the matter may be heard quietly before this Lady and Mr. Chancellor, and so to refer all to the Queen's majesty's gracious goodness. In this point "the deviser hittith as right," as he doth in saying that he who is there termed "the Marchant of Newcastel's wife" is the principal dealer "in the voiage of the merchant beyond sea." Wherefore, if you look upon his letter of the 5th of this month, being his own hand, your honour will see his opinion—nothing to that end. I beseech you look well upon the original, for the name on the "countrefait" may be mistaken, as it is likely that this word "lettres" in that you sent hither, upon which stands "his man," is mistaken; for "lettres" being amongst the names is likely also to be a name, perhaps Lewes, or some such like, and that many bewray the other. In the meantime, sir, I assure you, sir, the party is nothing moved, but, saith that pacient paper, "suffreth all thinges, and undiscreate persons boast them selfes oft tymes in grete thinges for their glory." For my own opinion, I think that the matter in itself simply is not great, but the manner of such writing and intelligence is very lewd and "punishable" in a subject, and reproachable in others.

Elizabeth.
1584. This other day the Scottish Queen being somewhat heavily disposed, and the wet weather not suffering any going abroad, she desired to be suffered to walk in the great chamber here, her own—as all her other rooms—being small. Which being granted, I attended on her, divers of my lords' and Mr. Chancellor's [Sadleir] gentlemen being present. Where, after she had showed her great longing to hear answer from the Queen's majesty for the sending up of Nau, trusting that it should not be denied her, seeing she had dealt so plainly and uttered her whole heart, which she never thought to do so far aforehand, but in hope of her majesty's good favour by dealing so plainly with her highness, I said, after many general answers as had been made beforetime, that in this time of her hope to get her majesty's goodwill she shall do well to beware that neither by herself nor by any of her folk anything be done that may offend her majesty, but rather continue in all good devotion, that her majesty may find her doings answerable to her words, and above all things to submit herself to her majesty, for that I thought must be done. This I said the rather upon occasion of your honour's letter of the 6th to Mr. Chancellor concerning the restraint of Baldwyn about some letter directed to him from some of hers, but said nothing to her of it. This has been my course with her ever since my being here to dissuade her from such offensive dealings, and to persuade her to submit herself to her majesty. She answered with marvellous earnest words, gestures, and oft vouching God to witness that she had not only forborne these many years from any such dealing, but had rejected some who were then of this house, who offered her their service to convey her letters, and had also sent away a Frenchman who was sent to her to be a secretary, for she found him over busy in such things and in violent advices, and who would add some things of his own; and that if anything were done by any of her's that was to be misliked of, she swore that she was not privy to it; and there remembered how plainly she had dealt of late, and more plainly since Mr. Chancellor came hither—whereof her majesty has been advertised. And as for submitting herself to her majesty, though she had never yet offered that so plainly, yet she said that she would now do it with a good heart, and prayed God that her highness would accept it, as, she said, she means it in good faith, and would with her own hand and heart give a sure testimony thereof to her majesty. But [she] feared lest by this her liberal dealing some opinion might be conceived of other secret intention than her words carry. Therein she said her own conscience before God bears her witness of her sincere intention towards her majesty and the weal of her State, and prayed God that some good might be done this winter, for she said assuredly that her son would marry, and it was her meaning he should. Then, upon my question where she thought it was likeliest, she answered that she knew not, but thought that he might match with any Prince of Christendom who had a daughter of meet age—as with Denmark, Sweden, Florence, the second daughter of Lorraine, for the Queen-mother would not "depart" with the eldest, or with Spain. Then I put her in remembrance of that you had written of the Duke of Savoy and the eldest daughter of Spain. She said she could hardly believe it, but thought that to be rather an entertainment than otherwise. For she had heard a good while since that the King of Spain finding his son weak [and] not likely to "continew," had a meaning to bestow that

Elizabeth.
1584. daughter on the Cardinal of Austria, the Emperor's brother, a young gentleman of great towardness, but that the King could be content, perhaps, to give his second daughter to her son.

I assure you, sir, I find by her speeches that she could be content to have him matched in England with good conditions. Such are her words. But to answer that, my tongue is tied. Wingfield. *Signed:* John Sommer.

Postscript.—One thing this Queen prayed Mr. Chancellor yesternight to write, which is omitted in his letter, which was closed up before I came to him with this—that if she have no answer to her letter now to the Queen's majesty within ten or twelve days, she will write again.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 21. **349. Mr. J. Carmichael to Walsingham.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 164 b. Hearing of the coming of our countryman, Mr. Deacs, to London this Sunday, I thought it my duty to give information thereof. Because Mr. Harbertsone did not handle his last commission so secretly and discreetly, this man is sent to supply his place. What other letters he has brought, I am not yet certified; but that Mr. Anderson, preacher, has received one from the King, and another from the bishop [of St. Andrews] containing persuasion to return to his own country. If he be tried, that will not be found to be his whole purpose. But whether it were more meet at his coming—or rather departure—to enquire of him, I remit to your honour's own discreet judgment. Your good friends at Newcastle are earnest to have the libel answering to the execution, "quhair asweil yer cause in general as yer persons in particular is calumniate, and ye ministerie is traducit"; which I would crave in their name, if I durst without danger or offence under your honour's protection. In which suit, our own necessity touching us so near, makes me the more earnest to insist that we may have one upon licence or her majesty's tolerance to make our own apology for such "contrivit" calumnies; wherewith the whole church is "burdenit" in our persons, than in this our long silence and absence as well from word as writing, according to your honour's good consel and advice we betray not our own duty and a good cause, to the dishonour of God and shipwreck of their consciences; leaving a deep impression in the hearts of many good men that these things given out are true, and that we can have nothing to answer in the contrary. In which case we doubt not your honour will have regard, and will "der give" us your honour's faithful counsel and comfort. As also that we being acquainted of the time when any answer shall be set down to the rest, we may be permitted to answer to that part touching ourselves, seeing the thing is more common in France and Scotland than can be "gudlie callit back" in this realm.

Mr. Colvile desired me to receive the second part of his "apologie," and to redeliver the first to your honour, if it shall please your honour to communicate any part thereof to her majesty. If it might be "tolerate" to be printed by your honour's advice or "oversicht," it might "gif a licht" to a further work, and might satisfy until your honour should think meet that more might go abroad which is in readiness. If it shall please your honour to let us have your honour's

Elizabeth.
1584. opinion in this matter, it will be a comfort in the interest of many griefs, which the Lord might turn to His glory, whatever becomes of us. I would rather have been messenger of these matters myself, than [have] committed them to paper, had I not seemed to importune your honour in the more weighty affairs of the State. So "attending" your honour's better leisure, I beseech the Lord, by whose providence the world is ruled to give His spirit of righteous judgment to espy the crafts of the confederates of the Council of Trent against the truth of her majesty's estate and the quietness of both the realms, and wisdom to prevent their "poisonable plates" and practices before the time comes for too late repentance. Which thing I would with more earnest affection see than wish myself to live, as God knows, who "mote" preserve your honour in His favour and her majesty's good grace, to the promotion of God's glory and comfort of His Church; not forgetting the humble commendations of the rest of the brethren's service. London. *Signed:* H. Carmichaell.

1 *p. Holograph. No fly leaf or address. At the foot in a later hand:* "To S[r] Fr. Walsingham: an originall."

Oct. 14. **350. The French Ambassador, Mons. de Mauvissière, to Mary.**
C.P., vol. XIV.

He touches the same points as before. He persuades the Scottish Queen to give the Queen of England all satisfaction, and to make it appear so to Sir Ralph Sadleir, who has the reputation of a very honest gentleman. All the world looks hereon. The King of Spain seeks to establish his estates and alliances where he thinks to have most commodity. In France all is quiet. The King of Navarre and Prince of Condé give the King to understand that they will do nothing but what will please him; as doth also the Marshal De Montmorency, with whom he thinks that now, or shortly, the King will be satisfied and content. The King [of France] returns from about Blois by reason of the plague thereabout, whereof one of the Queen's gentlewomen is dead. Archibald Douglas is the Scottish Queen's most affectionate and diligent servant in all that he can do, and is resolved never to have "bien ny honneur" but such as shall come to him by her means.

½ *p. Indorsed. With No. 352.*

Oct. 24. **351. Arran to Sir Edward Hoby.**

Dearly and entirely beloved brother, being at present somewhat diseased, I received your letter, surely to me no less comfortable than to the King my most worthy and gracious sovereign most acceptable, in whose most noble heart you have won to yourself a prime place amongst all your nation, who has at no time had the good hap to have seen his majesty. I must, therefore, now render, brother, most hearty thanks for the honour now done to his majesty in person of his ambassador, who by letters to his majesty has borne you such worthy record of your virtue, that by the same I was greatly rejoiced to hear in his majesty's Court you my brother so well and virtuously recorded of, which "accleavit" authority to my former affections concerning you.

Elizabeth.
1584. In sign of his majesty's glad acceptation of your proven good will to his service, his majesty has not pretermitted to "visit" you with his own letter of thanks, written with his majesty's own gracious hand. My brother, I pray you burden me with what lieth in me to do you pleasure. The sooner you put me to charge the more "interne" shall I esteem our brotherhood. In memory whereof "it wil please you" do me this honour to wear this small token in memory of him who never "to this present brave brotherhood and now in my decreipt yeares mast [*sic*] ashamed of the same." God Almighty protect you dear brother everlastingly.

½ *p. Copy in Hoby's hand, and indorsed by him.*

Oct. 24. **352.** JAMES VI. TO SIR EDWARD HOBY.

I omit to give you, because I cannot, due thanks for your good will towards me at all times, but especially now in so heartily entreating and convoying my ambassador so far as Durham. I omit, I say, to write you any thanks, since I look for your coming, which I have commanded my ambassador to sue for as earnestly as lyeth in him. Holyroodhouse.

Postscript.—The Earl of Arran's letter will show you more amply my mind.

⅛ *p. Copy in Sir Edward Hoby's hand. With No. 351 and indorsed with it.*

Oct. 25. **353.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. This morning, Mr. Strynger, a very honest and discreet gentleman, who has the whole charge and government of this family, and the only care for the provision of the same, came to me and showed me a letter which he presently received from the Earl [of Shrewsbury] his master, whereby the said earl has signified to him, that forasmuch as he understands that all manner of provision here begins to fail, and will not last past a fortnight either for man or horse, therefore his lordship's pleasure is he should declare the same to me, to the end that after that fortnight expired I should enter into the charge and take the whole care thereof. Which message is very strange to me; for albeit the provisions here, indeed, as I understand, grow towards an end, yet my lord has good means how to renew the same from time to time. Whereas, I being a stranger here, only supplying his place in his absence, know not how, nor yet have wherewith, to make any such provisions, and therefore I have thought meet to signify the same to you, to the end her majesty may understand thereof, and give direction what shall be done in that behalf in case the earl will no longer bear the charge.

By my last letters of the 21st instant I wrote to you that if it be meant that the said earl shall be discharged of the custody of this Queen, then, as I think, the sooner it be done the better. Of the which mind I am still, and I know no other places in this country so meet to guard her in as either the castle of Nottingham, being within twelve miles of this house and under the rule of the Earl of Rutland, or else the castle of Tutbury, being fifteen miles hence, under the rule of the Earl of Shrewsbury. And if it be meant that he shall be dis-

Elizabeth.
1584. charged of her, then is the other most meet to have the charge, in my poor opinion, which I refer to her majesty's consideration, trusting that, according to her most gracious promise, her majesty will release me of the charge, for that in respect of my years and of the weakness of my old body, and also of my poverty and low degree, I am of all others most unfit and unable to take the care of so great a charge. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 25. **354. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, on Friday last a poor fellow dwelling at Ashbourn, who goes errands, came hither, and asking of the outward wards here for some of the Scottish Queen's gentlemen, he was brought to the gentleman porter, Salter, as all strangers are. To whom he showed the little letter—here inclosed—to be delivered to one of her's for herself—and so it is directed. The gentleman porter showed it to me. That night I sent four from hence in company with the messenger, whereof two went before to Sir Thomas Cockayn, dwelling at the town's end, to acquaint him with such a fellow being there, and to have assistance to apprehend him; which Sir Thomas did very readily himself, and so took the party, named Edward Toky, who, being examined by Mr. Cockayn, answered as you shall see it here enclosed. He was not proceeded with any further there, as was so thought good. The next day my folk brought him within two miles of this place, whither I and Mr. Somer rode, and examined him upon his letter. He confessed to have written and sent it, thinking that he did not offend therein, but thought that the Scottish Queen had been the Queen's majesty's friend, and further as you will see by his examination and confession herewith also sent. I was fain to set it down in short questions, and his answers to them, for I found that he could not, or would not, answer pertinently to longer questions, such a running or mad head showeth he to have. And surely, to say what I think of him, either he is a very naughty dissembling body, which I could not well espy, or else is not sound of mind. And of both, I judge the latter, both by his fond and vain talk, always smiling, and his mind running still on the 100 ducats in this his need, and in his gestures of body and other unmannerly behaviour, besides his wild looks and mean apparel for a gentleman's only son, as he says he is, travelling abroad so far from his friends or acquaintance. Yet I have thought it meet and my duty, considering this manner of sending hither, to signify the whole to you, and also to send him to Mr. High Sheriff, dwelling near Derby, to be by him committed to the common gaol or other safe custody, abiding your answer to him what course he shall take further with him.

The poor man who brought that letter is well reported of by Sir Thomas Cockayn to be of honest behaviour, for anything he has heard, and "using" to go on errands, was hired by the said party, and so abused. The messenger being demanded to whom he was willed to deliver that letter, says that he was willed to deliver it to the porters of this house, and so to be delivered to some of this Queen's folk.

About ten or twelve days past Mons. Nau and others of this Queen's folk delivered to Mr. Stringer, my lord's steward, certain notes to be sent to Curselles by the carrier for something they would have bought.

Elizabeth.
1584. The notes being first showed to me, were sent up and delivered to my said lord [Shrewsbury], who not being willing to have them delivered to the Fr[enchwoman] without my hand to them, has returned them hither again. And now unknown to the Queen's folk, I send them herewith to you to be used as you think good. Wingfield Castle. *Signed :* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

First inclosure with the same.

(Examination of Edward Tuckeye.)

" The examinacion of Edward Tuckeye taken the xxiijth of October by me Thomas Cokayne ; the w^{ch} Tuckeye is sonne as he saithe to George Tuckeye dwellinge at Hunnington in the parish of Hales-Owen [Haleshowine] in Woostershire." Says he came from the Forest of Feckenham [Fecnam] and stayed with one Shewere, a tenant of his father's, there, half a year. From thence he went to Wednesbury [Wedsberie] on Tuesday, where he lay all night at an alehouse, not knowing his host's name. On Wednesday he went to Uttoxeter [Utcetur], and there he lay all night at the sign of " the Swan." On Thursday he went to Ashborne, where he lay all night and Friday. His business was to speak with one Walderne serving Sir Thomas Manners. Having received money from his father to pass the seas, he sent a boy, called Richard Swatkine, who came ten miles with him, back to his father again. He came to this town on horseback, and this day sent a messenger with his horse and a letter to Crich to enquire there for his kinsman, the aforesaid Walderne. *Signed :* E. Tokye.

⅔ p.

Second inclosure.

(Examination of Edward Toky.)

" xxiiij and xxv Octobre 1584.—Thexaminacion of Edward Toky of Hunnington in Haleshowine in Worcestereshire, by S^{r} Rafe Sadleir knight." Examined whether it was his letter which Robert James, a messenger of Ashborne, brought to Wingfield, and whether he wrote it himself :—He answered that it was his, and he wrote it himself. He has no acquaintance with the Scottish Queen or with any of her people, nor was he ever in these parts before.

Being asked by whose procurement he wrote it, and for what cause he came to Ashbourne, and what company he had with him :—He saith that he was not procured by any, that he came with a meaning to go to the seaside to go over the sea to serve there, as he has done before in the Low Countries, and had no company with him.

Being asked whether he knew any of the Earl of Shrewsbury's house, or any French or Scottish man, or any officer, as the gentleman porter, steward, or other :—He answered that he knoweth not one, nor can name any of them.

Being asked for what occasion he wrote that letter, or how he knew the Queen of Scots was at Wingfield :—He answered that he used to travel abroad, and coming to Ashbourn he heard that the Queen was at Wingfield. Then he thought that she being a Queen, was liberal, and therefore sent to her for 100 double ducats to help

Elizabeth.
1584. him in his journey over sea. He has heard his father speak of that Queen, but cannot remember whether it was good or evil.

Being asked to whom he willed the messenger to resort and to deliver the letter :—He answers that he willed him to enquire for some of the Scottish Queen's gentlemen, thinking that he might speak with some of them without danger, not knowing that she was kept as a prisoner.

Being asked what these words of his writing signify, "to receave of the Queenes majestie of Skottes one hundred double ducats," and why he directed his writing to her in so high a style :—He saith that by those words nothing else is meant but to have the money, and that she being a Queen it becomes him to direct his letter so, for he does not know any cause of danger in it.

Being asked what maintenance of living he has of his father or of any other, and where he has lived these divers years past :—He saith that when he was young, about eight or ten years ago, he served the Earl of Leicester a year, and since he has been about a year in the Low Countries, and as long in Ireland in service. For these five or six years he has lived about the country, sometimes among his father's tenants and sometimes with his father ; and that till of late his father gave him 10*l.* or 20 marks a year for his maintenance.

Being asked why he did not continue with his father, being a gentleman of good livelihood, and his only son :—He answered that he cared not for his father, and that he had liefer be abroad ahunting and hawking among good fellows.

Being asked why he rode so "slightly," without sword, dagger, gloves, cloak, shoes, both his boots slit up from the ankles to the calf of his legs, having no other shift of apparel but an old torn doublet and a thin cassock upon it, and a pair of old hose of orange tawny colour, but one shirt, and but 2*s.* 2*d.* in his purse :—He answered that he would ride light, that a sword, dagger and cloak were cumbersome, and as for money he said he could have it of his father.

Being asked where he had his nag [from] and how long he has kept him :—He answered that he had him of his father about half a year ago. *Signed :* E. Tokye.

1½ *pp.*

Oct. 26. **355. Lord Claud Hamilton to Walsingham.**

"Pleis your honour, uppon the recept of her majesties lettre and your honouris unto my lord my brother and me, with the credit and articles committit to Mr. Henrie Andersone theranent tuiching the agrement with therles Anguishe and Mar, ther hes fallin furcht sum specches in resoneing therof, so that afoir I sould fullie resolve my selfe theranent I thocht to speik sum of her majesties Previe Counsile. And seing my only moyen and stay sence my cuming in this realme hes beyne uppon my guid Lord of Leycester and your honour, and I no otherwyis myndit to follow furcht anie other cours bot the same, if it may be your honouris plesur I wald be glade to cum and speeke you to that effect. And in the men tym I will hertlie crave that my uprycht dealling and trew meaneing may be acceptit in guid pert, and na wrange reportes have credit unto the tyme the same be tryit ; as als most humbly in my name to move her majestie

Elizabeth.
1584. so to do. Quha may be wele assurit to have me ever willinge to performe all that I other have spoking or wrettin unto her heyghnes or to your honour." Woddryngtoun. *Signed :* Claud Hammiltoun.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Oct.] **356. MEMORANDA CONCERNING THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

That this ambassador hath been privy to some of the late practices foreign and domestic against her majesty in favour of the Scottish Queen may be probably conjectured by : (1) His inward familiarity and continued traffic in France with the house of Guise, of whom he has received extraordinary favours, the bishops of Glasgow and Ross, by whose means, it is reported, he tasted of the Pope's bounty ; the Spanish ambassador resident in France, of whom, as himself is said to have confessed, he was at his coming out of France presented with a cupboard of plate valued at 5000 or 6000 crowns. (2) His like continued intelligence with other her majesty conjured enemies and rebellious subjects, as Morgan and other fugitives there. (3) The special recommendation given of him by the Scottish Queen to the King her son, and his succeeding favour and credit with him in the present revolution and change of all things there. (4) The special trust reposed in him before some others her approved servants in the keeping and dispensing of the money brought home by Ballandine a little before the late raid of Stirling, to such uses as were designed by her and her instruments in France. (5) The good offices he has done since his return to Scotland in her favour. (6) His reception and entertainment of Nugent the Irish fugitive, specially recommended to him and harboured in his father's house; with the like reception given to Fuljambe and his company now fugitives there. (7) His confessed relieving of Fuljambe with 300 crowns out of his store by the Scottish Queen's direction. With other like particularities which may suffice to prove the man's former affection to the Queen of England and her State, howsoever he be now inclined ; and his ableness in some degree to discover " le pot aux roses " if he list to speak plain language.

¾ *p. In Davison's hand. Indorsed :* " Notes touching the Master of Gray."

Fair copy of the same. *Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 216 b. Another copy of the same.

Oct. 28. **357. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Her majesty is now resolved touching Nau's coming up hither, and to the end that, under colour of coming only to deliver the Queen's his mistress' mind to her majesty, he should not practise underhand with the ill affected here, her pleasure is that you shall send some well chosen and trusty person of your own with him who may oversee his doings, and who may not permit him to have any speech or conference with any in his way hitherwards, as also during the time of his abode here to look to him according to such direction as he shall receive at the time of his access to this Court. And to the end that that Queen may not mislike with this strait manner of dealing to have her servant pass under a kind of guard, her majesty's pleasure is that you shall acquaint her in what sort she is contented to permit him to

Elizabeth.
1584. come hither, and withal to advise her that, seeing it pleases her majesty to extend this extraordinary goodness towards her as to suffer a man of hers to have access to her, and freely communicate such things as he shall receive in charge from her, she straightly command him that he have no dealing underhand, and that he very carefully observe such order and direction as her majesty shall give for the usage and carriage of himself during the time of his being here. Wherein if he shall fail, as her majesty shall have just cause thereby to deny any like favour in time to come, so, in case he shall carry himself to her majesty's liking and contentment, she may thereby be "provoked" to condescend hereafter to yield to her the like requests, and to extend towards her some more favour than heretofore she has done.

Her majesty is also pleased that you shall deal with Curle and charge him with his indirect dealing, as appears by his late letter he wrote to Baldwyn under the name of Welbeck, and require him to explain such points of his letters as are written in doubtful terms. But forasmuch as it is likely that he will refuse to make any answer to any such thing as you shall demand of him concerning the contents of the said letter, the same being written without his mistress's direction, and will allege that he is none of her majesty's subjects, and that he is not otherwise to answer anything that you shall demand of him concerning the said letter, than as he shall be directed by the said Queen—her majesty therefore thinks meet that you should acquaint her with his dealing underhand; which, because she cannot think but it has proceeded from direction, might have given her just cause to have denied her request touching the sending up of her secretary. But her majesty considering her earnest protestation that she has made to you since your repair thither of the earnest and great desire she has to be restored to her good opinion, and that the distrust that heretofore she has had of her may be removed, has put on a determination to make some trial what effect these protestations will yield. And thereupon her majesty thinks you may take a very apt occasion to press her, showing her Curle's letter written to Baldwyn, to know what resolution she would have taken in case her majesty should have thought good to have removed her out of the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and what cause she has to think—in case her majesty shall commit her to the custody of some other—that she will not have as great care for her safety and good usage in time to come as heretofore she has had. Wherein it is thought meet you should press her is some sort to deal plainly with you in delivering to you the cause why she should mislike any such change. But touching the point of the letter, her majesty would not have you in any case deal with her therein until such time as you have let her understand that her majesty yields to the repair up of her secretary, for her highness conceives that otherwise the knowledge of the intercepting of this letter will put her so far forth out of tune that she will not easily be drawn to deal plainly touching the contents of the said letter, and to deliver a true exposition of the text.

Her majesty would have you in some pleasant sort let her understand that both she and her majesty are little beholden to Curle by abasing them so far forth as to bring them within the title of merchants, and especially the basest sort, who have to do with pedlars—as retailers.

Elizabeth.
1584.

It is also thought meet by her majesty that in the examining of Curle you should ask him what other letter he has written to Baldwyn, and what letters he has received from him. If he shall not deal plainly in this, her majesty would have you move the Queen his mistress to require him to acquaint you with the whole course of proceeding that has passed between them. Wherein you are to let her understand that if she shall deal plainly her majesty will have just cause to think well of such protestations as she has lately made of her earnest desire for her favour. Whereas on the other side, in case she shall show herself to have more care to cover Baldwin's errors than to satisfy her majesty, then shall she thereby give her just occasion to continue that jealousy and distrust that she seems now greatly to desire to be removed.

Thus, sir, have I let you understand her majesty's disposition touching the manner of proceeding with that lady, which, notwithstanding, she refers to your own good judgment and discretion, to be ordered in such sort as by you shall be thought best.

4½ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Oct. 28. **358.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIV.

It seems by a letter written by yourself and Mr. Somers that you stand in some doubt that the view of Curle's letter would minister some cause of jealousy of some extraordinary favour extended by you to the Queen your charge, which I assure you is nothing so. It were a very hard usage and an ill requital of the fidelity of you both—confirmed by so long experience of sound service—in case upon so weak a ground there should be as much as any little conceit had by any here so greatly to your disadvantage. For the words in the letter that may seem any way to concern you agree with the direction received from her majesty; which were that you should safely send, and deliver from time to time such letters as were to be conveyed hither to any; which being interpreted as a favour, is not other than was meant by her majesty, and therefore I hope that as it cannot trouble you in respect of your innocency, it will not minister to you any cause to think that you are so ill friended there, or so ill thought of, that any such misconception should be had of you.

I have not been unmindful of late to put her majesty in mind of her promise made to you that you should not long be continued in that charge. I have acquainted her majesty, on the report of Mr. Henry Sadler, with the coldness of that country, and of the foulness thereof by situation, whereby you are debarred from your wonted exercise, which has been the chief preservation of your health, and being accompanied with an extraordinary care in respect of the charge now committed to you, cannot but shorten your days. Her majesty hereupon grows to some resolution to take present order for your relief; for which purpose I have received order to send for the Lord St. John, to whom her majesty means to commit the care of that Lady.

It is also mean that direction shall be given to the sheriff of Staffordshire, who is presently at London, for the removing of the Lord Paget's stuff to Tutbury. There shall be also somebody appointed for the making of the provision of wine and beer.

2 *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584. [Oct.]

359. MEMORANDA BY WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV.

"A memoryall for the removing of the Scottish Queen."

To give order to the sheriff of Staffordshire to receive the Lord Paget's stuff into Tutbury. To appoint one to receive the same. Commissions for taking up carts. Letters from the crown to the sheriff. To cause the house to be viewed. To send down one of the officers of the household. To provide beer, wine, wood, coals. To confer with the Earl of Shrewsbury about the Queen's diet. Mr. Sommers to learn what stuff [there is] and what her diet is now. What men will suffice to guard the place. To send down one of the Wardrobe with the inventory. The officer of the household to carry down with him purveyors and commission. To consider where the shot [are] to be levied. Sir Ralph Sadleir to appoint some officers of the Duchy. Wood. Coals. Carriages. That if the removal cannot be performed with convenient speed, then to continue at Wingfield at the Queen's charges. A warrant from the Chancellor of the Duchy for wood and coals. A letter to the Lord Treasurer to deliver to B. Ca[ve] the 500 [*l.*]. A letter to the sheriff of Leicestershire to put in readiness 400 shot. A warrant from her majesty for the levying of them. The bishop of Durham.

To speak with the attorney touching the breviat of the statutes that are to be made this parliament. To write to Du Plessis. To write to the Lord Hunsdon. To speak with Carmarden. To speak with the Archbishop of Canterbury. To send for Ortell. To speak with Mons. Segur.* To speak with Alderman Barne[ham]. To speak with the lieutenant [of the Tower of London]. To speak with Alderman Martyn.

2½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

[Oct. 28.]

360. ELIZABETH TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIV.

The late letters written to us by the Queen your charge in a most kind and friendly sort, together with your report of the earnest protestations she has also lately made to you of the great desire she shows to have to be restored to our good opinion, whereby the jealousy and mistrust we have heretofore conceived of her affection towards us may be removed, has fallen out so greatly to our liking, in hope that these outward shows of inward good meaning will answer better effects than like protestations have heretofore yielded, that we are content to assent that her servant Nau shall make his repair to us to acquaint us with such matters as she shall think meet by him to impart to us. By whom you shall also pray her we may receive that which she promised by her late letter to send to us, written with her own hand; which you may assure her will use with that secrecy she desires.

And as touching her desire to have the jealousy and mistrust removed from us that we have heretofore conceived of her affection towards us, you may let her understand that we wish she had been as careful in time past to have avoided the cause and ground by her given of the just jealousy by us conceived as she now shows to mislike of the effects that the same has by due desert bred towards her. For she herself knows—wherein we appeal to her own conscience—how great contentment and liking we had for a time of her friendship, which, as we

* The King of Navarre's ambassador.

Elizabeth.
1584.

then esteemed as a singular and extraordinary blessing of God to have one so nearly tied to us in blood and neighbourhood so greatly affected towards us as we then conceived, so are we now as much grieved to behold the alteration and interruption thereof, taking no pleasure in looking back on causes that have bred so unpleasant effects —which we wish had never been, or at least we could never remember, and that she were as innocent therein as she labours greatly to bear us and the world in hand she is. For the goodwill we have heretofore professed to bear towards her—though no creature could give greater cause of alteration thereof than she has done—is not yet so utterly extinguished that no sparks thereof remain; which we wish she were for the future as careful to kindle as for the time past—by sundry hard and dangerous courses held towards us—she has in a most careless and unthankful sort sought utterly to quench. Sorry we are—through a vow we have heretofore made not to write to her with our own hand until we might receive better satisfaction by effect from her to our contentment than heretofore we have done—that these things should be delivered to her by any other than our own pen. And we could wish that the party she means now to send to us might bring from her such sufficient matter as might work upon good ground a thorough reconciliation between us, which, as she seems greatly to desire, so should we also be most glad of.

3 *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed with the fair copy.*

Fair copy of the same.

Oct. 29. **361. Answer by Lord John Hamilton to Articles.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 168.

"The answeris of the rycht honorable the Lord Hammiltoun maid wnto certane articles proponit wnto his lordship be Mr. Henrie Andersone esquyer at ye Quenis majesteis his soveranis command."

Whereas it was propounded by the said Mr. Henry that for advancement of true religion in Scotland, for the King's majesty's benefit and relief of the "distressit," as also for observing of peace and quietness within her majesty's realm, it was necessary to "compone" and reconcile his lordship with the Earls of Angus and Mar for all quarrels fallen out among them during the late civil wars, whereunto her majesty exhorted them as one careful of their sovereign's preservation and of their well doing. His lordship answered that with all his heart he was contented to knit up a firm amity with the said noblemen, notwithstanding anything by past, for two causes in especial. The one to testify to the whole world that no particular offences should be able to cause his lordship to forget that Christian duty and charitable union which true professors of our true religion ought to have, especially when they perceive the true religion, their King or country in danger. The other cause is to let her majesty understand how prompt and ready his lordship is, and will be at all times to obey her majesty, for whom he has renounced, and lost the favour of all Princes, thinking her majesty sufficient to restore him to his sovereign's favour, and repossession of his former place. His lordship is content not only to remit and forgive all injuries done against him in blood or gear with a Christian and loving heart, but also to renounce and "owergif" whatsoever his lordship or any of his whom he may command has

Elizabeth.
1584. possessed to theirs in time past, " thinking it necessare " if any particular matter shall happen to " result " betwixt any of his friends and theirs hereafter for any cause preceding, that the decision thereof appertain to some two noblemen joined in the good cause, and elected by mutual consent of both parties for that effect. And for the place and time of meeting, his lordship refers the assignation thereof to the said Mr. Henry, desiring to have advertisement two days before the time appointed. *Signed :* Jhone Hammilton.

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.*

Oct. 29. **362. Mr. [John] Colvile to Walsingham.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 169.

According to her majesty's direction, Mr. Anderson has travailed for this reconciliation betwixt the noblemen, and has found such conformity in those who are here at Newcastle as also in the Lord John Hamilton as he could wish, as by their answers herewith inclosed your honour will perceive.

The Lord Claud Hamilton seems to be alienated by evil counsel, and either has promised to the Queen of Scotland or to the King further than becomes him, being so much obliged to her majesty as he is. He has not agreed to this reconciliation, but sometimes says he will come to her majesty and give his own answer.

We think we have sufficient who have the elder brother, and hope, with God's grace, with small help of her majesty upon that small ground to make our Queen's tremble. As the Lord [John] Hamilton should be encouraged for his prompt obedience, so the other, his brother, should not be unreprehended ; otherwise the good will be discouraged, and the obstinate man conserved in his obstinacy.

It were a great pleasure to the Lord [John] Hamilton if your lordship would write to his brother that, in respect of the said Lord Hamilton's obedience to all lawful things propounded by her majesty, and his inconformity, albeit he was l.... more obliged than the said lord, therefore her majesty will do nothing concerning him but according to his elder brother's device as chief and principal, " and our most thanckfull and reasonable."

I assure your honour this letter would be very necessary, for this present time we are here daily sought through the miscontentment that grows at home, and if your Borders had been open to us this time past I am assured the matter had been ended ere now. The Lord forgive those who without cause oppose themselves against us. Surely it will prove at length to be as unprofitable for this estate as to us. All things in Scotland depend on this ambassador, who, if he were as faithful to the Queen's majesty as to the Queen of Scotland, were the fitter minister. It is thought here he shall obtain sundry things to our prejudice as a countermand to our going to Holy Island and despatch out of her majesty's dominions, for so speak all our " unfriends." But I am not moved with such reports. The noblemen have their very humble duty presented to your good lordship, thanking God for the comfort they find in your honour. Newcastle.

Postscript.—What practice is devised against me, your honour will see by the Lord Scrope's letter directed to me for that effect.

1⅓ *pp.* *Copy.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Oct. 31.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII. fol. 170.

363. HUNSDON TO [BURGHLEY].

My very good lord, having been all this week in these Middle Marches a mustering of all the horsemen and footmen therein from sixteen to sixty, according to a commission directed to my Lord of Huntingdon and me only, which I should have done long since, after I had mustered the east wardenry, being forced to forbear the same by looking daily for the Master of Gray's coming, having now finished the same within eight miles of this town, I came hither, and Captain Reade brought me a letter directed to him from Mr. Secretary, of the 22nd of September, which he received by a Scottish man this morning in this town. In which letter it appears that the Queen's majesty is pleased, and doth allow that these noblemen with as many as they list to bring with them, for anything that I see in the letter to the contrary, may repair [to] and sojourn for a time within the Holy Island, and although Captain Reade be captain of the fort and of the island, the charge is mine, and unless I have her majesty's hand for my warrant therein, they nor any other strangers shall remain one night there; and I trust her majesty will consider better of it than to make them so familiarly acquainted with such a place as the Holy Island is. For although they come hither now for succour of themselves, they may hereafter recover their own country again, and be enemies to us, as their forefathers have been, who received greater courtesy at her majesty's father's hands than these men have yet done here, as your lordship knows. And surely if they had that consideration with them that I thought they had, considering what place it is, and considering that they shall thereby irritate their King's displeasure the more against them by seeking to draw themselves so near to them, as it were in despite of him, who thinks himself hardly dealt withal by her majesty by suffering them to be here so near him as in this place, and surely, my lord, considering that the King's ambassador is now with her majesty, it were very inconvenient that they should repair to the Holy Island at this time.

These lords or some about them have given out, and openly spoken this month and more that they should come to lie at the Holy Island. But I neither believed that they would be so inconsiderate [as] to require it, or, though they did require it, I did not think it would be granted to them. And surely, my lord, it is likely there is some enterprise in hand, for some of the chiefest of them do not stick to give out that they hope to be in Scotland again within these ten days, which I am sure cannot be brought to pass but either by the King's death or his apprehension.

The mayor and certain of his brethren were with me this morning, and tell me that they are fain to set a watch nightly in the town, for there are at the least seven score Scottish men in the town, who all claim to belong to these noblemen; which the mayor and the rest do not well like of, and would wish it were otherwise. And for my simple opinion, as I have already written, I think it no good policy it should continue so. For, though the lords themselves with some reasonable number with them [might remain], yet the rest should "sparkell" themselves abroad. I send your lordship herewith a copy of Mr. Secretary's letter, to whom I also partly write my mind herein. Newcastle. *Signed:* H. Hunsdon.

1½ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Elizabeth.
1584. Oct.
C.P., vol. XV.

364. [MARY] TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

I do not at all doubt but that she [Elizabeth] feeds my son, as she did myself, with the hope of the succession to this crown, to me but an artifice to hold us in leash after her, having from the beginning of her reign always held this principal maxim for her safety, wherein she is more resolute than ever not to declare an heir while she lives, nor suffer any of her subjects to turn their eyes from her, *etc.*

¼ *p. French. Indorsed:* "1584. An abstract out of certeyne letters of the Quene of Scottes." *With No. 321.*

Nov. 1.

365. LORD CLAUD HAMILTON TO MR. HENRY ANDERSON.

"After my werie hertlie commendatioun; I knew nothinge of the lettre yow wrete unto my lord my brother and me quhill this last Sattirday after aucht of the clok, for otherwayes I wald have send sonar ane anser therunto. And seing you ar one quhom I will ever accompt as deer freind unto me, I will hertlie crave that in this caus committit unto you, as it is wechtie and of great importance tuiching my pert, that yow will—not offending her majestie—be my affectionat freind therin. The matter standeth this; efter your deperture the Master of Glames cuming heir, I offerit sic reassoun that I am assurit if any indifferent judge had beyne present wald have stud witht me. And seing they wald na wayis be content witht reassoun, I thocht it best to wryt to Mr. Secretarie Walsynghame a resonable letter, as you may persave by the copie therof quhilk I have ordanit this berrar to shaw you, and douttis not bot the same wilbe acceptit in guid pert. And therfoir will hertlie pray you to continew to wryte any aunser tuiching my pert quhill I knaw his honouris anser to my said lettres, quhilk I think wilbe shortlie, for the same wes sent away by post witht diligence." Wodryngtoun. *Signed:* Claud Hammiltoun.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov.
C.P., vol. XIV.

366. NOTES BY MONSIEUR NAU.

Hatton has done her several good offices; offering by the Countess of Shrewsbury that if the Queen of England should die he would be ready to come and fetch the Queen of Scotland with the guard.

It is Markham who has made him friendly with the countess. Tell him not to trust in her, and that she will do him wrong, as she has done to all her other friends, only keeping faith as long as it suits her.

Mr. Walsingham has taken up Arbella's cause. The countess showed her the letters that he had written, so as to defy her and boast of her credit.

Said that he had wished to impoison her by Rookby.

That he was quite at the service of Huntingdon.

The most part of the corruptions of the Queen came from this good lady, who aggravated her against the Queen and against what she wished.

Did not favour him in Scotland, because he wished to proceed without her.

False that she had written against him.

The robberies of Dolu.

Elizabeth.
1584. Leicester wishes to spare him. Has known all that he has ever written or caused to be written to the countess.

Who hated him very much about ten years ago.

Make him command that the Queen of Scotland would not be a quarter of an hour in the hands of the earl, without respect of her whom she defied very much.

The friendship with Huntingdon.

The opinion that he has of Sadler and Sommer, and of Lord St. John. For the change.

Establish secret intelligence if her host is changed.

Has had occasion to distrust him, especially since his marriage with his wife, whom the countess described to him as his mortal enemy, and that she wished to impoison her. A present that he had given to his wife that the Queen recognised, and was very angry with his said wife.

Tokens between Arbella and her son. Shirt, portrait.

The countess was so silly that she defied her, and to make herself esteemed showed the letters.

She said that the Earl of Leicester before he married this woman was gentle and reconcilable with his enemies, but since, she had taught him never to pardon.

She threatened the Queen of Scotland with him, as if she held him in her sleeve.

Has known all about the marriage between them, and when the little "Nede" came. And that his wife was at Killingworth [Kenilworth] before she married him in a secret chamber.

She charged him with being the chief of a band against the late Duke [of Lennox], of which my lord Gray was one of the principals.

Messages from Charles Cavendish between them.

Mr. Dyar too affectionate to Lord Charles.

Letter written by his hand with Pembroke will never be shown.

Removal of the Queen.

Who is my Lord St. John, that she finds it is. . . . ?

He has always made profession of his right and to the North and elsewhere.

Huntingdon.

Does not show himself enemy to the Catholics.

Continued in his ancient friendship.

Obliged by many good offices.

Burghley may have commandment to proceed in and through everything by his advice and direction.

The negotiation being as much for the good of the Queen [of England] as for that of the Queen of Scotland.

It is old and wise advice, who loves the good of his country without passion or faction.

Show to be willing in everything to follow his advice, and, in fact, to ask him after the negotiation will be once opened.

You have had testimony of her goodwill with her duty instead of credit. And also that she has determined to deserve it in what she could towards her friends as much in this kingdom as elsewhere.

Very satisfied with what the Queen has told him.

Changing.

My Lord Charles Howard.

Is related to the Queen and an honourable lord.

Elizabeth.
1584.

Esteems him as her kinsman.

Has been acquainted with his father, and was obliged to him. Loves all of that surname. And inasmuch as this family have suffered for her she would wish to make reparation with her blood towards posterity.

The Chancellor.

In his examination found him most sincere and most courteous, and very faithful in his report.

Prays him to have respect to the good which could come from this treaty for the good and safety of the State.

Mr. Knoll[ys].

Her old acquaintance.

Had written to him, but had a bad hand, and has hardly been able to write the little she has done.

As he has been the first who received her in this country, so may it be he who aids her in leaving it.

The Comptroller.

Recommendations. Assurance of his goodwill and thanks for it.

Sir Walter Mildmay. Beale.

Lady Cobham. The Queen of Scotland assures her that she will never do her harm, although it has been reported that she was an enemy of the said Queen and a friend of the countess.

My Lord Bedford. The King of Scotland.

The Queen of Scotland considers him her godson having held him in the name of the Queen of England, and [he] having so much intervened between the Queen of England and the Queen of Scotland.

Charles Cavendish wished that the Queen of Scotland would write to his father to charge him with having treated with the late Duke [of Lennox], who was for the traitors of Dumbarton—over their heads.

3 pp. French. In the hand of Mr. Thomas Phelippes. Indorsed : "Nau his private notes of remembrance what to say from the Q. of Scots to every particular counseller at his coming to London, November, 1584."

Nov. C.P., vol. XIV.

367. Requests to be made on behalf of the Queen of Scots.

For the removal of the Queen of Scots to Tutbury.

First, that it may please the Queen of England her good sister to give her assurance that with all convenient diligence the treaty for her liberty may go forward, and that the said change may only be made for the time of the said treaty.

However, to provide for her present and very urgent necessity in awaiting the accomplishment of the said treaty, that it may be permitted her to be able to take within ten or twelve miles round about the place of her abode, all exercises necessary for the recovery and preservation of her health.

A second house may be appointed for a change, as is very necessary. Besides the priest who will bear himself as secretly as possible, and the five other attendants already asked for, of whom she has at present great need, there may be granted her some lord or gentleman of quality to command in her house, and a lady in place of my Lady of Seton, as her indisposition has constrained her to retire, the said

Elizabeth.
1584. Queen of Scots not being able honourably to pass by these two last, especially if the treaty for her liberty does not succeed shortly.

Moreover, that there may be granted to her attendants, some women and servants to serve them. And by this means they will be themselves more capable of holding themselves subject to the service of the said Queen their mistress, as her ill state and their little number requires it.

That it may be declared how she will be served for her own mouth, and what order for the rest of her house.

What liberty to her said servants, and in what limits.

That it may be permitted her to change, and dismiss her said servants as she will find necessary and will be troubled by them for their said liberty. And be able also to engage others of like quality in their places.

Further, that there may be granted her a complete litter, two mares for herself, and six horses of suite in all for her women and servants who accompany her when going to take the air, the Earl of Shrewsbury having furnished her and her people always with horses up to the present. And may it be declared particularly the order which will be taken in regard to her ordinary coachman, and some other new grooms being necessary there.

The Commissary of her Treasurer in France or other of her Council can in the next spring bring her the accounts that her said Treasurer has to render her of her charge for three years, and to inform her of the entire state of her affairs there, which can only be in very bad order, lacking there the principal officer, that is to say the Chancellor. And besides, by the same means, to let her have, as she has before requested to be allowed her, every year up to four million crowns.

Finally, may it please the said Queen her good sister to permit her to send to her hereafter from time to time according as occasion may require.

1¼ *pp.* *French.* *Indorsed:* "M. Nau's requests presented to her majesty."

Nov. 3. **368. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. The Queen's majesty is now grown to a full determination for the removal of the Scottish Queen, which is meant shall be performed about the [2]3rd or 24th of this month; at which time the Lord St. John, to whom the charge of her shall be committed, shall be sent down, accompanied with some gentlemen of good countenance to assist him in that charge. In the meantime the Earl of Shrewsbury has promised to see the said Queen and yourself and others who attend there furnished with all necessaries. You will do well in the meantime to give present order for the putting of Tutbury in readiness, and that there may be some provision made of wood and coals. It is meant that there shall be sent from hence out of hand one of the officers of the household with money, and certain purveyors to attend him in this service, as also one of the wardrobe to see the house dressed up, and to receive such stuff as shall be sent by the sheriff of Staffordshire thither. In the meantime I have thought good to send you a note of such points as her majesty desires to be resolved in, wherein she desires expedition. I forgot to let you understand

Elizabeth.
1584. by my last [letter] that her majesty's pleasure is you shall take such order with Edward Toky, lately apprehended, either in the retaining of him or releasing of him, as by you shall be thought meet.

The Master of Gray had audience on Sunday last. He propounded no particular matter, but proceeded altogether in generalities, in showing how greatly the King his master desired her majesty's friendship before all other Princes. As he is young in years, so is he in judgment, and therefore not the best [to be] chosen to deal in great matters. It is thought that the King stands now better affected to him than to any other man in Scotland. I leave to you to judge what fruits will follow of that government that is guided by a young King and by young counsel. I would be glad to understand beforehand when Nau sets forth, to the end I may prepare his lodging and give order for his usage otherwise at the time of his repair hither.

2 *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Nov. 3. **369. CUSTODY OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "A note of certayn points to be resolved by Sir Rafe Sadler."

(1) What number of persons will suffice to guard the Scottish Queen at Tutbury.

(2) Whether it shall be necessary to have soldiers, or whether the ordinary servants of the noblemen who shall have the custody of her may not suffice.

(3) If it shall be thought meet to have soldiers, then how many, and whether it were better, for the ease of her majesty's charges, to give them the ordinary wages of 8*d.* a day, or meat and drink with some wages.

(4) Whether the soldiers may all be lodged within the castle.

(5) What number of horses were fit to be kept by the noblemen who shall have the guard of her.

(6) Whether the Queen of Scots has any horses of her own to send for her coach, and whether her gentlemen who attend on her [have any], and at whose charges they be kept.

(7) What number of persons the said Queen has attending on her.

(8) What chambers shall be thought meet to be furnished.

(9) What stuff she has of her own, and how much there remains serviceable of what was sent to her from the Queen of England, a note whereof he [Walsingham] incloses, and how much were necessary to be supplied.

(10) What the Queen of Scots' ordinary diet is on fish days and flesh days.

(11) How many messes besides her own diet are served to the rest of her train, and in what sort the said messes are furnished.

(12) At what rates and prices victuals may be provided in those parts, and also provision of horse meat.

(13) What stable room there is at Tutbury.

(14) By what time the house may be put in readiness.

(15) In what place near Tutbury beer may be provided.

(16) What proportion of wine is spent by the said Queen and her train yearly.

1¾ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*
Fair copy of the same.

Elizabeth.
1584. Nov. 3.

370. Lord Claud Hamilton to Elizabeth.

"Rycht excellent, rycht heyght and mychtie Princes. Pleis your majestie, wppon the recept of your heyghnes lettre sent to my lord my brother and me tuiching the reconciliation of ws wyth therle Anguishe and Mar, I am sorie that my pouer witht save honour could not corespond to my guid will in that point, haveing in one respect the dew[ty] I auch unto your majestie for the great benifites I have resavit of your heyghnes, and on the other pert that quhilk I auch unto my natyve soverynge, but quhais wtter and just indignation I could on na wayis satisfie your majesties desyre. Quhais just wraitht—as it becumetht a subject—I mair feir than lyfe or quhatsoever other accident may fall me. Craving mast humblie your heyghnes therfoir not to grudge or in ony wayis be offendit at this my noct refusall bot rather falt of pouer to satisfie your majesties desyre. Quher as my fortewne hes beyne so suddane that my commoditie hes not permittit me to acquyt so well as became me my dewitie unto your heyghnes. I wische your majesties discretion therein to apperdone and considder my necessitie, quhilk wes sic that my lyfe wes in no les danger nor it wes awaill. And seing the same wes for his majesties caus I thocht rather to wentur my selfe in his heyghnes handis to abyd his will and plesur quhatsoever, than, noct haveing moyen to satisfie your majesties desyre, remane. Quher as my commoditie doetht not serve to do your heyghnes anie acceptable service, and that witht the dainger of my lyfe, I will therfoir beseek mast humbly your majesties wisdom to apperdoune me, and to considder my straittes herin, seinge my meaneing in all respectes be so trew, not gevin credit to quhatsumever mair frelie than trewlie misreporting of me. Bot at all tymes estemeing of me as he quha to his lyfes end shall on na wayis be forgetfull of your heyghnes extraordinar courtesie, being of mynd nixt my dewtie I auch to my natyve soverynge, quhome first I most neddes respect—to go about by all meanes possible to acquyt your majestie by my mast humble service for thees benifites resavit of your heyghnes, unable to me by anie other meanes to recompance." "Hurklie upon Tueidsyde." *Signed:* Claud Hammiltoun.

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

Nov. 4.

371. Mr. [John] Colvile to Walsingham.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 175.

Considers it best to keep secret the delay made by Lord Claud [Hamilton] as it may, perhaps, in some sort prejudice those who deal honourably and sincerely, upon some doubt that may be conceived that the like alteration may happen in others that has fallen out in this nobleman. He [Walsingham] knows how apt men are—carried away with their particular passions—to enter into a general condemnation, and therefore he wishes greatly that this breach might be made up. For which purpose he has given Lord Claud the best advice he can to take some other way of counsel, as he may perceive by the inclosed copy. Has long had cause to doubt of the soundness of that gentleman, nor is he in great hope—whatsoever he subscribe—that he will sincerely perform the same, being, as he has cause to doubt, a devoted servant to the Scottish Queen, and therefore he is warily to be dealt with, for that it is to be doubted that he has been a principal dis-

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1584. coverer of such things as have come to his knowledge touching the purposes of the well affected in Scotland for the reformation of that State. Notwithstanding, to have him disunited from the rest would breed an opinion of some weakness in the cause when such a person shall by practice be won to shrink away. And it is likely, if he were quite shaken off, that he might the easier thereby win favour at home; whose fortune being restored the whole surname, perhaps, may be drawn to follow, and to forsake the chief of the house. For experience shows that men generally are rather inclined to follow such as are in prosperity, than to cleave to a fortune that is abased. Begs him to look substantially into the matter and let him know what course he thinks meet to be taken in the cause, and in the meantime he will bury all under silence. Though the Master of Gray labours what he may to make her majesty conceive hardly of the distressed noblemen, yet they may assume that she will not be easily carried away by such a young fellow from those whose good affection towards her she has made so good proof of by sundry effects.

1 *p. Copy.*

Nov. 5. **372. The Privy Council to Sadleir.**

C.P., vol. XIV. This bearer, Bryan Cave, one of the Cofferer's Clerks, is sent down by order from her majesty to make such provision at Tutbury Castle as shall be thought needful by you upon conference with him, both for the diet of the Scottish Queen and the nobleman who shall have the custody of her. For which purpose there are delivered to him 500*l.* by way of imprest to be employed that way; as also a commission to take up the said provisions at reasonable prices. It is also thought meet to send down with him one of her majesty's wardrobe to prepare the house and to take into his charge her majesty's wardrobe stuff which is there already, whereof we send you an inventory, and such other as by you shall be thought meet to be used of the Lord Paget's, being in the charge of the sheriff of Staffordshire, whereof you shall also herewith receive an inventory. And we have ordered that upon the receipt thereof he shall deliver to the sheriff a discharge for the same. For which purpose the inclosed letter is directed to the said sheriff to signify to him her majesty's pleasure for the delivery as well of the wardrobe stuff to her majesty's said servant of the wardrobe, as of all other necessary implements for household that you shall think needful to be used to the said Cave, who shall give him a discharge for so much of the same as he shall receive by bill indented. And for that it is conceived that for the conveying thereof from the Lord Paget's house to Tutbury the sheriff will need some help of the country for carriage, it is thought meet that your commission which you have under her majesty's hand should be sent to him to serve his turn for the time that he shall need it.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "1584, 5 Nov. M[inute] to Sir R. Sadler."

Nov. 6. **373. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.**

In my last letter, of the 28th of October, I sent your honour the form of appointment betwixt these noblemen, and if your honour

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1584. has received this letter, please your honour keep it till my coming, for such cause as I cannot commit to writing. But I fear that letter has not come to your lordship's hands. If so be some men have done wrong, whereof I shall more fully inform your honour on meeting.

I am directed in general from the whole noblemen "reconciliat," and "thinkis" to see your lordship about the 14th instant, by God's grace. The reconciliation was on the 3rd instant; on which day the Lord Claud [Hamilton] rode to the Borders, and is not yet returned. He would not obey her majesty's letter, but thought, and thinks to excuse himself well enough by such other means as he has found out anew. "Alvay" I am credibly informed that he is already in Seton. And if so be, he has done unfaithfully to your lordship and to his own brother, yea to her majesty's self. I bear his deadly indignation, because, as he says, I have drawn his brother to an unhappy course. And God knows I have many crosses upon me, because without respect of persons I study to walk in the way that most may help the "decayit religion" within my native country, and may most tend to her majesty's safety and contentment. But if I content her highness I "paus" not upon other men's displeasure.

There is no appearance that the noblemen will be permitted to go to Holy Island, without which liberty or such like we can do nothing for our relief. The Lord forgive those who without cause "opponis" themselves to us. Newcastle. *Signed:* Colvile.

Postscript.—Please your honour receive the Lord Scrope's letter.

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

Nov. 6. **374. The Master of Gray to Walsingham.**

Requests him to further James Hutsone in his reasonable suit, to the end he may be ready to go with him to Scotland. Knows he has done good service to the King of Scots. "Frome my lodging." *Signed:* "Maister of Gray."

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 7. **375. Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIV. According to the Queen's majesty's commandment by her letters of the last of October, which, with yours, I received on the 3rd instant, I have imparted to this Queen her majesty's assent that her secretary, Nau, shall repair to her highness, and other points of that letter, conformable to her majesty's direction. This Queen received that her majesty's favour with very hearty thanks, and with as earnest words of her sincere meaning towards her highness as might be spoken, and showed great grief of mind that by reason of a distillation fallen into her right arm, which also "possessith" that hand, and for which she had kept her bed then three days, and little amended, she could not with her own hand write so soon that which she had promised her majesty, but would make her man stay two or three days the longer in hope of more strength. Which happening not, she would cause Nau to write it, and would herself subscribe it, and as soon as by health and strength she could, she would confirm the whole with her own hand. Indeed, I found her in that state—which she spared not to show—besides the distillation into her left leg and foot. [*In the margin:*]—She has promised since to write it herself as well as her

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1584. weak hand will suffer her. Also, according to your direction, I prayed her to charge Nau to carry himself in such even sort that by any indirect dealing he might not procure her majesty's misliking, but by " entending " only the matter of his charge [he] should make good his mistress's earnest protestations—and further as you wrote. She promised faithfully that she would not fail to give him that charge. He has been also particularly dealt withal in that point; so that I trust he will remember what may ensue of the contrary.

She makes account that Nau shall depart hence—and so he thinks to be ready—on Monday or Tuesday next, and travelling on his own horses and some hired, in all six or seven, thinks to be at London about Friday or Saturday following. I have appointed John Danet to go up with him for the cause you write, and will direct him to some inn in " Gratious " Street. And—unless he finds there other direction from you—[he will go] the next day to Kingston, there to stay in some inn until you shall be thereof advertised or [he shall] be otherwise directed. But, for more certainty, I mean to despatch to you the day of his departure hence.

As touching Curle and " that pevish dealing like himself," he has been dealt withal apart and before the Queen his mistress about the letter and cipher so vainly sent to Baldwyn, and both showed and read with good leisure. But, for anything that can be said friendly, or threatened by extraordinary speeches, he stands stiffly to the denial to be none of his doing. And as to herself, she swears by her troth she knew nothing of it. But Curle being charged with his knowledge or consent to it, though not of his doing, he answered but faintly to that, saying that if it had been done by his knowledge, he could not blame her. For it contains nothing, said he, that may be construed in evil part, containing no matter against the Queen's majesty or her estate, or practice for the Queen his mistress. And as to these words, " for accordingly I have to provide in tyme to prevent what therof may fall out," he says he can make no evil exposition of them, but that the party might mean he would seek to be in the hands of such as he might not suspect to be of evil devotion towards him. So that, sir, nothing else is to be gotten here, saving that he concluded if the Queen's majesty dealt therein with Nau, he should satisfy her highness so far as he knows. Thus I conceive of it, seeing he has denied it at the first, he is now ashamed to confess it. But yet you see how near he is drawn to it.

Then I demanded of this Queen in merry sort what she meant by being so curious to know of her removal, because that was the meaning of that cipher, praying her to deal plainly with me what she would do if any removal or change happened. She answered again that as concerning that cipher she knew nothing. But touching her doubt of removal, she said she would be loth to be in the custody of some, and weighed not her departure from the Earl of Shrewsbury's custody, provided she might be in safety in an honourable place, under the charge of some honourable person who by his means and credit were able to defend her against all harms, and would yield account of her to the Queen's majesty her good sister, of whose favour towards her she never doubted, but was assured of her for her part.

I answered that for place and person—in case of change—such as she desired, I assured her, and persuaded her to remove from her

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1584. mind all such vain suspicions, which hurt her in body and mind. And so I left her, being much pained with her griefs and weakened for lack of sleep and by long abstinence, yet then somewhat relieved, and in heart much comforted by this her majesty's favour towards her. I have yet forborne to show her the association of the nobility until she be in better case of strength.

On the 5th instant I received others from you of the 3rd showing her majesty's resolution to have this Queen removed to Tutbury about the 22nd or 23rd of this month, and her highness's pleasure to send my Lord St. John thither about that time, and another gentleman of good countenance to assist him in that charge; signifying also that the Earl of Shrewsbury has by her majesty's order assented to furnish all things here yet twenty days longer; directing me also to give present order to put Tutbury House in areadiness; and also certain notes touching that service whereunto her majesty would be answered from hence.

At the first, as very welcome to me, I am most heartily glad, and thank her majesty that it has pleased her to take such a resolution as I trust now will shortly and joyfully bring me to her majesty's presence.

For the provisions here, Mr. Stringer, his lordship's steward, "hath signifyed so muche unto me." Which he will perform, saving horse meat, which cannot be furnished so long; for some must be reserved—and so is he written to—against my lord's return, and for his horses here. And therefore I must be fain to make all provision for my horses, saving for six or eight to continue at my lord's charge.

This day I have sent a discreet and skilful man of mine to Tutbury to join with Mr. Agard there to take order for the glazing and such other things to be amended in that house as the time of the year and shortness of the time will suffer, and are necessary to be done. And as to the notes, upon conference with my lord's officers, I have set down several answers to them all so far forth as I am able to do for the time.

Touching that vain fellow Edward Tocky, by this time you have seen by letters which I sent to you now three days past, that he has been unsound of his wits, and so is testified by his father's letter. And he is still in some sort of that humour, but [it is] not very easy to be discerned but by use and much questioning with him, and therefore upon your letter leaving his stay or release to my consideration, I mean to pray Mr. sheriff to set him at liberty, and to take order that he may be conveyed from officer to officer until he be delivered to his father, to be ordered as by experience he knows to be meet.

By your letters brought to me by Daniel Loggin, I sent for the party, who he said was a conveyer of letters between Lewes and Tunsted. He was brought to me on Thursday last by Mr. John Manners' diligence. By his examinations herewith sent you shall see that he denies all; to confirm which he was ready to take his oath upon the Bible being offered him. But because I doubted that he dissembled, I would not suffer him to take his oath. My doubt grew in that he denied to have at any time known Loggyn or been in his company. Who, nevertheless, rehearsed sundry particularities of their being together at Robert Tunsted's house, and drinking

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1584. together, besides other meetings at Sheffield, all within these twelve months. Hereupon I committed him to Mr. sheriff's custody until he shall hear further from me. Wherein may it please you let me understand what I shall do further. His name is Robert Furneys. This Queen says she does not know the Master of Gray, nor has heard in what state or credit he is in Scotland. She only remembers that such a man was very young when she came out of the country.

Understanding this afternoon that this Queen was somewhat better of her hand and arm—but yet kept her bed—I thought good to send Mr. Somer to her to know of the time that Nau might be ready to depart hence. She answered—as I have written—that she trusts Tuesday should be the furthest, and that her hand waxed somewhat strong to write to her majesty the things she had promised.

And whereas Nau had moved that he might pass by London to buy some things there, Mr. Somer thought good to advise her to direct Nau not to pass that way lest the French ambassador might either send to him or mislike that he should not see him, and therefore to avoid the ambassador's evil opinion therein, advised that Nau might lodge a few miles short of London, and thence ride straight to Kingston without entering into London until he had been with her majesty. She liked well thereof, and said she would so direct him. Hereof you shall be further certified at the time of his departure hence.

Then, Mr. Somer, by my appointment, according to your advice, acquainted her with the association of the nobility, *etc.* She gave good ear to it, and said it might be drawn to mean her by many of the words thereof, as these, "some pretended titles to the Crowne," *etc.*; "by what colour or title they shall pretend to be her majestes ennemys," *etc.*, and such like, where such words are repeated, saying that some evil person may quarrel with her upon such words to be her majesty's enemy, and so do her displeasure. It was answered that she finding herself clear, and not meaning any such attempt nor to make open show of such pretence, need not mistrust her majesty's care of her, whereof she has had good proof; for the words are general and restrained others who would, perhaps, be as busy as she if they were not thus restrained. Therefore, upon some discovered lewd intentions and practices, this was sought and devised by the nobility in these so dangerous times to meet with all such attempters indifferently and generally. And when it came to these words, "all manner of persons, *etc.*, and their abetters that shall attempt by any act, counsell, or consent to any thing that shall tend to the harme of her majesteis royall person," she swore that she liked that so well that she would with all her heart, being once assured of her majesty's favour, subscribe to that, and would stand as fast by her majesty and serve her in as good stead as any subject her highness has, by helping to suppress books and any other thing that might be practised abroad against her, if any were. Which she spoke with great earnestness, and said she would specially instruct and command Nau to hold purpose thereof to her majesty from her.

Sir, I have thought meet to remind you that at my last coming to Sheffield to take this charge in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which his lordship and I signified by speech only to this Queen, and for her better satisfaction were fain to show her majesty's letters written to his lordship and to me severally to that end, she thought much that

Elizabeth.
1584. upon a change of guard and place it had not pleased her highness to let her know so much by some writing to herself. And therefore, now that his lordship is to depart quit from the custody of her, and she to be under the charge of others, if it may please her majesty—before such time as this Queen shall be removed to Tutbury—by her highness's own letters, though not written with her own hand, but signed with her hand, to signify to her some cause of her removing, and to whose custody she shall be now committed—whereof surely she is very jealous—surely she would take it very kindly and most thankfully, and I should find her the more willing and conformable to remove. Otherwise I fear I shall have more ado with her than I would wish to induce her willingly to remove until she may understand her majesty's pleasure by such letters, which I refer to her majesty's good consideration.

I return to you herewith the letter and cipher above mentioned, as you appointed me to send it. Wingfield. *Signed :* Your own assured poor friend, R. Sadleir.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Nov. 7. **376. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Has acquainted the Scottish Queen with his answer to her letter of her own hand to him. Persuaded her to change her opinion of him, and not to take hold of some reports made by the party charged. She answered that she wrote what had been told by that party, and—as she remembers to have written to him—she rather supposed them to have been invented by that party than intended by him [Walsingham], praying him so to think of her. She thanks him for his plainness in his answer, which she said by her troth she believed, and desired him to be her friend, as she shall deserve it by her sincere dealing towards her majesty, if it may please her to make trial of her—at least not to be her " unfreende." She said she would give special charge to her secretary to satisfy him [Walsingham] further and particularly in this matter, and to unfold her mind in other things to him, to whom, next to her majesty, she specially addresses him. She takes kindly his care to know the time of his coming up, for accommodating his lodging and other things meet. Incloses her letter which he sent to him. Wingfield Castle. *Signed :* John Sommer.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 7. **377. WALSINGHAM TO HUNSDON.**

Cott. Julius, F. VI., fol. 154. Thanks him for dealing so plainly with him in making him acquainted by his last letters with the cause of his grief. Should do him great wrong if he did not accept the same in good part. Hopes he will not mislike that he shall use the like plainness towards him in answering the same. If he considers that what was done grew from her majesty's special direction, then that wherewith he finds himself aggrieved [ ] " used " the credit of that place " wherein he serves in giving some particular directions. Is not ignorant what hard bruits have been given out against him in Scotland and elsewhere, that he seeks to disgrace the present government in Scotland, thereby to render the King's person hateful in respect of some particular favour he should " calle to sume pretended successor here within this realme." Would

Elizabeth.
1584. to God the authors thereof were as free from malice as he is from any conceit. Desires that God's vengeance may light on him if he does not write as he thinks, for as he hopes never to live to see a successor, so he does not mean by entering into such provident courses as by seeking to provide for future times to hazard the loss of the present benefits he now enjoys by her majesty's singular favour and goodness.

1½ *pp. Copy.*

[Nov.] **378. MARY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. He should declare to Elizabeth that the son of Mary Stuart will only act jointly with his mother. Asks that the young prince should demand her liberty.

Protests against the calumnies against her, originated by the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons. He should have care that she be not delivered into the hands and custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, until the conclusion or abandoning of the treaty.

5 *pp. French. Cipher. Deciphered by Mr. Phelippes. No flyleaf or indorsement.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 28.*)

[Nov.] **379. INSTRUCTIONS BY MARY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. He shall propose to the Queen that as by all right divine and human my son recognises himself obliged to me not only for having been born of me, but also for having and hoping by me all fortune in this world, he has well wished to show him, as lastly he has done by my lord Seton to the King of France, the strict union that in everything he has resolved to have and keep with me; and for that for all these last years, especially since he has enjoyed his liberty from the authority and government of Scotland, he has been kept in hope of some treaty and agreement between the Queen, me, and him, and would have always success in urging things more forward while awaiting what will succeed from the proceedings and negotiations of the Queen as much with me as with him in this regard. Now that he hears that things are on the point of a conclusion and resolution for the estate here, he has not wished to defer, moreover, from praying very affectionately the Queen for my entire deliverance and liberty, whether it is to be rendered according to desire, or to live in this kingdom, as it had been agreed in the conference with Sir Walter Mildmay, on which you could warn the Queen that having always received favour by practises and bad inventions of foreign kings and princes, who would never have made me so safe as she has done if I had fallen into their hands, she could not interpret any of the reasons abovesaid since my child asked me again, and foreign kings with him, especially the King of France, who had written of it to the Queen several times, and made instances by his ambassador continually for two years [ ] that this detention, or rather prison, cannot be founded on any right of man as a prize in just war, nor otherwise by any authority that she may pretend on me or on the kings of Scotland, and it would be more sure and honourable to reward her captive by a favourable liberty, and voluntarily, and to oblige by the same means my son to her, than to wish to assure him by rigour and bad treatment to me, and by supporting and assisting these rebels against him.

You will request the Queen to proceed and pass beyond to the treaty

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1584. commenced with her for my said deliverance and liberty, offering to the effect and consideration of it on the part of my son all perfect friendship and natural good intelligence in the future with the said Queen, and between these two kingdoms. So that more particularly it will be proposed and designed for the repose and safety and common good of this isle by these who on one part and another will be appointed, you not being able to enter into any other more equitable offer as things have passed hitherto with me touching the said treaty and my said intention [*blank*] and this effect you will insist also [*blank*] that you would be able if you were permitted to pass from here. And likewise that after having [*blank*] I could despatch with you on your return one of mine towards my son, such revisitation being very commendable between a mother and child, inasmuch as this would only be to know the truth of our estate and health. After having been long separated there is no one having any feeling of humanity who would wish to refuse or hinder it, much less the Queen with whom we have the honour to be so nearly related, being able in giving us this permission, to provide enough for the vain suspicions and distrusts that our enemies could make her conceive, in appointing some of hers to accompany you here it she cannot rest with all those who are already here to guard me. However, on [*blank*] you will tell me that my said son has written that they wish me to send my estate here as it is now by the appointment of Sir Ralph Sadler in the absence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, you will make quick instance in the name of my son that for the little time that the said treaty could last and come to complete rupture or agreement, I may not be taken out of the custody of the said earl, a necessary alteration if the Queen has any intention of accomplishing the said treaty and not being able to do without many commodities in one part and the other. Moreover, that in consideration of the scandalous rumours that are spread about me and the said earl, I cannot be removed from him without putting myself into the power of the most malicious, who will know how to take advantage of it, and the worse advised who will thus see me pass away before the reputation of some bad or dishonest conversation, and for that they would have separated us; so that in all extremity they cannot refuse that before departing from between the hands of the said earl I may be cleared and sufficiently satisfied of the said rumours, as I have continually and very earnestly required all this year, and a week ago also by an express dispatch to the said Queen by the ambassador of France, naming the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons Charles and William Cavendish as inventors and authors of this rumour, of whom you will demand justice in the name of my son, joining with the said ambassador, pretending that the said countess and her children had not been named by us, and that my son in general has given you very express charge to find out the reason of it against whoever may be found guilty thereof.

In all events, if resolution be taken to remove me from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, you shall see at least that there be made choice of a man capable in two points to succeed him, first, that he may not be any of those who pretend against me and my son to this crown or any other whatsoever.

$2\frac{1}{5}$ *pp. French. In the hand of Mr. Thomas Phelippes. No indorsement.*

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1584.
Nov. 8.

380. Mr. John Colvile to [Walsingham].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 178.

Please your honour, forasmuch as I know the enemies of our cause will seek to excuse this "inhonest" revolt of the Lord Claud [Hamilton] by imputing the fault thereof either to his elder brother for giving him hard speeches, or else to Mr. Anderson's indiscretion or mine—yea, I know some will generally condemn us all for the particular offence committed by one—for this cause your honour will take in good part that I declare the whole matter as it is indeed, to the effect that her majesty being rightly informed may judge thereupon according to the sincere meaning of these comfortless noblemen, who are so "traducit" that no work can proceed from them, be it never so "wprycht," which escapes the sclanderous reports of evil disposed persons.

After Mr. Anderson and I had put the noblemen here at Newcastle "to point" by subscribing such things as were required of them, then we went to Widdrinton, where the elder brother at the first motion said these words: "I haif renuncit the favour of all foren Princes, yea of ye Quein of Scotland my awld mestres, and hes simpilly renderit my self to her majeste of England, thinking be her meanis to possess my soveranis favour, and be no other way, and tharfor since it is hir highnes plesour yat this reconciliation go forwart wythout forder resoning, I agre tharunto, as I will to ony other thing quhairwyth it sall pleis hir highnes burthing me."

The other brother thought this answer over sudden, and desired a time for three days to advise. Which was granted; and, as he said to us, he would only seek the Master of Glamis's opinion. Who coming to him and "convicting" him with reason, made him once or twice to consent, but as soon as he spoke again with others he dissented, so that the Master, finding such mutability in him, left him, and thought it fruitless to deal with so inconstant a man. And whilst he seemed only to consult with the Master, yet secretly he dealt with such friends as he had in this country—which I pray God may be "condingly" tried—"and yat same werey nycht in qwiche he resavit hir majestes letter hes end one to Setoun wyth ye copy tharof to be schawin to the King, letting him understand how unvilling he wes to accord wyth his majesteis enemeis." Whereupon the King sent one William Setoun to him, who delivered him a protection, by virtue whereof he has gone into Scotland, and was in Scottish ground before any meeting was among the noblemen here, although he wrote to Mr. Anderson to be at his house in Newcastle the same night on which he entered into Scotland. The cause also wherefore we hasted this meeting was upon advertisement that came from Mr. Cunningham, who assured us that Claud never so ceased seeking to alter his brother's good mind, and that he insisted also with him to persuade his master to that effect, and had "manassit" one Pollard, minister to his brother, because in his sermons he insisted to persuade all professors of true religion to mutual amity among themselves, notwithstanding any griefs past. Affirming that all faithful men in Europe ought to reverence and follow her majesty of England more than any other Prince within the same. Other causes he alleged against the said minister, but of these proceeded his rage. So the said Cunningham desired us with all speed to haste the matter, otherwise impediments

Elizabeth.
1584. might fall out unlooked for. Whereupon we took occasion to "dispesche" the matter the sooner. This is the truth of the matter. Wherefore please your honour consider, as appertaineth, sundry things pertaining hereunto [as] at meeting I shall "schaw" to your honour, which I dare not commit to "writt."

The Lady Claud is now taking her leave from her friends, and says she is assured enough of her majesty's favour, "and hes hoip to be payit of hir husbandis pension befor sche go out of ye cuntre." Of her husband's acquaintance in this country, his dealing and behaviour none can so well tell as she, and I pray God, for her majesty's own security, the matter be not overlooked.

The rest of the evil disposed are home with him, chiefly one called "Dave of Bothvellhauche," who helped to kill the King's grandfather the Earl of Lennox, like as his other brother killed the good Earl of Murray. "Gif it sall pleis hir majeste schaw bot a lytill favour to theis nobill men." There is no more to be thought of the Lord Claud than of the meanest of the surname, as your honour shall understand at meeting.

Because the Lord [John] Hamilton is left unprovided and in great debt, he is compelled to come to Newcastle and to tarry with me till he hears from your honour. Of truth things are all ripe in Scotland if we had liberty to lie at Holy Island and to travail with our friends, but we are so restrained that our friends have sent one to us and demanded if we be imprisoned. The Lord inspire her majesty to think of us according to our faithfulness, and the Lord disclose the hollow hearts of our enemies, who hate us for nothing so much as for that we are her faithful servants. Pray your honour communicate these with my special good lord my Lord Leicester. *Signed:* Colvile.

2 *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 9. **381.** SIR ALEXANDER RUTHVEN TO WALSINGHAM.

"Being mercifullie delyverit, ryght honorable, from the dangerous and pitieful shipwrack of ane ancient house of my cuntrie, and by the providence of God broght under hir majesty's protection, my bounden deutie obliseth me efter the humble presenting of my dew service unto your honour, to discharge a commission sent unto me from my brother lait erle of Gowrie, as his last will and wordes, in this sense. He willit me, seing the malice and craft of certain of the Kingis majesty's consalouris who soght the utter ruine of his house and surname, could not tolerate my longer abode in Scotland, that I sould address my self to your honour, of whose favour and benevolence, as he was throughlie persuadit towards him, so did not dowt that it wald please your honour to tak the paines for him of verie conscience and compassion asweil for his greit cair and gude will to the continuance of the freindship betuix both the realmes as his special love towardes your honour upon so smal acquentance and occasion to utter ye same, to be ane gude instrument not onelie to lament his cace unto hir majesty, bot also to move hir majesty to recommend his wif and children unto the King's majesty his maister, who for no desert of his in thoght, word or deid, aganst his highness' honour, persone or State, were broght to extreme miserie by his privat adversares, whose wraith could nothing be asswageit by his blude, unles they had also parted

Elizabeth.
1584. his whole landis and gudes among them, to the utter wrak of his name and posteritie, if the ryghteous Lord did not bow the King's mynd to compassion by hir majesty's gude and gratious meanes and solistation. So far impyred they over his majesty's gude natural, and alienated his majesty's gude grace from him that all propinquitie of blude was forgot, his faithful service in defence of his lif and crown aganst the mertherers of his father, grandfather and uncle, his darrest regentes, at Carbarrie, Langsyde, Sterling, Jeduart, and in ye civil warres betuix Edinburgh and Leith, quhairin ye Lord Meffen his brother in law, his brother german George, and manie uthers his freindes in his cumpanie lost yer lyfes, was comptit treason. And the ingageing of his whole landes almost to satisfie his majesty's pleasour and dettis sence his infancie wes set to lyght availl. Bot compting it superfluous to spend wordes with your honour alreadie so willing in the caus, I wald rather call to mynd the present occasion of our cousin the imbassadour, by whome it may pleis hir majesty to solist the Kinges grace, or as it sall seme convenient to hir majesty, that his children may be restorit to thair landes and levinges which the Lord hes provyded for them, and that they and thair freindes may leive in quietnes under his majesty's protection and obedience. In the meane tyme, as my gude affection according to my smal powar in ye common course prosecuted by my broder hes appeirit, so am I disposed, by ye grace of God, to continw readie to imploy my whole credit to hir majesty's dewtiful service in suche cumpanie and in such sort as it sall pleis hir majesty, with your honoures gude advise and consale. Houping by Godes grace that the benefit bestowit on the relicques of that house salbe by there children onle thankfullie remembrit in thair greiter habilitie when the ruines of thair desolation and of the whole distressit gud men of that nation best heirtofore inclyned to ye common amitie salbe repaired in ye mercie of God." London. *Signed:* A. Ruthwen.

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

Nov. 10. **382. The Master of Gray to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Madam, I have received yours by Monsieur de Mauvissière this 7th November, and am sorry not to have received it before as I have already had two audiences. And, nevertheless, madam, I have not done anything contrary to your articles, although I have not observed them precisely. For, at this hour, having had my instructions from the King my master, I cannot alter them in any way whatever; but of one thing I can assure your majesty, the King your son will never do anything in his life prejudicial to your good and wish. For your majesty does not ignore that your good is reciprocally his, and that, madam, I beg your majesty—whoever would wish to persuade you to the contrary—to believe, and for my part I promise you that I would rather have my head cut off than do anything which would be prejudicial to your designs insomuch as they agree and tend to the advancement of the King my master. Will your majesty please excuse me if I do not reply particularly to yours, considering that I have so much to do here, and that I do not trust myself to the secretaries, so that I can only decipher occasionally, unless Monsieur Nau, your majesty's secretary, shall find

Elizabeth.
1584. us the means to speak together or at least to write? I am sending now a despatch to Scotland where I shall communicate to the King the contents of your letter and the articles, when I have finished it, and will advertise your majesty of everything at length. I have not negociated anything yet with this Queen, except touching the rebels, and have not had on that any certain reply. The first from the said Queen was this—"Maister Gray, will yow know the cipher betwen yow and the Scottis Quene if I will shew yow it." "Madam," said I, "it is very difficult to recognise any cipher, and especially one not having existed." She [said] "but your maister hath made chois of yow because yow are so well versed in her practises." "Madam," said I, "I do not see in what way she could practise seeing that yow keep her so imprisoned." And she said, "I hope yow will say better or yow go." "Madam," said I, "if yow hope that, yow make a mistake." But, madam, I will content myself at present to write you these few lines, and from here in four or five days I will send your majesty a long discourse of everything. However, madam, I beg you not to believe in all comers. For I protest on the faith of a Christian that there is not a man living who surpasses me in goodwill to do you honourable service. Nevertheless, madam, it would cost me too dear if I should wish to alter the instructions of the King my master. Madam, I am sending a gentleman expressly to the King to know his will touching your majesty's articles, and I believe he will not refuse to follow it, at least I will advertise you quickly, and will finish the present in kissing very humbly your majesty's hands, and will pray God, madam, that He may give you very perfect health, long and prosperous life.

½ *p.* *French.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. **383.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. As I wrote to you by my last [letter], of the 7th instant, this Tuesday, Mons. Nau sets forward towards the Court, and with him my servant John Damet—this night to Nottingham, on Wednesday to Leicester, Thursday to Northampton, Friday to Dunstable, Saturday—to avoid London—to Uxbridge, and to Kingston on Sunday, unless by some messenger you will turn this course to go to Kingston upon occasion of her majesty's removal or otherwise. And to that end I have set down the stages of his journey. His coming up on his own horses, and himself having been lately "evil at ease," cause this length [of time] on the way. The Queen his mistress has promised, and he has vowed, that he will only "extend" the matters of his charge to her majesty, and—to avoid all suspicions—to carry himself as he shall be directed by her majesty's commandment. He goes—they say—amply instructed to deliver to her highness this Queen's whole mind, and also to propound the points of the treaty which have been long spoken of, and trusts to find correspondency in her majesty; for this Queen says her intention towards her highness is sincere. This one advertisement I will not forget to let her majesty understand, that in a short conference yesternight she said that unless Nau may find some good appearance of a treaty, he will not in all things deliver her mind so amply to her highness as otherwise he will do. But [she] trusts to find the continuance of her

Elizabeth.
1584. majesty's favour, whereof she saw good likelihood by her highness's late letters to me to be imparted to her, whereof she speaks oft, and makes great account of her majesty's kind words in them.

As touching Tutbury Castle: by the report of my servant whom I sent thither, it is a very fit house for the intended purpose, [and is] in better state of reparations than I thought it had been. [There are] good and convenient rooms for this Queen and for all her people under one roof—which has not been so in any other house—and convenient rooms for as many as may be thought requisite to take this charge. [There are] other offices answerable, and stabling in the base court for about twenty-five or thirty horses. I have given order that wood and coal shall be made ready and carried in out of hand; and also for five or six tuns of beer and one tun of wine from the nearest places where they may be had, for this first time. And hereafter more beer may be made ready either at Burton, three miles off, or brewed in Tutbury if Mr. Cavendish's brewhouse may be borrowed, where all utensils are ready. As for bread and other provisions, I hear they may be had upon two or three days warning, the country near about it being well able to yield them.

It "rests" now for the inside, for there is nothing but bare walls, nor is any other thing to be carried hence than her majesty's hangings, two chairs and one bed; all other things of her highness's being, as I hear, unserviceable, as I have last answered to that point of the notes. And as for this Queen, she has no kind of furniture here of her own—not so much as a dish or cup that "cometh abroad." As to the time and provisions here, Mr. Stringer is commanded by the Earl [of Shrewsbury], his master, as he saith, to provide for twenty days longer, as you have written, which he expounds to be from the date of his letter of the 2nd of this month. So that on the 22nd or 23rd thereof, the same agreeing with yours for the coming down of the Lord St. John, this earl's provision is to end. Perhaps it may be extended two or three days, if need be, upon occasion of foul weather or other accident. But in this point it may please her majesty to determine certainly, and also to let me know the time I shall remove this Queen thither, within a day or two more or less as the house may be ready and as the provisions there will hold out. Wherein I find Mr. Stringer ready to deal very honestly with respect to my lord his master's honour and commandment together. At such time as this Queen shall be removed from hence to Tutbury, because I have but a small company of my own folk, being not past forty horse, to attend on her, I intend to require the sheriff of this county and some other gentlemen, as Sir John Zouche, Sir John Byron, Sir Thomas Cockayn, and Mr. John Manners, who are all here at hand, to accompany me that day. But if it shall be thought there unfit that I do so, then I pray you let me be advertised undelayedly.

In my opinion it is best when she shall be removed hence, that then all the earl's folk and these soldiers be clearly discharged from any further care of her guard, and not to be troubled any further with her removal than we must needs be; and the rather to leave all old acquaintance behind us, which, I fear, in so many years cannot be little saving her coachman, who is my lord's servant, and is sworn not to deal any further in her business, than belongs to her coach and horses. I trust therefore that her majesty will consider how

Elizabeth.
1584. slenderly I shall be furnished for such a charge when I shall be at Tutbury, having none but my own folk, being not past fifty persons to guard her in such a wide and great house as that is. Whereof I have thought good to put you in mind to the end the Lord St. John may either meet and receive her there at her coming thither, or else as soon after as may be.

Of these and other things meet to be added, I doubt not but her majesty will consider and resolve, and thereof you will advertise me with speed; for the day of breaking up our commons here draws on apace. I will not forget to put you in mind that there is need of shot and weapons of defence; which, I hear, being at the Lord Paget's house in Staffordshire, may be brought from thence with other things —twenty or thirty shot, and fifty or sixty halbards, partisans, or bills at the least.

I long to hear of the coming to Tutbury of a master of the household, purveyors, and officer of the wardrobe mentioned in your letters. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I send you herewith the extract of the two packets which you sent hither lately, which should have gone with my last.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 13. **384.** ANGUS TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 196.

My good lord, albeit I have since my late repair into England remembered your lordship by general letters directed from the rest of the noblemen here, my associates, yet calling to mind how in particular I have found myself oftimes so honourably and courteously used, as indeed I must say that to none may I think myself so far obliged within this island, the two Princes only accepted, as to your lordship—I thought it my duty, therefore, by myself particularly to write this much shortly, lest by my forgetfulness your lordship might the rather think your benefits past the more "ingraitfullie acquite" on my part, "quharof I wald be loth to gif caus," being always fully minded to answer so near as I can that good expectation it has pleased your lordship of your goodness to conceive of me. *Newcastle. Signed:* Angus.

⅔ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 13. **385.** LORD JOHN HAMILTON, ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Wnderstanding yat the Scottis embassadour thair resident cessis noct to traduce ws and our caus, as also be resone the Bordouris heir ar almost stoppit to ws in suche sort that our freindis at home thinkis ws ether to be deid or imprisonit, and for declaring to your honour uther privaices of our caus quhi he we can noct put in writt, we haif returnit this berar to deill wyth hir majeste tharin in suche form as sall pleis your honour prescrybe wnto him and no othervyis. Quhairin we hartly craif your lordship's accustomit favour. For nixt hir majeste your honour is our only varldly comfort, and we hoip in yat our eternell God one day to express be good effectis how far

Elizabeth.
1584. we think our selvis oblesit to your good lordship." Newcastle. *Signed:* Jhone Hammilton. Angus. Mar. Tho. Mr. Glammis.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colvile's hand. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Nov. 14. **386. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, not having received here any news of you, as I had hoped, before my departure from Winkfield, I would not fail before going further from you to despatch to you this porter, my commissary, for what by him it may please you to make known to me of the intention of the Queen your mistress and yours for the order that I shall have at present to keep during the continuation of my journey, not desiring that for my part there may intervene anything whatsoever contrary to the very express commandment that I have from the Queen my mistress to follow your direction. Awaiting the same, and hoping to see you soon, I will finish these words by kissing your hands very humbly and praying God that he may give you good and long life. Barnet. *Signed:* Nau.

½ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 15. **387. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, by yours of the 10th of this month, brought to me on the 13th, I understand that on the 19th or 20th [ ] and my Lord St. John are like to meet together at the Court, which is not so soon as I hoped well upon the comfort of your former [letter], and seeing his lordship is lately come out of his diet, I fear lest his respect for his health, his care to settle his own things at home, and, perhaps, some stay at the Court for her majesty's full instructions and other his despatch, as to the entry into this charge appertains, may cause some longer entertaining of time, unless the same be sent after him. Wherein I pray you let me recommend my cause to your good care. The earl's officers here have not yet received any order to enlarge his provisions for this company, which [it] were fit they had, besides my warning, for the 23rd of this month is at hand, which is yet the last day of their account.

I do not yet see Mr. Cave, who, you write, is sent down to make provisions in these parts. At his coming hither we will confer together upon an estimate of a monthly and yearly charge, wherefore it is meet to know the number that is to be provided, which I believe will surmount the number mentioned in your last to me, viz., forty soldiers and as many of the nobleman's [men], besides this Queen's company.

I received another [letter] of yours of the 11th on the 14th. By this time you have Nau with you to inform her majesty further of all things from this Queen.

As to that I wrote in mine of the 7th of my opinion that the new soldiers under the nobleman might have their diet in the house, and some allowance of wages, rather than to allow them a certainty of "sold" by the day and find themselves; my meaning thereby was, that if they make their own provision they will, perhaps, be abroad to seek their meat when this service requires their attendance. Nevertheless, I leave this to your consciences there,

Elizabeth.
1584.

And as touching the number of forty soldiers to be added to as many of the nobleman's which it is thought there will be sufficient for the turn in a place of so good strength as Tutbury is, I hardly believe that my Lord St. John will bring so few as forty of his own, both for his credit and safety of the charge. Besides that, the gentleman of good quality who is to assist him, as you write, will have some honest company for his own regard; which is like to draw to a larger expense than is, perhaps, thought, unless her majesty either resolves upon a certainty of daily diet for this Queen and hers, and another for the nobleman and his company—which, perhaps, may move him to keep the fewer—or else make a trial of a month or a quarter by a master of household, *etc.* Wherein, nevertheless, this important charge is to be remembered.

I perceive that none of her majesty's wardrobe can come to Tutbury to receive the stuff for the furnishing of that house. Therefore I mean, according to your advice, to appoint one, who shall be Mr. Agard, of that town, a particular receiver of that honor, to take that charge in hand when any stuff shall be brought hither for that purpose. And as to that of her majesty's sent hither at the beginning, as soon as I may receive the note of it, whereof you made mention in yours, but it was not sent, my lord's officers shall be dealt withal about it. I hear that one Steele, now at London with my lord, has the note of that stuff, *etc.*

Herein is a packet of this Queen's to Mons. Nau, which is, she says, to let him know of the state of her health, being one day somewhat relieved, and the next, after some little sitting up, and yet upon a pallet, she falls down again—not by any fever, but by grief of her spleen and grief in her foot. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 15.
C.P., vol. XIV.

388. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.

Has received his letter of the 12th instant. When Mr. Cave arrives and the number of Lord St. John's company be known, besides the soldiers, an estimate may be guessed at of the charge her majesty must be at about the Queen of Scots. He [Walsingham] has seen by Mr. Chancellor's [Sadleir] former advertisements that her company is forty-eight persons, whereof almost half are women and children. If forty come with Lord St. John, and as many soldiers, they will be in all a hundred and twenty-eight, besides the gentleman's servants who comes to assist Lord St. John.

As touching this Queen's and her servants' "services," Mr. Chancellor has delivered that to him [Walsingham] as he received it of the earl's [Shrewsbury] officers. What the meaner services are, he knows not well. But, for her own service, he sees it daily carried to her, and it is surely little or nothing inferior to the advertisement. Whereof four or five dishes of the daintier sort, for her own eating, are capon, rabbits, partridge, ordinarily woodcocks now, fen fowl, venison daily when it was in season, and sometime now as long as she was in health. Her most usual feeding is upon mutton and partridge, especially mutton when she likes it. Sometimes she mislikes that. Since Mr. Chancellor's coming hither her ordinary has been somewhat better. She is very loth to complain. She wishes much for good sea fish,

Elizabeth.
1584. which is seldom brought hither, and not lightly that fish which she most desires, as good plaice, turbot, sole, and lobster. This place is very far from the sea for these things to be brought hither, especially in summer, and not oft in winter, the ways being foul.

As for his beginning of mislike of the change on account of the charges, believes he will see the effect thereof upon a trial. The reasons are apparent; for the earl [Shrewsbury] goes little, or not at all, to the market for corn, shamble meat, wood, coal, and horse meat—these are "sokers" in a great house. All the country hereabout, and at Sheffield, Worksop, and Chatsworth is covered with his commodities and provisions, besides so many parks, and from henceforth to seek them "with the penny" from hand to mouth—saving wood, which is ready at Tutbury—will make another reckoning. A new and good charge it will be also to furnish that house with all needful things. Lord Paget's stuff, if it be not sold, will stop a good gap, especially the beds and kitchen stuff, and vessels, if any remain.

Humbly thanks her majesty for her liking of his simple—but willing—service done here, and would think himself happy to live to hear of some good effect of all these great offers to be to God's glory and her majesty's quiet and contentment. Surely this Lady waxes so weary of this life—always in great pain and ache the more part of the winter—which happened to her later this year than in former time, by reason, as she acknowledges, of more exercise than was wonted. Wherein she is now, and is not able to turn herself in her bed, "fayne to be caryed from her bed to a paller, complayning now of her spleene and foote, and a litle in her knee." Believes—speaking charitably, "not medling with inwarde and hid ipocrisy," she will endure much, and yield to more, in that she is able to do, to have her majesty's favour so far forth that she might spend some [of the] rest of her time in liberty, wheresoever it were, saving in Scotland, where—she has oft said—she would not long tarry it she were out of this realm.

If any treaty be meant, finds by her she will not "stande upon" alteration or toleration of the present religion in Scotland—"onely her owne religion for her self and family privatly, during her short abode there." Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 15. **389.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIV. "The heades of a letter unto Sir Rafe Sadler." The order for the removing of the Scottish Queen being referred over to the consideration of the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicester and himself, these points following were concluded:

That she should be removed at the time by him mentioned, if the same might be conveniently done, the house being put in readiness for the purpose. There is order taken here for the sending down of plate, sheets, and napery.

Because these things cannot be sent down before the removal, the Earl of Shrewsbury shall be moved to furnish the plate, which it is thought his lordship will willingly do, to the end he may be more speedily eased of the present charge he is at. For the "furniture" of linen in the meantime, Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] is to employ his credit

Elizabeth.
1584. with the gentlemen in that country and her majesty's tenants. Hopes to take such order that the same shall be sent down before the end of this month.

For the better guard of that Queen it is thought meet that he should levy forty soldiers by virtue of his commission, amongst the Queen's tenants there; which number they think sufficient, considering the strength of the house. It will suffice that six watch nightly, some two of his servants being appointed to overlook them. For their entertainment it is referred to his discretion to give them wages or meat and drink, with some portion of money.

For the easing of the house it is thought meet that the soldiers lodge in the town, saving those who shall be appointed to watch.

For the easing of her majesty's charges, and that the house should not be over much pestered, the Queen of Scots is to be moved to take order for the despatching of the ten children whereof there is mention made in the "postyll" sent from him.

Because the coachman is discovered to have been a carrier of letters, and otherwise not sound, there shall be a coachman of her majesty's sent down from hence to supply that place.

For the finding of her coach horses, the master of her household is to be moved to take order therein.

There shall be sent down a letter out of hand from her majesty's self to that Queen to acquaint her with the removal and the cause thereof.

It is allowed of that he be assisted by the sheriff and the gentlemen.

Her majesty means to have a gentleman porter who shall have charge of the soldiers, and to look to the watches; that Captain Shute shall be appointed for that purpose.

3 *pp.* *In Walsingham's hand.* *Indorsed:* "1584, November 15. M[inute] to Sir Rafe Sadler."

Nov. 16. **390. Sir Francis Englefield to Philip II.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Delivered to the King of Spain 26 November 1584. Being advertised by the last letters from Paris that the Queen of England has changed the guard and custody of the Queen of Scotland by calling the Earl of Shrewsbury from his own house to the Court of England, and by detaining him there, and by sending Sadler and Sommers to have the charge and guard of the said Queen's person; and forasmuch as the said two persons be well known to me to be of the worst sort of heretics, and of the faction of the Earls of Leicester and Huntingdon —which last is the chief competitor against the Queen of Scotland—I beseech your majesty, of your great pity and prudence, to consider by these advantages and benefits which the faction of heresy daily makes by and from the prolongation of that remedy which the said imprisoned Queen has so long sued for and solicited at your majesty's hands. For, resting in the hands and power of her competitor, like as man can expect nothing but that her royal person be secretly destroyed and made away, if not shortly by the Queen of England's consent, yet, at the farthest, when she shall be sick or likely to die, and thereby will be lost a great party of those islanders—who for her right and interest be ready to join with any foreign assistance that should come to help—even so, if by God's gracious working she happen

Elizabeth.
1584. to pass that danger, yet is there no hope that she shall come to her own place and seat but by the favour and consent of that heretical authority in whose power she continues, at whose hands she must then accept such condition as they list to give, and will be the more moved to favour them and incline to their demands, at whose hands she has received her life and dignity; whereof how great the prejudice will be to the common cause of the Church may somewhat be seen by the first few years as well of her own reign in Scotland as of your majesty's most worthy wife, Queen Mary, in England; they both coming to their state by the consent of heretics were so bridled and restrained from doing that good to the Church which they desired, that one of them for proceeding therein never passed year of her reign without some public motion or secret conspiracy and rebellion by heretics, and the other was deprived from her estate and holden in captivity twenty years almost complete. And therefore, what pretence soever those persuasions may have which induced your majesty hitherto to prolong the holy enterprise, "lett it like your majesty" by those accidents and examples to hold them for falible, and that policy will prove deceitful in the end. For like as the enterprise is at this day more difficult, and requires more expense than would have sufficed in years past, even so the longer it is delayed and deferred, the greater force, charge, and expense will it require for the difficulties it will be daily subject to by the daily benefits and advantages the heretics make for themselves by the time that is given them. And if the 12,000 ducats which your majesty long since granted her for the better provision of her royal person in case of necessity be not yet sent to her—as of late they were not—may it please your majesty to "command" thereof to her by such way as she has appointed, in Paris or London, and that the rather because she is now frustrated of her speedy delivery by your majesty's succour, and also deperate of that alliance between you and the King her son, which she has so long sued for and desired as the principal and most likely way to make him Catholic—which she more desires than she does her own life. To those calamities and discomforts occurring to her at once, it were too much to add this other, that by want of that money given by your majesty she should also be deprived of all hope of flying or escaping out of their hands, in which her danger is now greater than ever before, and consequently [she] has more need of that money than ever she had.

And if your majesty shall not think convenient that the arguments and reasons which persuade the delay of your holy and princely intention should be discovered, whereby their insufficiency might be laid open to you, may it please you by your own great prudence and experience to consider whether any benefit or advantage that is probable to ensue by delay of time be likely to countervail and recompense the certain hindrance which in short time must necessarily follow, and then the reformation of that country [to be] treble and quadruple more chargeable than now, and the difficulties of success so infinitely increased that they will be rather accounted desperate than facible.

And albeit she has hitherto showed more zeal, constancy, and fortitude in the Catholic religion than could be expected in one of her sex—as for which it is manifest she has endured the loss of her estate and strait imprisonment almost twenty years time, without example past or followers since in this age of ours. Yet finding herself so

Elizabeth.
1584. abandoned and forsaken by all foreign Princes that she has no hope of aid or assistance from external parts, but is left in the hands of the competitors for her crown to shift for herself as she may; so hardly restrained also that she can have no comfort, counsel, or conference with any person but in the presence of her fatal foes, your majesty's great piety will not wonder, I suppose, if in these extremities and capital dangers she accepts and admits such unjust and unequal conditions as the Queen of England will offer and be content to give her; whereof what prejudice and hindrance may ensue to the common cause of the church and Catholic faith, may be easily conjectured by the precedents and examples past in Germany, France, Scotland, and other places. For the prevention whereof, to give that remedy which this time admits, I have oftentimes solicited your majesty that some signification might be given to her of your majesty's resolution for her, whereby to comfort her and animate her in her former good zeal, purpose, and constany; but having hitherto obtained nothing to say to her comfort or courage, your majesty, of your clemency, will take it in good part that I renew the memory thereof to you, because it seems to me necessary to be done with your first opportunity.

1 *p.* *In cipher.* *No indorsement.*

Decipher of the same. [With C.P., vol. xv., No. 4.] *Indorsed:* "Copey of certain letters intercepted of Sir Francis Englefeld."

Another decipher of the same. [With C.P., vol. xvii., No. 75.] *Indorsed by Mr. Phelippes:* "Letters betwene the Q. of Scottes and Sir Frances Englefeld, 15 Decem. 1584, 25 January 1585, 20 May 1586. "Deciferd. T. Phelippes." "Diverse relations made to the K. of S., the Pope, the Cardinall Como, *etc.*, for the advancing of the enterprise of England." *Notes in the margin in Mr. Phelippes' hand.*

Nov. 18. **391. Hieronymo Martelli to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Madam, having more leisure I have thought to write to your majesty more fully, as I promised in my last. I beg you very much to beware of Mauvissière; for although in what concerns your private person he loves you very much and is very careful of your accord with the Queen of England, yet he is very diligent to discover something else—note what I wrote of Douglas—and the King of France is also trying, as is the Queen of England, and there has been discovered something as even can be in some way gathered from the book that the English have published since the death of Throgmorton, which could not have been made known except by the said Mauvissière or your majesty—which they do not believe. If you can obtain the said book you will find how pernicious it is to you. It has marvellously scandalized all here, for a good part of your affairs are discovered, and several persons are in danger, and although they do not believe that the said Throgmorton has done and said all these things—for he cannot justify himself after his death—yet they are for the most part true, and they must have had the news from some one. They are very astonished here that your majesty had communicated to him so much before, of your affairs, of which there was no need. When I spoke of it to Monsieur [*cipher*] he told me that this was nothing, and that he did not know anything of the private affairs nor the names of the people,

Elizabeth.
1584. the contrary to which one sees evidently, and that is the cause that they do not treat willingly with the English, although they may be good and faithful people. Because, if they are caught or discovered—as my lord Paget was—or if they are taken—as Throgmorton and others—by force of torture they are compelled to say more than they know, which cannot happen so easily to strangers. Nevertheless, that is still not anything which can in truth hinder the enterprise. So it is with other things that have happened, and also the fear that they have had in the past, because of the said prisoners, the whole will hinder greatly your affairs.

Permit me, madam, for the honour of God and the good affection that I bear you, to be allowed to speak truthfully according to God and for your good, and do not interpret it in bad part nor throw the blame on people except upon the truth where it will be found, and I will tell you many things which are important to your majesty, that if in the end you shall find them true you will know that I am faithful to you and have care of your affairs, honour, and welfare. And if, perchance, it does not seem so, because of some mutation to which future things are subject, and to which often for prudence one submits, you will always have this occasion to be on your guard to prove it, and if I hear a single word received or declared here all my life, I will not write to you of such things, even if I see the ruin of everything, because to faithfully advertise your majesty I do not wish to be taxed or named, or to name anyone or to come to prove my saying. And in the first place I make this protestation because clearly they have received here many of the things that were written to your majesty there, and some in the same terms and words, which has deterred some from writing to your majesty. The opinion that they have of that here is, that you write it back here to someone, or that they have counter-ciphers, and that the letters are deciphered before sent. Wherefore some suspect that necessarily there are some who surreptitiously play you these bad tricks, be it here or there, without that in conscience I tax or suspect anyone in particular, and of these tricks sometimes Monsieur [ ]* and I have spoken, and I have told him of some so evident that he has confessed that there must be something in it, which I have still found in great doubt here, as one cannot believe that your majesty would do such things. For God, madam, take care of that, for doing such things would bear you great prejudice, and there will be no one who will dare to trust himself, and who is not very much suspected in everything of dissimulation, which is not good for your majesty for the time, place, and people with whom for the present you have to deal. For, otherwise, they would not dare to stop your words nor anything that you do.

Item :—they are troubled also that if anything unfortunate should happen you will throw the blame on others, or else if the thing could not be thrown on anyone it will be flatly denied to make it shorter, as some in truth have in some place been constrained to do, saying I prefer to deny it flatly than to anger the Queen of Scotland, although it may be true. The affairs of your majesty are the affairs of God, and therefore it is necessary to proceed before His divine majesty in all simplicity ; for there is no worldly prudence which can in any way

* Cipher.

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1584. whatever prevail on Him, and I fear that that hinders your affairs very much, or, above all, makes them weaker. Because you wish to have too many manners and ways of proceeding which clearly they know here. They say that they have discovered here that your majesty is trying by all means to put the King of Scotland in a bad opinion of the Bishop of Glasgow [Monsieur de Glasgow]. Consider well this point, madam, because it is more important than you think, both in Italy and Spain—and even for the King of Scotland.

Item :—between Gray and Fentray they have sown emulation and disgrace, as in several places they have known it to have been done, when your majesty has borne more affection to one than the other. It is well that your majesty can trust in those whom you have appointed; but [it is] also necessary that you can trust those who treat of your affairs when they are appointed by those who are able to answer for them. For they interpret here that you restrain everything except your own affections. Moreover, that your majesty has more care and thought to instruct the King your son in political things, dissimulation, and such ways of proceeding than you take care to make him know the true faith; and being thus instructed he will persuade himself that religion is only a way of acting outwardly, and inwardly to proceed as seems good, according to the way of the heretics, which will give him less opinion of the catholic religion.

Item :—that the King of Scotland is very friendly with the Earl of Arran, and that they fear very much that he will discover from him the enterprise; for they know for certain that he has some secret communication in England—as they have said also of the King of Scotland. Prevent in all cases that the blame be thrown on your majesty, forasmuch as they know very well here—at which they are very pleased—that he does nothing without your knowledge, and I could say much more; but I will be silent, until I know more certainly that some treat treacherously near him to your prejudice. "Non dico assertive sed caute previdete." You wish that I should speak freely. It is necessary to have a man in Scotland fearing God and who may not be affectionate to any other except to equity, destitute of all partiality, in whom you can trust absolutely, and those also here; for otherwise they will find themselves hindered by divers factions, and you yourself the first; for, perhaps, everyone is not sorry that you remain where you are.

The counsel of Rehoboam often has more place than that of the ancients; but I pray you make profit from this. I think that you know what affection the Scotch bear you: they know the wrong that they have done you and the religion that your majesty holds; that is why, madam, if your majesty had one in Scotland who was worthy, and in whom your majesty and all the ambassadors here trusted, and who could diligently find out the secrets of the Scotch, you would have much more assurance. But it would be necessary to choose one who was above the suspicion of all parties, and that he had no other affection except for the honour of God, the good of His church, and right and equity; and this should come from those who most respect your majesty in Scotland. This is touching general things.

As to private things,—touching the Duke of Guise, I have not conferred with him for a long time, waiting for more news from your letters, and because of the haste in which he wished to depart. Never-

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1584. theless, I perceived that he was very sad and sorry at the delay in your affairs. The good lady is very badly treated; for which I am very sorry, without specifying, moreover, the rest I have already written to your majesty, that immediately I receive the letters and memoirs from your majesty I will write to him fully, as he has commanded me where to go and find him, to the end to know more plainly his will.

I have also hardly been able to communicate with the Bishop of Glasgow, except that I have communicated to him the points that I have given to the nonce and the ambassador of Spain, and have given him a copy of it, as I will also send one to the Duke of Guise, word for word, as I have sent it to your majesty. The said Bishop of Glasgow told me that you could do much, if you could only solicit that this good Princess were out of the misery in which she is. He was ill disposed and very sad. He does not know anything of what I wrote to your majesty of Scotland, and it is not yet necessary that he should know; neither does Fentray, who is in Scotland. Believe me, madam, he cannot do anything so secretly touching these divisions that they do not know; for it is always found out by some, whether by zeal or by emulation and envy, whether to blacken others or to benefit themselves, they discover things; as even of me it was reported here that I was not in such good opinion with your majesty as was thought, and that they knew well how my journey had not been agreeable to you. Which scandalised many, and which I had great difficulty in stopping, protesting to the contrary. Nevertheless, I beg you to put me in better opinion, especially for yourself, for if they discover it easily, it would not be to your advantage. And not only in that, but in several other things I have been as diligent in replying to your advantage, for I have the fear of God before my eyes, and your grandeur and honour in recommendation, as much for the love that I bear you as to advance the cause of God. I say this, madam, as much on account of the false rumours which are not less in France than in England, as for the other past demeanours, be it for your affairs or for those who are prisoners or died lately; for even they have objected that some of yours were the cause of all these last wrong doings, and especially of Throgmorton, and that you care little for the men so long as your affairs and negotiations are saved. I think that I have obviated, on the whole, as much as a Christian man can, and ought to do in such case, except with regard to the Bishop of Glasgow. For they have perceived to the contrary, although I have mitigated the things, that it was not for want of intelligence, and that he was not so diligent in your affairs as your majesty desired, and necessity required, and that he did not accommodate himself so much to your inclinations as behoves him, who ought to render account of everything to your majesty. Coming to the nonce, I wrote to your majesty how difficult it was at the beginning for him to understand your affairs, and how now he has entered therein with very great zeal and affection, and with so much more courage, that I have told him, and made clear to him many things, and not to stop or believe in the abovesaid rumours. As for the league that the Jezebel of England tries to make with the King of France, he has written of it to his holiness, as he has done of the books of Buchanan; for he cannot attempt anything without

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1584. the commandment of the Pope, seeing also that publicly and freely they print and sell in Paris books against the Pope, the Church and the clergy, and there is no other order in France for the present. As for other things, as minister of the Church, and very affectionate to your majesty, according to his estate and charge, he will work for it as much as possible, and he will advertise me of everything that happens, that I may send it to your majesty. As for the ambassador of Spain, I have written of him also more particularly to your majesty what he commanded me. To which I add that two or three times he was willing to risk his goods and his life; but that he fears very much that things will not be so advanced as you desire, that your majesty sees well and feels your present wrong, and not the inconveniences and dangers that the other Princes perceive here, as he knows well that they have very diligently prepared ships, and that the most part were already ready, but that the people and ammunition for such enterprise are not yet at all ready, as the King of Spain was so prudent and discreet that he did not wish to risk anything rashly, and cause himself to be laughed at by the enemies of the Church of God, nor to risk his ships' money, munition, and honour, except with a conjecture and assurance that he could perceive France ready to make war with him, and that the Queens of France and England work hard and constantly therein. Wherefore it would be necessary to foresee what issues such practices would have. Moreover, that the affairs of Flanders were greatly disturbed, and there is not a single port at the devotion of the King of Spain to make use of for raising there an army, as it would be necessary to keep there good assistance. So that if there happened anything unfortunate to the army, he would have men ready, and other necessaries to help the said army in England, and therefore it would be necessary for the King of Spain to prepare an army so powerful that he can resist England, France, Scotland, and the Low Countries; but to enter into it lightly, as they had projected, he would never do anything. I told him that seeing that the King of Scotland had his arms in his hand, and that he was at liberty, they could never send him ten or twelve thousand men. "Yes," said he, "if there was a bridge to the Low Countries, where they can hold [*blank*] and [*blank*] to give help; but otherwise it would cause greater trouble, as immediately they all, and England and France, would rise, and they would be ruined and laughed at, as in Ireland"—notice that here "y" and Ireland are the same in your cipher—"and that hereafter they would not have any more means," I tell you, not as a certainty, but according to the greatest probability, that there is no likelihood of being able to do anything this year, as also from other quarters I have understood, if there were no change, for the reasons that were shown, that, nevertheless, one would not leave the King of Scotland in danger, as I have written to your majesty. But also that your majesty should keep yourself well from taking any appointment with the Jezabel, if your majesty is not quite certain that it would be a great advantage to your affairs. For otherwise you would put all your affairs in danger, because, as I have been able to gather, they would forsake you, or at least, the enterprise could only be made to your greatest perjudice, as that which would be wanting in itself, and forsake the catholic princes.

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1584. And remember what I wrote to you—" si fuerit molesta." I dare not say on this point what I hear dimly projected, for fear of greater harm, and perhaps some would not be sorry if you did something on which they could make a beginning. My conscience sways me on one side, the love that I bear you pushes me on the other; the fear that there may happen greater harm to the Church or myself restrains me now until with longer success I can gather more advantage therefrom, for I should not dare to communicate it to any living man, because your majesty knows the obligation that I have in everything to his holiness; the other to the King of Spain, who is my natural Prince; the other that I owe to the Duke of Guise, and the fidelity that I have protested to your majesty. I would not wish, on my life, to do or say anything that would offend one of you, if it was not absolutely for the benefit of the Catholic Church and the salvation of souls, therefore, I pray you seriously to put your affairs into the hands of God, and follow the advice of the catholic princes, and keep yourself from offending them when you have dealings with them, to the end that with greater courage they may be moved by your kindness to seriously treat your affairs well. And if God has given you such good patience, with such great expectation, temporise now for God, I beg you, madam, with greater hope, for God by his kindness brings every day your affairs to greater facility. I will tell you now willingly this one word, but I fear very much that it may not be agreeable to you. Nevertheless, I know that it is profitable to you; it is that simply and immediately you should treat of your affairs by the ambassadors, and abandon all private ways; and believe, that without comparison this will be more agreeable to all the princes. And if they employ some one for your affairs, receive him very agreeably, as you desire that they should receive yours. For they know well what they do, and some have the idea that by all ways you are opposed to them, and try to discredit them, which does not a little offend the princes, and makes them lose courage, so that no one will dare to take part in your affairs. But it will be very useful for you to have good correspondence with them, to the end that you may be very fully informed of everything; for then they will be more incited to do your majesty very humble service with greater courage. And above all, trust the Duke of Guise as a principal instrument; for he has very good and very certain intelligence with the others, and they trust him very much. I think, madam, that these are the most sure means of advancing your affairs, and that the King of Scotland may be closely united with the said Duke of Guise; for that will remain a greater occasion to the others of good hope in the future. And whatever I know on this point, I have still two things to discourse of to your majesty; the one that some are of opinion that your majesty desires to cease all negotiations with other princes—except by simulation—except only with the King of Spain, and that he only should undertake the enterprise at my will, which he has already done. But look forward to the end, and do not offend the Pope and the Duke of Guise, and then happen what may. The other is the marriage that you know it is necessary to consider, that according to the best advice, the King of Spain ought to remarry soon, and some think that it may be concluded and settled. I do not say that it may not be extremely desirous to the party that you know; but they object to the

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1584. uncertainty with regard to time and the difficulty; and that "mora est periculosa." And therefore they are after Madam Elizabeth of Austria, with whom they have great difficulty to make condescend to it. Nevertheless, by the advice of those who can help and command her, she will be contented on condition that the two daughters of Spain are delivered to the Archduke and his brother. For the present I will not say more than time will show with experience. They have spoken even of the daughter of Lorraine for the same effect. As I have been able to gather, they have not found it right that the Duke of Bavaria should be named in your affairs, as a great inconvenience to all.

Touching the affairs of France, they have been, since the death of the Duke of Anjou, in a very bad state. Monsieur D'Espernon has been sent from the King of France to the King of Navarre for a future successor. There is no news of the change of religion; but on the contrary, he has made an assembly at Montauban, where the Huguenots and several ministers from Geneva, Rochelle, and elsewhere have assisted, promised them to be a protector and defender of their religion, and the heretics have promised him 200,000 crowns as a yearly subsidy for so much and so long as he will continue the said promises. It is now that one must be courageous to help to overthrow these wicked plots. The said King of Navarre ought to come and see the said King of France at Moulines in Bourbonnois, if there is no change. However, the Queen Mother, with all the advice, and with all authority, at Bloys la France, shakes and trembles, and God knows what will happen. And among the other hindrances, this is one of the principal that keeps back your [affairs]. For the King of Spain and the Duke of Guise dare not move a foot until they see some conclusion or what union there will be with the Queen of England, and what will be the result of the whole on the part of the heretics and factions. They know well that the Queen of England does not lack at all in offering money, ships, munition, and all that she can to the Queen Mother, and to the King of Navarre, to help them in the encounter with the King of Spain, and "Deus spiritu oris sui illos et illas destruet, confundetque consilia Achitophel." Doctor Allen has replied to the infamous book that has been published in England against the Pope, the priests, and Catholics of England, and against the bull of Pope Pius V., and to declare throughout the world that never any one in England had been put to death, or even on the rack, for matters of religion or conscience; but for pure treason and rebellion. The said Doctor Allen replied properly to all these calumnies. The said book has already been printed in English and turned into Latin and French, as is that wicked book, if your majesty can procure it there, for I dare not send it from here. You will find in what distress the said Doctor Allen puts all the state of England, and how he speaks to your advantage, and how honourably he upholds the Pope, the Catholic Church, and your majesty, and how he accuses the heretics, ministers, and counsellors of treason: a book which I think will bear great fruit in England. I have already read it. Above all, in the fourth and eighth chapters he speaks of your afflictions and rights.

I wrote lately that I hoped to have very good acquaintance with Mr. Morgan, if he did not hold back on his side, which I do not think. I fear very much that he will be in trouble on account of another

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1584. English book published after the death of Throgmorton, of which he is vehemently accused. Some advise him to disappear; but I am not of this opinion: neither is he to treat it lightly, in order not to give more suspicion to the English and French, and not to render himself thereby guilty. Nevertheless, he should be careful to watch and be on his guard—and not without cause, by the example of an Englishman who engraved and had printed in pictures the persecutions of the Catholics in England. The ambassador of England having discovered it, obtained permission to have the said Englishman siesed, and the printer, and put them in prison, where the said Englishman has been for a long time with danger of being sent back to England. Which would have been granted to the said ambassador, if it had not been for the sincerity of the King's lawyer at Chastelet, who resisted the said ambassador, wishing to deliver him; objecting that the King was wrongly informed, and that he himself would speak of it to the said King. They came every day to the prisons to fetch him, but the lawyer was firm in resisting them until the nonce of the Pope had delivered the Cardinals hats, by the authority of the Pope, to Cardinals Vandosme and Joyeuse, who the first time they entered the Council obtained deliverance for the said prisoner, as a sign of the duty that they owed, as being defenders of the Church. There was no want of contradictors, and especially the Queen Mother, and they even say Byrago, and that he did not fail to support such seditious people. In the end that it was granted them on condition that the said prisoner should take care to give himself up if he was sought for hereafter; and the first Englishman who was willing to become surety for him without knowing who he was or where he lived, the said procureur granted it, and from fear they both left France and Italy. Therefore, it is to be feared that if the said ambassador made instance for Mr. Morgan he would be for greater matter in greater danger, which would be of great prejudice to your majesty. And I tell you, moreover, that without that he would have already been in great danger. Therefore see and find that I speak according to God, and not from affection, as they could imagine; for I only seek for your best welfare. God has done me this favour, that throughout everything that has passed I have never yet been named. If there is the least rumour in the world ——* will leave France, as I should do also if I were named. Things are more dangerous here than you think. I am absent from the town of Paris, where often I return secretly, always to see if I can gather anything which touches your affairs, and awaiting also your news, which is very late. And I fear very much the Duke of Guise, whom I have wished to mislead with words when I told him that your majesty wrote to him and sent me the memoirs which has made me still doubt, seeing the common letters of Monsieur——* which I received on the 23rd, which I replied in the same form, which did not make any mention of other letters. Nevertheless, before judging further, I await the issue thereof. However, as I apprehend another resolution, and to the end to avoid all suspicion, I will leave, if God pleases, on the 9th or 10th to go to Rome to make a journey none the less important for your affairs. By that same means you will know, God helping, how I shall be careful of your affairs; for without suspicion

* Symbol.

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1584. I shall have more convenience—seeing that they have taken occasion to send me to a congregation that is made of ours at Rome. Therefore, if there is anything in which I can do a service to your majesty, write to me as quickly as you can, and I shall always have letters from Paris in twelve days; and if God prospers my affairs I shall stay in Rome until December, and especially if I receive commandment from your majesty which requires it. Nevertheless, I shall be very pleased to receive yours before my departure. I am only sorry for one thing, that the occasions have been so very contrary about your majesty that you have not been able to know my fidelity and sincerity, nor even the little means that I had to do you service. For I am not so mean as they esteem me to be, God be praised and honoured above everything. In conclusion you will see, madam, how simply I proceed in everything, and how diligent I have been in being able to draw all that was possible to render account to your majesty of all that they have said or done here, as I promised you. I pray that my fidelity may not be turned to prejudice either directly or indirectly. Father Gordon and Creichton [Creyton] have gone to Scotland by the advice of the Pope under pretext of recovering Lealts. You can judge, madam, how it would serve the Earl of Huntly to be redressed and instructed by his uncle, one of the rare men of Europe, and how the King of Scotland will benefit by the good advice that he will receive from the said Huntly. Father Gordon has written to your majesty by the Archbishop of Glasgow, begging your majesty to take this journey in good part; for there is nothing in it except for your good and consolation, not having anything to treat of, except simply the cause of God, without any intelligence with any one whatsoever. If you find it good, madam, and it may please your majesty to write one word to Scotland warning the King, your son, in case by chance he heard the news, or that the heretics should make instance to make them stop deceiving him and support them, as those who work greatly for his great advancement, and that would give great contentment to his majesty and to all Christian princes—especially the Duke of Guise. Mondragon has received a great rebuff in Flanders, attacking the place from which he was repulsed with the loss of a good number of people, and constrained to leave his place. The adversaries have had also almost the same number killed, and have lost Trellemont. The Dukes Joyeuse and Espernon have wished by surprise to put Monsieur de Montmorency out of the saddle; but he was informed at Aiguemortes, and has killed five or six hundred of the bravest of the enterprise, which will discredit the mignons if they wish to usurp on the others by force, which they could not have by good means. This may be an annoyance to the Duke of Guise, who with the Cardinal, his brother, have not long since retired to Champagne. I do not leave yet to go to the fields to temporise until your news or my departure [*sic*]. The news of the marriages of Spain continues, and to-day they have news from Germany. Mowbray's brother is very well, and has become a very good Catholic, rather wonderfully; for being ill, as they thought, to the death, they persuaded him that if he became a Catholic, confessing and communicating, he would recover; which he did, and immediately afterwards he began to recover, and in a short time was quite well. This will serve Melville. The said Mowbray has returned to Scotland with the fathers who left Paris the 27th of [*blank*]. I am

Elizabeth.
1584. very pleased about your good health at Buxton. God in his mercy keep your majesty, whose hands I kiss very humbly. Paris 28th of [*blank*]. From your very humble and very affectionate to do you service according to God—Hyerominus Martelli.

4¼ *pp. French. In cipher, deciphered. Indorsed:* "From a Jesuite by the name of Martelli unto the Q. of Scottes. In cipher. Deciphered Tho. Phelippes." Signed on the back by Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham.

Decipher of the same in Phelippes' hand.

Nov. 19. **392. Lord John Hamilton to Walsingham.**

Pleis your honour I rasavit your letter to gidder with sik money as ze haif desyrit Sir Johne Foster to delyver to me, for the quhilk I gif zour lordship maist hartlie thankis. I am maist glaid to heir be zour honouris letter the good opinione hir majestie hes of me, quhilk I houpe in God sall incres day be day, gif my uprycht meanyng to do hir majestie thankfull service may deserve the same. And as zour honour hes ever bene my speciall good lord, quhome of I haif rasavit grettest favore and kyndes, I will pray zow to contenew me in hir majesties good grace and to travell for me at hir hyghnes handis in sik matteris as I haif gevin Mr. Colweill informacione of to declair to zow. Woddringtoun. *Signed:* Jhone Hammilton.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 20. **393. Treaties for the Enlargement of the Queen of Scots.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 220.

"A briefe note of all the treaties that have passed for the Scottish Quenes enlargement, and the severall causes why they tooke not effect—out of a note in the Lord Treasurer Burghley's hand."

The first treaty began at York, 30th September 1566, and was prorogued to London. This treaty took no effect, partly because during that treaty Lord Boyd and the bishop of Ross practised to steal the Queen of Scots, but principally because Lord Boyd, Lord Harris, Lord Kildwing, and the bishop of Ross, unwilling to enter into the examination of Lord Darnley's murder, came, and by special commission from the Scottish Queen dissolved the treaty, 15th December 1568.

The second began 24th April 1569. For the execution whereof the bishop of Ross was sent alone as ambassador from the Scottish Queen to deal with the Queen of England and the Lords of her Council. During this treaty a marriage was practised underhand between the Duke of Norfolk and the Scottish Queen, this intended match [being] signified in secret to the ambassadors of France and Spain, and to the nobility of the north of England. Cavendish was sent from the Duke to the Scottish Queen with letters and tokens to further this match. The Earl of Northumberland propounded to the Scottish Queen, by Leonard Dacres, a mean for her escape. This not succeeding, he afterwards broke into an open rebellion, and so did the Earl of Westmorland, who, by help from Scotland, invaded England. These things were impediments why the second treaty took no effect.

20th May 1570 a third treaty began from the French ambassador and the bishop of Ross, who offered thereupon to the Lords of her

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1584. majesty's Council certain articles, wherein this was contained, that all English fugitives being in Scotland should be delivered into England or kept there to be forthcoming at the end of the treaty. [*Names of the commissioners given.*] Whilst this treaty was in hand, the Queen of England understood that the articles of her treaty were privily communicated to the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Alva; that there were sent to the French King, Sir George Bartley, to the Duke of Alva, Mr. John Hamilton, and to the Pope, Mr. Henry Keare, all to crave succour and support for the Scottish Queen against the Queen of England; that, contrary to one of the offered articles, some of the English fugitives were conveyed to Flanders, and there by means of the Scottish Queen—rewarded with 12,000 crowns; that Ridolphi was sent to solicit foreign forces to invade England. Lastly, whereas this treaty, being tripartite, could not proceed until a new commission was obtained for those who came from the King of Scots, which was offered to be procured with all speed, to supply some defect of the old one, the Scottish Queen would assent to no delay or respite, and so this treaty broke off without any good conclusion.

A fourth treaty began in 1582—wherein Sir Walter Mildmay was used—but whilst the proceeding therein was suspended upon expectance of an answer from Scotland touching the Scottish King's disposition, the Queen of England discovered that the duke of Guise was preparing some attempt against England for the Scottish Queen. For whose enlargement also Francis Throgmorton at the same time practised an invasion to be made into England, and other treasons [were] to be attempted. This being discovered, and he apprehended, this treaty proceeded no farther.

In 1583 the Earl of Shrewsbury and Mr. Beale were appointed to deal with the Scottish Queen in another treaty, with promise to return Sir Walter Mildmay if she would discover certain practices against the Queen of England, which she pretended to know. Whilst this was in hand, by the Scottish Queen's procurement D'Aubigny, the Laird of Farnyhurst, and Sir James Balfour, all mortal enemies to the State of England, were brought into Scotland; and so that treaty was broken off.

In 1584 another treaty was entered into with Nau. At which time the treasons and practices of Parry were discovered, and so the treaty ceased. By all which it is evident that the Scottish Queen has never entered into any treaty, but only of purpose to abuse the Queen of England with some treacherous attempt or other.

2½ *pp. Copy.*

Nov. 21. **394. PROCLAMATION FOR NINE MINISTERS TO COMPEAR BEFORE THE KING OF SCOTS AND HIS COUNCIL.**

Cott. Calig., C. VII., fol. 197.

Nine ministers, named, to appear before the King and his Council at Holyrood House 7th December next, and give their reasons in writing whereby they may in any sort pretend disobedience.

4½ *pp. Copy.* (*Printed, Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. iii., p. 701.*)

Elizabeth.
1584. Nov. 22.

395. SIR EDWARD STAFFORD TO [ ].

The Bishop of Glasgow about that time received 12,000 franks from Mendoza, and a lion of gold with a great ruby in the head of it. The money was for the payment of two pensions, and the lion to send to the Scottish King for a token, it being worth 2000 crowns "besides the fashion."

⅛ *p. Copy. At the head:* "Extract of letters from S^r^ Edw. Stafford." *Indorsed.*

[Nov.] **396. [WALSINGHAM] TO HUNSDON.**

The Master of Gray has had two audiences since his arrival; one on Saturday last, which was spent for the most part in ceremonies; the other yesterday, whereat he but in effect urged her majesty to restore the noblemen into the King of Scots' hands. Which motion her majesty seemed utterly to have no liking of, being persuaded in her conscience that those gentlemen had never had any evil meaning towards the King's person, and that such attempts as have fallen out in Scotland have only proceeded from the particular divisions and piques that have taken foot amongst the noblemen of that realm by reason of the King's minority, which he should rather seek to extinguish, and unite his whole nobility in a common concurrency to do him service, than make himself a party in any faction, which cannot but breed very dangerous effects. And forasmuch as he made "daynty" to discover anything of the special purpose of his coming—which her majesty conceived was for the opening of some matter concerning the peril of her estate—she did not forbear to let him perceive that she was offended withal.

Touching Captain Frisoll, he cannot learn any great matter concerning him, and therefore thinks he may set him at liberty, unless there be somewhat come to his knowledge. The Privy Council refer the men who were apprehended by their direction to his lordship's discretion to dispose of them as he shall think good.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 209. Another copy of the same.

Nov. 23. **397. JAMES VI. TO [LEICESTER].**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 201.

"My lorde and cousin, my ambassadouris last letteris maid me a gryt deall glaider than the first, for thay have confirmit my constant opinion of youre great affection—according to ye accoustumatt maner—touardis me, quhair as by his first he douttit altogither of youre goode uil. Bot as he hes persuadit you ye treuthe. I pray you to assuire youre self that quhen occasion sall serue ye sall finde me requyt you as ane honest and constant freind aucht to do. I remit all uther yingis to my said ambassadour and hoipis ye uill follou furthe as ye haue begune to procure him a good and speidie dispatche." Holyrudhous. *Signed:* "Youre louing freind and cousin, James R."

⅔ *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Elizabeth.
1584.

398. Practices of Archibald Douglas, etc.

Nov. 23.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 204.

On the 21st instant the French ambassador had Archibald Douglas brought secretly to him by Corselles into his chamber, where, after long and earnest consultation had between them, which chiefly concerned the late letter received from the Scottish Queen, the said Archibald was secretly dismissed again.

They two hold for certain that Mr. Secretary Walsingham opened the Scottish Queen's packet before it came to the ambassador's hands and imparted the secrets thereof to the Queen of England, which makes them the more "respective" many ways, and therefore abated of the manner and matter how to deal with her majesty touching audience, desirous by some course of terrification to draw her majesty from proceeding too far in examining these actions that are broken forth, and the deciphering of their greater friends not yet discovered.

The said Archibald lays plots of importance for the Scottish Queen, and what he devises is communicated to the house of Guise, and executed by the Scottish Queen and her side. And your lordship may be well assured that Archibald plays with a very long two-handed sword that reaches into many places at once beyond this island—leaving France and nearer regions—as far as Spain and Rome. He was ever a "cowntermyner," and unfaithful; wherefore most dangerous to be entertained in any degree for service of this State. Neither can cunning nor dread "comprehend" him if he have once the source, ever a practiser and irreligious, and a revealer in the end of all secrets to serve his own turn. Let his plot "to" Mr. Randolph for lewdness serve for example to the rest, and for his sincerity in the end thereof.

The course that the Scottish King took ten days past with those who are affectionate to this State, by summoning Angus to render himself prisoner in Edinburgh Castle by the 1st of December, and Mar to be banished this island entirely, and to others other corrections of displeasure, concur with the roundness of the Scottish Queen's late letter.

Duffield, the preacher of whom I wrote to your lordship in my last letter, was with the Earl of A[ngus], his master, on Thursday, who "wooed" him to preach at Powlles Cross very instantly, and [he] should be seconded, he said, by other sufficient men. But Duffield refused to obey him in that course, alleging with a certain reverend boldness that it would appear only to be a cloak, and no manner of sincerity meant by the said earl, who had, he alleged, deceived his father before him, who dallied in like manner with God and his Prince, and was therefore paid with a sharp measure. Whereupon the said earl urged him to say what he had heard spoken of him by the people, and in what conceit he was with them, and what the best remedy was to purge his credit to the world again.

To which Duffield replied that as they were matters far above his capacity to satisfy him in, so could he not likewise so well judge of their particularities by reason of his partial affection borne to his said master, yet he saw the countenance of the people offended with him, and to condemn the manner of his life, his disposition, and loyalty. Sundry things, he said, were objected in common speeches of him, which severally made no great show, but, laid together, seemed weighty and of consideration.

1. And first, for that he sold land without necessity, and had heaped

Elizabeth.
1584. up a mass already of 12,000*l* in money by that sale, which was greatly wondered at.

2. Next, that he had made so strange conveyances of other estates of his living, as though he intended to abide some attainder, which, notwithstanding, should not touch the validity of his said conveyance.

3. Thirdly, that his company and companions were such as the state liked not of, as well for that they were either discontented persons, or recusants.

4. Lastly, that his principal servants and officers were all notorious papists, which must wound, he said, his conscience and condemn his judgment, or shew his choice unfavourable to their profession, and to his own outward appearance.

He added hereunto of himself, that his father before, both in the beginning of his troubles and during the same, had made light account of such objections, but when they came to the construction of grave men, they were found to be the preparatives of an ill-affected mind aspiring to a shrewd end. Wherefore, he could not advise him of any remedy for reconciling of his credit, than the same which his own honour and duty was to direct him, and that conscience and sincerity prescribed him.

Herewith the earl seemed content with his plainness and round proceeding, but it was after a great pause, before he answered anything at all, and then as one half benumbed of his senses, he said :—

1. Touching the first objection, it was true, that he had sold for 12,000*l* land, but he owed 14,000*l* which he meant to pay the same with.

2. To the second, that he was constrained to assure his lands by an extraordinary course, for that they were so entailed to the Prince, and otherwise so tied by their former states and tenures, that they were subject to infinite inconveniences and bondage, and therefore with great intercession had offered to the Earl of Leicester heretofore 200*l* of his best inheritance or 10,000*l* in money, to mediate the freeing and clearing of them.

3. To the third, his answer—in my judgment—was very slender and misadvised, viz., that he being forsaken of better company was driven to associate himself with such as he could get for the time, were they recusants or discontented.

4. Lastly, for his officers and servants, that he must be content —by the example of others—to keep such as he found most obedient and faithful to him and his causes.

But herewith he took a great Testament in his hand, and swore very solemnly by the contents of the same, and under protest of his salvation, that he detested papistry and the Pope, and ever had done, and would spend his life and lands in the quarrel, to confirm his loyalty on that behalf to her majesty, which he would make apparent very shortly, with the first occasion that was presented.

And this discourse touching the earl—though long my lord—I thought not impertinent to have your wisdom acquainted therewith, to judge thereof and of their effects, as in value they might import, but I shall be able to advertise your lordship more hereof by penetrating discreetly nearer if you think so good. The "pad" is great that is amongst them, and their fear greater, but may it please your lordship

Elizabeth.
1584. to carry well in mind what I wrote to you by my last touching Thorseby, who is subtle to discover all.

Francis Flower is deemed to have opened the gats for discovery of Hawll the priest, and others of that family, but not of duty to the King nor of zeal to religion, being an atheist himself and long [one]. His policy is said to have been partly for revenge, but chiefly for sole credit, when the rest are expulsed, and that his master mistrusting Noles, by the skill of his former pranks, would fain be rid of him, saving that he expects time. The matter of Hawll the priest is divided between Sommerfield and him, the deciphering of others of that troop belonging to his master, is ascribed only to him. [*In the margin.*] This is a consideration among the best sort of F. Flower.

Truly, my lord, there was never time of greater corruption and neutrality than now, nor wherein honest sincere men should be both better discerned and cherished. I "perse" by mine own knowledge into the inward particular nature of the most in England, of what shire or family soever they be, what in duty and disposition they are to their sovereign, and what respects carry them either forward or backward in matters of state or religion, and I hear the sighs of good men withal, wishing a more difference to be made in countenance and effect between those that are assured of merit well, from the rest, worse disposed, which regard, I must say, is a virtue most special and peculiar in you, as it was in ancient Pericles, "id est favere et amicis bene merentibus." I would to God there were many imitators thereof, the cause and the time requiring it earnestly.

The Scottish faction doth press on apace in number and view, and those with them that desire novelties, the one and the other affirming that Cuthbert Armorer's late despatch into Scotland is but entertainment to occupy a child with, and that a hope or glimpse of a marriage under this is handled to draw the young King from his designs and settled friends, but that the affinity with "H" is too weak a calamity to attract so great an effect from his own spleen. In like sort we entertain the King of Spain, [it] is said, and his ambassador with "accomplements" now, to divide or weaken the tempest prepared and coming.

I am glad to know myself, in respect of public security to our Queen's sovereign, that she is furnished with matter of herself to convict the Lord H. Howard criminally, when she pleaseth to extend it. His spirit, otherwise, is within no compass of quiet duty, and his own side say of that travailing mind of his, "erat aut non capiendus aut non relaxandus."

I hear it again confirmed what triumphs were made in Spain upon the bruit of her majesty's death. Spain, France, and the Pope, now labour by all means (postposita fide et virtute) to prevail "per secarios et proditores." God forgive me if I judge amiss in seeing Charles Arundel provide gloves and sweet savours at a new perfumer's house in Abchurch Lane of late, if I did not fear some poison towards her majesty, she having her senses of smelling so perfect, and delighted with good savours, but God will defend her I know, for she trusts in Him. And to the rest I dare pronounce even from God's mouth that cruelty and treachery is "highliest" punished and revenged, with breach of faith, even in the greatest that are disposed thereunto.

John Gillpin told me 2 years since and more, that when he was

Elizabeth.
1584. sent after his master's son into France, he met at Rome with Hawll the priest, "who" [and that] amongst trees and plants, and under reams of white paper that he brought over hither, there were seditious books packed together very cunningly, that also he was then a minister of messages and practices, and he was suspected to have had Hyde's books then, to be dispersed by his means in England, the method whereof was a description of all the states of England, and of the persons of the nobility, councillors, and others well affected to God and our sovereign, in the "slanderest" manner and most reproachful that might be. Only the Earl of Sussex and some others were reverently spoken of. This remembrance touching Hawll may serve to bring some other thing to light.

Thus I presume to advertise my knowledge in the premises to your lordship, wherein if either I be too tedious or bold, I submit myself humbly to your own censure. Curious I am not, but jealous ever for her majesty's security and quietness, which my life and my death shall ever testify.

5 *pp.* *In William Davison's hand.*

Nov. 19. **399. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV.

By your letters of the 15th instant, which I received on the 18th, in the morning, I find that the Queen's majesty has resolved upon the removing of this Queen at the time mentioned by me. Indeed, I named no time certain to remove her, but that about the 22nd or 23rd of this month the earl's [Shrewsbury] provision was to end, but that, perhaps, a day or two more might be had, that Tutbury House might be ready; and desired to know the time certain, within a day or two, more or less, that I should remove her. But hereof your next, and her majesty's letters to this Queen, which will be very welcome, will ascertain me. And though I cannot perceive that the earl has given direct order hither, yet I find that Mr. Stringer makes account to "wear out" this month with my lord's provision for this household, though he saith merrily that the fare will be the shorter. But surely I must testify the likelihood of the contrary, to my lord his master's honour and his own commendation. May it please you to deal with his lordship therein, and by that time I trust to have a certain direction for this removal, and to hear of the readiness of Tutbury, to understand of my lord St. John's being there, or near at hand, and that this Queen will be in case to be able [to be] removed, "as surely yet she cannot stay her self on her lefte foote, nor suffer it to be muche lower than her bodye," but is much eased. And other ways I find her now in good case of health.

The earl's consent to lend his plate, already in use with this Queen, will serve that turn well for the time. As for sheets and napery, I will assay, and trust to obtain among the gentlemen and others as much as may serve for the first; but if her majesty's provisions of those kinds may be brought down by the end of this month, it will come in good time. Yet I trust to have some ready there against all events, and have already sent about it.

Against the time of our removal from hence, I mean—following her majesty's pleasure signified by you—to cause to be had in readi-

Elizabeth.
1584. ness forty men of her majesty's tenants about Tutbury to serve as soldiers, and for the watch, according to that direction. And as touching their entertainment, I find upon computation that a "sold" of 8*d.* by the day will be of less charge than to find them and to allow them some convenient yearly wages; as by a note thereof, among other things set down by Mr. Cave, upon conference together, you will find. And therefore I mean to take that course, and to agree so with them.

One other little charge I mean to put her majesty to for an orderly comeliness and some contentment among them. That is, to cause to be brought for every of them a cassock of grey frieze, which I trust her majesty will not mislike. For so has the earl [Shrewsbury] used these soldiers, and the like of a coarse blue for the summer. And as to the lodging of them all in the town, for the easing of her majesty's charges, and to avoid pestering of the house, I take it the provision of their beds will be the only surcharge. Nevertheless, partly to ease that charge, but especially for the more strength within, and also to have some forces at hand without, I trust her majesty will not mislike it if I appoint twenty of them to lodge within, and the other twenty to lodge in the town—the nightly watches to be appointed indifferently in their turns. Notwithstanding, I refer this to her majesty's commandment, which shall be obeyed.

As to moving this Queen's master of household to take order for the disposing elsewhere of the children, I humbly beseech her highness that it may be moved hereafter—if it so please her—when it shall appear how things will fall out between her majesty and this Queen, rather than now, as also that point for her coach horses. And to say my opinion herein, if these children, whereof four or five are young—one born within this fortnight, of the embroiderer Pierre Andry's wife—should be sent abroad, it is most likely that their mothers will go with them, whom this Queen cannot well spare. Namely, Bastian's [Pages] wife, as a necessary person used about her, besides the fathers' frequent resorting to them. And then, if they should live at her majesty's charges abroad—for I cannot believe that this Queen will bear it without an exceeding great misliking, especially at this time—the charges for them would be greater than now that they common together.

I like well the intention to change this coachman, and though I have had no manifest cause to mistrust him, yet have often warned him of his duty and allegiance towards her majesty his sovereign, and put [him] in remembrance of his oath, than any other of all this company.

I have written to Mr. Sheriff of Staffordshire that he send to Tutbury, among other things of my Lord Paget's, all the shot and weapons of that lord's, and committed to Mr. Sheriff's custody. But I fear that the more part, if not all of them, is sold. Whereof, I shall hear shortly from Mr. Cave, who went hence about that business yesterday, having stayed here but one night.

I send you herewith an estimate of a diet for this Queen and her household, and for the nobleman and only forty with him; which, upon conferences together, and upon consideration of the manner of her diet here, wherein Mr. Stringer has given some light, is set down by Mr. Cave, as near as, in my opinion and his skill, may be done. Saving, I think, there will be an abatement on the fish days.

Elizabeth.
1584. My lord's officers are loth to show his household book, where her diet is by itself, as I hear, until they receive his lordship's commandment therein; for which Mr. Stringer has written. In this you shall see a good diversity between the late allowance and this estimate. Yet there are certain things unrated, which also must be had; besides one mess for the gentleman porter, forgotten in this estimate.

I have made this Queen acquainted with her secretary's expected arrival at London on Sunday. His lodging [is to be] provided in my house, and to be defrayed by her majesty; which she took very thankfully, saying that she was well relieved with those good tidings. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I pray you, sir, for God's sake help me home and hasten my Lord St. John hither, for if I tarry long here I shall despair ever to see you or any of my friends there.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 19. **400. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Her majesty being made acquainted with the contents of your letters of the 15th instant, and finding by the same that the Queen, your charge, is yet in very weak state of body by reason of her aches and indisposition of health, has therefore deferred the signing of the two letters to her and to yourself mentioned in my last. Notwithstanding which she purposes to despatch this night or to-morrow, being very loth the said Queen should be used with so little regard as to be removed yet to Tutbury in this case she is, unless she herself shall be so content and like well thereof. And therefore I find her majesty disposed to refer the time of the removing of her to your own discretion, with the good liking of the said Queen, while she shall continue thus indisposed in her health. Her majesty also looks that you should have a special care that by the change of the manner of her charge in keeping the said Queen, the increase and burden of the said charge be no greater than the necessity of her service shall require.

Lord St. John is come to the Court, but has not yet had access to her majesty. There shall be care had of the despatching of him as soon as conveniently may be.

Mons. Nau had his first audience yesterday of her majesty, who seems to rest very well satisfied with the conference she had with him, which moves [him] to have the greater care of the Queen his mistress.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "M[inute] to Sir Rafe Sadler."

Nov. 20. **401. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. My lord of Shrewsbury has now sent me word that the provisions at Wingfield will stretch to the last of this month, during which time her majesty will not, therefore, need to be at any extraordinary charges that way. And afterwards, if that Queen is to be continued longer there, order may be taken with my lord's officers for a further provision in that sort that I have before written to you. Her majesty yet defers signing the two letters. Herewith I send you my lord of Shrewsbury's letter to his servant Stringer for the furnishing of the plate that is desired.

Elizabeth.
1584. Nau desires that the Queen may not be made acquainted with the resolution for the removal until his return, for otherwise he doubts that it will breed such jealousy in her as may work some change in that good resolution she has taken to be altogether—as he protests—at her majesty's devotion.

½ *p.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 22. **402. LINEN FOR THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "A note of suche parcells of lynnen as have bene provided and boughte for the service of the Scottish Quene, xxij° die Novembr 1584."

Inprimis, xxxviij paire of sheetes of fyne canvas conteyninge ccclxxx elles at ijs. the ell, xxxviijli.

Item,—ix paire of sheetes of whited canvas conteyning lxxxx elles at xviijd. the ell, vj^{li}, xv^{s}.

Item,—v paire of sheetes of course whited canvas conteyninge l. elles at xiijd. the ell, liijs. ijd.

Item,—viij paire of sheetes of whited canvas conteyninge lxxx elles at xvjd. ob. the ell, vli. xs.

Item,—xxvj paire of pillowberes conteyninge lij elles of Holland at ijs. vd. the ell, vjli. vs. viijd.

Item,—xj tableclothes of fyne canvas conteyninge xxvj elles di. at ijs. the ell, liijs.

Item,—xij tableclothes of whited canvas conteyninge xxix elles at xvjd. ob. the ell, xxxixs. xd.

Item,—one tableclothe of whited canvas conteyninge two elles di. at ijs. ijd. the ell, vs. vd.

Item,—xxxj elles of Holland made into xij towells at ijs. ijd. the ell, iijli. vijs. ijd.

Item,—xvj dozen of whited napkins at vjs. the dozen, iiijli. xvjs.

Item,—iiij dozen of whited napkins at viijs. the dozen, xxxijs.

Item,—xx buttry clothes and xxx dresser clothes conteyning lxxxij elles of whited canvas at xiijd. the ell, iiijli. viijs. xd.

Item,—vij tableclothes and iiij cupbordclothes of damaske conteyninge xxxiiij yardes at ixs. the yarde, xvli. vjs.

Item,—vj dozen of damaske napkins conteyninge lxxxj yardes iij quarters di. at iiijs. the yarde, xijli. vs. vijd. ob.

Item,—xix yardes j q^{tr} of damaske towellinge at iiijs. the yarde, iijli. xvijs.

Item,—iij yardes di. of broade damaske towellinge at vs. the yarde, xvijs. vjd.

Item,—vij tableclothes and cupbordclothes of diaper conteyninge xxxv yardes at vjs. viij the yarde, xjli. xiijs. iiijd.

Item,—vij dozen napkins and vij towelles conteyninge cxvij yardes iij q^{trs} di. of narrow diaper at ijs. the yarde, xjli. xvs. ixd.

Item,—iiij cupbord clothes conteyninge iiij yardes iij q^{trs} di. of fine broad diaper at ixs. the yarde, xliiijs. xd. ob.

Item,—for sowinge and makinge all the said lynnen, iiijli. xs. vd.

Item,—for washinge all the said lynnen, xxxiiijs. vjd.

Item,—for xxx peeces of fyne Cornish mattes conteyninge xx yardes in every peece at iijd. the yarde, vijli. xs.

Sum is—Cl.li js. jd.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Nov. 23.
C.P., vol. XIV.

403. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

Sir, for answer to your letters of the 17th instant—you have seen before this time with mine of the 19th—after I had conferred with Mr. Cave—the estimate of a new charge for this Queen and attendants, upon the intended charge, the good likelihood that Tutbury house will be ready for her by the end of this month, the continuance of the Earl of Shrewsbury's provisions until that time, and that, as I trusted, this Lady would then be able to be removed thither.

As to a longer continuance of the earl's provision here than to the end of this month, in case this Queen shall not then be able and willing of herself to be removed—which is touched so in your letters of the 19th and 20th instant, brought to me on the 22nd—and that you find her majesty disposed to refer the time of the removing to my discretion with respect to her, whilst she is thus indisposed of health; I have dealt with my lord's officers here. They answer, as of themselves, not knowing his lordship's pleasure, that for "great meates" and such other accates* as this country will yield—and yet they go far for them—shift may be made upon some few days warning, but that it is not so for beer and wine; and that upon my lord's order until the 23rd of this month they made such provision, that it continues, and will do until the end of this month, and have thereto agreed, though they have no very special warrant from his lordship. But they assure that the wine will be then all spent, and that their beer will not exceed two or three days of next month, and dare not proceed to any further provision without his lordship's commandment, which they say would come very late now, especially for beer and wine. And when it was alleged to them that a new provision would serve for his lordship's folk that are to tarry behind, they answered that they had received express commandment to break up house here upon our removing, and all to go to Sheffield, where he has a good number, and to keep but one house. Thus you see, sir, necessity will almost cause a removal hence at the end of this month. But if it should so fall out—as I trust it will not, and would be heartily sorry it should—that through the state of this Queen's foot—for her body is well—she shall not find herself able, or will not willingly remove from hence so soon—for sometimes she says she would be loth to remove hence before Nau's return—in that case you can consider how necessary, and that it were high time to deal with the earl [Shrewsbury] that he may give order hither with speed for some further supply against all events. And as to an increase of his late allowance to be made after this month, his lordship is there with you to be moved and satisfied therein, for his officers will undertake no such thing without his commandment. But if her majesty shall please to give me warrant and leave it to my consideration to remove this Queen to Tutbury, and will so signify it to her by her highness's letters, which she will take very well, as I have written, I mean to have that regard to the time and to this Queen's health and contentment as her majesty shall command, so that I trust it shall be done with the liking of all parties.

If her majesty has not already despatched her letters whereof you make mention, may it please her not to forbear to do it. For I trust

* Victuals.

Elizabeth.
1584. her majesty conceives of my dutiful consideration and respect in this case, as to the importance of the cause and her princely care of this Lady's health belongs. Always provided that here be provision, if need shall so require. And whereas you, with the advice of the Lord Treasurer and Sir Walter Mildmay, advised me by your former to levy forty soldiers of her majesty's tenants about Tutbury to attend upon this charge, which I minded to do, as by mine of the 19th you have seen, now that this of yours says that my Lord St. John shall levy that number in his own country, for the causes by you alleged, and as in my opinion is meet, I mean to deal no further to levy any here, saving some few night watches and ward until my lord comes. And as for the pay and lodging of those forty soldiers, I have also said my opinion therein, but referred it to your considerations there, that her majesty may therein resolve with my Lord St. John.

The earl's [Shrewsbury] letter which came with your last to me, of the 20th, for Mr. Stringer, was only that his plate now in this Queen's use, may so remain for a time by inventory between them.

I recommend to your good remembrance the plate and napery mentioned in yours to be sent to Tutbury by the end of this month; for default whereof—this removal happening shortly—I shall give order that there shall be no great lack for a short time.

My lord's officers also desire to receive his pleasure for the delivery of her majesty's stuff for their discharge. They have sent to bring from Sheffield all that may be thereof found, good and bad. And when it shall be brought, and added to this here, it will appear how the inventory will be answered. The yeoman of my lord's wardrobe who received the whole is dead.

As to your postscript of Nau's desire that this Queen may not be made acquainted with the resolution for her removal until his return, for the causes by him alleged to you, you there are able to judge how the likelihood of the time of his return and the necessity or cause of our stay here can agree together. It may be a device between them, or by himself, without "teaching" to hasten his return the sooner, and by his report to see as much as she may into her majesty's disposition towards her motions, and to herself, and to be ascertained to whose hands she shall be committed, and of the quality and credit of him, whereof she speaks much, and is not a little careful and curious of it, as I have written to you. I have caused to be laid in already at Tutbury 5 tuns of beer and one tun of wine, and wood and coal, and do not doubt but that house will be ready within these two or three days, so far as the stuff appointed to be carried thither from Mr. Sheriff's will serve. By the report made to me of that house and the country about it, for all respects, this Queen will be very much better there than she is here, as, indeed, since, and in, her late sickness she has found fault with her strait lodgings here, and—as she has cause—with the place where, in health, she used to eat; being much annoyed with smoke and scent of meat from the kitchens, one of them being under that room, and cannot be holpen without good cost. Yet they are all the best lodgings of this house, standing together, meet for her and her people. And therefore I doubt not but as soon as she shall be able to set her foot to the ground, she will be content to be removed; and the rather upon the contented advertisement and report which she has received from her secretary, which came with

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1584. your last. Whereat she took such comfort, namely, in that her majesty asked so earnestly of her health, and the care her highness showed to have of it, and so friendly accepting her tokens, "as the teares ran downe by her cheekes for joy, which wer well seene, and that part of his letter read to others hearing." Herewith I send a letter to her majesty from the Queen, which she says is to give her majesty thanks for the great favour she shows her, and care she has for her, which her secretary has faithfully testified by his letter to her. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript in Sadleir's hand.—Here is one with me who would as fain be at home as I, though he say nothing to you, after eleven months absence from his own causes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 24. **404. Monsieur Nau to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, on what it has pleased Mr. Waad [Wadde] to report to me this evening on your part touching my going to-morrow to Monsieur de Mauvissière, I have to beg you, as I do very humbly, to inform me privately how it will please the Queen, my mistress, and you, that I should behave. For, as I have only come here to please her, I do not wish in a thing of so little importance to give her occasion to esteem my sincerity less, and will act therein as commanded. Nevertheless, only being a common visit and ordinary courtesy, in which Mr. Waad will assist, I promise not to go beyond my promise in deeds or words, whereof may One be witness.

I should esteem it a special obligation if it would please you to obtain for me this favour from the said Queen our mistress, who so much more would rely—especially for such indifferent things—on my sincerity, and so oblige me to behave most exactly, as I think to have done up to the present, in things of importance. And I know that it will be a very great pleasure to the Queen my mistress to hear the news of the King her son, the memory of whom is what entertains her most in life. *Signed:* Nau.

½ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

[Nov. 25.] **405. Requests by Monsieur Nau.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "Nau's request unto ye Lords appoynted to confer with him."

(1) To be licensed to repair into Scotland to confer with the King touching such points of the treaty as concern him; and also to advise the King to take sound peaceable course with his subjects. [*In the margin.*] "The ratefieing treatye." "The delyvery of hostages." "The mediatyon for the noblemen." (2) That he may be confronted with the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons touching the slanderous speeches given out against the Queen of Scots.

That Buchanan's book may be prohibited.

That touching the hard conceit the Queen of Scots has of Tutbury Castle, she may not over hastily be conveyed thither.

1 *p. In Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "Nau's requestes to the lordes."

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406. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

Understanding by a letter from Henry Sadleir how friendly you deal for me to relieve me of this charge, I acknowledge myself most bound to you for the same, and shall lack no goodwill to requite your courtesy therein, if it may ever lie in my power. Also, understanding by his said letter that if you should bring it to pass [that] my Lord St. John should come hither to Wingfield and convey this Queen from hence to Tutbury, I have thought good to signify my poor mind to you in that behalf; which is, that I think it will be much more commodious for him, and not incommodious for me, that he should either find her at Tutbury at his coming thither, or else be ready to receive her there when she shall come thither, both for that his journey shall be the shorter by fourteen or fifteen miles of very foul way, and I also shall be so much the nearer home. And besides that, which is the worst, if he do come hither, he shall find here neither meat, drink nor good lodging for himself, nor yet any at all for his folks, nor yet meat nor room for his horses, our provisions here being almost spent, and will, indeed, be at an end within these eight days, if they last so long, having no good means to renew or supply the same, specially for beer and wine, as I have already advertised you. Here is no place of any receipt for my Lord St. John and his train, this house, and the village here, which is little, and very poor, being full with my Lord of Shrewsbury's men and mine, and at this present neither man's meat nor horse-meat to be had in the same. So that I am fain to send my men all about the country here to make my provision for my horses, which I pay well for. Wherefore I think it best that my Lord St. John come directly to Tutbury, where the house will be ready out of hand. Beer and wine, wood and coal [are] already laid in, and Mr. Cave [is] there ready to make all the other provisions upon a very short warning, the country there being a great deal better, more plenteous, and far more able to serve for all manner of provisions than this is.

Also I find this Queen here, being in good health of body, though her foot be so that she cannot well set it to the ground—I will not say it is the gout—yet without any great pain, very willing to remove whensoever she shall understand the Queen's majestys pleasure therein by her majesty's own letters. Marry, she seemeth to be somewhat desirous to stay either until Monsieur Nau shall return to her, or at least until she shall hear from him. But I doubt not to remove her with her very good liking and contentation whensoever it shall please the Queen's majesty to appoint the time, which must needs be within these eight or ten days at the furthest, for I cannot see how we can abide here longer. And unless it be meant that she shall remain still in the custody of the earl [Shrewsbury], I see no cause why she should tarry here any longer. But the sooner she be removed the better, in my poor opinion. There is no cause of stay for respect of health or indisposition of her body, only her foot, as I say, is a little sore, which may be laid on a pillow in her coach "without her disease," as she herself finds no lack in the same, but is, indeed, very willing to remove whensoever it shall please the Queen's majesty to advertise her thereof. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

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407. [WALSINGHAM TO SADLEIR.]

Lord St. John now attends here for his despatch; but as well by reason of the parliament as of the present negotiations with Nau and the Scottish ambassador, and of other weighty causes that are in hand, thinks her majesty will have no time to resolve therein until next week. In the meantime, while Nau desires that his mistress may not be removed until his return, and her majesty is willing to assent thereto, has thought good to give him knowledge thereof to the end he may take order for some provisions to be made for ten or twelve days longer, at her majesty's charges. For the easing thereof he will do well to consider how some of the earl's people may be discharged. Thinks that the estimate sent by him of the increase of charges her majesty will now be at, above the rate allowed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, will greatly hasten the treaty.

Till yesterday Mons. Nau's negotiation was private with her majesty's self, the purpose whereof he thinks chiefly concerned the Countess of Shrewsbury and these causes. Yesterday he [Nau] had conference with some of the Council, to whom he made requests (1) that the treaty might go forward with his mistress: (2) that he might not be removed till the finishing of the treaty, or, at least, till his return: (3) that the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons might openly before the French ambassador, himself, and some of the Council, confess the untruth of the imputations laid to his mistress, which touch her life and honour.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

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C.P., vol. XIV.

408. HOUSEHOLD STUFF SENT TO TUTBURY CASTLE.

"Howshould stuff and other thinges of the late Lo Pagettes sente from Burton and Bewedesert to Tutbury Castell by Tho. Gresley esquier, shiriff of the Com. of Staff., and ther rec. by Briane Cave, appointed therunto by the Lordes of her majesteis Counsaile, xxviij° November 1584. xxvij^mo^ Elizabethe Regine, *etc.*"

Featherbeds, 56. Bolsters, 57. Pillows, 14. Blankets, 35 pairs. Coverlets, 51. Mattresses, 13. Wool beds, 6. Common bedsteads, 20. Standing bedsteads, 8. Pieces of old tapestry, 7. Pieces of new tapestry, 10. Long cushions, 7. Square cushions, 4. Backed chairs, 6. Chairs backed with blue cloth, one with green cloth, and another with black velvet, 4. Silk canopies, 2. Green "say" canopies, 2. Silk quilts, 3. A tester of crimson velvet fringed with silk and gold. Taffetie curtains fringed with gold, 5. Coffers, 3. Square board cloths, 2. Rugs, 4. Joined buffet stools, 18. Buffet stools covered with murray cloth, 10. Buffets of "nildworke," 4. "Caieres" of crimson velvet, 1. Close stools covered with black and green "mockeadoo," 1. "Murrey bourde clothe," long, fringed with green silk, 1. Square "bourdclothe," 1. "Bourdclothes" of green cloth, 2. Short tables, 3. Livery cupboards, 12. Pieces of "dernixe" [darnex], 40. A large "shoulabord" table. Drawing table. Buffet stools covered with Turkey work, 3. Buffets covered with black velvet, 6. Turkey carpets long and short, 2. Iron spits, 18. Iron racks, 2 pairs. "Aundirons," one great pair. "Aund-irons," small pairs, 4. Brass pots, 7. Brass pans, 5. Brass "possen-ettes," 3. "Brundirons," 2. "Iron great bayard." Dripping

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1584. pans, 4. Gridirons great and small, 2. Frying-pan. One great iron grate and two lesser. Pewter vessel pieces, 160. Pewter beer pots, 6. Pewter chamber pots, 8. Pewter basins and ewers, 3. Brasen laver. "Blacke jackes," 6. "Blacke billes," 17. Halberds 23. Calivers, 40. Headpieces to them, 40. Flasks and touchboxes, 80. Field pieces of iron, 16. "Crarges" to them, 13. Cases of "dagges," 10. Barrels of gunpowder, 5. Pewter candlesticks, 32. Pewter pie plates, 10.

1 *long sheet. Indorsed :* "Inventorie of the parcells of the Lord Pagettes stuffe sent to Tudburie for the Scottishe Queene."

Nov. 28. **409. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, not to lose time, I have thought by the articles here inclosed, that I beg you to show to my lords the Great Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester to make up for the little leisure that I had yesterday, for making known to them privately, and to you, the special offers of the Queen my mistress for her liberty ; which I am sure that they and you will find so advantageous and reasonable that nothing can be added thereto. I await their good pleasure to examine them more exactly, and to clear away all difficulties and objections which could be alleged on the same. And, however, I beg you to obtain for me without more delay, audience of the Queen your mistress, having, besides, several things which remain for me to inform her of my first negotiation, new occasion to speak to her on the first despatch that I have received from the Queen my mistress with letters on her part to present her. *Signed :* Nau.

½ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Nov. 28. **410. ARTICLES PRESENTED BY MONS. NAU ON BEHALF OF MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIV.

The Queen of Scots being once assured of the Queen of England's friendship will declare publicly that she will adhere strictly to her good sister and bear her respect before all Kings and Princes of Christendom. Will declare a sincere amnesty for all wrongs done her in England. Will recognise her good sister as lawful Queen. Will renounce her own rights to the crown of England. Will revoke all acts of pretension heretofore done by her to the crown of England or to the prejudice of the Queen of England. Will renounce the Pope's bull in so far as it can be interpreted in her favour. Will not pursue during her good sister's life any public declaration of her right in the succession of England, *etc.* Will not practise with any subjects of England anything tending to foreign or civil war against England. Will not support the Queen of England's declared rebels or those convicted of treason against her. Will enter into the association shown her at Wingfield. Will not enter into treaty with foreign Kings and Princes for war or trouble against England. Will take part with the Queen her good sister in case of civil war in England, and assist her with all her forces. Will enter into a league defensive with her good sister. Will enter into a league offensive, provided she has good assurance and secret recognition of her right in the succession of the crown of England. Offers herself as hostage. Will

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1584. not leave England without her good sister's licence. On returning to Scotland she will promise to change nothing in the established religion. Will grant general oblivion for all offences done against her in Scotland. Will travail for a general reconciliation between the nobility of Scotland. Will do her best to content the Queen her good sister by showing favour to the banished Scottish lords in England. Will not proceed to her son's marriage without her good sister's advice. Her son to join with her in this treaty. Hopes the King of France will intervene and assist her as surety for her promises. All the Princes of the house of Lorraine will bind themselves in the treaty. She will try to obtain the same from other Kings and Princes. Requests a brief answer and final conclusion with regard to all this.

1¾ *pp. French. Indorsed:* "Articles propownded by Monsieur Nau." (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 59.*)

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 180. Another copy of the same.

Nov. 29. **411. Sir John Foster to Walsingham.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 208 b. The laird of Farnihurst, Warden and Keeper of Liddesdale, is presently to come at Jedworth with 100 footmen and 50 horsemen, and his son has gotten very liberal entertainment of the King forth of the abbacy of Dunfermline and other places.

The said laird has taken upon him to answer for the whole Middle Marches of Scotland and Liddesdale, as well for former attempts as such as are lately committed. At first he refused answer for any but attempts lately committed, but now he thinks they [the English] are as far forth as they. He has taken upon him to answer for all. How he will execute it, he knows not.

He is in such fear upon entering into his office, that he has requested the King that the Laird of Cesford's men and other surnames in East Tynedale should lay in pledges to the King that they should not only attend upon him to the days of truce for service of the King, as they were wont to do, but also into London and other places for such services and occasions as he shall have to do, otherwise than they have been accustomed; which they have utterly refused to do, and say they will never be bound to such services, but will rather leave Scotland; so that there is great variance and contention like to grow amongst them. What it will draw unto, I know not.

He has not only demanded the rolls of Menteith, the Warden's clerk, but will have him to supply that room still, and to be clerk unto him; which he has refused to do, and says he will rather refuse the realm of Scotland, than serve any but his old master the Laird of Cesford, and is charged to enter unto Farnihurst within certain days, or else to be put to the horn.

There is such a sudden fear come upon the Earl of Arran, that there are 60 men appointed to watch every night at Edinburgh Castle, 60 men in the steeple, and 400 men of Edinburgh to guard his person in the palace every night, which makes such grudging in the town as there was never the like.

He has removed his lodging about Tuesday last from the accustomed place where he was wont to lie in the castle of Edinburgh, and came to the King and requested that he might have a bed in his own

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1584. chamber, which he utterly denied, but granted him the Chancellor's lodging. But he said he durst not lie there for fear, but has gotten him a lodging at the highest part of the palace, where the King lies, and keeps house in the said Chancellor's house, and dines and sups there, and lies in the King's lodging at night.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *No indorsement.*

[Nov.] **412. PROPOSED TREATY WITH THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "The manner of proceedinge."

The articles to be sent to Sir Ralph Sadleir to be communicated to the Scottish Queen.

In case she shall dislike any of the said articles, or shall desire alteration in some points, she shall declare to Mr. Sadleir the causes of her misliking. And if he cannot satisfy her therein, that she be permitted to send Nau to the Queen of England to acquaint her with the causes of her dislike and wherein she shall desire amendment.

The articles being agreed on upon conference with Nau, then may Sir Walter Mildmay, at the time of the Earl of Shrewsbury's return, repair to Wingfield, and then proceed to the final conclusion of the said treaty.

½ *p.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. **413. CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING MARY.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 192. Courses which may be adopted with the said Queen are. 1. To keep her in her present state of custody. 2. To restrain her from the liberty she now has. 3. To set her at liberty upon caution.

Touching the first, it is to be considered that the princes now favouring her are moved with commiseration on her complaints that she is hardly used, and their pity is increased on her acquainting them that her reasonable offers had been refused. It is also likely that the Queen, upon this refusal, will continue her schemes to acquire the English throne, according to her pretended title, underhand. Therefore this scheme cannot be approved.

Touching the second, which might prove profitable if the Scottish King were as devoted to her majesty as formerly, and if he were not likely both for release of his mother and the advancement of his own title to this realm, to attempt something against her majesty, such a course would breed the following inconveniences :—1. Increase of offence in him and the other princes who disapprove of her restraint. 2. Give them just cause to take means of redress. 3. Cause some desperate person to attempt somewhat against her majesty's own person.

Touching the last course, to set the Scottish Queen at liberty, whether in this realm or in her own country, it is to be considered that the title pretended by her to the throne is now grown in the son, who being unmarried, and a man, becomes a more dangerous enemy, unless fear for his mother's peril restrain him from action. Also, her release may encourage the papists both at home and abroad, though provision may be made by parliament to cause them more discomfort than otherwise.

With due consideration there is good cause of hope that this course should breed benefit rather than peril.

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1584. Considerations as to the manner of her liberty. 1. Whether she shall be confined with some limitation in the realm, considering how infected the country round already is in religion. 2. Whether abroad, without limitation in Scotland or France, that she may be at hand to advise in furtherance of such practices as will stir up trouble in this realm.

By the latter course the foreign princes, especially the French King, who had acted as mediator on behalf of the Scottish Queen, would be in honour unable to take further part with her, and the Scottish nobles by such an act be brought to stay any action which might tend to the disturbance of this realm.

5½ *pp.*

[Nov.] **414. THE PROPOSED TREATY WITH MARY.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 189. Reasons to induce her majesty to proceed therein.

1. That the late plots tending to trouble in this realm have grown from the Scottish Queen's ministers and favourers, not without her allowance and seeking.

2. That the means used by her ministers to induce princes to listen to those plots have been grounded on commiseration of her restraint.

3. That the failure of the plots is owing to those princes having been engaged in home and domestic troubles.

4. Lest something may be attempted in her favour, now those realms are quiet.

5. Lest her "fawtors" attempt something to the peril of her majesty.

6. That for the prevention of the above, it would be advisable to finish the treaty not long since begun, between her and the said Queen.

1 *p.* *In Walsingham's hand.*

Nov. **415. OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 184. [*In the margin*]—Under Sec. Walsingham's hand.

1. She is ambitious, and ill affected to her majesty, to whom her liberty would bring peril.

2. Her release would give comfort to Papists and others ill affected, and advance the opinion had of her title as successor.

3. As long as she is in her majesty's custody, she may act as a gauge of her majesty's safety, for her friends will attempt nothing to her majesty's offence for fear of the danger she may be thrown into.

Other objections with their answers.

1. Her majesty has treasure.

Treasure is the principal part of defence in war in states that have forts and castles to serve as places of retreat. In a kingdom void of such places, a prince hazards his fortune before he can use any great portion of his treasure.

2. Her majesty has many subjects.

The strength of princes consists not in the number, but the soundness of his subjects.

3. They [the subjects] are better armed than before.

It is true they are well armed, but never have they been less skilled

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1584. in the use of their weapons. It were dangerous to draw men to the use of their weapons before they are skilled to use them.

4. They are trained and ready to enter the field more than at any other time.

It is true, but they have never seen the enemy, and their captains are void of experience. How to supply that want is the difficulty.

2 *pp. Copy.*

[Nov.] Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 203.

416. Letter sent by James VI. to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh to be signed.

"The Copie of a lettre sent by the King to the Provost and Baylifes of Edinburgh, to be signed and sent to their ministers, *etc.*"

We have received and read your letter; for the which offence we have humbly craved pardon of his majesty, who has not only of his great clemency granted the same unto us, but has also permitted us to write you this present [letter] to use you more charitably and honestly than you have used us. We mean—yet remitting to learned men and to your own consciences to show you "so" you are not blinded with ignorance or lack of learning—at least some of you—how far you have slidden from the right way in your last letter written to us, by irreverently alleging and affirming that his highness's late Acts of Parliament have no ground or warrant of the Word of God, but, on the contrary, are directly opposite and repugnant thereto: remitting, we say, the same to be impugned by the learned, they consent fully and satisfy us. Seeing we can find no part of the Scriptures and Word of God plainly repugnant thereto, and also in respect that the first Act of Parliament ratifies and allows the liberty of the preaching of the Word and religion presently professed within this realm, and administration of the Sacraments, and seeing they were also concluded by the States, amongst whom there are both God-serving and learned, and wiser than you are—it contents us therefore to follow St. Paul in the xiiith of the Epistle to the Romans, the meaning whereof you have seldom to exhort us to follow. To return then to our purpose, you have not only contemptuously and irreverently slandered the good and necessary laws established by his majesty and Estates in Parliament, slandered his Council and present estate, exhorting all men to the misliking of the same, fled from his realm unchallenged or pursued, thereby making "bothe" guilty consciences, but also misbehaved yourselves in particular towards your late flock. First leaving us without knowledge, against your duties and conditions made with us, thereby putting his majesty in suspicion of our foreknowledge of the same. Next, in making us offend his majesty in the receiving and reading of your slanderous letter, you now having made yourselves his fugitives and rebels. Wherefore, and in respect of the foresaid causes, willing to use you—as we said before—more charitably and honestly than you have us, we therefore, by these presents discharge ourselves to you, esteeming ourselves no longer your flock, nor you any longer our pastors, thanking God, the revealer of the secret thoughts of all hearts, that he has also made you manifest to your shame, and to the relieving us of wolves in place of pastors. Thus hoping his majesty will provide us with good

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1584. and gentle spiritual pastors, we commit you to God's mercy; who make you, in shaming for your foresaid offences, unfeignedly repent.

1½ *pp. Copy.*

Nov. **417. ELIZABETH TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Has relieved the Earl of Shrewsbury of the charge of the Scottish Queen, in consideration of his decayed health and weak state of body. Makes special choice of him to supply his place for a time in that charge. Is to proceed to the removing of the Queen of Scots to Tutbury Castle, according to such direction as, by her order, he has received from her Principal Secretary for that purpose, at such time as the house being in readiness to receive her, he shall in his own discretion think convenient. Is to call to him the sheriff and such other gentlemen of the county of Derby as he shall think meet. Will, with as convenient speed as may be, despatch thither Lord St. John, of whom she has made special choice to take that charge upon him. Is to order the removal so that it may not be dangerous or prejudicial to her health. Manor of St. James.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Draft of the same.

[Nov.] **418. NOTES PRESENTED BY THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

"The notes presentit be Patryk Maister of Gray ambassatour for ye Kingis majestie of Scotland in the realme of Ingland drawin furth of his generall instructionis and gevin to Schir Frances Wolsinghame, principall secretarie to hir majestie to be advysit upoun be quhome it sall please hir hienes to appoint."

Item:—these frequent incursions, "reasing" of fire, and unaccustomed riding of the wardens of England with "sogroris" and men under pay, in hostile manner, within the bounds of Scotland, have caused the inhabitants of both the realms on the frontiers rather to look for further hostility and open invasion than maintenance of quietness. If it shall be her majesty's pleasure to entertain the happy peace, it appears to be expedient that this apprehension should be removed forth of the subjects' minds with speed before it produces any further inconvenience.

Secondly; great spoils of merchants, who continually cry to the King and Council to be helped to the restitution of their goods, otherwise to be licensed to take so much as they have lost—"quhilk gyf he suld permit wold wythin schort tyme gener confusioun and forther inconvenient"—has moved the King to earnestly desire that some speedy order may be given for avoiding of all further inconvenience in time to come, and that the goods taken may be restored. Whatsoever good order shall be given within her majesty's dominions for "remeding" of the premises, the like shall be performed in Scotland.

"Thridlie, the resaving of certane declarit rebellis aganis the King my maisteris authoritic, fugitives from the lawis of Scotland wythin this realme, and interteneing of thame so neir unto the fronteris, contrarie to the traictie of peace, joynit also to the foresaidis disordres, hes gevin occasioun to the King my maister and his counsall to dowt gyf thay sall luike for happie quyetnes or forther hostilite."

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Fourthly; since his departure from Scotland such attempts have been committed on the Borders by her majesty's officers, that "it hethe so confirmit evill, men in ewill opinionis and so woundit the myndis of the best sort that they can nocht imagine quhat salbe the end."

Item:—his abode here has been longer than he "luiket for," and if any further time should be "protractit" for treating of every particular matter, it would be more than the King his master—who lately has commanded him to return with speed—would well like of. Therefore he has "takin occasioun and boldnes" for furthering of his returning, and to make overture of these equitable remedies following, which he craves may be presently performed or "other wayis" answered with reason and equity. Promising also that whatsoever good order shall be devised and performed here for the accomplishment hereof, shall have "the lyk correspondence in Scotland." Craves that this his too great boldness may be accepted in good part.

The remedies.

First, for removing of all jealousy or suspicion of war from the minds of the people of both the realms, it appears to be expedient that a proclamation should be set forth certifying the subjects of the good "intelligence" betwixt the Princes, and of their mutual good meaning for entertaining of peace and quietness betwixt them and their realms.

(2) That commandment may be given in both the realms that the wardens of all the Marches may meet with convenient speed to give justice to all complainers.

(3) That the subjects may remain in full hope to receive effectual justice for all "attemptatis" that have been committed heretofore, it appears to be expedient that a certain time should be appointed for meeting of commissioners, having full power to administer justice to all people and inhabitants, upon whatsoever injustice they shall have occasion to complain.

(4) As the "specialiteis" of this general order appear to produce good effects on the Borders, so it appears to be convenient that some good order may be provided for the staying of piracy, "quhilk appeireth may be provydeth be gevin of ordour that in all the portis and hevenis of boith the realms no schip selbe suffereth to depart onles thay sall geve cautione that all freindis and confederatis sall remane indamnifeit, and this cautione so fund to be anserable to all parteis interessit in kace of contraventioun: and in lyk maner quho soever favouris, supportis or assisteth to any pyrate—quhilk or amongis all nationis reputat *hostes publici*—sall incur ye lyk pane as the pyrat suld have done alsweill in restitutioun of goodis as punischement of body."

Item:—for "attemptatis, raptis be see," and spoliation committed in times past "induringe" the minority of his sovereign, and to this time, which "are growin," by continuance of evil doing and long suspense without payment or punishment, to large sums of money, he has power to "bring the hole to ane ressonable compositioun of sum speciall sowme, quhilk may be payit be sum spedie ordour to be devysit and thairefter recoverit be the ordour of fynis sett down be hir majestie for that effect."

(5) Seeing that by no persuasion can he move her majesty at this

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1584. time to make delivery of the rebels and fugitives "foresaidis," according to the treaty of peace, it appears, for some satisfaction of the King's suit, to be expedient that her majesty should remove them presently from the Borders, not only to avoid trafficking against his majesty's estate and person, but also "to seclude all apperent suspitioun yerof, quhairby the King my maister may remane in howpe to move her majestie to considder better heirof at sum tyme heirefter."

Lastly, it appears that the King of Scots would "receave better contentment" from her majesty's proceedings if he should be satisfied by solid reasons upon what ground this "inusitat form of doing" and hostile invasion that has been committed on the Borders, within Liddisdale, since his departure, proceeds. The manner thereof may be understood by this complaint presented to the Council of Scotland by Martin Elwat, a copy whereof he sends with this.

Item:—he "recommends" to his honour's memory the "notes" given to Mr. William Davison concerning offences alleged to have been committed by Lord Scrope, warden of the West Marches, or at his command, upon the inhabitants of the West Marches of Scotland.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Indorsed:* "The Master of Gray's requestes."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII. fol. 210. Copy of the same.

[Nov.] **419. Demands by the Master of Gray.**

(1) That commandment be given to Lord Scrope to make redress for all Scottish bills, seeking only redress of goods for two years past, and especially the bill of Montbihurst, letting the redress of blood and fire rest till the order of commissioners; and that he forbear to urge the Scottish warden with the "entrie" of principal offenders, but receive his clerk, officer or other servant, upon his promise to make "the persons entered worth the somme," while diligence may be done for apprehension of the principal offender, or otherwise by payment of the bill.

(2) That the Bellasses [Bellies] and Carlisles, fugitives presently in England, may be delivered to the Laird of Johnstone or expelled her majesty's realm.

(3) That commandment be given to Lord Scrope to assist the opposite warden in pursuit and punishment of the rebels and fugitives of the Borders by apprehension of their persons or demolishing of their houses, and to forbid that any such person be received within her majesty's realm.

(4) That order may be taken for amending the last offence done in burning the warden's own house, slaying of his servants, and taking of some prisoners.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Propounded by y^{e} ambassadour of Scotland."

[Nov.] **420. Propositions and Requests by the Master of Gray.**

As concerning the article "craifving" the restitution of goods taken by English pirates, which is founded upon certain decrees obtained and probation "deducet" before competent judges of this realm, it is certain that among all nations pirates are reputed *hostes*

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1584. *publici*, and therefore should be punished accordingly, if they can be "comprehendit," and the goods "spoilzeit" by them, wheresoever found, should be restored; which her majesty has not only performed to the subjects of Scotland, but also of her own proper goods has bountifully, without any "probation deducit" or any form of proceeding by order of justice used, caused satisfaction to be made to divers inhabitants of that realm. And if any subjects of that realm shall have occasion to complain of any injustice, upon special information given thereof, equitable order shall be given for their satisfaction, according to justice.

As concerning any "decrettis" alleged [to have been] obtained, and not satisfied; if any such shall be produced against any special persons, the "saidis" [the producer] shall have full execution against all such persons as are contained therein, [and] their whole goods and possessions [shall be] made "stringzeable" to the parties or their lawful factors, "obteneris" of the decree, and their bodies made punishable, if they may be "comprehendit."

Albeit no further can be "craifit" by any order of justice than is contained in this foresaid answer, yet her majesty, upon special consideration moving her for relieving the subjects of that country who have been troubled by pirates, has given special order that [a] certain fine or taxation should be levied of her own proper subjects, whereby divers "compleneris" of that realm have already been relieved. Which good order her majesty, at the desire of the said Master, shall cause [to] be continued "wytht expedition possible," and whatsoever sum shall be recovered by her shall be "disponit" to such distressed persons as shall be recommended by the said Patrick [Master of Gray], and to no others. The Queen of England craves that the like justice may be done to the subjects of England spoiled by the Scottish pirates, "quhar of ther is grett number compleingzearis.'"

As touching the reception of such as the said ambassador terms "declarit rebaldis and traytoris," for removing all jealousies from the King of Scotland's mind, such order shall be given that with all speed they shall be "retirit" so far within England that all suspicion shall be avoided, there to remain till such time as further order may be taken thereanent.

As touching Martin Ellett's late complaint, the wardens of the Marches, without her majesty's knowledge or advice of her Council, constrained through necessity to remedy divers insolences committed on the subjects of England by the said Martin, who is a great "author," and maintainer of disordered persons, assembled in no such great power as is alleged, and sought the said Martin at his own house, where no great harm is done; and if any extraordinary hurt or scaith be committed, the commissioners who shall be ordained to meet may have power to take order thereanent according to the laws of the Borders.

1⅓ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Certain propositions and requests of y Mr of Gray."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 212 b. Copy of the same.

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421. Answer of the Lords of the Council to the Master of Gray.

"The Lords of the Counsells awnswer to certaine notes propounded by the Master of Gray, ambassadour for the King of Scotts."

The Queen of England has commanded that present order shall be given to the wardens for the stay of all attempts and incursions to be hereafter made upon any of the said King's subjects inhabiting on the Borders, in hope that the King, as his ambassador has promised, will take the like order for the opposite Borders of Scotland. If the wardens of Scotland had, according to the offers made by her majesty, undertaken to have yielded satisfaction for such spoils as were oftentimes orderly demanded according to the treaties, these late incursions and spoils done in hostile sort had not been committed. For avoiding whereof in time to come, her majesty has willed that her wardens shall meet more frequently with the wardens of Scotland than of late years they have done, though, indeed, by the default of the wardens of Scotland, with express commandment to yield satisfaction for such spoils and attempts as have [been], and shall be hereafter committed. She also assents that such causes as cannot conveniently receive ordinary redress by the wardens shall be referred over to be heard and determined by especial commissioners to be chosen by both their majesties.

For removing the jealousy that is conceived, by the ambassador's report, by the subjects of both realms, through late incursions and spoils that have been on both sides, and no redress yielded by ordinary justice, that this hard and violent course may not in the end break out into some public and open hostility, her majesty will cause it out of hand to be notified to her subjects on the Borders, by proclamation, how desirous she is that the good amity between the King and her shall continue; and lest there should grow any interruption thereof by the particular revenges that are daily taken, which cannot otherwise be avoided, that her and the King's meaning is, that by more frequent meeting of the wardens than of late years has been, there may be redress made according to ordinary course of justice, agreeable with the treaties.

Touching the spoils of late years said to be committed by sea upon the King of Scots' subjects by certain English pirates, the Queen of England has always offered [to perform], as also performed, on her behalf, the ordinary course of justice against such as have committed spoils, and also caused restitution of such goods as have been duly proved to appertain to any of the King's subjects, wheresoever they have been found; which is as much as any Prince is bound to perform by the law of nations. Yet to make her goodwill more apparent to the King and his subjects, she has not only extended an extraordinary favour to the King's subjects above all other Princes' subjects, her neighbours, by yielding to them towards their satisfaction the benefit of all such mulcts and fines as have been generally imposed on aiders and abettors of pirates, but has also extended her liberality to divers [people] of Scotland who have been recommended to her by the King in respect of such losses, as by ordinary course of justice is required. As touching such others as have made due proof before the ordinary judge of England for marine causes of such losses as they

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1584. have sustained, and have not yet received any satisfaction, there shall be order given that such persons as by the same proofs shall be any way found culpable shall yield satisfaction so far forth as may stand with the laws of this realm. And although no further matter may be "craved" at her majesty's hands by any order of justice than is contained in the said answer, yet her majesty, for the special care she has to gratify the King, is pleased to continue the "employing" of the benefit of the said mulcts and fines imposed upon delinquents, that otherwise should "grow" to her own coffers, upon such of the said subjects as shall be recommended to her from time to time by the said ambassador, in hope that he will procure the like justice to be done to the subjects of England who have been lately spoiled by Scottish pirates, as by a note thereof delivered to him may appear.

Touching the request for orders to be given in the ports for stay of pirates, her majesty has already had, and also will hereafter have care to have such order kept as is desired.

Touching the reception of such as the ambassador terms declared rebels and traitors, a matter he has above all others so vehemently prosecuted, her majesty protests that if she thought them guilty of any intent to attempt anything against the King's own person, she would not only have forborne to have suffered them to come within her dominions, but would have proceeded against them with all severity, as against such as should have sought to attempt anything against her own person. But being persuaded, as she is in her own conscience, that the matter wherewith the King charges them has proceeded only from particular quarrels and feuds between them and other subjects in Scotland, a thing that has commonly fallen out in the minority of young Kings, when for lack of absolute authority subjects enter into their particular revenges, not submitting themselves to ordinary course of justice, she will give present order for their removal from thence to some such place as shall "avoid" all suspicion, where they shall be also advised to remain in quiet sort till such time as her majesty shall understand the King's further meaning touching the said lords.

Touching Martin Elwood's late information, the act whereof he complains has been done by the wardens of the West and Middle Marches, without either direction or privity of her majesty or of her Privy Council—yet the said wardens, upon some doubt conceived that some information would be given against them, have offered to justify their doings, as constrained thereto of necessity through divers spoils committed on her subjects within her several wardenries by the said Martin and his associates, being a principal maintainer of all disordered persons, whereof no redress could be obtained, though the same was demanded—notwithstanding, she is content that at the intended meeting of the commissioners the attempts now complained of shall be examined and ordered by them.

3 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Awnswere to the M^r^ of Grayes notes by my ll. of Councel. December 1584."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 211 b. Copy of the same.

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422. MESSAGE TO THE KING OF SCOTS FROM ELIZABETH.

"The heades of A. B. his message to be delivered to the Scott. King."

The non-performance of sundry things of late time promised to her, the strange usage of her late ambassador sent to restore things to a perfect state of amity, and the continuance of hard measure to such of his own subjects as are known to stand well affected to the mutual amity had wrought in her a resolution to forbear to have any further dealing with the King, but to wish him well.

Notwithstanding her majesty being made privy to the late offers made by the King and the Earl of Arran, and through such persuasions as were used by the Lord Governor of Berwick [Hunsdon], was won—though with great difficulty—to give ear to the same, and to make some trial whether there will be better performance of these offers than of the former, and so was determined that the Governor should have gone to Berwick to pursue the said offers to some good effect. But having very lately seen the copy of a proclamation set forth, dated 24th October, by which it appears that the King continues his former resolution to prosecute, partly by warding and partly by banishment, such as have been noted to be affected to the mutual amity and the maintenance of religion, her majesty is "at a staye" from proceeding further, seeing no reason to hope for any better effects of these new assurances and offers than of the former, especially considering the repugnancy of the contents of this last proclamation to the offers made by Lord Hunsdon.

If the King could make it apparent—as by his speeches to "Mr. Robert" [Sir George] Carey he said he could—that the said parties now prosecuted had any purpose or intent to attempt anything to the prejudice of his person or the danger of his estate, her majesty would be found so far from entreating for them that none should be more ready than herself to assist the King in the prosecution of them.

As well for the satisfying of the world as the justifying of his own actions, it had been very meet for him to have made these conspiracies known, if there had been any such matter, before any such hard prosecution against them; wherein it is seen that the livings and possessions are rather sought for private men's benefit and revenge for their particular quarrels, than the persons justly touched for their faults; yet the matter [is] so cunningly handled by ministers, that the King, not hearing the parties slandered, may be induced to think much true that is said of them in their absence.

She is sorry that the counsel she gave him, to beware of such indirect practices as young Princes' governments are most commonly subject to at their first entry, has been accompanied with so little fruit; which, in the end, cannot but work peril to his person and some dangerous alteration in his estate if he shall not in season take some more temperate course, according to the advice that she has heretofore in vain given him.

Whereas now he stands in his own realm upon his guard—a thing that sounds greatly to his dishonour—she will undertake, by God's assistance, in case he shall follow her advice, that he shall be sure to live in as great quiet as ever any of his predecessors have done.

Touching the conceit that is bred in him, that her majesty should seek to unite the Hamiltons and Douglases to his prejudice, [this] is

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1584. but a device of those who would be glad to enrich themselves with the spoil of those two houses.

Her majesty never sought the restoring of them to any other end but for the strengthening and quieting of his estate. And as touching the Hamiltons—if the memorial delivered to Colonel Stewart and Colvile be viewed—it shall be found that her majesty, understanding the jealousy the King had conceived of Lord Claud Hamilton and the Lord of Arbroath, desired, for the King's better contentment—in case there were any such scruple in him—that they might enjoy their livings abroad out of his realm.

She cannot in reason think that he makes any account of her so long as he deals so severely with those who have been instruments to nourish good amity between them, and if he shall alter that course and follow her advice, who does not stand partially affected to any subject of his, he shall be assured—all former unkindness removed—to receive such fruits of her friendship as shall be to the comfort of himself and his whole realm.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 173. 2 *pp.* *Indorsed.*
Copy of the same.

Dec. 1. **423.** ARTICLES DELIVERED BY MONSIEUR NAU.

C.P., vol. XIV. [*A similar document to No. 425, in English.*]
[*The following is written at the head*] :
" My Lordes, having not had yesterdaie time but to awnswere to certaine pointes, whearin it pleased your honours to enter, and not to sett downe divers other particularities of that which I had an intencion to lett you understand, I have thowght good to present unto you hearebie the whole in articles, to thend that of the whole together it might receive a short and finall resolucion."

6¼ *pp.* *In Nau's hand.* *Indorsed by Burghley :* " The sum of certen articles delyvred by Du Nau."

[Dec. 1.] **424.** ARTICLES PRESENTED BY MONSIEUR NAU.

C.P., vol. XIV. [*A similar document to Nos. 423 and 425.*]
[*The following is written at the head*] :
" Right honorable, forasmuche as I had no more tyme yesterdaie then to delyver myne aunswer unto certen pointes wherof yt pleasid your honours to conferre with me, so as I could not make knowne to youe dyvers other particularityes which I meant to imparte unto youe, I have therfore thought good to set downe all before you in articles to thend I maie accordingly receave a speedye and fynall resulucion uppon the whole."

4½ *pp.* *Indorsed.* *Notes in the margin.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

[Dec. 1.] **425.** " REQUESTS BY MONSIEUR NAU."

C.P., vol. XIV. " Instances particulieres a la Royne d'Angleterre de la part de la Royne d'Escosse."

(1) In consideration of the offers so advantageous that the Queen of Scots has made you, having even remitted to your majesty and the honourable lords of your Council to add what would be with her

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1584. honour and surety and that of the King her son, to your entire satisfaction, and having promised to stop on her part all occasions and grounds of objection to her captivity—as the taking and style of the arms of this crown and such other things. May it please your majesty to give her assurance of her liberty at the end of sixteen years from a very long and wearisome imprisonment, at least conditionally, on the performance on her part of her said offers, and what more it may please you to propose.

2. To declare also what liberty it is the intention of your majesty to grant her, whether within or without this kingdom, having left it to your choice and will. And in what time commissaries will be, or could be sent to her to come to a brief and final conclusion. As also in what way your majesty intends to proceed with her and the King her son—together or separately.

3. However, that there may be nothing changed or altered in her guard and residence for the so little time that the said treaty can last, if your majesty intends entering into it, seeing especially that the season of the year and the great and continual indisposition of the said Queen of Scots will not allow of any removal without great and imminent danger to her life.

4. I beg your majesty very humbly to permit me to speak to the Master of Gray, ambassador of the King of Scotland, to know the intention of the said King his master on these three points. That is to say, whether he refuses absolutely association between the Queen his mother and him. (2) If he refuses and declares that he will not on any condition whatever. (3) How he wishes to proceed in this treaty with your majesty, either together with the Queen his mother, as she desires, or separately. And in case my conference with the Master of Gray may not be agreable to your majesty, that I may, by some other way that may seem good to you, have his reply to the three points above written.

5. To make clear the contents of the above article and all other difficulties which could hinder the union of the Queen my mistress and the King her son in this treaty, the foundation and principal surety of which she thinks depends on this ;—that your majesty will permit her to send someone promptly to the King her son with someone on your part, and Monsieur de Mauvissière ambassador of the most Christian King, to, on the whole, impart to him in common the advice and good counsels of your majesties.

6. And immediately the Queen my mistress can send to the said King her son the letter of which the minute has been communicated to your majesty, as also that in future she may write to him from time to time by means of Sir Ralph Sadler and Mr. Sommar direct from Wingfield to Berwick for greater speed. And to this effect may there be given commandment to the said Sadler and Sommar to take and establish order for this regard.

7. Moreover, that it may please your majesty, according to your customary prudence, to moderate the two points which have been proposed to me by gentlemen of your Council, which it will be convenient to pass in secret articles. First, touching the declaration and acknowledgment to the replies of my articles. Secondly, touching the Pope's bull, to which the Queen my mistress with her honour—" sine quo ne salus quidem optanda "—can as sincerely as she desires

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1584. satisfy your majesty. And that bringing her a certain resolution of all the points proposed by me in her name to your majesty, the conclusion may be arrived at shortly, without any longer delay, which can only bring new difficulties, as has happened these past years.

8. In case, the treaty failing, your majesty should wish to change her to a different guardian and residence, she begs you that she may know beforehand to what lord your majesty intends to give her over, and with what order in all respects. Not that she does not trust in the honourable care that you show that you have for her; but only that she can on the whole make her remonstrances such as she hopes you will find reasonable. And likewise she requests that it may please your majesty to assure her by letters in your own hand of the preservation of her life while in the hands of the lord that your majesty will appoint for her guardian, not being able otherwise to feel safe (whoever he may be), wishing to rely on your faith and word only.

9. However, that exercise necessary for the recovery and preservation of her health may be granted her in certain limits—as eight or ten miles round her residence. And that this may be signified by express letters to Sadler and Sommar.

10. Moreover, for her consolation in the extremity in which she sees herself daily, private and secret exercise of her religion may be allowed her. And in consideration of her almost continual illness, needing much attendance, especially in her room, that she may have near her two women and two "varletes de chambre," with some gentleman to serve her at table. Besides, so that she may be accompanied by some of her ladies and attendants when she takes the air—which she can no longer do except on horse back—that ten or twelve horses of suite may be granted her with grooms and her ordinary coachman.

Before my departure let there proceed the declaration of the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two sons, signed with their own hands, to clear themselves from these villainous, false, and scandalous rumours spread against the Queen my mistress. And likewise that Buchanan's history may be stopped, as very defamatory to both nations of this island.

Finally, that in future it may please your majesty to impart to the said Queen my mistress what is reported to you of her behaviour towards you, so that if your majesty should take any sinister opinion thereof she could make it clear to you with all sincerity, and to your contentment.

2½ *pp. French. Indorsed:* "M. Nau's particular requests to her majesty in the behalf of the queene his mistress." *Notes in the margin.*

[Dec.] **426. ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BY MONSIEUR NAU, WITH THE ANSWERS THERETO.**

C. P., vol. XIV.

[*The articles are similar to those set out in No. 425. The answers are as follows:*]

"The answeare by way of postill unto the articles exhibited by Le Sieur de Nau, Secretary unto the Scottishe Queene."

(1) The Queen of England accepts the offer very thankfully. Touching the condition annexed to the same, that is, "to be assured of her majesty's friendship," whereby is intended her liberty—as by

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1584. the said secretary is explained—her majesty, after she shall understand the said Queen's allowance of the answers made to the said articles, will take such order for her liberty as she in reason shall have cause to rest satisfied with.

(2) It would be converted directly to a contrary sense. For, seeing the said Queen pretends to be desirous of the Queen of England's amity, and for that makes offer of sundry things tending to content the Queen of England, and to give cause that probably she will observe all her offers and promises, the order and proceeding herein would be such as might yield as well to the world abroad as to her majesty some manifest satisfaction for all such doubts as may arise from this new kind of treaty, now renewed by the Queen of Scots after so many years of her continuance in this realm—therefore, it were convenient that the Queen of Scots should by her own writing—" so as her hart also shall consent thereto "—declare that she " doth consider with her selfe by revolving in her mynde, first, howe long shee hath tarryed within this realme deteyned from full libertie ; howe many meanes shee hath used both openly and secreatly both to other forreyne Princes and Estates abroad and to the Queenes majesty her selfe and to other persons, and specially what indirect meanes hath bene used by her ministers, fautors, and frendes, to procure her liberty without the Queenes majesties allowance, wherewith shee hath many tymes found the Queen's majesty offended towardes her, and in the ende shee do conclude that it is manifest that it is Godes will that shee shold enjoy no libertye but by the Queen's majesties favour and liking. And therefore as shee seeth this to be a conclusion as well of all her own antecedent actions as of her frendes attemptes, that by her majesty only next under God shee is to hope to have her libertie ; so shee ought to make another inference to obteyne her majesties favour in this behalfe, uppon a further consideration both of the causes antecedent that procured the losse of her majesties favour, and of causes nowe present to recover the same, and of subsequent actions to continewe the same being recovered." And so proceeding in order after the former conclusion, determinedly resolved in herself as a foundation of her entrance to this treaty, she ought to confess that great and many causes were given by her and her first husband, and by her kindred and friends, personages of great mark at her majesty's first coming to this crown, by making pretences against her just possession of this crown of England, whereby she knows she ministered trouble to her majesty and her friends. And though she found all actions moved against her majesty frustrated, and thereupon she and her husband, with the approbation of all her friends and allies in France, and of her subjects in Scotland, by their ambassadors concluded a treaty whereby was acknowledged the just title of the Queen's majesty to this crown, and all the Scottish Queen's pretences prejudicial to her majesty and to the heirs of her body rejected, yet she, being not well advised either in France or after her return to Scotland, refused to confirm that treaty. And so she may also secondly conclude that by these actions and other errors she has given just cause to lack her majesty's favour all this time past, and in reason she hopes on her majesty's natural and princely goodness, and the rather, in respect of her own calamities, that, acknowledging that she has justly provoked her majesty's offence by these and other like occasions on her

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1584. part, besides many others of like nature ministered by her friends on her behalf, and yielding to make such satisfaction to her majesty as shall be in her own power, or in the power of friends whom she may entreat, she shall recover her majesty's favour in all her reasonable requests. For the continuance whereof also she will yield herself as devoted and as thankful a friend to her majesty in all times coming as any natural sister can or ought to be. And for declaration of her mind to be hereto agreeable, she offers to her majesty these articles following, and will be ready to enlarge the same to all reasonable purposes for satisfaction of her majesty and her realm.

(3, 4, and 5) She will ratify the treaty of Edinburgh with her hand, her seal, and oath, or so much thereof as the Queen of England shall limit to be convenient for the time. For the confirmation of the third article, though she sees manifestly that the Queen is so lawfully and quietly possessed of her crown that there needed no further recognition thereof, yet because occasion has been given by her in former times to have the world think otherwise, as having done somewhat to the prejudice of her majesty's title, she offers the performance of these three articles.

(6) This should be amplified as follows: that whereas she understands that a bull has been sent from Rome tending to denounce the Queen of England not to be lawful Queen, and that it is reported that the same is interpreted to have proceeded in her favour, she notifies and declares that she avows the Queen's majesty to be lawful Queen of England, and so lawful that no Prince or potentate has power to deprive her, and that the crown of England is free, and not holden of any worldly potentate, but only of God, so that neither her majesty nor any other who shall be lawful King or Queen of England in any time coming can or ought to be deprived by the censure of any State or potentate.

(7) To add to the fourth word—" pursue nor make challendge."

(8) As the offer is honourably being grounded upon honour and justice, so is the same thankfully accepted.

(9) Hereunto is to be added, that she will do her endeavour to have them apprehended if they shall come into any place where she may have authority to command the same. And she is further to promise that neither she herself nor any by her procurement shall relieve any of her majesty's subjects who are fugitives beyond the seas with pension or support, nor yield any kind of contribution to any English Jesuits or seminaries.

(10) Though her majesty takes in very good part the Queen's offer, yet because the offer properly appertains to subjects, she does not see it necessary for the said Queen to enter into any such association.

(11, 12, and 13) Her majesty thankfully accepts them, although she hopes hereafter to have no more need hereof than hitherto she has had.

(14) Her majesty hopes to have no need thereof, yet she thankfully accepts the offer.

(15 and 16) If by treaty she shall have liberty in England, it is " reason " that during her continuance in the realm there be good hostages for assurance of performing the treaty. And when she shall depart to Scotland or France, [she] is to have hostages for two years at least.

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(17) It is to be wished, and it is good for the Scottish Queen, if she shall retire to Scotland, to attempt nothing for the change of the state of religion contrary to the laws of the realm. And as for herself to be provided for her own conscience, it is a matter appertaining to her son and the States of that realm.

(18 and 19) To be considered by the King and his States in Scotland.

(20) If she shall procure the return of the said lords to the King's favour, *etc.*, she will do a good deed to her son and to the realm, for so shall the King have his realm in peace.

(21) The Queen of England will be glad to see the King married with contentation of himself and his subjects, as by his marriage he may continue in peace with England, which is as profitable to him as any wife can be.

(22) The contents of this article are to be imparted to her son, whose friendship lately offered to her majesty by himself alone her majesty cannot well refuse, and when it shall be jointly offered her majesty will also give ear thereto.

(23) Her majesty is in so good terms of amity with the French King that she doubts not but he will be a partaker with her in any treaty tending to her majesty's contentation.

(24) The Scottish Queen will do well to procure the assent of her kindred of the house of Lorraine to procure her liberty, for many in the world have long thought that some of that family have not heretofore advised her to this good course.

(25) The troubling of other Princes may be forborne, except such as may be thought will favour the continuance of the effects of this treaty.

(26) This matter is such as neither requires too much haste nor too much delay.

(27) Consideration will be had hereof as the case shall require, and nothing shall be done to hinder her health though the manner of her custody be not suddenly enlarged.

7½ *pp.* *In the hand of* (Burghley's clerk). *Indorsed.*

[Dec.] **427. Memoirs for Monsieur Nau.**

C.P., vol. XIV.

She will never be sorry for the good that the Queen of England does to the King of Scotland, because it is for him that she works; but would wish that this was according to her opinion, and not of some of her enemies in this kingdom.

Will do well to remove the ensign from the company; for although it is very often only a bit of torn taffeta, nevertheless it is under this that the others march, and it unites them.

It is the honour of having it in your hands, as it is torn from hers: this will at least bring you all or the most part of those who march with it.

Desire to have resolution shortly to the end that things can be accomplished before the spring at the latest, because things will become worse, and will not, perhaps, be able to be remedied, as has happened hitherto when everything has gone badly.

I am happy to have come so near the solemnity of the day of his coronation, the grandeur of which I think will be increased by the friendship of the Queen of Scotland and her son, which I bring her.

Elizabeth.
1584. It is necessary to firmly establish the affairs of Scotland. For want of this in every trouble and innovation which will ensue, this will always be a [*blank*] done and open to those who wish to go against this treaty or alter the friendship of them their majesties and these two kingdoms.

The factions are great in Scotland, and cannot be dissolved.

It is necessary then to found the friendship of this side on persons very true and capable of keeping to what is promised, well disposed to the Prince and to his safety and preservation, which is, and always will be the safest means of maintaining the Prince and the authority that he may have to prevent any innovation there.

And without the Queen nothing can be done safely.

If the Prince says he wishes to treat without her and to renounce the association, he said as much two years ago, but the contrary happened. The Queen of Scotland made well known the little trust that the Queen of England ought to have in Gowry and others, and that there was no fidelity in them, knowing them well—better than anybody. This was despised; and, nevertheless, they found that things ensued as she had said.

This was only to make an opening to oppose her in Scotland and take advantage against her.

1 *p. French. Indorsed:* "Memoyres for Naw to be used to the Q. of England taken out of his tables." *In Tho. Phelippes' hand.*

[Dec.] **428. Proposed Treaty with the Queen of Scots.**

C P., vol. XIV. "Cautions and provisions for the due observation of the said articles."

That the Queen of Scots and her son shall be sworn for the due observation of such articles as shall be comprehended within the treaty that is to pass between the Queen of England and them. Good assurance shall be given by the French King and other foreign Princes for the due observation of the treaty. The same shall be confirmed by the whole parliament of Scotland. The Duke of Guise, his brethren and cousins shall, by some public and authentic instrument, promise and confirm by oaths that they nor any of them shall do anything either directly or indirectly, nor shall procure or assent that anything shall be done that shall any way tend to the violation of the said treaty. Before the delivery of the Queen of Scots, in case the Queen of England shall require it, the King of Scots shall deliver into her hands three earls and three lords of parliament of Scotland, to be nominated by the Queen of England, to remain in England [*blank*] years.

Memorandum that as well in the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh as in the conclusion of the present treaty there be care had that the same may be so penned that it may appear to proceed from the said Queen's [of Scots] voluntary motion, and not from any compulsion by her majesty; and that the said hostages who shall be respondent for her shall also acknowledge that the said ratification proceeds from her as a thing growing of her own voluntary motion, as grounded upon honour and justice; and shall, therefore, promise on her behalf that there shall not at any time any exception be taken to the said ratification as proceeding from any compulsion during the time of her restraint.

1 *p. Part in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Elizabeth.
1584. [Dec.]
C.P., vol. XIV.

429. ARTICLES TO BE PROPOUNDED TO THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.

"Articles to be propounded to the Scotishe Queene grounded for the most part uppon her owne offers."

(3, 4, 5) That she and her son shall ratify the treaty made at Edinburgh in 1560 *mutatis mutandis*, because the King of Scots was not then born, for the assurance of the Queen of England's state, by renouncing any title they may pretend to the crown of England during her majesty's life. [*Marginal note*] "Assented unto."

(13, 22) That her son shall enter into a mutual league defensive with the Queen of England against all Princes or potentates who shall invade England, Ireland, or Scotland, wherein the French King may be comprehended: with some clauses that nothing therein contained shall be prejudicial to the ancient amities between France and Scotland, saving and excepting that neither France nor Scotland shall make any war against England jointly or severally, except England shall first declare war against either France or Scotland.

(7, 8, 11, 12) That in case she or her son shall directly or indirectly, either by themselves or by their procurement seek to invade England, or shall assist any that shall invade the said realm, or otherwise shall seek by stirring or aiding any rebels to disturb, during her majesty's time, the present quiet thereof, or shall be privy to anything that may tend any way to the prejudice or peril of her majesty's realm or person, and shall not within forty days reveal it to her, then she and her son or either of them not revealing the same shall *ipso facto* forfeit any title he or she have or may pretend to the crown of England and Ireland. And that it shall be lawful for the Queen of England—upon due proof thereof made and allowed in the Parliament of England—notwithstanding any article contained in this present treaty, to take such order for the disposition or declaration of the right and title of this crown after her decease as by her majesty and the said Parliament shall be thought meet and convenient for the weal and quietness of the realm and the subjects thereof.

(6) That the subjects of Scotland and of the isles shall not repair into Ireland with intent to assist any of the disobedient subjects of that realm, nor otherwise in any sort aid any of that realm to make any troubles or a breach of peace within that realm. But if any such attempts shall be, the King of Scots shall, upon admonition given him, revoke the same by open proclamations upon pain of treason. And if the offenders within one month after shall not return upon such proclamation, then it shall be lawful for the Queen of England to enter by sea into their lands in Scotland and them to destroy without breach of peace towards Scotland.

(9) That she shall no way relieve or procure relief directly or indirectly for her majesty's rebels or other disobedient subjects of England, as Jesuits, seminaries, fugitives, and such other discontented persons as have heretofore sought, and daily seek, or shall hereafter seek, to stir up foreign Princes by colour and in favour of her, or by colour of altering the religion established by the laws of the realm, thereby to raise trouble in England. [*Marginal note*] "Assented unto."

(19, 20) That she shall procure the restitution of such noblemen and others as have been forfeited in the two later Parliaments held in Scotland, no due proof being made that the said noblemen and others

Elizabeth.
1584. their associates had any intent or meaning to do or attempt anything against the King's own person, it being apparent that the causes of the alteration and troubles of that realm have grown chiefly through the factions and particular quarrels reigning between the noblemen there in the time of the King's minority. That forasmuch as it were most necessary for the safety of the King and the repose of that realm that the said particular quarrels should be compounded, the said Queen shall, for the performance thereof, travail with her son to induce him to allow that the French King and the Queen of England may send well chosen persons thither to mediate the said accord between them.

(17) That the King [of Scots] shall not permit any persons to attempt to make any public change of religion within his realm to the restitution of the Pope to the usurped authority in that realm, contrary to the laws there made against the same. So that England and Scotland may always concur in that point to keep their crowns from such subjection to the Pope as heretofore he has unlawfully challenged.

2¼ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

[Dec.] **430. THINGS TO BE PROPOUNDED TO MONSIEUR NAU.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "A note of such thinges as are to be propounded to Nau not conteynid in the articles by him propoundid."

To acknowledge that the cause of her long restraint has grown altogether upon just cause given by her [the Queen of Scots].

To acknowledge that no potentate has power to deprive her majesty of the crown of England.

That she shall reveal all practices tending to the trouble of England.

She shall give hostages before she be set at full liberty.

½ *p.* *Indorsed.*

[Dec.] **431. PROPOSED TREATY WITH THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "Articles to be observed on her majesty's behalf towardes the Scotishe Queene."

There shall be nothing done by the Queen of England, nor will she suffer anything to be done by any other, to the prejudice of the said Queen or King [of Scots] concerning any pretence or claim that either of them can make to the title of the crown of England after her majesty.

She shall within [*blank*] months after the due performance of the articles and cautions required by her majesty be set at liberty and delivered into Scotland, and in the meantime remain under the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with such further convenient liberty as she shall have cause to rest satisfied with, and shall not be accounted as a prisoner.

If the King [of Scots] shall appear to the Queen of England well willing to observe the articles of the treaties as far forth as they shall concern him, and shall find him to have any need of succour or relief for his charges in government of his estate, her majesty will rather yield him from time to time some convenient relief, than that he should be for lack thereof unable to govern his realm in honour, and

Elizabeth.
1584. should be compelled to demand relief of any other Prince who is more strange to him in blood than her majesty is.

⅔ *p.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 2. **432.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. I received yours of the 28th on the 30th ult., and therewith three packets for this Queen from her secretary Nau, whereof two, of the 21st and 23rd, she said, came slackly, but seemed well content with the contents thereof, wherein I could say nothing of knowledge.

I perceive by yours that the Earl of Shrewsbury has agreed that a fortnight's longer provision shall be made here at her majesty's charges. It came in good time, for we were almost gone dry, and now this household must be fain to drink beer of three days old.

After I had imparted his lordship's consent to Mr. Stringer, he told me that he had then with that despatch received order from my lord to make provision for that time. And as to the other point, his lordship has commanded him, in case I or any other should offer any money for it, he should receive none. For, seeing he had gone through with so many years, he would not stick now for a fortnight longer; for then he looked to be wholly quit of this charge. So that her majesty will not be at any new charge for that time. I am glad to understand by yours that Mons. Nau's despatch shall now be hastened, for then I trust he remove hence. But gladder would I be to hear of my Lord St. John's hastening to Tutbury, that I might hasten myself homewards, for I feel that it is time.

I hear that Tutbury House is already in good readiness so far as the stuff brought thither will stretch, which is shorter in bedding and hangings than the inventory mentions, that divers of the beds are very mean—supposed to be changed, and that 40 calivers, 40 black bills, and certain small iron cast pieces are also brought to Tutbury.

I perceive by this Queen that Nau has been told there that she shall have for herself the two lodgings which she had at her last being there, and also those rooms where the Earl of Shrewsbury lodged, which join together: and that, to give her and hers the more room within the house, Mr. Cavendish's house in the town should serve for some of the other company. If it be meant so, I trust you will deal therein with him for his consent. For, as it has been told me, he has misliked very much—and so was it answered by his servants—that his stables and brewhouse were viewed to be used, in his absence, as cause might require. And as to his brewhouse, either it must be used or else beer must be brought more chargeably and uncertainly from Burton, three miles, which cannot but be incommodious, especially this time of winter.

When you send down plate and napery it will not be amiss that twenty or twenty-four pieces of good matting should be also sent down for this Queen's chamber and cabinets; for she remembers that the house stands high and the rooms [are] deep, and so the cold will be the sharper, which is the greatest enemy to her disease and body. Certain great capets of her majesty's were sent down first with other things, which were so long spread and trodden upon, and evil used in her chamber and about her bed, that they are become nothing, or very little, worth.

Elizabeth.
1584. I send herewith a packet of this Queen's to Nau. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I must not forget to put you in remembrance of a poor old man, named Robert Furneys, reported by Loggyn to have been a conveyer of letters between Lewes and Tunsted. I sent you his examination, which was altogether in the negative. I sent him to Mr. Sheriff of this county, and he committed him to the gaol till he hears further from me. I pray you let me know whether I shall take his own bond—for he can give no sureties—for his forthcoming when he shall be called, or otherwise as you shall advise me.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Dec. 2. **433. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. In answer to your honour's letter to me of the 28th ult.; after I had conferred with Mr. Melvill, this Queen's master of household, what quantity of plate will conveniently serve for her chamber, cupboard, kitchen, and other ways, I have gathered, and herewith send to you, an estimate thereof, for her chamber and cupboards. As for her kitchen, some years past she had [a] certain silver vessel of the earl's, but [it] was taken from her, by reason, as I have heard, of the evil usage of it; and ever since she has been served in a pewter vessel. She has of her own a small pot or "posnet" for a "bowllion," and a "chaffing dishe" of silver. If it would please her majesty to honour her with the use of three dozen or forty pieces of vessel, great and small, which [it] is thought will suffice, she would take it very thankfully, and [it] would be of less charge to her majesty, as I take it—being delivered by inventory, to be made good again. For in truth the use of pewter, as her folk handle it, melting much, bruising and neglecting the rest, and so evil "favouredly" kept—*et hoc gallicis*—not meet to be set before mean persons, it falls out to be very chargeable, as my lord's officers find it.

Surely, sir, I find Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] marvellously perplexed at my Lord St. John's so long stay, and small likelihood of his despatch from the Court, considering what has been said, and afterwards written to him. And more is he grieved at an inkling given him that though my Lord St. John comes, yet he is like to remain some time with him. The only thing that doth "recomfort" him is, that seeing my Lord St. John is to have but forty [servants] at the Queen's majesty's charge in diet, in respect of the cost—besides this Queen and her household—and that Mr. Chancellor has above that number here of his, and upon the point of forty horses, which he does not mean, nor can for his credit, send away, he hopes to receive better contentment from her majesty by your good means. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Plate for the Queen of Scots.)

"A note of parcelles of plate thought necessary for the Scottish Queenes Chambre and cubbord, and for the rest of her folke."

First; for herself, two basins gilt; the one to serve as an ewer,

Elizabeth.
1584. with a pipe, and the other for the basin. [*Note in the margin.*] She has now two basins and two ewers of my lord's.

Item, one ewer gilt.

Item, a covered cup gilt, with one assay. [*Note.*] She has such a one of my lord's.

Item, four livery pots. *Item*, a lesser pot for wine at night for her chamber. [*Note.*] She has so many of my lord's.

Item, three bowls or cups for her household. [*Note.*] She has such of my lord's.

Item, one silver basin and ewer for her master of household.

Item, three flagons of silver. [*Note.*] She had such of my lord's, " but ar now of tyn."

Item, one salt seller gilt for her and two of her folks. [*Note.*] They have but two of my lord's.

Item, a dozen and a half of silver trenchers or plates. [*Note.*] They have but a dozen of my lord's, but [they] are too few.

Item, a dozen of silver spoons. [*Note.*] They have but eight of my lord's, but they are too few.

Item, six silver candlesticks. [*Note.*] She has five of my lord's.

Three dozen or forty pieces of silver vessel of all sorts, if it would so please her majesty. [*Note.*] She hath now none other but of pewter.

1st December, 1584.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 3. **434. Elizabeth to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIV.

Right high, right excellent and mighty Princess, our dearest sister and cousin, in our heartiest manner we commend us unto you. Whereas our cousin of Shrewsbury hath here been an humble suitor unto us that we would be pleased, in respect of his years, weakness, and diseased state of body, to ease him of the charge he hath hitherto had of you, we have found it very reasonable, after his long service, for the considerations by him alleged, to yield to his request therein, and in his place have appointed our right trusty and right welbeloved Councillor, Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight, Chancellor of our Duchy of Lancaster, to take the same charge upon him until we have made choice of some well qualified nobleman to supply the same. Wherein we will have such regard a[nd con]sideration that you shall have just cause to rest well satisfied withal; not do[ubting] but that you will lay all suspicions and jealousies aside, whereof this ch[ange] may, perhaps, minister some occasion to you, and resort to the tri[al] you have hitherto made of our princely and favourable manner of dealing with you, the consideration whereof cannot but assure you that we will still in our proceedings towards you have that regard to our own honour that in reason appertaineth.

And whereas, in respect of the inconvenience of the house where you now remain, we have given order to the said Sir Ralph Sadleir to remove you to our castle of Tutbury, where you shall be better to your liking, and more commodiously lodged. Understanding of late that you are troubled with some indisposition of body, we have therewith given him also special charge and commandment that he do so order the said " remove " that the same may not be dangerous or prejudicial to your health. Manor of St. James.

Elizabeth.
1584. Postscript.—"Madame, je hay si avant le peche d'ingrate que je n'en useray, par ou il fault je n'oublye de vous rendre graces de la presente que le Sieur Nau m'a presente de votre part, le plus pour estre œuvre en partye de vos mains, a qui eta tout le corps. Je prie Dieu ne mander le mal que je l'y ay souhayte."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 3. **435. ANSWER TO MONSIEUR NAU'S ARTICLES.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "A consideration of the articles delyverd by Du Naw, the Scottish Queen's ambassador."

The first contains a conditional offer to join with the Queen of England in friendship, and to bear towards her majesty chief honour and respect before all other Princes, *etc.* The condition is that she should first be well assured of the amity of the Queen of England. The offer is not to be misliked; but how she will be assured of the Queen's majesty's amity is not expressed, and therefore this article is imperfect.

(2) But seeing the Scottish Queen pretends to be desirous of her majesty's amity, and for that makes offer of sundry things tending to content her majesty, and to give cause probably that she will observe all her offers and promises, the order and proceeding herein would be such as might yield as well to the world abroad as to her majesty some manifest satisfaction for all such doubts as may arise. Therefore it were convenient that the Queen of Scots should, by her own writing, declare that she considers with herself, by revolving in her mind how long she has tarried in England detained from full liberty, how many means she has used openly and secretly to foreign Princes, *etc.*, to procure her liberty without the Queen of England's allowance, that it is manifest to her that it is God's will that she should enjoy no liberty, but by the Queen of England's favour. And therefore, as she sees this to be a conclusion as well of all her own antecedent actions as of her friends' attempts, that by her majesty only, next under God, she is to hope to have her liberty, so she ought to make another inference to obtain her majesty's favour in this behalf, upon a further consideration of the causes antecedent that procured the loss of her majesty's favour, and of causes now present to recover the same, and of subsequent actions to continue the same, being recovered. And so proceeding in order after the former conclusion, determinedly resolved in herself, as a foundation of her entrance to this treaty, she ought to confess that great and many causes were given by her and her first husband, and by her kindred and friends, personages of great mark, at her majesty's first coming to this crown, by making pretences many manner of ways against her majesty's just possession of this crown of England, whereby she knows she ministered trouble to her majesty and to her friends. And though she found all actions moved against her majesty frustrated, and thereupon her husband and she, with approbation of all her friends and allies in France, and of her subjects in Scotland, by their ambassadors, concluded a treaty, whereby were acknowledged the Queen of England's just title to this crown, and all the Scottish Queen's pretences prejudicial to her majesty and to the heirs of her body rejected, yet she refused to confirm that treaty. And so she may also

Elizabeth.
1584. secondly conclude that by these actions, and other errors, she has given just cause to lack the Queen of England's favour all this time past, and in reason she hopes, upon her majesty's natural and princely goodness, and the rather in respect of her own calamities, that, acknowledging that she has justly provoked her majesty's offence by this and other like occasions on her part, besides many others of like nature ministered by her friends on her behalf, and yielding to make such satisfaction to her majesty as shall be in her own power, or in the power of her friends, whom she may entreat, she shall recover her majesty's favour in all her reasonable requests. For the continuance whereof also she will yield herself as devoted and as thankful a friend to her majesty in all times coming as any natural sister can or ought to be. And for declaration of her mind to be hereto agreeable, she offers to her majesty these articles following, and will be ready to enlarge the same to all reasonable purposes for satisfaction of her majesty and her realm.

[*Here follow answers to the same effect as those set out in No. 426.*]

3 *pp. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley :* "3 Decemb. 1584. Answer to Du Naw's articles sent for the Scott. Quene."

Copy of the same.

Dec. 4. **436. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, I send you, to give promptly, if you please, to the Queen my mistress, the letters and necessary despatches in favour of the gentleman who has been recommended to me on your part, and assure you that for your respect not having other knowledge of him I have written "d'une bonne ancre." For the rest, I beg you, continuing your good offices, to keep your hand at the advancement and resolution of the offers, so advantageous to the said Queen my mistress, uniting the King her son, forasmuch as with one of the two without the other, I do not think anything [will succeed], and even the little experience that I have of their affairs and proceedings makes me certain that only with great difficulty will you ever establish anything solid, sure, and permanent. When relaxation from your most important affairs will permit you to hear me for half an hour, I shall consider it a special favour and obligation, and assure myself that you will find that with an open heart I seek in all my negotiations only entirely to oblige the Queen my mistress and yours, without other respect, as otherwise things should proceed. God wills everything to lead to what is just, sure, and honourable on all sides, and may He give you grace. *Signed :* Nau.

¾ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 5. **437. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, I thank you very humbly for the packet that this morning it has pleased you to send me ; but it has given me subject to trouble you ; which is, that the Queen my mistress tells me that she received together three of my despatches, and that she had been before, for not having had any news of my negotiation here, in great doubt of the success of the same, as on this same occasion I see that she still remains somewhat in distrust of a thing that I am sure your lordship

Elizabeth.
1584. will excuse in a Princess, a prisoner, and ill, who desires and awaits deliverance from one and the other. And therefore, sir, it being a thing in which one single commandment from you can help and do much good to the affair that I have in hand, awaiting diligently the directions of the said Queen my mistress, and continuing also by frequent letters in the good intention in which I left her, I beg you to give order that my despatches may be sent always on the first occasion that presents itself for sending any packets to the north.

Her majesty wrote to me also of the increase of her illness, finding herself in such a state that she cannot put her left foot to the ground, forasmuch as her leg has got shorter and become weak, besides a pain in her side which torments her very much. Wherefore, she makes me a very great charge to pursue more quickly than ever for her liberty, the last and only remedy, she says, which remains to her to-day to recover her health, which becomes worse from day to day, fearing very much that if she is changed in such a state, and in this season, to Tutbury that she will end her captivity by death, there, where she began it, the house there being very inconvenient; and especially as she hears what has been arranged, the best having been appointed for her guardians. I beg you then, according to what it has pleased you to promise me, to delay this change, and to command again that they wait until my return, hoping with the resolution of my principal negotiation to carry also this of the removal, and to make it better, if it has to be effected. I kiss your hands very humbly awaiting your convenience to speak to you as I desire soon. *Signed:* Nau.

1 *p. French. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 4. **438. HYERONYMO MARTELLI TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Madam, having written to you before my departure from Paris, I have not wished to hasten to worry you by sending several letters, until I can send altogether collected from divers places all that it seems to me to be expedient to write to your majesty, according to the replies and occurrences which have presented themselves in divers places.

Having arrived at Nancy at the end of November, I communicated fully to the Duke of Guise what I had touched on with the Pope and in Spain, which he found right, and very good, but was very sorry that things were drawn to so great a length with very great compassion for your majesty, and that on his part he was as ready as ever; but he knew well that everything would be delayed both on account of the book which was published, of the clear and evident declaration of your affairs, by Throgmorton, and of several other great matters which have happened to his holiness and to the King of Spain, which it was necessary to remedy immediately. And already the affairs are well advanced, which should give a better means of helping your majesty quite at leisure.

Hindered also very much because they have not yet any assurance of the faith and religion of the King of Scotland. I communicated to him also what your majesty had specially told me touching the marriage of the Princess of Lorraine, to gather what he could from the Duke of Lorraine. Which he did; and then replied to me, that

Elizabeth.
1584. nothing would ever be done while the King of Scotland remained in this religion, valuing kingdoms less than the faith. And for this same reason no Catholic Prince would hear of it willingly at present. For the time has come when it is necessary no longer to dissemble for the religion, which has hitherto been the cause of so much trouble.

I saw the Duke of Guise weep for sorrow hearing that Throgmorton had so clearly divulged your affairs, and he said "this poor Lady will be very unhappy." Arriving at Rome I immediately went to visit [ ], to know what reply his holiness had given. He told me that he had sent the proposed articles to Spain, and that he awaited the reply, and that on the part of the Pope he was always, according to the conventions made between them, ready to accomplish them, having remitted the whole to the King of Spain. I perceived that the said [ ] was a little disgusted, especially on hearing that some one had given information of your affairs to estrange you. However, he told me that he desired nothing so much as a good end to your affairs for the consolation of your majesty. Then, afterwards, I went to his holiness and kissed his feet on the part of your majesty, and declared to him again more fully the dangers and afflictions in which your majesty found yourself again, for want of having had convenient help in the trouble in which you were, being thus troubled by the Queen of England to come to some agreement; [and] the danger and trouble which could arise therefrom to the church; although I told him I was not sent expressly to his holiness by your majesty, but that charity and my duty constrained me to do this. For also he knew well, treating with you, that other affairs brought me. He replied, and commanded me to write to your majesty to have good courage and trust in Him who crowns those who persevere constantly; that he was sorry for your troubles, but that it was impossible for him himself to help; but that he would faithfully accomplish what he had promised, if the King of Spain would do likewise. And as for the confederation of your majesty with the Queen of England, that above all your majesty should keep from it well. "How," said he, "can she wish now, after having persevered so long, to give bad opinion of herself and join with the heretics." That, madam, would be very prejudicial to you, and would lead to very great dishonour and the prejudice of your safety. Several would have a bad opinion of your faith and religion, of which you have hitherto so constantly shown a rare proof, and said that for that the church would not be in danger, but your majesty only, and would be dishonoured by having made alliance with the greatest heretic and persecutrix of the Catholics in the world; and you would be the cause of the ruin of your son the King of Scotland, because it would be paternally [*sic*] for your majesty to persevere constantly, as you have commended, and to endure rather all the troubles which could arise therefrom, than to join in anything whatever with that Jezabel; that he was certain she would not dare to attempt anything against your majesty, or she would not have waited, although by vexation she tries to malign you, to the end to make you succumb and come to a point, to have advantage over your majesty and render you hateful to all the world, and to separate you from the Catholic princes, which would happen to your very great prejudice.

This, madam, is the holy remonstrance made to you by your pastor

Elizabeth.
1584. —him who has the paternal care of your soul, whom as much as possible you ought to obey, as he trusts that your majesty will do according to the long experience and proof that he has of you. When I spoke to him of the King of Scotland he replied very much and at a great length, that he followed good advice and kept himself from having acquaintance with the Queen of England; that they would not fail you, and that if she assails him by all means he shall have assistance. Asked me if the King of Spain had sent money, and if it had been sent to the King of Scotland.

I told him that the King of Spain had already 10,000 crowns, and that the King of Scotland had already received 6000. He asked me what he had done with them. I told him that he had ordered them to be kept to serve him in necessity; which he found very prudently done.

Then I proposed to him the necessity of the poor English fugitives, who were daily more affectionate than ever. He replied that there was not sufficient to relieve all; but that if he could find means to help them by vacancies of benefices or other means, he would grant them to them willingly. And besides this, and even besides the foundations that he has made, he would help to procure them alms; for the execution of which Father Claud works daily. I made instance to him of founding your seminary at Pont-au-Mousson, seeing that there is already a very good beginning for young people. He told me that he paid out of his own [*money*] for the said seminary, and that if the Duke of Lorraine wished to help in founding it by some vacant benefices, he would be very pleased, and commanded me to tell him that he would give the charge of it to the bishops of Lorraine to provide it, if occasion presented itself. Then, afterwards, Father Claud showed him that daily young Scottish gentlemen came quite unprovided, who desired to be Catholics and to give their mind to letters, to help their country, and that those who were at the seminary were already well advanced, and bachelors in theology, ready to help their said country soon, therefore that it might please his holiness to augment the pension of 400 crowns; to which he consented very liberally, and commanded that they should hasten a bull again for fifteen years to come for 1000 crowns per annum. He denied the good friends who tried to have made it 1200 crowns, to the end that each month they would have 100 crowns, and especially the most illustrious Cardinal Dafaire. Therefore, madam, you ought to recognise the goodwill of his holiness towards your kingdom. He desires very much that you should also increase your donation to at least 200 crowns. Which it seems to me you cannot refuse, seeing the generosity of his holiness, and in no case after those who are detained in prison could you give a better gift than to your poor subjects, who will pray for your majesty, and will work in your kingdom for the reduction of the Catholic faith.

I think, madam, that your majesty pays many pensions not as well employed as that. If your seminary had 1800 crowns they could maintain nearly —* Scotchmen, who soon could do great service in your kingdom for the Church of God. And it is certain that this way is the most sure for the reduction of these two kingdoms, so many times have they attempted other means and have never succeeded.

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1584. This is the way by which the Church of God has been planted, and [ ] England already twice instructed.

I beg your majesty very humbly to do your duty in this, to the end that all the world may perceive the zeal and goodwill of your majesty both to the Catholic religion and to your kingdom. We have discovered that once the Scots had a house and some revenues at Rome to stay in when they arrived, but for the past hundred years this has been deserted, and the profits, by the authority of the Pope, given to some church. However, they have found now a little house quite in ruins in a nice and beautiful place, which we have seen, and there is some appearance that the neighbouring houses are dependents thereof. Forasmuch as they are ruined, and there is no one to repair them, I should advise, according to God, two things to your majesty if you find it good; the one, to give two or three hundred crowns to have the said house repaired, or write a few words about it to Cardinal Pellevé * begging him to look into the matter, and perhaps he would help and recommend it to the Cardinal protector of this nation, to the end that the poor Scots may be assisted coming to Rome, as are all other nations. The other, to write to his holiness if he will please to render the revenues to the said house, or to grant some others to it for the help of the said nation, as all the others have special houses at Rome to retire to, as lately his holiness has done for the Maranites of Mount Lebanon, and for other strangers. This will serve as much to your grandeur, honour, and edification if in the time of your tribulations you will have care of your nation and poor subjects; which will serve also, as several will be more and more inclined to do you service, and those of this country more affectionate to your majesty. As usual, we are in the house of Cardinal Pellevé. One day after dinner Father Claud spoke to him of your afflictions, and how I had had the honour of being near your majesty. At which he was very pleased, enquired carefully of the health, patience, and constancy of your majesty in so many afflictions. I did not omit to do the duty of one of the most affectionate that your majesty has for your honour and safety, and I do not wish to stop by a multitude of words what I have done in all places, and with as many people as possible, for I do not pretend anything but the honour of God and the welfare of your majesty, as you will always find if at least your majesty will understand the present [letter] as I write it. The said Cardinal seemed to be very sorry, and with great compassion for your misfortunes, with a very great desire to be able to do something for your majesty which would be agreeable to you, and for your consolation, said several times that he wished to write to your majesty, which he has since repeated. When taking leave of his holiness, Father Claud and I recommended your affairs again. The said father begged him again to have compassion on the poor afflicted English, and [said] that Doctor Allen could not bear longer this heavy burden without special help. His holiness promised to give good assistance to the said English besides the foundation of the two seminaries at Rome and Rheims. The said father also declared to his holiness how the King of Scotland had restored to their bishoprics with restitution of their goods the bishops of Dunblane and Ross, that the said bishop

* Nicholas de Pellevé, Cardinal Archbishop of Sees.

Elizabeth.
1584. of Ross had returned to Scotland at the command of the King of Scotland, that they hoped that soon he would do as much for the Archbishop of Glasgow, and that he had already signed his pardon. And we were quite sure that this proceeded from your majesty, which greatly pleased the Pope, and he asked if he should not also soon recall the bishop of Dunblane. Believe, madam, we have left nothing undone that we thought to be to your advantage. We have been advertised that one Quidam was in prison, who had come to Rome, saying he was ambassador of the King of Scotland to the Pope, was discovered by the Chisholmes, because they thought it strange that he had come so suddenly without having heard anything of his coming, and a so sudden change of the King of Scotland to the Catholic religion. We have tried to do all that was possible to declare his falseness. They have always been very civil, but now they proceed against him as he deserves, and they will try to discover who brought him, and from whom he was sent. We have spoken of it to the Pope, the Cardinal of Como, Cardinal of Seville, chief of the inquisition, and have done all that was possible to your advantage. For, among other things, he said that the late King of Scotland had promised marriage to his mother, who was from the country of Wales, before your majesty, and secretly wished to infer that the King your son was illegitimate. He is very clever. He knows French, German, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, English, and very little Scottish, excusing himself that his father had left him little in England before his death. He made the best Catholic in the world. He said that his mother had died since he left, in order not to be discovered in the taking of her inquisition for the same.

The Pope has granted the 1200 crowns for your seminary on condition that there may be six Irishmen there, to the end to join the two nations together. This, madam, is all that for the present I can write to your majesty; begging you to be persuaded that I am so desirous to do anything that could be agreeable to your majesty, that with all my heart, according to God, I will employ myself in anything that I know to be to the honour of God, you and your welfare. Knowing well all those who say that I am too devoted to your majesty; to whom I reply that if they knew the truth, as I do, they would be of my opinion. This is the fourth that I have written to your majesty without receiving one from you. However, madam, I will pray His divine Majesty to preserve and keep you in health and prosperity under his holy protection with all those who are with you, to whom with all my heart I make my reverence, especially to Monsieur de Preau. On my return I will write fully to Monsieur Nau, to whom, however, I present my humble recommendations. Rome.

4 *pp. French. In the hand of Mr. Thomas Phelippes. Notes in the margin.*

Dec. 5. **439. Sir Francis Englefield to the Cardinal of Como.**

C.P., vol. XV. "The coppye of some part of a letter sent to Cardinal Como the fivetenth December eyghtye fowre."

"Lett it therefore like your grace to understand," that these many years' expectation in vain for some succours to be addressed from hence for the reducing of England to the unity and obedience of the Catholic Church is still drawn into such length and delay, upon

Elizabeth.
1584. pretence of such several occasions as variety of time has hitherto ministered, now at the end of more than twenty years, such as I am can conceive no better hope, nor scant so much as we had many years past. And if we may make any foundation upon such probable conjectures as we can discover—to whom nothing is directly answered or said by any of authority—it seems that all purpose and intention of executing aught from hence is utterly laid aside till either the Low Countries shall be recovered, or the Queen of England shall be dead, or some other great mutation occurred in that realm, as uncertain and unlikely as they [are]. And if his holiness had by better promises from hence conceived any hope of more speed, I see not what can procure performance, other than that his holiness do liberally enlarge his contribution towards the charges restrained. Yet with condition of speedy execution by such a time certain, as, with the King's consent, his holiness shall prescribe; without whose importune solicitation nothing will be drawn forward from hence.

In the meantime, whilst these delays be used here, his holiness has seen what sundry advantages the common enemy has made for confirming of his party and for weakening of ours. Among which, of late, we understand from Paris that the guard and custody of the Queen of Scotland is changed, the Earl of Shrewsbury called from her, and she committed to the custody of three pestilent Protestants, all of the Earl of Huntingdon's faction, who is the Queen of Scotland's chief competitor, and one of them his near kinsman, unto whose custody the Duke of Norfolk was also committed when they resolved his final destruction. And of this naught can be looked for but the final murder and ruin of that good Queen, at the furthest whensoever the Queen of England shall be sick or in peril to die, if it be not procured sooner by the "semblable" solicitation of those who have compassed the delivery of her royal person into the hands and power of her competitors, whose malice, if God shall not prevent [it] by some miraculous providence, the lack and death of that Queen, will infinitely increase both the charge and difficulties of reforming that realm. For the great multitude of those islanders, of all conditions and degrees, who for her right and interest for long time have been, and yet are, ready to join with whatsoever foreign forces come to assist her; besides that by her death there remains in that realm no Catholic that we know of the blood royal. Whereby, what further consequence is likely to ensue, his holiness's great prudence cannot but foresee.

And if it should fortune, by God's great goodness that her majesty's life shall be saved, yet being in the hands and power of that heretical authority, and having no means to save herself and come to her State but by their favour and consent, his holiness cannot but see what unequal conditions she shall be constrained to accept, to the greater prejudice of the Catholic cause than may be afterwards easily remedied. And over that, although that good Queen hitherto showed more zeal, constancy and fortitude in the Catholic faith, than could be expected in one of her sex—as for which cause it is manifest she has lost her kingdom, sustained horrible infamies, and endured perilous imprisonment almost twenty years. Yet finding herself so long abandoned on all sides, and that no hope appears of any Catholic assistance, being left also in the hands of her competitors to shift as she can, void and destitute of faithful friends and servants to comfort

Elizabeth.
1584. and counsel her, it is not to be wondered if, in the midst of so many distresses and desolations, she be wrested to yield and relent, moreover, to some ill partition and composition, when she has no other mean to save herself, nor hope of other remedy. And like as these dangerous inconveniences be already risen and grown in the time of these delays past, even so the longer the attempt of the reformation shall be prolonged, the more and greater must we still "expect," to the excessive increase both of the charge and expense, and of the doubts and difficulties of success when it shall be attempted. For remedy of all which inconveniences we have none in this world to appeal and call to, but to his holiness alone, because he has not liked hitherto to give us any "head or mouth" of authority among ourselves, by whom the occasions and advantages of bettering the state of our country, offered and occurred by variety of time, might be, with hope of credit and respect, imparted to his holiness and other Christian Princes, who, to us of the inferior sort, give but cold and deaf ear to whatsoever we propound, nor answer at all but with mute and dumb silence. And, therefore, if his holiness would vouchsafe to the great number of favours and "mercedes" already bestowed on the Catholics of our country now at length to add this one, as to give us a Cardinal of our nation by whose countenance and authority our several travails and endeavours might be united, and [it might] gather some force in itself, and to whom, for his dignity and place, Princes would give better ear and credit, his holiness may be assured in short time to see more fruit of that one plant than has hitherto appeared of all our headless and scattered travail these twenty-five years past. And this being one of the most principal and fruitful benefits that can be added in this time to our oppressed state and exiled company, I beseech your grace to extend your charity in this behalf, putting your helping hand to a work of so great necessity and profit, that his holiness, who has so many other ways so liberally favoured and assisted us, do not leave and pretermit this to be added by any other than himself, which, for my skill and understanding, I account to be the crown and assured confirmation of all his most pious and fatherly benefits bestowed for the reduction and reformation of our country; and without which addition given by himself in his own days—which God of His mercy grant may be many—methinks, may be already foreseen the assured decay and consumption in short time after of all His famous institutions, and divine provisions ordained as inducements to that holy purpose and intention of redeeming and recovering those realms out of the bottomless thraldom and captivity of heresy and schism.

Postscript.—If his holiness be aught moved by the reasons which Don Bernardino de Mendoza, on his return from England, objected against the speedy execution which from thence he solicited and called upon earnestly, and shall vouchsafe to inform himself by [*blank*] and the Jesuit Parsons [as] well of the small validity of those reasons, as of the secret cause of Don Bernardino's sudden change of his censure and opinion in that point, his holiness will assuredly find that, like as the reasons objected be all either erroneous and wrongfully conceived, or insufficient in themselves to prove that conclusion which they "infirme," even so shall he find that the change of the man's opinion has not that foundation that ought to induce the

Elizabeth.
1584. change or alteration of his holiness's former promise and designment, as may be very manifest if his arguments and reasons might be obtained in writing; which here I cannot obtain, as is already made evident by the many inconveniences already ensued, and may be more hereafter by the many more which by man's judgments are threatened undoubtedly to ensue by the delay and deferring of that which was better determined before.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.*

Another copy of the same. [*C.P., vol. xvii., No. 75.*]

Dec. 5. **440. Sir Francis Englefield to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIV. By the last ordinary [post] departing the 17th of November I wrote but a short and small ticket for the little that occurs here likely to give your majesty comfort and contentment. Yet it contained a new motion made to me by Idiaques concerning two nieces this King hath, daughters to the Duchess of Braganza, his near cousin; of whom, though I did not take upon me to propound the first motion to you, but desired it might be done some other way, for the little contentment I supposed you would take for being frustrated of the hope you had of one of these Infantas, yet it might be they here may look to understand somewhat by me how your majesty allows or disallows of the motion.

Touching your great demand, I neither see preparations towards [it] nor yet of late time those arguments of intention which for some years before were given upon every conference, and, therefore, whilst myself finds less cause of hope than I had, I hold it not consonant with my duty to detain your majesty in better hope than yourself feels. Yet because neither the Cardinal Granvelle nor Idiaques will be "acknowen" to me, but that the King's good will and affection continue to procure your delivery on the first opportunity he may take or make, I have no further warrant nor foundation for despair, but my own conjecture and collection gathered upon the vanity and frustration of those probabilities which in times past have been given me, and be vanished into smoke. Of the causes of the inclination, I can give your majesty no more than I advised you in my letters of August and September. At which time I did not so much fear the force nor the credit of Don Bernardino, his objections and dissuasion, as now I do, because I have always found since his arrival here, colder ear and audience given to your affairs, than before. And if, with the expectation of this spring, I be not able to give your majesty some better hope and notice than yet I see, I suppose your majesty may finally resolve to look for nothing of great moment from hence whilst the Queen of England lives in that domestical quiet and security which she hath hitherto [enjoyed], and still enjoys.

Don Bernardino de Mendoza has obtained his return to France, first, upon pretence of condoling the death of Monsieur. But now we begin to say that he shall be established there as ambassador "lidger," and Tassis shall be employed another way, to his contentment. From which change I pray our Lord that your majesty may receive that comfort and service which your good opinion and affection towards the one has merited and deserved.

Since my last to you, I have been advertised from "Eusebio" that

Elizabeth.
1584. your guard and keepers are changed by calling the earl [of Shrewsbury], your host, from you, and by placing Sadleir, Nevill, and Sommers about you; the two former of whom are so known to me that I can look for little good by their presence so near to you. And conformable to that censure of mine, I have proceeded here to lay before the Pope and the King of Spain the great dangers of your majesty's royal person, and the irreconcilable inconveniences which appear to me incident and imminent to this mutation of your estate. All which I impute to grow from the delay of executing that which has been so long solicited at their hands, and they have pretended to intend.

And now, in respect of your majesty's close restraint from sending and receiving, and for the increase of your peril by casualty of intercepting, I trust your majesty will pardon me, and take in good part that, with the end of this year, I make an end of this course and custom of writing so slight and single matter as the fruit of intelligence cannot countervail the dangers thereof—at least, till either I shall have some better matter to give from hence, or till the receipt of some answer from you I shall receive advice of the "Recapito," and to give account of that I have done in that you shall like to command. Upon any of which occasions your majesty shall be assured of the best diligence I can use, and of my uttermost fidelity, service, and prayer.

The journey to Aragon still holds resolved to begin sometime next month, and the arrival of the Duke of Savoy is daily expected, to consummate the marriage of whom we yet wot not the day nor the place. Your majesty's last letters yet arrived were of the 25th of May. At my wonted lodging.

2½ *pp.* *In cipher.*

Decipher of the same. [*Vol. xv., No. 4.*]

Dec. 6. **441. Hieronymo Martelli to [Monsieur Nau].**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, writing lately to her majesty, I promised to write to you, which I wished to accomplish before my departure from Paris, not, however, so fully as I intended, for greater consideration. Writing to her majesty of the marriages of Spain, there has since been a change; for the youngest has been granted to the Duke of Savoy, and the said marriage has been proclaimed at [*blank*] and at Turin. And the ambassador of Spain has been especially to find the . . . . by the commandment of the King, to announce to her the said marriage, which is not too agreeable to her.

Speaking one day to the ambassador of Spain of how far it would be expedient that the King of Scotland should be allied with a Catholic Princess for the advancement of his affairs, he replied, "do you think that our Prince would wish to give him his daughter without being assured of his religion?" And on this point of religion the Pope and the King of Spain are greatly troubled; for to help him by giving him forces would be to put into his hands arms in the two kingdoms without any assurance. They fear very much that that would redound to the prejudice of the Church, and that it would be better to leave everything as it is, than to make it worse. And they doubt if there are any politicians who would desire it thus. But if there

Elizabeth.
1584. was assurance of the religion they would hurry much more, and so much force would not be necessary; because, on account of this doubt, it is necessary to have an army so powerful that if necessary it can overcome everything, as I have already written. And the affairs are certainly delayed on account of this army, as much for the said reasons as others that I have written of France, and of the book which has been published since the death of Throgmorton, who declared too clearly the enterprise. And if her majesty can find the means that the King of Scotland will incline himself towards the Catholic religion, or that he will tolerate the indifference, allowing the exercise thereof to the Catholics in such way that they may have more assurance therein, she will do much for the advancement of the said affairs.

They have well shown that he had had the ministers hanged; and though too little as a whole, it is a beginning. And to the end that there may be no point of dissimulation, they only wish him to pursue the Catholic religion, using the right which belongs to his majesty, as is declared by the Pope's bull; and they do not wish any other pretext, for they have perceived that all other ways hinder the affairs. And if her majesty disposes herself simply to that, according to God, she will find more assurance, help and contentment therefrom. What I had written of Montmorency and Messieurs de Joyeuse and Espernon was only a rumour to discover what opinion they would have had of such a thing, and to find out the affections of the people, being an uncertain thing. They say now that Espernon is quite crushed, having fallen when running at full speed, and that he has one arm and one leg broken; but I think that this is like the other, not having other assurance thereof. All the Messieurs de Guise are in Lorraine, and the Duke of Guise is at Nancy for more than twelve days. And to the end that I may not be taxed with having been wanting in my promise to wait for news from her majesty, I have waited about six weeks. Although you had promised me that the letters should leave a week after me, it was not necessary to make me wait so long, nor to dissimulate so much with me, seeing that so simply, and without dissimulation, I did not desire anything but that her majesty should withdraw me straight to your house.

Her dissimulation with me is not much, but being instructed according to the points and memoires that you read to me before her majesty, and she herself instructed me on the same [ ] and promised the Duke of Guise that the letters were already written, and it was only necessary to put them in cipher, I have made the report here both to the Duke of Guise and the ambassadors, and even according, as near as possible, to that the Pope and the King of Spain have been written to.

Forasmuch as the nunce and the ambassador of Spain would not find it good to delay or wait, so, seriously, and with compassion, I related to them the afflictions of her majesty and her affairs, and now I am quit of it. But, thank God, they are so well assured of me that I do not say or advance anything at random, and they account things easily to where they belong, which will not be much to your credit; and that readily confirms the affection that they have for some, as with great trouble I try to persuade to the contrary, for the welfare of her majesty. For my words have some credit. To

Elizabeth.
1584. God be the honour for what I have in this space of time borne for my fidelity, broken with pain, and had almost spent the money that you have given me. For the present going to Rome, where at the feet of his Holiness I will discharge and render account of my deed and my mission, I will pass through Lorraine so as to discharge myself to the Duke of Guise. For the rest I shall be always such as I am—a relator of the honour of God, and desirous of the welfare and greatness of her majesty. And I will not fail always to advertise her of anything I think, may serve her, if I see it will be agreeable to her. Before my departure, I went to take leave of the nunce, and again recommended our affairs to him, he gave me letters to the ——* to recommend them to him, and he will not fail to do all he can near his holiness. The said nunce assured me that he had come charged by the King of Spain with the 12,000 crowns for the King of Scotland as well as her majesty; but he has not yet received letters how and to whom he ought to deliver them. I do not know who has given her majesty to understand that already, a long time ago, there was a sum of money in a coffer at Paris. There was truly once put together some sum of money borrowed to satisfy some command that Mr. Morgan had, and thereof they made show of certain plate of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and a schedule from the Duke of Guise obliging themselves for the rest of the said sum demanded; but seeing that there was no end or conclusion, the whole very soon afterwards was paid back, and there was never any other money together. But I have told his majesty that there were 4000 crowns of the Pope's ready to be disbursed when the King of Spain on his side will disburse, as indeed at present they are doing. The confirmation of the marriage of the King of Spain with Madam Elizabeth of Austria is increased, as the nunce told me, and he has thus delivered her the advice of Spain; for in all ways they desire an heir, and must hasten on account of the age of the said King of Spain.

His holiness and our College have just sent three of ours to England, as also some others. Monsieur D. Allen, by the advice of his holiness, has no fear of death, nor will it keep him from doing his duty in aiding this deserted realm.

I shall leave, God willing, to-morrow morning the 17th, my journey having been much delayed, awaiting every day your news and that from Rome and Spain. I am at last constrained to leave, because the time approaches when it is necessary to be in Rome. I recommend myself to your good graces and to all. I have had made the crosses of Monsieur du Preau and of Mademoiselle Kenedy, and delivered them to Monsieur du Ruisseau with letters to you and to them. I very humbly kiss her majesty's hands, and always I will be to her what I have promised, and as much as possible I will everywhere make it apparent. Paris.

1¼ *pp. French. In cipher, deciphered. Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes:* "From a Jesuite by the name of Martelli unto one of the Q. of Scottes Secretaryes." *Signed at the end by* Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham.

* Symbol.

Elizabeth.
1584.
Dec. 6.
C.P., vol. XIV.

442. Sadleir to Elizabeth.

Most gracious sovereign, your letters vouchsafed upon so poor a man as I am, being one of your poorest subjects of that degree which I am called unto, and specially those few words of your highness's own hand, containing this precept, "use olde trust and new diligence," together with your most gracious promise shortly to relieve me of this charge, have not a little comforted me. Which precept I will not fail faithfully to perform towards your majesty while I have breath. The former part thereof I will perform both with body and mind. And the latter part also I will want no good mind and good will to perform, wishing that mine old body were as able to endure such pain, and to use such diligence as I have good mind and will thereunto. But I assure your majesty on my fidelity to your highness that I find myself most unable to endure the life which I lead in this service, trusting that, therefore, your majesty will the sooner release me of the same, according to your most gracious promise. So that now in my old days, for the short time I have to live in this world, I may serve God and your majesty at my own home with such rest and quietness as my old years require. Which I most humbly crave at your majesty's hands, even for God's sake, to whom I shall incessantly pray for your majesty, according to my most bounden duty.

And now to say somewhat touching this Queen, I find her much altered from what she was when I was first acquainted with her. This restraint of liberty, with the grief of mind which she has conceived by the same, I think has wrought some good effect in her; and, if she does not greatly dissemble, truly she is much devoted and affected to your majesty, most desirous of your gracious favour and good amity before all the Princes of the world; which she will seek and deserve with all the good offices she can or may do to please your majesty. Thus she says and protests before God. And as it is the part of an honest man to judge the best of all Princes, so do I think that she has an intention and meaning to perform that she says. Which, upon due proof and trial, time will discover and make manifest. Not doubting but your majesty will so proceed and deal with her that, if she does not mean so sincerely as she protests, the lack thereof may return and fall upon herself, without any great advantage to be left to her against your majesty. This I leave to the consideration of your majesty and of your grace's counsellors, who, I doubt not, will sound the matter to the bottom, according to the weight and importance of the same.

And touching the alteration of her custody from the Earl of Shrewsbury, though I find her not to mislike of the same, yet is she unwilling to remove until she may receive some answer from your majesty by her secretary Nau, to such special points as she says she gave him in charge to move to your highness on her behalf touching this alteration. Wherein she desires to be satisfied either by the return of her said secretary or by his letters, or, otherwise, as shall please your majesty; and then she will conform herself most willingly to accomplish your highness's pleasure. Wherefore, if it may please your majesty to let her receive some satisfaction touching the said points from her said secretary, we shall then with the more facility proceed to her removing to Tutbury, the house there being almost

Elizabeth.
1584. in good areadiness to receive her in sort, that I trust shall be with her good liking and contentation. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

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

Dec. 6. **443. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, by the Queen's majesty's letters to the Scottish Queen, and to me of the 3rd of this month, which, with yours, were brought to me the 5th, I see that her highness has given me commission to remove the said Queen to Tutbury, when by my discretion I shall think it fit and convenient, with respect to the state of her body. After she had read her majesty's letters, and delivered her good acceptation of them and of the words written with her own hand, she marvelled much that she heard nothing from Nau by that despatch, and that, as she would be ready to obey her majesty, her good sister, and had delivered good testimony of her duty to her, so, seeing she had her man there, she looked to have been also advertised by him of her highness's pleasure as well in that as in other special points of his charge, having given him in commandment to use all means and diligence to procure her majesty's answers thereunto, and therewith to return to her. Which she looked to understand, and to see him, as she was promised, before her remove hence; and that done, how painful soever it would be to her, she would forthwith willingly remove hence.

Hereunto I said that touching the remove she could have no certainer knowledge than by her majesty's own letters, and that there was no meaning to remove her without her own consent; wherein, her majesty's favourable and princely care of the state of her body should be regarded. And as for other matters, she might have answer to them by Mons. Nau's return to Tutbury as well as hither, yet thought she should have him here shortly.

Thereunto she answered that her man had given her advertisement of this her highness's intention to write to her touching her removal, which she takes very thankfully, but yet looked to be more fully satisfied in other points of the removal, as the place, the person—being not named in her highness's letters—and his quality and ability to answer for her. Wherein she said she has given her man special instruction to beseech her majesty's good consideration, and seemed to be much offended that he has not written to her by that your last despatch, delivering forth words of mistrust that his letters have not had good passage, as, she said, it happened lately to two of his, which were stayed until the third came, as she found by their dates. All these doubts and mistrusts were answered to satisfy her in reason, as they had been before at other times. But she seemed not so well satisfied as of late she has been; which proceeded in effect because she did not hear from Nau at this time; which I said she might have been sure to have done if you had had his letters when that despatch was made.

Upon my Lord of Shrewsbury's order to his officers here to make provision for a fortnight, which will end with Monday or Tuesday the 15th of this month, Mr. Stringer has taken order herein accordingly, and for no longer. Therefore, in case Mons. Nau does not return before that day, or that this Queen be not then in case to be removed—as yet surely she is not, by means of her foot and side, wherein she

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1584. feels but little amendment—I shall be fain to send for Mr. Cave to come hither to make provision at the Queen's majesty's charges; which will be a hard matter to do, seeing the incommodities of this country—no town near by eight miles to serve beef, mutton, *etc.*, nor any pasture to keep them if they should be bought alive, my lord's pastures hereabouts being spent by horses and bullocks with this long lying here; besides, an extreme toil to the country to bring in coal, the chief fuel here, whereof are spent sixteen or seventeen loads every week, brought three miles by a very foul and deep way. And if the river be "out," as upon every great rain it is, which happens oft here, their bullocks are driven to swim through, to the great grudging of the people. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I trust to hear shortly that the plate and napery and other things which you mean to send down to Tutbury will be there by the midst of this month at the furthest.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 6. **444. JOHN SOMER TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Requests him to grant the wardship of his brother-in-law's, John Swalman's son, to his sister. John Swalman died lately, leaving his sister with three sons and three daughters, the eldest not above fourteen years old. The portion of land which "draws" wardship is not above 9*l.* or 10*l.* by year. The land is in Shepey, and he bought it lately of Lord Cheyney, and joined his second son, Thomas, in the purchase with him. The rest of his land he meant for his eldest son, William. If his sorrowful sister happens to resort to him, requests him to hear her graciously. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* John Sommer.

Postscript.—Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] has received authority from the Queen's majesty to remove the Queen of Scots to Tutbury when the state of her body will suffer it. The same is also signified to her by her highness's letters, which she takes in good part. But she is not yet in good case to be removed by reason of the tenderness of her left foot and grief in her side, and other heaviness of body and spirit, according to the weather. So is she not willing to depart hence until Nau's return. She complains very much that she hears no ofter from her man, and mistrusts that his letters are kept back longer than she likes. She said she would write to her majesty that she was not well used, and at that time could not be removed nor won to temporise a while, and so indeed, wrote letters to her majesty containing, as it was told him, a complaint, and another to Nau charging him with slackness. Fearing lest she might write in heat what she might repent when she should be cold, and considering this good beginning of her entrance into her majesty's favour, which with one little word might be overthrown, after advice given to her, she called in her packer again and means to stay a while, hoping to hear shortly from Nau, and to see him here, having received nothing from him these ten days. Has oft found her at this point, but with good persuasions has beaten down those passions when her heat is past. They had need to be very patient or very rough who have to deal with her in matters of action. So again kind words and good usage, following her humour to give her recreation when her body will suffer it, greatly content her. Mr. Chancellor is not a little vexed in mind at this his uncertain abode

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1584. here, where he can have no exercise on foot or horse, the country is so unpleasant and foul. He keeps within doors, contrary to his usage and nature. His lordship may do much for him [Sadleir] to help him home.

2 *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

Dec. 7. **445. THOMAS MORGAN TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. I have written at length to your majesty in commendation of one named William Grene, an honest Catholic, sincere gentleman, devoutly affected to your majesty's service, and standing in good place to execute the same through his continuance in London and thereabouts, and for his own experience and sufficiency to perform the same. I know the readiness of his great goodwill herefor, and [he is] furnished with friends and means agreeable for a gentleman, and so better able to serve your majesty. And knowing the state of your majesty's service and your gracious conceit of me, I have presumed so far as to " address " the means to make your intelligence with him, whereof I have amply written, and sent your majesty a copy of the alphabet I gave him for the purpose, and framed also the letter which I wished your majesty to write to him to begin with, for your better service, and for fear lest in this alteration of your estate my letters sent to the hands of Mauvissière and De Courcelles should be too long on the way.

I have herewith also sent your majesty another copy of the said alphabet, and of the letter also to be written to him. May it please your majesty to call him always hereafter Gabriel Blunt. Which name I have agreed with him to be used in all writings hereafter between your majesty and him, and so between him and me. He is made known to Mauvissière and De Courcelles, and shall receive at their hands, by the said name of Gabriel Blunt, what letters soever be addressed to him from your majesty or from myself. Yet it may be that in this alteration of your state he will find some " convoye " to your majesty before your majesty can send to Mauvissière other ways, wherein I shall help what I can, as my duty binds.

The copy of your majesty's letter to him :—

" Good Gabriel Blunt, it is long since I have been very well informed of your virtuous family and friends by my old, good servant Thomas Morgan, your lover and friend indeed, and of the good disposition you all in general, and you in particular, bear towards me, whereof I have interpreted as your merits in this behalf deserve, and truly retained the same in memory—" at the first," attending some good opportunity to make you and the rest of your friends know so much from me. But you have, I perceive, prevented me by late reviving your zealous offer to serve and " pleasure " me. Which being done in this time and in this sort indeed confirms a good conceit of you, and moves me to resolve, with due thanks to you, to employ your labours as a gentleman in whom I confide, trusting that the same, by your discretion on the one part, and my care on the other, will bring forth *in fine* some good fruit, which I desire principally for the glory of God and the common utility of this realm, so dear to me, and that I may have better means to remember you and others who have [respected], and do respect me in this my captivity, which being for God's quarrel will no doubt have good end. In the meantime, by

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1584. this means I pray you let me hear from you often of the state of the world which is hidden from me, and what you hear is threatened to the disadvantage of our faith and religion, and of me and my dear son, which is commonly in practice, as God knows, to whom I always commend my case, and you also. I pray you heartily to commend me to your good sisters, Lovell, Gardiner, and Griffith, and remember me in your devotions as a good friend to you all. As to making known our intelligence to them, this point and many more I must refer to your good discretion and foresight. 'Your good frende and superscribed by the marke serving for the purpose in the alphabete by the name of Gabriel Blunt.' In the addressing and making up of which letters I would be glad that it would please you, my dear good friend Curle, to make the said gentleman understand that my recommendation of him is in some regards with you by reason of our long amity, never like to be impaired with me whilst I live."

Martell went to Rome with father Claud, and the one or both expected shortly to be in these parts.

1 *p. In cipher. Indorsed. Signed on the back by Burghley, Hunsdon, Shrewsbury, Sir Henry Cobham, and Walsingham.*

Decipher of the same. [*With C.P., vol. xvi., No. 17*].

Dec. 8. **446.** MARY TO ELIZABETH.

C.P., vol. XIV. Her grief at being thwarted from rendering her proof of her obedience and affection. Her resignation in captivity. Rigour used towards her. Begs her to forgive her for having sent a letter inclosed in one to her intended for Mons. Nau, who is charged with her affairs. Fears the vengeance of certain persons. Has nothing against any of the Queen of England's subjects. Would to God she could talk with her for two hours. Wingfield.

1 *p. French. Copy. No indorsement.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 66.*)

Dec. 8. **447.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. This Tuesday morning I received yours of the 5th of this month, and finding therewith Mons. Nau's letters to the Queen his mistress, whereof you make mention, I have thought good to make this light despatch to you, that if the same letters be not come from you, they may be sent with all speed. For she, continuing this the twelfth day since the date of any of his came to her, I have much ado to keep her in tune of patience—not without greatly taxing him—which is the sooner moved in this time of her dolour—not able to strain her left foot to the ground. And to her great grief, not without tears, [she] finds that leg wasted for lack of natural nourishment, and shorter than his fellow, fearing that it will hardly return to its " naturall " without the benefit of a natural hot bath.

I think you guess partly aright—as I have been a good while of that mind—the cause of her mislike to go to Tutbury. For upon that removal I mean—as I have written, and [it] is allowed of—to leave all old acquaintances behind. Yet she says still that on her man's return, or satisfaction in writing from him of the Queen's majesty's pleasure in that behalf, and of the personage to whom she shall be

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1584. committed—not being named in her majesty's letters to her—she will remove without further delay. Therefore, I humbly beseech her majesty that—the sooner by your means—he may be hastened, as you write, you will help—without inconvenience, nevertheless, to her majesty's service and the good purpose in hand—to satisfy this Lady, and that Lord St. John may follow at the heels: whom I long very much to see, or to hear of his despatch from you, that I may by myself give you thanks for the care I find, and believe you have of me, being wearied with this unpleasant place and careful charge. The proceeding of the Master of Gray more plainly and sincerely for his master may move her majesty to think the better of his master's meaning towards her without the mother's intervening, who I have found was somewhat jealous of the manner from the Master of Gray's first coming without her knowledge or meaning to see her, though she did not so plainly discover herself. And if this pique continue between their ministers, and stretch further to their masters, the Queen's majesty will, perhaps, find it good, and get honour and commodity to be a mediator between them, and bind them both to her highness.

I understand that all is ready at Tutbury, saving that this Queen is not so ready to go thither as I would she were. You see what will hasten her without excuse.

The plate, napery, and matting I perceive will be sent thither with speed. And now that we are within seven days of the end of the fortnight, which by the earl's [Shrewsbury] commandment must not be much exceeded in this place. As I have at other times past, upon like doubt, moved, so have I thought good now again to say, and desire to be considered, that in case of necessity, either by lack of Nau's return by that time—which is alleged by this Lady for a stop—or by reason of this Queen's lawful excuse by her indisposition of body she cannot be removed hence, and that my lord's officers will not provide victuals in manner of purveyors for the company which is then to be found at the Queen's majesty's charges, and to be paid for in ready money as they shall cost, which I find they are unwilling to do as long as she shall remain in my lord's house—yet I dare say they would be most gladly rid of her. Though I must needs testify well of Mr. Stringer, as truly he deserves, who has respect to the Queen's majesty's service and to his master's honour, but must hold himself within the limits of an honest officer. In that case of such necessity, I cannot see but my lord must be yet dealt withal both for his house-room, use of his stuff, and, if it be possible, for some longer provision in this place, so long as, upon such necessity, this Queen shall be driven to stay here, or until certain days after Nau's return, without such limitation of precise time as has been heretofore, which has been very troublesome to these countries hereabout. Wherein, nevertheless, I mean to omit no time to remove her, according to her majesty's pleasure and commission sent to me. My lord's officers very earnestly desire that his lordship may be moved herein, as, upon my earnest conference with them, they have this day sent up a man of my lord's to understand his pleasure therein, if any such thing be moved to him from her majesty. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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1584.
Dec. 9.
C.P., vol. XIV.

448. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

I do what I can to further Mons. Nau's despatch, about which her majesty appointed a consultation this day, but I think he cannot depart soon enough to hasten the "remove" by the limited time of provisions, and therefore you must of necessity appoint Mr. Cave to make a new supply there, as well as the country will bear it, for some ten days longer at her majesty's charges, for it is reason the earl should now from henceforth be spared. The not sending of Nau's despatches proceeded only from the negligence of my man, who forgot to send them with mine.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 9.
C.P., vol. XIV.

449. MARY TO WALSINGHAM.

Thanks him for his good offices to Mons. Nau since he has been at the Court. Begs him to deliver to Nau a packet addressed to him, containing letters to the Queen of England, and to send the answer to her immediately. Has resolved to satisfy entirely all that the Queen of England and her Council shall demand from her. Wingfield. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.* (*Printed, Lobanoff, vol. vi., p. 68.*)

Dec. 10.
C.P., vol. XIV.

450. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your packet on the 8th instant, and therein three to this Queen—one from the French ambassador and two from Nau, which were mentioned in your former. After she had seen her letters and prayed me to come to her that evening, she delivered, by good speeches, her very good liking of her man's usage there, both by the Queen's majesty and by her Council, and namely by yourself, of whom he had given special testimony to her good contentment. She then "held other purposes to me" touching certain points propounded to him by their lordships, whereunto he desired her speedy answer; which she sends now, and prays, therefore, speedy delivery of her letters, and other words of her mislike of the Master of Gray's dealing with her majesty, in the name of her son only, omitting her, contrary to her son's promise made to her, wherein she says he is evil counselled and led by some persons over particular to themselves; and also contrary to his own assurance given her when this his voyage was first intended, and by herself "moyenid" for him, as I have now more at length written to the Queen's majesty, wherewith you shall be acquainted.

I trust you remember how the time of the fortnight wears away, and the hard means to continue here much longer without yet a further enlarging of my lord's [Shrewsbury] means, as by mine of the 6th I wrote to you; and also that this Queen stays upon Nau's return to her, which—if you continue to treat—cannot be so soon as was thought. Therefore, in case of likelihood of his stay there any time, if it would please her majesty to resolve with Nau concerning the

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1584. personage who is to take the charge of her, *etc.*, I think she will then be the willinger to remove, " though her foote and legg remayne still at a staye, not lyke to be well before warmer weather come, or by better meanes of hearbes and simples to make fomontations, then can be had heare emong the montaynes and woodes, where gardens ar skant knowne."

I understand from Tutbury that there lack many beds and hangings that were delivered into the late Mr. Sheriff's hands and custody, of the Lord Paget's, and that he answers they are in such hands as they will not be gotten out of them. Which I refer to your consideration. For without the whole " coplement "—or very near—of these beds and their furniture, I cannot see how this company that are to attend about her, with herself and her own people, can be accommodated as were meet, unless the want be supplied at her majesty's charges, which will not be readily had. Besides that ten or twelve of those beds which are brought in thither are very mean, as I have written before, and some lack bolsters, and [are] supposed to have been changed. If my letter and message to him in this behalf will not serve, there must be other help. In the meantime we have made hard shift of napery and other things in the country for the time, which must be restored. Wingfield Castle.

Postscript.—I trust you remember to deal with Mr. Cavendish for his brewhouse at Tutbury, which surely cannot be forborne to be used without a great charge to the Queen's majesty, and more trouble to the country, or else that her majesty be at charge to remove my Lord Paget's vessels and utensils from Burton, and a brewhouse to be made of some other house at Tutbury, which I think will not be well heard with you.

1¾ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 12. **451.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, to accompany the inclosed, which Nau desires may be sent away with some speed, I have thought good to let you understand that Mr. Henry Cavendish has been dealt withal to suffer my Lord St. John to have the use of his house at Tutbury, from which himself being by such means excluded, [he] offers withal to let out to my lord certain grounds that he has about the said house, belonging to the same. And, therefore, you shall do well to cause Mr. Cave to view the said grounds, and to set down an estimate what portion of the same shall be necessary for my Lord St. John, for that it is meant Mr. Cavendish shall have my Lord Paget's house of Beaudesert, and some of the grounds there to use in lieu of his own. I do what I can to hasten Mons. Nau's despatch with as much speed as can be.

Postscript.—My Lord St. John will by no means take charge of the defrayment of the house, but desires that it may be committed to some of her majesty's officers, whereunto I suppose her majesty will yield. And therefore Mr. Cave is to look thereunto in the choice of Mr. Cavendish's grounds, as a thing that touches her majesty, whose service will principally be used therein. He is also to consider what necessary officers are to be used there in the several offices,

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1584. and with what entertainment. Wherein he is to be advised to require no more than there shall be necessary use of.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 12. **452. MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. According to the hope that it pleased you yesterday to give me, I beg your lordship very humbly to give me, at your leisure, a quarter of an hour to speak to you, and likewise to obtain for me to-day an audience with the Queen your mistress, at her convenience and pleasure. The visit of the Earl of Shrewsbury will be when it shall seem good to you. And thus I remit the rest of the requests that I have made you. *Signed:* Nau.

¼ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Dec. 14. **453. MARY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Cannot think that he who has always offered good services to his Queen can easily let himself be led away by the persuasions of those who only desire their particular commodity, neglecting the public good and their master's [the King of Scots] service. His allegation that he has been wronged. Ought to take her advice. Does not want division between her and her son. Depends entirely on the Queen of England. Desires him to inform her son in how bad part she will take this new intended course. Wingfield.

1¾ *pp. French. Indorsed:* "Dec. xiiijth, 1584. Copie of the Q. of Scotts lettre to the M^{r} of Grey." (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 70.*)

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 215. Copy of the same.

[Dec.] **454. MONSIEUR NAU TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, I am very sorry about your indisposition, both for the delay that it will cause in your negotiation and for being—as you have given me to understand—the occasion that up to the present I have not been able to speak to you nor visit you in your house, as I have offered to do, I may say very often, as soon as I could obtain permission. But seeing that that may, perhaps, be longer delayed without knowing, up to the present, any real or great reason, and to prevent the very great inconveniences that I foresee can happen from this course that you have taken, and which it seems you are determined to continue to the end, that it may not be said hereafter that on the part of the Queen my mistress I have not done my duty; and, more than that, to invite you, and give you all occasion to do the same on the part of the King her son, I decided to send you these words on the message that I received yesterday from you, which will serve me in future as a very sufficient discharge before all the world for what is to be negotiated here by you and me for the service of their majesties in whatever way things happen. Which undoubtedly can only be for the worse as long as by the distance and division between their majesties—known here by the assurance and proofs that they have given of it—there remains any place for their common enemies to advance and creep between them.

You cannot pretend, pardon me, not to have been informed of the

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1584. intention of the Queen my mistress, because of your own private journey and also mine. For her majesty herself wrote you a very long and full letter that I know you have had and seen a few days after your arrival in this Court, and before you had entered into any special point of your negotiation. For myself, as soon as I came here, I immediately requested permission to visit you—which I could not obtain. I declared to you by the ambassador of France the reason of my journey, and the resolutions of the Queen my mistress only to proceed conjointly with her son, and that she would not do or pass anything without him, as not only by word in my audiences and conferences, but also by writing still in existence, I have declared and protested to the Queen of England and the gentlemen of her Council.

I understood by the said ambassador some pretence of offence on your part for the distrust that you said they had of you. To tell you frankly, I found this sudden attitude very strange, and the price of the commencement of an artificial quarrel to show in outward appearance that their majesties were not so well agreed as they had thought here, it being—as you must remember you wrote to the Queen—your intention to use the said artifice, thinking, I suppose, to make yourself more agreeable in this Court, and to discover more easily the truth of their intentions. Her majesty never approved of this, and wrote to you immediately by her letters above mentioned to go and proceed openly to the end to remove this old objection that they did not proceed sincerely with them. Since, at our interview the day that the Queen of England went to Parliament, I knew by your own words that, in truth, you did not wish to embark or join in what touched the service and liberty of the said Queen my mistress. Wherefore, seeing that you took your motive and occasion from some words spoken in Scotland to your prejudice, attributing them to some whom I know and affirm not to have been the authors, I put myself to all endeavour and trouble to make it clear to you and satisfactory; and if it had been the King your master himself, I could not have rendered more testimony of my devotion to his service. Also, in truth, it pleased you then to declare that you remained satisfied. Of which I was confirmed by what you have since sent me, and that you would employ yourself faithfully in everything that would concern the service of the Queen, and that the intention of the King our master was to obtain as much good understanding and advantage as possible. Nevertheless, when in effect it has come to the joining, to proceed together with one will and inclination, and by this means with more force and speed, to the common end that we aim at, that is to say, the friendship of the Queen of England with their majesties, I am informed that in public with public people, and in private with several [people], putting aside the said Queen my mistress as a person with whom or for whom you have nothing to do, or of whom even your instructions made no mention, you have taken a course quite contrary to your first profession of duty and service, that by letters, and not without obligation, you have vowed to the Queen, and to the promises and assurances—of which your are not ignorant—of the King your master; for he says not only have you plainly and with allegation of several arguments and reasons refused to admit the said Queen my mistress in this treaty in hand, but also declared

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1584. absolutely that the King your master did not wish to be governed by her nor directed, being himself King absolute of Scotland, and that as such he would treat of friendship with the said Queen of England, and not otherwise, without making any recommendation for her present state, nor request or instance for the liberty of the said Queen my mistress. I do not wish to go further—but you will remember that two days after our said interview I wrote to you what I could, both for your satisfaction, and to show you the importance of this disunion, and the very dangerous inconveniences which could arise therefrom, requesting you very earnestly that at least you would ask in the name of the King your master for the liberty of the Queen his mother, to whom he seems to me more obliged in honour, duty, and all other respects, than the most Christian King, on whose part Monsieur de Mauvissière his ambassador had done so, and is making still with me all instance that is possible. To this letter I have not had any reply from you, except a general assurance that you would do what you could for the Queen. I have since with less seemliness than was necessary—but to bring about a good effect I never regard the opinion of strangers for matters between mother and child—sought both from the Queen of England and the gentlemen of her Council, permission to be able to visit you. It was granted to me last Wednesday. I sent you instantly one of my people to signify it to you, and to ask the time most convenient to you. I only had a postponement for a reply, which still lasts. And I am not ignorant of how things proceed, having, nevertheless, always comforted myself with all respect, and also advisedly, not to take advantage about your negotiations for the advancement of mine, which has been possible for me, as of truth I will never advise the Queen my mistress to think so ill of the King her son, especially, when he would so well effectuate what is said to have been proposed by you in his name, as to hinder his welfare and grandeur in any way whatever for her particular of herself. For, also, all the good and grandeur that she could obtain in this world will always revert to him; and it would be putting herself and the King her son asunder, to divide the one from the other for any worldly respect whatever, she having always told me that he would show himself openly, quite beyond the natural duty towards her hitherto, before she would be wanting to him in maternal affection and the very great care that she had of him. But, sir, you will excuse, if you please, if not being able to speak to you, I have here rebuked you and reminded you of the duty, with which I have to render to you the very humble and faithful service that I have vowed to their majesties, to the end that you yourself may be witness thereof, if it is necessary, and that those whom you have directed otherwise—considering well that you could not exceed your commission and the charge that was given you—bear the blame of what may happen hereafter, the trouble therefrom being greater than many can at present foresee. Without doubt, if things are not redressed before your departure and mine, one wound is already made by this blow, to bleed for ever, not having a better means to separate for ever the friends and dependants of their majesties, except in separating themselves and making them willing, which is the worst, to oppose each other, which I hope on the part of the Queen [of Scots] may never happen. She has herself written you enough reasons to make you understand of her

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1584. intention herein, without my troubling to add anything. Only, I will tell you that the said King your master not being able justly or honourably to pretend title to the crown of Scotland by the violent and forced resignation of the Queen his mother—except too prejudically, and of too great consequence for himself and all princes in Christendom—it is very necessary that he assured himself thereof by the frank and free consent of the Queen his mother, as has been agreed by the association—very just, sure and honourable means for the said King your master; by which alone there can be granted to him right and just authority, as much as possible, that it may be no sort diminished, seeing that the Queen thereby has granted and transferred to him the entire government of the country and kingdom, without wishing to participate therein in any way whatever, reserving only to herself the honour and title that the said King—according to my poor and simple judgment—ought rather to offer and give her, as the true right of the crown does not belong to him, and what he has is only from her. May the benediction of God descend on him, and that of the said Queen his mother, that he may not have occasion to neglect her, as much for his conscience as for what more grandeur he has to hope for from her in this world. And, for my part, in all his proceedings hitherto with the said Queen his mother, I have seen him of such good disposition, and so cordially inclined to render her all the duty of a very good son, that I cannot persuade myself that such resolution comes of his own inclination, but from some bad advice, be it on this side that you have told the Queen, or of someone else in Scotland not having respect for his good surety and honour; finding it strange how, being for a long time informed of the intention of the Queen, you have wished to take on you the handling of this action; which, nevertheless, I know surely not to proceed from you, seeing that you have worked so much to the contrary. I believe now that those here make their advantage therefrom—as in truth I cannot blame them, the fault not coming from them. They will never have so good an opinion of the King your master if he is wanting in this respect to the Queen his mother—which I do not believe—nor of all those who induce and persuade him. And as for himself, although he is at present of this opinion, I am certain that he will not like them better before very long, it being impossible that sooner or later he will not feel the duty borne of himself towards her, who, after God, has given him life and all the greatness that he has or can hope for in this world.

On these considerations by you carefully considered I beg you, sir, to take it in good part, so pressing by the extremity in which I see things approaching and being precipitated, that I advise and warn you, according to my duty, to the service of their majesties, which I do not affect, I protest, less than that of my own King and master, which in conscience and as good man I think right necessary and honourable in this present treaty for the one and the other. And I beseech you earnestly now, as their faithful and affectionate servant, for two things; the one to request quite openly and plainly in the name of the said King your master, the immediate liberty and deliverance of the Queen his mother; the other to unite and join yourself in the treaty of friendship, which is at present in hand between the Queen of England and their majesties, to the end that the conclusion

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1584. may be made soon, as for all occasions on one part and the other is necessary, the said Queen of England and the gentlemen of her Council protesting to me that they would not delay in proceeding therein if they could see that they would be able to assure themselves of the mother and son together, as is very necessary, in order to establish anything solid and permanent. And thus the advancement, or delay and breach in this affair, which is in such good terms and better than ever, rests and depends on the course that you take therein. Begging you again not to let such a good and advantageous occasion slip by, which will, perhaps, never occur again. And if you refuse, I shall remain sufficiently discharged; as after having carefully awaited your resolution, I shall commence to treat separately, although it will be to my very great regret if it is necessary to do that. Your prudence will help you as to what to do if you join. Nevertheless, I take the boldness to give you my simple advice. In doing hereafter what will seem good to you, you can very well maintain that the association is not authorised, nor will pass in parliament or at the consent of the State; and that for this respect the King your master does not wish to acknowledge it without understanding more clearly the chief points of the same, the intention of the Queen his mother, towards whom, for this effect you can desire that you may be permitted to have access as also to communicate to her this treaty. But in case the Queen his mother wishes to leave to him the entire and absolute government of Scotland, only reserving to herself the honourable title, he will be very pleased to pass the said association; and in doing this to proceed conjointly in the said treaty, as in fact we shall be received therein, if you find this course good. In which I am sure that the ambassador of France will take part, and not in any other in which the King your master will treat apart. For the King of France and the Queen his mother having been the first on whose advice, still existing, letters and counsel the association has been made between the Queen my mistress, and the King her son, the said King and Queen of France never having given him the name of King, except in talking of the said association. And after that at the consent of the said Queen my mistress they would find it very bad that to-day it is revoked, doubted and disputed, being to the said Queen my mistress as guaranteed, and the authors prevent that. There is no need to fear that the return of her majesty to Scotland will bring about ancient innovation, be it for the authority of the King or the credit of those who are near him; for she insists on remaining here—and in default of that, I believe it is her intention to go to France after having visited the King her son for some months. There only remains for me to beg you to send me in writing the resolution that you will take on this, that I may in truth know what I have to expect without more delay and waiting, and that I can inform the Queen my mistress thereof, who asks me incessantly by letters of her own hand how you have proceeded here for her, not having wished yet to send her anything, hoping for better from one thing and another on your part. By her last, which I will show you when you wish, she promises herself all satisfaction and entire contentment from the King her son and for you. Not knowing how things proceed here in this regard, it is necessary that her state, you being full of compassion towards the most distant strangers,

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1584. touches your heart, you who are born her subject, and who propose to be entirely her servant. Permit that that may preserve the respect of the King my master and the consideration of the good and bad which could come to him.

And to end, I offer to go and visit you to speak of it more at leisure when your convenience will permit, remitting everything to the service of their majesties, whom I pray God to keep long in good health and prosperity, and in friendship with the Queen of England, if they can once obtain it. I have awaited now your answer for some days, begging you to send it to me, protesting that if I take another course hereafter it will be for want of knowing yours, and for your refusal to join in the negotiation, having sought for it sufficiently and for a long time. I kiss your hands very humbly and remain. *Signed:* Nau.

Postscript.—Do not believe, I pray you, what in my name has been reported to you that I have said or done, as already you have told me some things; for I aver to the contrary. And I assure you that they play the same game in your name with me, which I do not heed. Knowing well that there are only too many who only seek to thwart us both by this means, and render our negotiations vain. If I can speak to you, you shall hear more. *Signed:* Nau.

5½ *pp. French. Copy in Nau's hand. Indorsed:* "Lettre escripte a Monsieur de Grey, 1584."

Dec. 14. **455. Mary to Mons. de Mauvissière.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Trust she puts in Mons. Nau not to fail in the communications he has to make to him. Thanks him for the trouble he continues to take for perfecting the so long delayed treaty. Requests him to thank the King of France and Queen Mother on her behalf for their care of her, and to beg them to continue it. Desires him to insist on his visit to Scotland, where it is necessary for him to demonstrate to the King of Scots how prejudicial this new course will be to him. Requests him to assist Nau as a good and faithful servant. Wingfield.

1 *p. French. Indorsed:* "1584, 14 Dec. Copie of the S.Q. lettres to the Fr. ambr." (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 74.*)

Dec. 14. **456. Mr. Liggons to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XIV. On the 24th instant, her majesty's of the 31st of October came safely by Al[mont's] means to his hands, whereby he perceives that his of the 28th of June and 20th of July were likewise come to her, but not what he wrote from the camp about the end of August, or—as he remembers—the beginning of September—for in taking the copy, being troubled, and not well at ease, he forgot to put down the date, and so the same [is] "owt of mynd"—wherein he signified at large and particularly what in his audience he said to the Prince of Parma, and what he answered him in the matter he had to deal with him [in] from her majesty; and far more expedition—having the opportunity of a post that then went directly to Paris—sent it to "A," to whose hands he conjectures it came safely. Omits to specify any other of the contents thereof, than that he delivered the alphabet she sent—which was the chief point he had to do—to the Prince, who seemed to be very well content therewith, and to like the intercourse of intelligence

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1584. intended and meant thereby. Knows the infinite difficulties that have too often happened and "letted" her desire therein, especially in these late days past. The malice of her enemies has forced her to travail for the clearing of her fame. Hopes this her purgation will turn to her great good, and no less to the comfort of her well willers than to the shame and confusion of her persecutors. Will pray continually that it may do so. Immediately upon the said despatch he made to her, and after the burial of Lord Dacres, Tempest, and another gentleman who went in their company—for of four there was but himself who returned—he fell very sick of an infectious ague that carried out of this world many of their nation, and to save his life, he was forced to travel for eight days to get here, with a continual fever on his back both day and night. Has recovered his health. Is not at the camp. If he were there presently he should nothing prevail, for now, being Christmas time, he should not obtain audience before the end of the holidays, but is within four or five days to repair thither, on the first opportunity of conveyers or company—without which it is impossible to travel in these parts without being killed or taken—and solicit the points she charged him with. For better bringing to pass whereof he verily excepts a letter from Al[mont] to the secretary Como, which, he writes to him, was not ready at the departure of the messenger whereby he sent him her's, but promises to send it afterwards. What the success will be, and how soon he will be despatched, he cannot promise. For, as he said in his former [letter], they forget to "second" or set forward any enterprise. Any enterprise of "our" side is appeased, and on the other side he has to do with a Prince, who more delights and occupies himself in martial affairs, than [being] careful or diligent in despatching of political matters, and who has been lately, and yet is, in the enterprise of stopping up the river of Antwerp—whereon depends his own reputation and a great part of the success of the affairs of this country—so that he neglects all other things. The secretary of the other side is wayward. Nothing shall be left undone by him to procure hastily her desire therein, and if any difficulty be made to deliver the money at London, or to the party she appoints—as possibly there will be, because he is "towards" the French ambassador,—he will, rather than they shall excuse themselves, and thereby frustrate her of her demand, solicit to have it in Paris or Rouen, or at any other French town. But first will endeavour by all means to have it according to her direction, and use the other for the last refuge to "grope" their intent, and to make them speak plainly. And when it shall be in France, doubts not but with the assistance of any secret person of her's, when she shall like it, to appoint its being "made" to London at any time, without any bruit or speech thereof.

It is good to get as much money from them—which he thinks will not be denied—to serve necessary turns. Fears they will never do much more for her than common courtesy requires. Upon some intelligence, and viewing the course of things, has many presumptions to persuade him hereto, whereof he would have advertised her before this, but that he was loth to heap grief upon grief. Was advised the contrary by some with good meaning, by others for their own "private." Princes in these times find matter enough to change, upon events, their determinations, or at least to dissemble them to the

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1584. world, and to blind such as be lookers on, and have no better mean to know the secrets of their "artes" than he has. From henceforth will never wish that they may have the success in their affairs they desire, for then, indeed, they should do but for themselves. Believes that this enterprise that was so furiously pretended was a stratagem, and never intended or invented; for the success of the Duke of Alva's attempt in this country was in suspense. Which, if it had fallen out well, would possibly have constrained them to other resolution than they have taken. Such was the proportion of men and money they seemed able and willing to furnish, that there can be no colour of excuse for the delaying thereof, pretended through the things happened in England. For, albeit no man at the first bruit within the realm would have seconded it, yet as Scotland then stood, it had been an easy matter to have set a new party afoot in England, and in a short time to have brought wonders to pass. But when the King of Spain shall, when it is question of employing 6000 or 7000 men, and the furnishing of 200,000 or 300,000 crowns, excuse himself through nobility, he [Liggons] will suspect his unwillingness, and his exceeding greatness assures him thereof. And further than that, if he had wished, he could long since have redressed the matters of "our yle," though not to his, yet to their liking. Will discover more at the camp and advertise it, for he thinks it requisite, all other respects set aside, to inform her of the truth. Such is the guise of the wheel of fortune that it always turns. Will, peradventure, find some difficulty to have intelligence with Courcelles, because he is not acquainted with him. Therefore, has thought good to make this alphabet herewith inclosed, which he requests her to send him, if he shall not have found some other means before this comes to her hands to convey another to him, for he never mistrusted his diligence or fidelity in her service, and has often in his behalf said his opinion therein to some who have suspected the contrary fact. Presupposed he might be jealous of his adhering to such of their nation as thought themselves disgraced and out of her favour by his means. Knows the inconvenience of faction, and how much their credit in these parts and their sufficiency in every respect might be to her service.

Rejoices that she has escaped the Countess of Shrewsbury's malice, as ever since the time she was appointed to her husband's custody he feared her severe and devilish devices against her. The countess was known, and generally reported, to be the cunningest, and in the rest of her life the wickedest in their isle, and, indeed, one who could never abide the Duke [of Norfolk], nor he her, for her disordered and dissolute life. Has a "particular" against her for overthrowing her husband's—his cousin, Sir William Saintlow's—house, and she so enchanted that she made him convey all the land from his brother and right heirs to her and her's begotten by another man.

Bewails from the bottom of his heart the other lady's fact; not so much for her own as for the Duchess of Fer[ia's] and other friends' sakes—which, in respect of how many of them are affectionate to her [Mary], and his obligation to them, is cause enough to be moved at. Does not so deeply lament this as he does that her fame and renown came in question, and so she forced, greatly to her vexation and trouble, to clear and judge the same. The Countess of Shrewsbury's case is more miserable, and such as supports no purgation in whatsoever

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1584. other matter the malice of her enemies shall suggest against her; and upon this ground they will not fail to work her total defamation and final destruction. Would never have preferred her desire to have her devotion to her service had he suspected any jot of how much she writes of her.

It is true that being at Paris about two years past, a man of her's going to Spain to solicit the Du[chess] of Feria's retreat from thence, intercepted a letter of Sir Francis Englefeld's directed to a priest, his master's great enemy, which he brought to him [Liggons] broken up, and told him that that letter had more tormented his conscience than anything for a long time had done. "For of the one part he thowght not honest to oppen it, and of the other his hart gave him to fynd that indede he fande somewhat against his mistress, which althoughe it were in cipher—in respect he had before the Duchesse of Feria, and had hard him and the Countesse of Northumberland when they were mirry togither insinuate to her derogation lyke matter it conteyned—by gesse that by the premisses and consequences of that which was owt of cipher he easily dischiffered all." And this was the first time—which was long after he [Liggons] presented her request to her [Mary] for writing in the Duchess's behalf—that ever he heard anything of the matter of Buxton, or any other in her dishonour. On his return to the place where she was, she took occasion to purge herself of what was imputed to her by the letter, and to tell of the manner of her separation from her husband, which was done by law, not at her suit, but at her father's, her uncle's (Sir Henry Sydney, President of Wales), and the rest of her friends' instigation. After which time she remained four years in England, in which time she confesses to have been at Buxton, and the circumstances and causes thereof, and then, being partly moved by Sir Francis Englefeld's letters, came, with license, on this side the sea, her grandmother, the old Lady Dormer, dying before she arrived. The Duke of Feria hearing of her voyage and what had passed between her and her husband, dissuaded by all means her return, and that she might be the more willing to remain, gave towards her maintenance 1000 ducats or crowns by the year, which her sister continued some years after. Further, she notified the cause of Sir Francis Englefeld's enmity against her, and how ever since he has not only sought to hinder her and the duchess in the "doing" of above 2000*l.* in goods, but also, as she says, procured by secret and crafty means her ruin and defamation. This is all he heard of the matter of Buxton. He may like to send him word, "how long is it since the chyld shold be browght over the sea, and whether it war a boy or a wenche," he will not fail, if she were his own sister, to sift what he can to inform her of the truth therein. If she may confound the malice of her enemies, and give satisfaction to the world of her innocency without publishing the name of the person mentioned to more than shall be requisite for her defence, then can he no less praise her charitable and virtuous intention. In the opinion of the good she will thereby gain more to herself than ever she will do by such as, upon private revenge, will advise her to the contrary. Namur.

4 *pp.* *In cipher.*

Decipher of the same. *Indorsed:* "Concordat cum originali decifro per Phelippes;" *and* "Liggons to the Scottish Q. Curles hand writing."

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1584.
Dec. 15.
C.P., vol. XIV.

457. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

This serves only to send away this Queen's answer to Nau's last letters brought hither the 12th of this month, these being written with her own hand, and one to the Queen's majesty, as she says, has been the longer in doing. They are like to be driven to a great struggle for provision here. When he considers still the state of this wild country, not able to yield the means by the vulgar, nor other ways without long forecast and plots formerly laid from afar—for almost all this country is in the hands of noblemen and others of great quality in parks and demesnes, and the Earl of Shrewsbury has his provisions from about Sheffield, Rotherham, Worksop, Rufford, and Chatsworth, *etc.*, besides good helps for bullocks and muttons brought from far off and kept ready hereabout—that his lordship has given no direction for any longer time, and that Mr. Cave is not able to perform that service here this time of year, finds that they are like to be "smoothe" here without provisions, were it not that upon his very earnest entreaty, Mr. Stringer, of himself, as he says, adventures yet for all this week. Has fully resolved to send away part of their stuff this week and to leave this house bare, saving the Queen's own lodging, and to persuade her as much as he may to remove all from hence on Monday the 21st instant. On which day he has requested the gentlemen hereabout to be here with him to attend on her to Derby, for further she cannot be carried that day, the ways being so exceeding foul, and on Tuesday [he purposes to go] to Tutbury—not so foul a way as the other. If it happens that, relying on her majesty's promise to stay here till Nau's return, or that by the impediment of her leg and foot, she will not or cannot be removed without more strain to her than is her majesty's will, he sees that then they are like to be in great strait, though the departure of the Earl of Shrewsbury's people eases this number, for there will yet remain here upon the point of 140 persons with the soldiers. The weather and ways are such now that almost no fit fuel can be brought hither, and pity it is to see how the people and their draughts are harried with that carriage. As for old green wood, whereof here is great store, and no other, that is unhandsome for chambers, but worse for the kitchens. To help all or a good part of this, he sees no readier means to be going hence, than either to despatch Nau hither again, or else that he write to his mistress the Queen's majesty's pleasure for her removal, and answer to some special points which she expects from her majesty by or from him. Or else if it has pleased the Queen's majesty to deal with the earl [Shrewsbury] for the continuance of his provision so long as this Queen must needfully remain here, or until certain days after Nau's return, and not till a day prefixed, he doubts not but his lordship will yield to it. This uncertainty, and the Earl of Shrewsbury's commandments directly signified to his officers not concurring are a great grief to them. Beseeches him to help the matter as much as the shortness of the time will give leave, or else he wishes himself a good way hence.

In this place, which yields very little corn, he finds no other litter for his horses than "brakes," * which being daily spent as fast as they can be cut, are brought in moist, which has marred almost all his horses and geldings, very few of them being free from the cough, and

* Bracken.

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1584. worse. All men loving their horses can consider what effect comes thereof. Would be right sorry to see them in that case in another place.

Finds the Queen of Scots able enough in body to travel in her coach, but her will that way is not so ready until she hears from Nau.

Finds the Earl of Shrewsbury's officers unwilling that Mr. Cave should have anything to do with making provisions here as long as the Queen of Scots remains in the earl's house. Has thought good to signify this to him to the end that her majesty may understand that they must of force remove hence about the time aforesaid. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 16. **458. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV.

You shall receive herewith such letters as this Queen has now written to her secretary Nau, but her frowardness to remove hence is such as puts us here to our shifts to make provision in this place, the earl's store being spent, and his officers will not make any further provision, neither for love nor money, having commandment from the earl to depart hence with all his household here to Sheffield, where they are provided for. And so they are even now presently departing, leaving the whole charge upon me. Wherefore I am forced to send for Mr. Cave to come hither from Tutbury, and to bring with him some part of such provisions as he has made there of "beffes, moltons, and other thinges" to serve here until she will conform herself to remove to Tutbury, where she may be better used and better provided for than we can accomplish here. The cause why she will not remove, she says, is the lameness of her leg and the grief of her foot. But, indeed, the cause is she will not till Nau returns, nor then either, I think. And therefore she is like to find it in her diet, yet we shall provide as well as we can. But, do the best we can, we are like to keep a cold Christmas, for, as I understand, Mr. Cave has almost spent all the money he brought with him, and without money no provision can be made here. For my own part, I assure you I have scant so much left as will bear my charges homewards. I keep forty horses here, and have much ado to get meat for them, and I pay dearly for it.

The earl [Shrewsbury] was content awhile to let me have some help therein of his store, but was soon weary of the charge, and, therefore, alleging that his store was spent, gave me leave to provide hay, oats, and litter, at my own charges, which, with such other charges as I have been, and shall be, at daily in this service, I find more chargeable to me than I am able to bear, trusting by your good help to have it allowed and repaid at my return, according to reason.

Here be forty soldiers, who, now that the earl's officers and household servants depart hence, would also be gone, or at least the most part of them, and I have no warrant to discharge them, nor yet can we keep watch and ward without them as we have done. Wherefore I pray you let me know her majesty's pleasure therein with all the speed that may be, until which time I will do what I can to stay them. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584.
Dec. 16.

459. Monsieur Nau to Walsingham.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 219.

Thanks him for forwarding to him letters from France.

According to his accustomed importunity and his desire to render account to the Queen of Scots of his negotiations, requests some good resolution on the articles inclosed, as also on the rest of his proceedings, imploring his favour and good offices therein.

Also begs that he may have a final determination on each of his offers, from her majesty, without referring them or remitting them to further delay; for as long as she has some conditions to propose, she will always stop, conditionally, the offers of his mistress.

It seems to him that otherwise their only course is to relent in the good intentions they have towards her majesty, especially in the case of his mistress, to whom, to see anyone so nearly bound to her submitted to such inconvenience and necessity, would be extreme grief.

Recommends with all the instance he can the amendment of the estate of his mistress, who has great need of the services she asks.

Would wish his brother Fontenay, who he understands is in Scotland, could be admitted, as the Queen of Scots has commanded him to make the request.

Desires above all else that her majesty would send a letter in her own hand to the Queen of Scots, to whom it would be the greatest consolation in her present state. His mistress would expect better things in effect, from the good natural inclinations of the Queen, towards her.

1 *p. French. Copy.*

Dec. 17.

460. Mr. William Waad to Walsingham.

C.P., vol. XIV.

Monsieur Nau has spent all this day with the French ambassador, where he received a packet from the Scottish Queen, which he opened, and delivered one to the ambassador, a copy whereof he shall receive. There was another for the Master of Gray, and two several long letters from the Queen of Scots to himself, which he read, and showed certain points thereof to the ambassador. Gray had written to her a very proud and arrogant letter, charging him and his brother Fontenay, whom she would maintain to be blameless, and for her part willed him to give Gray the lie, saying that "the wind blew not from that coast which he supposed, but from themselves," and that Gray himself had used words concerning Mons. Mauvissière that he showed himself not so favourable to her as he might do.

In another place he read the like of these words; that the King her son, if he pretends anything in Scotland, is to have the same of, from and by her, and if he will not acknowledge as much, then will she undo all that she has done, *etc.*, with other words of threatening to Gray. And in complaining of her son, that the Queen of England is so well inclined, the Lords of her Council so well affected, the French King so well disposed towards her, her son should fail her, *etc.*, whereby she perceives that, according to the inconstant humour of Scotland, they seek to keep her and her son in division, *etc.*

Besides, he noted that on the back side of the Queen's letters she now offered Mons. Nau the title of ambassador, which at first she forbore, and that with her own hand. These letters have added such spirit to Nau's choler, that he entered into large speeches against

Elizabeth.
1584. Gray, threatening that ere one month came to an end he should prove his errors committed here, to his cost, and that hereafter, when his hands were loosed, he would answer him in another sort, *etc.* The ambassador "laboured" him very discreetly to moderation, and to send the first letter to Gray, and to conceal the Queen's answer. Nau said that he knew the occasion of his first being sent hither was to concur in this action, and that he has nothing else to treat. Howbeit, since, his text was changed, and that all the time of his abode here he never uttered one word for the Queen's liberty. If he has no commissions of the ambassador, how can he do it? That is his fault, replied the other, for he should not have taken the charge then upon him at all. So he confessed it to the King [of Scots], said the ambassador, saying that he knew his mother had evil opinion of him, *etc.* "I, but she shall know of the King that I have good opinion of you, and shall like such as I do like." The ambassador insisted still in very temperate sort that Nau should take heed how he brought Gray again to desperation, and requested him [Waad], while Nau read the rest of the letters, to say nothing of that challenge, saying that he was sorry to see Nau forget himself so much so suddenly to publish his mistress's choler, and that he noted in her to be always passionate, and to be so annoyed with sudden alterations that she could not dissemble them.

The ambassador told how, by urging Gray upon some inkling he had, he learned the whole matter of him of the abuse offered to the ambassador, *etc.*, and the particularity how that Fontenay being sent by the Guises to Scotland, "saw" Gray one day call for money of one of his servants, who forthwith gave him certain rose nobles and new angels. Fontenay desired Gray to change some of them into crowns; which he did. Afterwards, Fontenay showed those pieces to the King, telling him that thereby he might prove whence Gray had his commandments, *etc.* This the King told Gray, and he, before the King, laid [this] to the charge of Fontenay, who slyly, with a subtle answer, would have escaped.

After much speech spent hereabouts, Nau seemed to prefer the ambassador's advice. Whereupon, Archibald Douglas came in, to whom Nau gave great words to assure him of the good opinion the Queen had of him, requesting him to continue his good works, and to signify to Gray that he had a letter from the Queen of Scots to him; and he requested him to deal with the Queen of England for his mistress's liberty, who desired nothing in Scotland or out of Scotland, but to remain here within the realm. The King of France desired to be the first to undertake for the Queen of Scots.

2½ *pp. Copy in Waad's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 18. **461. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Having received the inclosed from the Earl of Shrewsbury, by which he gives new direction to his officers to make further provisions for a fortnight longer, has thought good to despatch the same to him with all speed.

Nau gives out that he has received a letter from Curl, by which he is informed that the lodgings at Tutbury have the windows unglazed, and are so out of order and reparations that they cannot be used; which he thinks to be but a wrong information. Desires

Elizabeth.
1584. to know from him in what state the house is. Thinks Nau will depart hence on Monday next. The Court.
½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 19. **462.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.
C.P., vol. XIV. The Queen of Scots having written to Nau that he had a purpose to remove her on Monday, he has made very earnest suit to her majesty for the stay thereof, alleging the danger she shall be in. Her majesty's pleasure is that, if it can be, he defer the removal till Nau's return, which shall be hastened. Incloses the Earl of Shrewsbury's letter that he promised him yesterday, directed to his servant Stringer to continue the attendance of the soldiers there. St. James's.
⅓ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 21. **463.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.
C.P., vol. XIV. Yours of the 18th, brought to me with an inclosed packet for Curle on the 20th, and a letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury's to his servant Mr. Stringer for a further supply, came hither too late, for, as by mine of the 16th I signified to you that his lordship's officers and household were then upon their departure, so they went hence on Friday last the 18th, when they found by this Queen's resolute answer that she would or could not go hence before Christmas. But if she would have gone this day, as I wrote I trusted she would do, they would have made further shift until then. So that now we are entered into a charge at her majesty's changes, Mr. Cave being come hither with some of his provisions from Tutbury. And for the rest we make as good shift as this wild, foul country, and the time will yield, with some help of beer, malt and wheat, which Mr. Stringer left, to be supplied with the like at our going hence.

I trust that her majesty has [delivered] or will deliver her express pleasure to Mons. Nau that his mistress must remove to Tutbury soon after his return hither—seeing she is out of my Lord of Shrewsbury's custody—in respect of the incommodities of this place, so far from all helps, as by the charges, I think, will well appear, and for some particular respects of myself, whereof I have written, humbly beseeching her majesty again to have consideration thereof. She alleges her lameness, and [makes] some other excuses and doubts. But if she may hear of my Lord St. John's coming forward to be at Tutbury by a day certain—failing such order by Nau—she may, perhaps, be the rather moved to go hence against that time, for it would not be liked that her majesty should keep two houses for this one cause. And in this place are no means to receive and accommodate him, unless he should come one day, and I to depart the next or second day after, for so would I make hard shift. I beseech her majesty to resolve upon some certainty herein, for we cannot well continue many days here in this hard sort.

Touching these forty soldiers whom I have stayed yet, upon consideration of the hard getting of provision here, and computation of the charges between their diet and a "sold," I have found it the easier, and much the quieter way, and to their liking, to allow every of them 8*d.* by the day, beginning the said 18th, during our short abode here, and then I mean to take the course whereof I have formerly written, by the country, until my lord's coming hither with his band.

Elizabeth.
1584. As to the state of Tutbury house, which Curle would fain blemish to his companion for some purpose whilst he is there, as I take it, you shall understand it by Mr. Somers's report herewith sent, who went thither with Curle on purpose to see, and to accommodate the fittest lodgings for this Queen and for her people, whereby you shall perceive in that point Curle has lied like a false Scot. For indeed the house is in very good state of reparation, as I wrote before, and as well furnished as my Lord Paget's stuff, with the help of her majesty's from hence, will do it. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—The substance of that packet from Nau was letters to this Queen and to her folk out of France, one to Curle, and a short one to herself, as Mr. Somers " marked " when she opened it. She said nothing to it, but that he wrote that the Master of Gray was to depart on Tuesday next, and that he would go before him if he could; and for all other things he trusted to make report to her of them shortly.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 21. **464.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. After I had heard this Queen's and some of her people's mislike of Tutbury house, yet much commended by others sent thither to make report of it, I rode thither in the company of Mr. Curle, and by Mr. Chancellor's appointment, to see the state of it in reparations and fitness of convenient rooms for their lodgings. I found it made very tight both in the principal lodgings and the outhouses for offices, and some other lodgings within the inner court. Only there lacked some little repair of the glazing in some windows of a great tower, which Curle marked, for his own lodging is like to be there, but is now amended, as I understand. Therefore Curle writing to his fellow that the lodgings are out of order and reparations, not meet to be used, has done Mr. Chancellor great wrong, who by former letters has certified her majesty, as he heard, and as is true, that the house is in good order that way.

As to the lodgings appointed for this Queen, being the chiefest of the house, standing orderly together, flanking all along a fair large green court, the prospect to the east very fair, and some to the west, but not far, as they are now ordered by transposing of some partitions, ceiling one chamber, and by making of one chimney. There is a fair dining chamber about thirty-six feet long; joining to that a fair cabinet, private, with a chimney. Next to that, her bedchamber about twenty-seven feet long, for two beds and a pallet, as she uses to have, and within it a proper closet private, and other good rooms for the rest of her gentlewomen who do not lie in her chamber—four or five—and for her grooms besides, and a convenient place for her people's table. Besides, [there is] a handsome room for a close-stool, wood, coal, and other necessaries. All upon one floor and under one roof, and a private stair from the place of the coal down to an entry that leads to the rooms under all these, which are in number eight chambers great and small, whereof four have chimneys. And in the foresaid tower—standing at the south end of these lodgings, having some space between—there are fair chambers with chimneys

Elizabeth.
1584. and necessaries, besides some other rooms not far off in case of want. She shall have also a fair kitchen with two rooms and offices thereto belonging, and buttery and pantry in one room, private to herself. [There is] very good water in a large—but deep—well at hand. So that surely there are appointed for her all the best lodgings of the house, the others standing scattered abroad, saving two double lodgings, the one in a tower somewhat aside, between the great chamber and the Queen's lodgings, which are appointed for my Lord St. John, if he will not mislike them for their greatness and coldness; and another double lodging at the lower end of the hall—standing all aloft upon a floor—which is meant for Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] for the time of his being there, and then my lord may have them if he does not like the other.

Thus, in my opinion, and as Curle confessed to me, she should be very well lodged and accommodated in all things, howsoever he has been content to seek to blemish it, as, perhaps, unwilling for some secret causes among themselves to go thither. The country round about it is "champayne," very pleasant, fruitful, and commodious for all needful provisions at hand. "I call it Englande, for me think heere we be out of it in a wildernes." God bring us first thither if we must go, and then shortly further southward. Wingfield. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 24. **465.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. On the 23rd instant I received yours of the 21st, and therewith Nau's letter to the Queen his mistress, which was chiefly to advertise her that he was upon the point of his despatch, rested only to take his leave of the Queen's majesty, and therefore he referred all other things to his own report. She seemed to be well satisfied with that which Nau had written.

Touching the Laird of Easterwemys' request which you sent to Mr. Somer to be delivered to her, and a letter to his brother A[ndrew] Melvill, she answered that though she was minded to bestow that annuity on him which is come to her hands by the death of William Douglas, yet she could not despatch her grant thereof until Nau's return, and then he should have answer. This William Douglas was then the ferry-boy who brought her out of Lochleven.

I am advertised that Nau means to come down in post with one or two of his with him, leaving the rest to their journeys. She has now written him a few words, being tied hereunto, which happening to meet him on the way, shall be delivered to him, or otherwise go through herewith to be delivered to him there.

This Queen is in good disposition of body, and her foot begins to amend, and her leg somewhat, but she says she is not able to set it to stress on the ground. The cause of the alarm which Nau gave you by his doleful words, without causeful matter, grew upon some words from herself, but more from her physician to him. Indeed, as it seemed at the time, she was somewhat worse, but not to cause any such ado as they were content to deliver upon paper, "which suffrith all thinges." By that information, whereunto Nau added of his own "Frenchelyke," they did me wrong, for I never urged

Elizabeth.
1584. her removal, but only sought to persuade her, if by any means it might be, because of the hard course we were like to be in at this time of the year in this unpleasant place after my lord's officers' departure hence. But you are not unacquainted with the French manner that way. Wingfield. *Signed :* R. Sadleir.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 21. **466.** MONSIEUR NAU TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, I thank you very humbly for the good and speedy answer that Mr. Waade brought me yesterday from you to my last articles. But having in them several things to make clear, so as to have, before my departure, a final resolution one way or other without any hindrance or delay, I beg you to grant me the favour of speaking to your lordship for a quarter of an hour, so as not to trouble you more hereafter.

I beg you to remember the particular instances of which I have written you hitherto, and my audience for to-morrow, that it has pleased her majesty to promise me, not being able to delay, because of the state in which I hear the Queen my mistress is. *Signed :* Nau.

½ *p. French. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. No flyleaf.*

Dec. 21. **467.** ELIZABETH TO ARRAN.

His late letters containing an offer—grounded on the King of Scots' commandment—of his service to her, as one whom, next to him, he protests to reverence above all other Princes, gives her just cause to testify by these her letters her thankful acceptance of the same. And for that it seems that the continuance thereof on his behalf towards her depends altogether on her constant and friendly dealing towards his sovereign, wherein he wishes solid correspondence, she hopes that she has, ever since his first being, given so good testimony of her love towards him, and of a singular care she has always had of his well-doing, that there is no cause that may justly be taken by any who are not partially affected to doubt of her perseverance therein, if she shall find in him a thankful acknowledgment and requital towards her in that behalf, as she now assures herself she will. For she is not easily "carried," especially by such as he notes to have made shipwreck of honesty, to vary or alter her course towards such as shall continue constant in well meaning towards her. And whereas there has fallen out an outward show to the eye of the world of an interruption of the professed goodwill between them, she dares refer herself to the most partial enemy that she has—so far as he makes justice the ground of his censure—to judge whether the cause proceeded from her or not. Yet it is not now her meaning either to charge the King her good brother, whose young years, by misadvice—a common mishap to young Princes—might easily be carried into a wrong course, nor yet such by whose counsel he was then led, for that she desires things amiss rather reduced into a good course, than takes pleasure to revive the memory of them—which she wishes had either never been done, or else could never be remembered. And therefore, for himself, as the ground of his affection towards her seems to be chiefly built upon her good usage of his sovereign, so, accordingly as he shall carry himself towards him with that duty that appertains to a servant who possesses that portion of credit that

Elizabeth.
1584. he does with a master of that quality he is, he may assure himself she will from time to time esteem of him, as by effects he shall find, in so honourable sort, when opportunity shall be offered, that he shall have no cause to "forthinke" the great devotion and goodwill he professes, or rather vows, to bear towards her. Touching this gentleman, his friend, she does not find in him that frankness in revealing to her such practices as were intended against her, wherewith she knows he was made acquainted, as she looked for, considering the assurance given by the King's letters and his own to her cousin of Hunsdon in that behalf. Some generality he has delivered to her, the greatest part whereof was before well known to her. But if he had dealt as confidently herein as he dealt passionately in the pursuit of the distressed noblemen, she would then have had better cause to like of his proceeding; though she must needs confess that otherwise he has carried himself in that good sort that she is glad the King her good brother has so rare and grateful a servant.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Draft with corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Fair copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 214. Another copy of the same.

Dec. 22. **468. Elizabeth to Mar, Angus, and Others.**

The King their sovereign having taken a very great suspicion that their abode in those parts where they now are tends to no other end but to practise some trouble within his realm, she despatches this bearer, Mr. Colvile, to them to acquaint them that she has given her assent to their removal from thence, in hope thereby the better to work the recovery of his favour towards them.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Draft, with corrections in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 25. **469. Lord John Hamilton to Walsingham.**

Having occasion to send this bearer towards the King of Navarre to "schaw" myself mindful of my duty, and not unthankful to his highness for his goodwill and affection declared towards me by a favourable and friendly letter it pleased his majesty to write to me, I "haist good" to make your honour participant of the same by inspection thereof, that if it pleases you to employ this bearer in anything by the way, you may be the more assured of his fidelity and truth; for the which I will answer. And because he is come lately out of Scotland he will let your honour understand the estate of the same letter better than I can write. Weddringtoun. *Signed:* Jhone Hammilton.

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

Dec. 25. **470. Monsieur Nau to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Sir, considering myself very favourably discharged by the Queen your mistress, from whom, without flattery or dissimulation, I assure you that I carry away all satisfaction, as also from the honourable lords of her Council, and especially from your lordship, for the good

Elizabeth.
1584. offices and so many courtesies that I have received. There only remains to me before taking my last departure to beg you, as I do very humbly, to send me by Mr. Waade, besides those that it has pleased you to promise me—the letters of the Queen your mistress to mine, which, as it has pleased you to address them, as I have understood, in my favour, I do not wish to fail to recognise the obligation that I owe you therein.

2. Letters of the Queen your mistress to Mr. Sadleir and Mr. Sommer to signify to them how it is the intention of the Queen your mistress that mine may be used by them in all respects honourably and with her surety.

3. Letters from yourself to the said Sadleir and Sommar to testify to them the sincerity of my actions here.

4. If your leisure and convenience permit it—otherwise I do not wish to trouble you—a certain resolution of the new servants required, and of our small stable.

I should be very pleased to be able to kiss your hands before leaving, if it will please you to grant me the favour to permit it. *Signed:* Nau.

½ *p. French. Indorsed.*

Dec. 26. **471. [LORD PAGET] TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XVII. Meeting with the Duke of Parma about September, at Spau, before his departure out of this country to Rome, amongst other things, [I] asked him whether he had sent ciphers, as I had written divers times to your majesty from the Camp, and especially one dated the 20th of January in the same year. Whereunto he answered that he had sent away as many as came to his hands, except the letter mentioned, which he presupposed to be yet at Rheims unsent, in respect that the very instant it was written all means of intelligence, through the troubles happened in those parts, and to your majesty, were stopped and quite taken away. I told him I was sorry it was not sent, because it imported your majesty. He answered that I should find it at Rome, as I did at my coming hitherwards, and since have broken it up. And presupposing it to be somewhat long and tedious in respect of the news and occurrences therein contained, which now time has made stale, I have cut off some parts, though not wholly altered the form thereof, to the end your majesty may understand how I dealt in that you encharged me with, and perceive —though time so fell out that I could not presently advertise the same—that I did not neglect to do what I might therein. The contents of the said cipher follow. From Namur I acknowledged the receipt of your majesty's [letters] of 31st of October, and there answered as many points of them [as] I could, and thought it requisite to speak of, and showed some reasons why I was to stay two or three days before I undertook my voyage to come hither. Which being unfeigned, I hope your majesty has taken in good part. At that very instant I received letters from one Owen newly come out of Spain, wherein he signified that Father Parsons had given him letters from your majesty directed to the Prince of Parma, and that if I were not able, in respect of my late great sickness, to come to the Camp, I should send forthwith a copy of the alphabet between your majesty and me to him, for he presupposed the Duke of Parma's letters had

Elizabeth.
1584. been "written" in mine. Whereto I answered incontinent, and sent away my letters by the post, telling the cause of my stay why I did not come forthwith, that I intended to be there very shortly, and that the Prince could decipher your letters without my alphabet; but wished him in no case to present the letters, if he had not presented them before the coming of mine to his hands, or at least not to procure answer thereto nor to meddle in the matter until I came, adding that I had instructions from your majesty to deal in some points with the Prince, which might be so handled that a negative answer would easily be framed to what you pretended.

This much I advertised him of, partly—to be plain with your majesty—because I presupposed there were certain his particular respects, upon guessing what you demanded, that might move him to be meddling, and so mingle his private suits—whereof he had two or three sundry—with your majesty's affairs, *etc.* And partly because I feared he would ask the money in the same manner, and for the same respect for which it was granted, which was, as the Prince understood, the matter to have procured your deliverance on or before his landing of any forces in England. And so the Prince in denying the King of Spain's will or ability presently to perform the general [purpose] for which it was granted, a general answer would have served for your particular demand.

Furthermore, I thought the Prince would have given more willing ear and better satisfaction in whatsoever I should have propounded in your behalf before than after the answering of your letters, to the end that his doings might have appeared to you somewhat correspondent to his complying and courteous words. But in all these my devices I was prevented, though not in his ends and manner of proceeding, nor deceived. For, notwithstanding the receipt of my letters, answer was in all haste procured before I arrived. Yet for better expedition I took post-horses, although my body was scarce strong enough to perform the voyage by that means. And this much, if haply your majesty finds it strange that the answer was returned unaccompanied, without anything of mine, to the end you may see how I was prevented, and [am] now forced to make this preamble, which may seem to your majesty superfluous; and so I had rather it should, than for want of true information [you should] misconstrue my doings. And what other cause I have to trouble you thus far I will omit to speak of, lest by desiring to shun one error I run into another. So humbly craving pardon for my folly, I return to the purpose and point of my negotiation.

About three or four days after my arrival here I was brought by the Secretary Como's mean to speak privately with the Prince, to whom I used these words following—which I put in English, because the alphabet accords with the English rather than the French tongue—May it please your highness; some few days past I received letters from the Queen my mistress whereby she commands me to do her very effectual commendations to your highness, and in like manner to thank you for the great favour and courtesy she understands it pleases your highness many ways to show towards her, and especially in favouring and embracing her affairs in these times of her troubles; which office of courtesy she always protests never to forget, but to endeavour by all means possible to requite the same, and her further

Elizabeth.
1584. obligation to your highness, to whom she signifies to me to have lately written to give credit to me in certain points I have to treat with your highness in her behalf; in which she says that in treating last year by her ministers in Spain with the King touching her estate, among other things, she requested to borrow of him 12,000 crowns of gold. Which request was granted by his majesty, and she remitted to have the accomplishment of her desire therein to your highness. And this great devotion and desire to do her pleasure has long since—as she understands—" prepared and geven order for the money "; but for want of sufficient intelligence and intercourse of letters between her and her ministers—happened through the late troubles—she has not understood with such expedition as had been required how matters have passed, and how [she has] not yet received the money. Wher[efore] she most earnestly desires your highness, of your accustomed zeal, to advance her affairs by providing and giving order that she may be satisfied therein according to his majesty's will, whereby her obligation will be greatly augmented. For presently such is her estate that she is constrained, for the better preserving *of herself from overthrow, to buy her life of those who have her person in custody.* And even as heretofore she might have requested the money to second some [of] his majesty's ends and intentions, now she instantly desires it to serve and preserve her life until such time as it shall please God to inspire " D " [the King of Spain] to follow some former determinations, or to succour and assist her by some other mean, as time, occasion, and his affairs may permit.

Whereunto he answered that his devotion to do your majesty all humble service was so great that he desired nothing more than to have opportunity to make the same by deeds more manifestly appear. And in this point he " amplified " many courteous speeches. But for the money, he said it never came to his hands, nor [had he] any special commission or commandment from the King of Spain to deliver any such sum to your majesty, and he knew not how to give present order therein, unless he should give it from his own purse. To which I replied that if he had no such commandment or order, that either " D's " [the King of Spain] ministers in Spain had abused you there or yours misinformed you, for by them you were given to understand as I have declared.

Then his secretary Como said that it might be that the money had come to some other the King of Spain's ministers' hands, and after a sort insinuated that Taxis, late ambassador in France, might best give satisfaction therein. Whereupon I desired the " Prince that it would please him to write of his own authority to Taxis to know whether he had received any such money, what was become of it, why it was returned and not delivered according to his majesty's will." To which effect, upon my demand, he willingly granted me his letters, and so referred me to deal further as should be required therein with the said secretary, to whose chamber I immediately repaired to have present despatch. Who made more difficulty in the matter than the Prince, telling me that I knew well enough that the Prince could do little therein, for neither the money nor the order ever came to his hands, that Taxis would be there very shortly, and then the Prince might deal with him.

My reply was, that notwithstanding it was not in the Prince's hands

Elizabeth.
1584. to sue present order, yet I would not in your majesty's behalf refuse his courteous offer to do what he could to know what was become of the money, to the end you might in time, according to his majesty's mind, be satisfied therein that your estate was such that the procuring thereof required no delay, and desired that, according to the Prince's promise, the letters might be drawn to Taxis in form as they were requested, which at length he promised to do. And thus far I have dealt in the first point of your majesty's instructions, and to press the Prince further in the second, to wit, that he should have furnished the money of himself or of his own authority, I thought not only indecent, but altogether vain. Yet for your majesty's reputation, considering his countenance and manner of speech in answer to the first point, that he could not give present order unless he should give it from his own purse, if I had accepted this, I knew very well he would never have given it. Yet I went as far as I could therein without charging him with his promise—which had not been good manner, but very dangerous, and at least would have incurred his indignation. For I made it to be brought by a secret mean to the secretary's ears that your majesty was not only informed that the Prince had offered of his own authority to have furnished the money, but also that he had given order to Don Bernardino, then ambassador in England, to have provided you with so much there.

Whereunto the secretary answered in plain words that it was true, and that if "B" [Don Bernardino] had done his part she had then had it, but the time and occasions were changed, yet that the Prince never offered it with intent to have given it from his own purse, but to have had allowance of it from "D" [the King of Spain]; which now he could not demand if he should furnish it, because he understands there was a special sum come out of Spain to some others for that end. Indeed, he speaks nothing more truly than that the time and occasions be changed. For when this money was offered, and many other things pretended the isles of Tercera [the Azores] were unrendered, and your *majesty's amity requisite. The like distress may happen again, and then you may receive* favour. The point of the "making" the money to London and the farther conveyance of the same to your hands I have not touched, nor [do I] intend to speak of until I see Taxis' answer to the former, whereupon it depends for the other to have intelligence by means of some Italian banker, merchant, or other their instruments remaining at London, I have propounded.

Whereunto the secretary answered with great protestation to have no such, nor any kind of intelligence from London or out of England. Which considered, and the little hope there is that the money will be furnished from these parts, I thought it to no purpose to discover the mean you have by Courcelles, whom—"I presuppose in respect he is 'towardes' the French ambassador, although they had correspondence"—they would be loth to deal with. Notwithstanding, if I perceive it hereafter for any respect convenient, I will propound the same; to do which before they be willing to use it, were but to serve their turns, and not yours. This much for the above-mentioned cipher. Camp at Bever.

Postscript.—"About some twenty days after Taxis returned answer to the former said letter, I demanded of the Prince, wherein he affirmed to have received such a sum of money, but denied to have

Elizabeth.
1584. commandment of 'D' [the King of Spain] to deliver it to anybody, and that others the 'D' important affairs since occurring."

3 *pp.* "Unciphered by me Gilbert Curll vth October 1586." *The words in italics are underlined in the MS.* (With vol. xvii., *No. 56.*)

Dec. 29. **472.** [ANGUS, MAR, ETC.], TO MR. JOHN COLVILE.

Your advertisement to us since your departing has been so rare, and such as we received so slender touching the weal and furtherance of our good cause, that we have taken occasion at this time to "craif" of you what we may assuredly look for in such "heidis" of your instructions as we delivered to you. We are moved to seek the expedition of your answer the more earnestly, because the protraction of time hitherto has done us no little harm, especially "quhen" sundry occasions "wes," and may yet occur for the recovery of our cause and deliverance of our sovereign and country, if the Holy Island had been granted, or some other convenient place upon the Borders fit for us to have dealt with our friends and good men of that country, and no indirect means used against us for stay of our intelligence. We desire you not to take it in evil part—seeing the hard and uncertain proceedings there touch us so—that either we "man burthing yow wyth sleuthfulnes" in not "making" sufficient information of our cause, or that the equity thereof is now "dowtit upon," whereof we supposed all good men had been persuaded "to haif bein good and honest," tending to the service of religion and of both the countries. Howsoever the matter goes, "in cais ye falt be not in yow, we vald be particularly certefeit tharof," that we may resolve upon the "nixt remeid." For by this delay, besides the hazard of our cause, we are in danger of many inconveniences, our lives, as we are informed, indirectly and inhonestly sought, our friends and servants at home "for most lycht and frivole causis executit," men daily fleeing to us for safety of their life, we here in such poverty that we are ashamed to speak of it. But we cannot burden her majesty with the hardness of our estate, but think the great part of our misery to be wrought by such as have dealt with Arran this while past, and by some other instruments, enemies to religion and amity betwixt the two countries, howsoever otherwise in outward show they protest. Newcastle.

1¼ *pp. Copy in Mr. John Colvile's hand. Indorsed by him:* "Copy of the Lordis letter send to me ye xxix of December 1584": *and by Robert Bowes.*

[Dec.] **473.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

Has made her majesty privy to the contents of his last letters, of the 21st instant. Her majesty does not mislike the departure of the Earl of Shrewsbury's servants, because she thinks that there were some among them who were instruments for conveying letters, and for other indirect practices. Nau is to depart hence to-morrow, and has received from her majesty's own mouth her pleasure for the removal of the Queen his mistress, in respect of the incommodities of the place where she now is. He promises faithfully to persuade her to yield, saying that he does not doubt but she will be willing of herself

Elizabeth.
1584. to obey her majesty's order therein, when she shall hear by him that it is her full resolution.

Has always found her majesty most careful for his ease, knowing how unfit that place is for a body of his constitution; but Lord St. John has of late showed himself very loth to enter into the charge, notwithstanding that he has been encouraged by her majesty and some of the Council, and especially by him, not to refuse the same. Her majesty seems to be very much offended with this backwardness, the rather for his [Sadleir's] sake. She has told him that to ease him she will either use her royal authority in forcing him to accept the charge, or else will make choice of some other out of hand to supply that place. The Lord Treasurer and the Earl of Leicester solicit the matter very carefully and friendly on his behalf.

Touching the state of Tutbury, it was judged before the receipt of his letters that Curle's report was but an excuse. He is to have an especially care that there be as little conversation and dealing between the Queen [of Scots'] servants and his as may be, and in case they must needs have some dealings with them, that then he appoint such as he knows to be sound and honest.

2 *pp. Draft. Corrections and additions in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 29. **474. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] looked for better comfort of my Lord St. John's readiness to redeem us, than he took by your last letter to him, but he trusts that your next will revive him. Whereof surely he has need, as I find sensibly in him since his coming hither, and namely since Hallowtide. By his letter he has now answered touching his care to look to his folk's doings, over whom I know "he hath dyvers eyes of his trustyest." And for my part I will—as my duty binds me—be as heedful as lies in me. And, were all these soldiers once discharged—which cannot well be done as long as this Queen remains here—all passages to and from these people may, I think, be the better observed, though hard to be performed in all points and at all times where so many are, and where the Queen's people may walk within the gates at all due times, and resort to the offices for their necessities, and pass along through the hall, great chamber, and court to their lodgings in the daytime, in the evening, and sometimes in the night, when by disease the Queen has need of any of them—as her physician and apothecary have of late been with her at all hours. The like may happen hereafter. This has never been forbidden them, yet they are all carefully heeded, and who has private conference at any time with them, which is seldom seen. But especially they are not suffered to go forth at the gates without the company of some gentlemen or two soldiers.

Nothing is brought in to the Queen or to any of hers but it is first "visited," and then Mr. Chancellor informed of it. As for the orders for the custody of this charge, Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] observes the same that were used by the earl [Shrewsbury], with some additions at his first coming to this place, which he sent to you about the beginning of September. This one thing is now added, that in consideration of these very cold and long nights, the soldiers wonted watch, coming

Elizabeth.
1584 about once a week, is "holpen" to be every 9th or 10th night by using the services of five able countrymen every night from the parishes hereabout, with as many of these soldiers—and sometimes seven soldiers. Whereof three [are] in a standing watch under the windows of the Queen's lodgings, and three or four go about, two at the gate, and three at the least in the court, where all the lodgings are at the one side of it. Besides [there are] two yeomen who watch nightly in the great chamber, which joins at the one end to the first of her lodgings, where her present grooms lodge, and her dining chamber is, when she is able to come to it, where is a door with bolts to it. Wingfield Castle. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 29. C.P., vol. XIV. **475. Letter inclosing a Copy of a Letter from Mary to [ ].**

The Queen of Scotland foreseeing by the change of her keepers and place of abode the great appearance that she shall not long have liberty or commodity for receiving or sending letters, has therefore written as follows:—

Of the treaty between the Queen of England and me for my liberty, I neither hope nor look for good issue. Whatsoever shall become of me by whatsoever *change of my estate and condition, let the execution of the great plot and designment go forward without any respect of peril or danger to me.** For I will account my life very happily bestowed if I may with the same help and relieve so great a number of the oppressed children of the Church. And this I give you as my last and final resolution, for I doubt I shall not have the commodity to write hereafter, to the end you should impart the same to whomsoever you think convenient. And further I pray you use all possible diligence and endeavour to pursue and procure at the Pope's and Catholic King's hands such a speedy execution of their former designment that the same may be effectuated some time this next spring, which is the longest time the same can be expected. And failing then, it cannot be avoided or prevented, but that we shall see forthwith an extreme and general overthrow of our whole cause, never again to be repaired nor set afoot in our days.

Of the 12,000 ducats long since promised to myself, I have yet received no penny, nor my son, but 6000 of 10,000 promised to him, wherewith he is not a little grieved and discontented, *and yet as well inclined to our designment as before, and in the rest of his doings and proceedings to direct his course as I shall advise him.* He is now to despatch a gentleman of his, called Gray, to the Court of England, chiefly to have occasion to visit me, and by mouth to impart to me his resolution in all our affairs. The gentleman is catholic. God grant he may be permitted to come to me. Solicit with all diligence that the 12,000 ducats for myself be sent to London with all speed.

Besides this, written by the Queen of Scotland herself, it is to be considered that the Queen of England and her Council having first by printed libel published the Queen of Scotland to be a confederate practiser with Don Bernardino de Mendosa and Francis Throgmorton against the Queen and realm of England, having also contrived and set forth a new form of association and confederacy, whereby all men

* The words in italics are underlined.

Elizabeth.
1584. shall swear and subscribe to resist and pursue all who shall pretend any right in succession to the crown of England. And now lastly having changed the place of her abode and [her] keepers by removing her from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury and putting her into the hands of base and obscure heretics, wholly affectionate [to], and at the devotion of, her competitors, it is by these doings very probable, and in effect manifest to such as have had experience of the English government, that the Queen and Council of England have made a secret resolution not only to deprive and disinherit the said Queen of Scotland, but also to ruin her person and take away her life, if the Pope and the King of Spain shall not within the time prescribed find some means either to deliver her or at least so to occupy and molest the Queen of England, that she shall conceive and find, as hitherto she has done till of late, that the life and safety of the Queen of Scotland are, and have been, her own principal security and assurance. And by this it is made evident how vain and weakly founded those arguments and reasons were which in the spring past "persuaded" that the succours expected by the Queen and catholics of that realm might without prejudice be delayed and deferred till either the Low Countries could be recovered, the Queen of England dead, or some notable mutation occurred in that realm. And admitting that the said Queen of Scotland should escape this "plonge" and ruin intended, yet since her passing through the same cannot be without the favour and friendship of heretical authority, it were neither wisdom nor policy, but apparently prejudicial to Catholic Church to permit her to acknowledge the safety of her life and enjoying of her State to the favour of heretics, as also, if she perish—which is now most likely—it cannot be but very scandalous and infamous to his Catholic majesty, because he, being after the Queen of Scotland the nearest catholic that is to be found of that blood royal, shall ever be subject to the false suspicion and calumniation of leaving and abandoning that good Queen to be devoured by her competitors, for making the way more open to his own claim and interest.

At the head: "Of this one copye was sent to the Pope and another to the King of Spayne the eight of Januarye eyghtye five *mutatis mutandis*."

1⅔ *pp. In cipher. Signed by Burghley, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham. Indorsed.*

Decipher of the same in Philippes' hand. (*With vol. xvij., No. 75.*)

[Dec.] **476. Negotiation of Lord Seton.**

C.P., vol. XIV. "Taken out of the book containing the negotiation of Lord Seton." First, in the Latin letter which lies loose in the book, and is written to one about King Philip, as it seems, he calls the Queen's majesty *pretensam reginam.*

He also shows in the same letter what favour and fame the King of Spain shall get by aiding of the Scottish Queen, [and] of the catholics as well of Scotland as of England. The date of this is January last.

An instruction for the maintenance of the war in Scotland *ex bonis ecclesiasticis* in England and Scotland.

In a letter to the Duke of Alva by Lord Seton, dated 9 September 1570, he mentions that the Scottish Queen is much favoured in England

Elizabeth.
1584. and Ireland for her constancy in the catholic religion, and for her manifest right to the said crowns.

In a letter of Lord Seton's, dated 19 September 1570, written to the Queen of Scots, he writes that the Countess of Northumberland and other English were recommended to him by the Scottish Queen. He writes also in the same letter that it behoves him to recommend to the Queen of Scots the estate of the Countess of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmorland, who have nether penny nor halfpenny.

He touches the matter of the money which should come from the Pope.

In a letter to Rowlett, Lord Seton trusts how the Countess of Northumberland and the other English are recommended to him from the Scottish Queen : the date is 20 September 1570.

In a letter of Lord Seton's, the 29 October 1572, written to the Queen of Scots, Sir Francis Englefield—by the name of Ingleby—is mentioned to bear a singular goodwill and affection to the Scottish Queen, and shows that he gave advice that the Scottish Queen should send to the King of Spain, and that she should have better speed that way than by following the Duke of Alva. He advises the Scottish Queen to give thanks to Sir Francis Englefield for the good offices that he had done for her, and the fervent affection he has to do her service, and that she would entreat him to go into Spain with one whom she would appoint, to solicit the King of Spain, *etc.*

In the letter of Lord Seton's to the Scottish Queen, dated 6 November 1570, he shows what money he had lent, and was bound for, to a banker for the Earl of Westmorland, the Countess of Northumberland, and other English, at their great lamentation for their "infortune" in causes that import and touch very near her majesty. This letter touches near the state of the English rebels.

The Scottish Queen in her letter to Lord Seton, written the 10 of October 1570, writes that the pleasure done to the Countess of Northumberland and to the Earl of Westmorland was as acceptable to her as if the same had been done to herself, with other words acknowledging their affection towards her, with commandment to say to them that she would be ready to do them pleasure in anything they would employ her. In the same letter she touches assistance, with foreign force, of her friends in England.

She mentions a new enterprise to be discovered, which was amongst her friends, which she doubts would put some to pain, and that she would do what she could to take away the suspicion thereof, and cut off the way from the south, which thereupon might be made. She says further, if there were succours they would put themselves out of danger.

The Scottish Queen in her letter to Lord Seton, dated the 2nd of November,—not mentioning the year—prays Lord Seton to make her commendations to the Englishmen, her friends, who were here, and remembers by name the Earl of Westmorland, the Nortons, Markenfeld, and Englefield, willing him to assure them that she will not be "ingrate" to them for their goodwill. Lord Seton recommended Sir Francis Englefield for the journey to Spain by his letter to the Scottish Queen, dated 20 December,—without mentioning the year. He shows what credit Sir Francis Englefield hath in the Court of Spain, and how Sir Francis showed him sundry letters written to the Duke of Feria and others in the favour of the Queen of

Elizabeth.
1584. Scots, for restitution to her crown, and that the King of Spain for that purpose would employ his own crown.

Relief of the rebels by the Queen of Scots, namely fifteen, appears in the same letter, appointed by the Queen, but not delivered by Lord Seton, for that before the delivery they had received money from the Pope. He shows in the same letter he would speak with Sir Francis Englefield before he went into France.

The Scottish Queen, as appears by the same letter, received from the Countess of Northumberland a packet of letters. Lord Seton in his proposition to the Duke of Alva writes how hardly the catholics are used in England, not only for religion, but also for the goodwill they have to favour the Queen his mistress, for the good right she has to the crown of the realm.

The like speech in his conference with Northcarnes in two several places.

He shows in the report of his discourse aforesaid with Northcarnes, that he gave an ample rehearsal of the names of the noblemen of England and gentlemen of great power, by distribution of the shires favouring the Scottish Queen's action.

Offences alleged to be done against the King of Scots by the Queen of England, with provocation to revenge. In Lord Seton's letter to the Queen of Scots he touches that sundry conferences had been between him and Sir Francis Englefield, and that he used many excuses for his unfitness to go into Spain; but in the end resolved, with great difficulty, that he would go, but that he would not take upon himself the principal commission, with the advice of Sir Francis further in that matter to the Scottish Queen: and that he craved letters of credit from the Scottish Queen to King Philip, and to the Count of Feria and his wife: that Englefield did not acknowledge any other sovereign but the Scottish Queen; that he had a cipher delivered him of Lord Seton's, and another of the Bishop of Ross'.

2½ *pp.* *In the hand of Sir Thomas Bromley.*

[Dec.] **477. MARY TO MAUVISSIÈRE.**

C.P., vol. XIV. Monsieur de Mauvissière, I cannot tell you the pleasure that I have received from your last [letters] of the first of this month, understanding your good diligence and pursuit for the verification of the false calumny which has been lately imposed on me, which I have taken so much to heart on the proof that it gives me of the wicked intention and treacherous practices of those who have left here, that I cannot help troubling you to discover more by whatever means that are possible. For, being accused of such a shameless lie, against all appearance of truth, and the suspicion that they know in their consciences to have had of my too great affection towards the house of France, I do not doubt that they will try in future to harm me according to their power on occasions of greater importance, even in regard to the Queen of England my good sister, who, for this respect and her own good, I desire to be more certainly informed of the foundation of such report. For she will find at the end several troublesome things which will affect her more than me, and she will discover plainly that it is she principally whom the authors of the same attack, although at the same time they try to charge me.

Elizabeth.
1584. Then, putting aside what touches me in this affair to bring it to an end—as I know how to do—with the Duke my brother-in-law, according to the discharge and permission of the said Queen my good sister, I beg you lastly to acquit me of my duty towards her, and in return for the obligation that I have to her for her good advertisement, show her that, for the good of her service, without regard to anything else whatever, she ought not to let pass the occasion that she has at present of verifying and examining this difficulty, of representing herself immediately, and to discover the designs and intentions of one and the other, to the end to judge more certainly of what she can and ought to assure herself in future. And, however, whatever she does, you can tell her freely on my part, besides what I send her by my letters here enclosed, that she will never find so much fidelity and firm duty in the chief of the Puritans and those of her faction, divided in all ways from her in spite of the good treatment they have received, as in me, who by my close blood-relationship feel obliged to have her preservation and greatness in the same recommendation as my own, in which I will never lack as long as I live, and I pray God that all those who ought to have care for her may have the same wish and sincerity.

I was very pleased at her honest answer to my letters, and at the testimony that she has rendered us of not having had faith in what I believe to have been reported. But, forasmuch as the Earl of Shrewsbury has required me by his express commandment, as he said, not to make more instance, and forgive everything—in which for his regard I wish to please him—waiting to discharge myself thereof elsewhere, I thought it necesary, to bring it to an end, to communicate to the Countess of Shrewsbury what the Queen my good sister had told me of her, and having on this immediately pressed her, as I had done hitherto, to tell me plainly what she knew or had heard about it, for which it seemed to me by your letters that the said Queen gave her permission, she replied to me with very many words and much anger that she had nothing to do with our letters, and did not wish to recognise anything of the same as sufficient to reply to; less would she be persuaded that such proposal had been considered, forasmuch as hitherto she had rendered testimony to the contrary, according to the promise that she had made me, and again declared that she had never heard anything of the same either by me or any other, whereupon she was ready to give her oath to the said Queen her sovereign as many times as she would be pleased to command.

I will not repeat to you anything that I wrote to the said Queen my good sister touching my justification on what I have known to her prejudice without revealing to her. For, in one word, I have never had the means, be it in finding myself in her presence, as I have often desired, or in conferring with one of hers in whom we could both trust. And when occasion will require I will give up willingly the right of sovereign that she claims, in order to take that of a very affectionate and obedient younger sister. She must, nevertheless, remember the advertisements that I have offered her in the past. My strict and vigorous captivity keeps me from being suspected of any secret intelligence. Besides that, my opinions cannot be turned to my harm and be wrongly interpreted by those who have established their unlawful pretension on my ruin and destruction.

Elizabeth.
1584. The considerations that you allege to me for not writing to France on such an unworthy subject make me content with a summary protestation that I must present by my letters to the Duke [of Guise] my brother-in-law without touching on anything particular. And if he finds any better proof and reason than that which up till now we have been able to obtain, I will request it immediately with him, concluding that for his respect the Queen my good sister will not deny it to us, and will treat it with the same equity that she has done with the book published against her. For although there is great appearance that the whole has been forged and made up, although the mark may be different, which you have shown me to have wisely judged and known, I thank you for the packet and news that you sent me.

Praising God for the happy success of the journey of the Queen my mother-in-law, and praying that He may give you [ ].

4 *pp. French. Copy. Indorsed.*

[Dec.] C.P., vol. XIV. **478. Monsieur Nau to his Brother-in-Law [Monsieur Fontenay].**

Mr. Dent came to Court for the visit from the Prince of Scotland. It has been pleasing for her. A rumour is spread concerning the Queen of England. Requests him to procure him a full passport from Walsingham, with all addresses to those who have the oversight of affairs in Scotland, and to the Queen of England's ambassador resident here, so that no harm can happen to him or to those who serve in his company. Desires that Mr. Nil may be particularly named, as, being Scotch, he has reason to believe that he will not be troubled, as many other servants of the Queen of Scots.

1⅔ *pp. French. Copy. With No. 476.*

Dec. 31. **479. Mr. John Colville to [Mr. William Davison].**

"Pleis your good lordship," since your arrival "to" Holland our cause has been, and is, very sore distressed. For now the dealing with Arran is growing to some ripeness, and is like to bring out fruit very comfortable to our enemies, and to us very dangerous. Since Gray's coming here your lordship will not believe how he has been entertained, and what credit he has had, and *in fine* he has so far prevailed that this same day I go northward to the lords to desire them [to] remove from Newcastle toward Cambridge or Oxford, because it is not thought decent that they should lie so near the King as they be. And by this means we are so discountenanced, and our enemies so glorious, that "thai swell in thair pryid, and we evanis avay in displesour," destitute of all worldly comfort, saving of that which we are assured to receive of Him who will not abandon the widow and comfortless stranger. Her majesty—"Jesu Lord blis her highnes"—remains very loving and gracious to us. Yet I cannot tell what unhappy disaster is in the matter, "bot ether our impediment or other fallis out quhiche lettis ws noct feill comfort as we expected," which of truth cannot be imputed to her highness.

The persecution of the ministry still increases, and sundry more are yet banished, among whom is Mr. Pont. Some also are imprisoned, specially one Dagles [Mr. Nichol Dalgleish], minister at St. Cuthbert's

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1584. church beside Edinburgh. He is also condemned to die for praying in pulpit for his distressed brethren.

One David Home, who of late rendered the castle of Stirling, is hanged for receiving of a letter from his nephew out of England.

The Lord Claud Hamilton perceiving that his elder brother would agree with the rest of the distressed [lords], is gone to Scotland, and remains under the King's peace with Huntly his nephew.

"Thair is in the whole of ws banisit men about tuo hundrethe, all gentill men," and I find sundry of them disposed to follow the wars there, and my brother William, I think, may have 100 of them if he were assured to be received by the Estates or Bishop of Cologne. Wherefore, I humbly pray your good lordship let me understand what is your opinion in this matter, and that it may please your lordship—if this his intention seems to your lordship to any good purpose—to make some motion for him, like as I think Mr. Secretary's honour has in general written to your lordship to this same effect. Surely we are so far cast behind that in "ane manier" I am "deliberat" myself to "cum" there and seek better fortune. But I will rest till I hear from your lordship. Also I pray your lordship enquire "gif ze can try" where the laird [Easter Wemyss] my elder brother is, for I can hear no certainty of him. London. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

2½ *pp. Holograph. No address. Indorsed.*

[Dec.] **480. Monsieur Nau to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XIV. I think that there is no need to tell you the very great consolation that the Queen of Scots my mistress has received from the permission that you have obtained for her to send some one to visit the Prince her son, as much for the feeling that you must have to do such a thing towards yours, as for the very reasonable consideration that you will have for their long and very wearying absence, which will make me with less ceremony remit to your judgment the obligation that her majesty acknowledges to have to you for such a favourable gratification which she desires to hold from you. And if I am permitted to proceed further, I will tell you that I have never seen such open pleasure and satisfaction from anything coming from the part of the Queen of England, her good sister, as on the occasion, holding the person of my said lord as dearer than life or any other thing that can concern her in her particular regard.

But, sir, in the event of this visitation, her intention is to reply exactly to the petitions hitherto made to her, in order that you might join therein; and as she is persuaded that you would not consider it disagreeable that I should be employed therein, and on that she has done me the honour to give me the charge, which I have accepted, with the intention of acquitting myself thereof faithfully, to the common contentment of all those to whom I can do a service on such journey, and principally for the advancement and preservation of the good understanding and friendship that I have always wished for, and promoted as far as possible between their two majesties.

There only remains for me now to assure you, and to bind myself, by this, to bear myself in all that shall depend upon this journey of mine, as much as possible in accordance with the sincere affection

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1584.

of the said Queen my mistress towards yours, and the respect that you have therein, without that by myself or any other whomsoever in my company anything could happen to the contrary, to which I will be always ready to reply when occasion requires. Wherefore, I will suggest that it will please you to try and request that one of my friends the said Queen my mistress's valet de chambre may accompany me as companion in this voyage, seeing that I know nothing of the language of the country; and for this effect to give him letters of surety in Scotland, in order that there may be no trouble or hindrance in regard to him with respect to any service for her majesty, as [with] many others that have left her since she was in her captivity. And for the present I shall pray you and trouble you with good offices to maintain my said lord the Prince and those of his Council in the good friendship that they ought to have with the said Queen your mistress; from whom on this occasion I desire . . . if I were . . . addressing my said Lord the Prince as if I were his second mother . . . to her majesty's ambassador resident in Scotland. From whom, if I may please you to favour me besides with passport necessary for this, I beg you to command it as fully as possible. I shall remain perpetually obliged, and I . . . by the anagram of their majesties' two names and some verses of Monsieur de Ruissean on the place . . . to the said anagram.

2 *pp. French. Draft in Nau's hand.*

[Dec.] C.P., vol. XIV.

481. PROTESTATION BY THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY, ETC.

Memorandum of what the Countess of Shrewsbury and her two youngest sons have to declare.

That never have they known that the Queen of Scots had had any child since her arrival in this realm, nor had behaved otherwise than a Queen and Princess of her quality should do in honour and chastity.

They have never, secretly or otherwise, in any manner, nor with anyone whoever it may be, said and reported as said, or reported directly or indirectly anything against the honour of the said Queen of Scots in such case.

They hold the rumours as very false, scandalous lies, and maliciously invented and set on foot, which hitherto have been spread in this kingdom and others, that the said Queen of Scotland had had one or several children by the Earl of Shrewsbury, husband of the said Countess; protesting that they were not the authors, inventors or reporters of it. And their testimony and declarations above conform with those which they have already made before the gentlemen of the Council; swearing solemnly on their faith towards God and allegiance towards their sovereign to be true, offering to uphold it throughout and against everything when it shall be necessary.

½ *p. French. Indorsed:* "Protestacion by the Countesse of Shrewsbury, *etc.*"

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 7.

482. JAMES VI. TO SECRETARY [MAITLAND].

"Secretaire, as ye have allreadie bounde this bearare with great obligation unto yow for shawing youre good will to exspeid his action,

Elizabeth.
1584. sa I pray you meritt thankis at my handis for his sayke in ending out with speide that quhilk ye have fraklie begunn in his causes, to the end he may be na langer abstractit from the awaiting on my service. Fairueill." *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Holograph. Indorsed:* "To our secretaire."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 118b.

483. Reformation of the Borders.

"These orders I think, under correction of the wiser sort, would better help the strength of the Borders than the late statute in the county of Northumberland."

1. That according to the statute a commission be directed to such as shall please her majesty, authorising an inquiry into the decay of the fences and habitations, and of horses and armour and the causes thereof, and the amending or removing of the causes.

2. Such commissioners shall cause the lord of the inhabitants of the decayed houses to assist the tenants to rebuild the same, and inclose all land that was inclosed in the 27th year of King Henry VII., if there is not as much land inclosed as was in the said year.

3. Every landlord within 24 miles of the Borders shall cause his tenants to fence in their tenements with quickwood, for defence against the enemy.

4. If any refuse to make reasonable exchange of their lands so that the tenants may fence all their lands together, the lord warden, with such men as the owner of the inheritance may appoint, shall make reasonable order in the matter.

5. Owners of waste and moor land within 24 miles of the Borders shall inclose so much of the said land as the commissioners shall deem fit for growing corn, for meadow land, or for pasture. They shall set houses thereon for men apt for the Prince's service, to dwell in, provided sufficient common is left for such as have right.

6. The landlord, with the advice of the lord warden, shall cause his tenants to arm themselves in the manner accustomed in that country, for the Prince's service.

7. If since 27 Henry VIII. any tenement has been divided, then the most suitable tenant shall be caused to prepare horses and arms for service, with the assistance of the other tenants, in the charges thereof.

8. Every landlord shall see that each of his tenants has in his house, for the prince's service and his own defence, a steel cap, a bow, and a sheaf of arrows, a sword and a dagger, if he be an archer. If he is no archer he shall have a coat of plate, a steel cap, a black bill with sword and dagger.

9. The landlord shall assist in the furnishing of the same, if his tenant be too poor, and his poverty is deemed by the commissioners to be the result of the hard dealing of the lord.

10. All landlords shall displace any Scottish tenants on his land, for English tenants, upon a pain.

11. That the inhabitants of the bishopric of Durham shall serve the Queen on horseback and on foot, according to ancient service, as they have done always since 27 Henry VIII.

2½ *pp.*

Elizabeth.
1584.

484. SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

[A list of Scottish nobles, and genealogical notes of the descent of Colonel William Stewart and others.]

1 *p.* *In Burghley's hand. No indorsement.*

485. SPOILS BY SCOTTISH PIRATES.

"A note of spoyls committed by Scottish pyrats uppon the subjectes of England within these years past, whereof there hath been no restitution made."

1580. William Gittins, of Bristol, spoiled by one Jenison, a Scottish pirate, of a ship and goods on the coast of Ireland, value—960*l.*

1581. Robert Witter, of Liverpool. His ship and goods driven on the coast of Cantyre were taken by a lord of this country. His loss—200*l.*

April 1581. The *Swallow*, of London, spoiled to the sum of—1000*l.*

May 1584. The *Hound*, of Colchester. Loss—1088*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

1584. The fishermen of Northumberland spoiled on the coast of Scotland this last summer to the value of—1100*l.*

June 1584. The fishermen of Suffolk spoiled in their return from Ireland by Scottish pirates.

July 1584. Divers fishermen of Yarmouth in Norfolk were spoiled on the coast of Scotland by pirates of the country to the value of—360*l.*

Sum—4708*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

486. SPOILS BY SCOTTISH PIRATES.

"Spoiles commytted by the subjectes of the Kinge of Scottes uppon the subjectes of this realme, and to this daie no recompence made for the same."

Robert Witter, of Liverpool, about 1580 or 1581, having a barque laden with corn, herrings and other goods, driven by contrary winds to Scotland, had the same taken away from his servants by a lord of that country; and although the said Witter was a year and a half suitor in Scotland to the King for restitution, and obtained the King's letters to that purpose, yet could he recover nothing: his loss and charges amounting to—200*l.*

The *Swallow* of Londen, ladened at Bruges with linen, cloth, raw silk, thread and other Flanders wares belonging to Richard Stapers, Bernard Windor, Nicholas Jones and others, and bound for London, was spoiled in April 1581 by Scottish pirates of all the said goods, to the value of—1000*l.*

The *Hound* of Colchester [belonging to] Mr. Thomas Stamford, laden with wines, sugars, spices and other goods, and 548*l.* 10*s.* in ready money belonging to John Lone, of Colchester, on her way from Ireland to Rochelle, in May 1584 encountered a great ship of war, whereof James Lockerde, Scottish man, was captain, and James Donvyn, Scot, master; and with force and violence, and shot of ordnance, taken, and by them spoiled of all the said goods and money, together with the ship's

Elizabeth.
1584. ordnance, apparel, victuals, mariners' apparel, and other necessaries, value—1088*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*

Five or six ships more of Norfolk and Suffolk were about the same time spoiled by the said Lockerd and company, but to what value no proof was made in this Court of the Admiralty.

1 *p. Indorsed.*

487. Accusations against Angus, Mar, etc., with their Answers.

"The thre heidis quhairupone we wer accusit. First that with xij^{c} men we shuld haif environit the abbay and seasit upone our maister the Kingis majesteis person, quhilk becaus of many impedimentis took na effect. The 2, that we shuld haif devysit to haif interteneit fyftie men, and quhen his majesteis hors had bene wereit at hunting to haif laid violent handis upon his majesteis auin persone, and then haif brocht him tether to the hous of Dunglas, Cumlagt or to ane yill within Lough Lomond bot becaus of delayis of tyme and impediments yat occuryit, yerupon, we took us to the therd most pernicious of all that, evrie ane of us ther and the Abbot of Arbroath sute haif subornit twa of our auin servands to kill his majesties most sacred persone. Then being dissegysit wit swift horses to eschew quhen as they had accomplished thair wickit purpose.

Oure answer was to this effect—sa far as I remember. Surelie the crymes are great yat are laid unto our charge and sumelile the mair grevous unto us, that in na thing being left presentlye be ye malice of our enemies yerof we ar not spoilit, saif hir majesteis good opinion of us and our auin honour, quhilk boyth by this calumnie they think goe to depryve us of, allvyis we hoip in God ye contrair effect sall pruif, seing we haif obtenit at hir majesteis and your honour's hands to be hard before we be convicted. Quhilk surelie we culd nevir obtene in our auin countree. Bot to com to this creime yair upone we ar accusit; it is not unknawin to your lordship nather to my lord's ambassadour that evir senc the first arryvell of the Erle of Levenox in Scotland, we yat ar heir present and many mo of the nobeletie seing the danger imenent to the religion, the perwell quherin his majesteis auin persone wes, the dissolution of the ametie betuix thos twa nationis to be amed at, socht be all lawefull and ordinar meanes to remufe sich pernitious conselours frome his majestie, as it became faythfull subjects. Quhat we had for us that they amed at, this mark by God's grace heirefter, quhen as we entre in the apolygie and defence of our caus we shall mak it cleir, but presentlie, becaus we ar to answer to accusationis laid out agains us, we will not truble your honours yairwith. It pleaseit God for a certane tyme for to remufe sic pernitious counsalours from his majestie, at quhilk tyme we yat are heir present remanit continewalie about his majestie and occasion sent us gif enie we had had any sic malicius and wickit purposs in our thochts, to haif accomplishit yame without danger and heirm to any.

Lord Ambassadour, we call you to bear witnes as quho is sent from his majestie our maister to heir the treuth tryit, gif evir induring the tyme of our remanying with his majestie you saw any uncumlie deid or any unreverend woord towart his majestie, yea, or gif evir

Elizabeth.
1584. our enemeis wer so impudent to accuse us of sic a cryme. It is true it was laid yen to our charge that we shuld haif betrayit him for money to hir majestie, and now we ar burthenit to go about to sute his majesteis lyfe, quhen nather tyme nor occasioun suits us to accomplishe any sic wickit purpose, how liclie yis is, your honours may easelie jige. Nather speik we this to the end that our loyaltie and good service in tymes past suld be any excuse for any trahisons now devysit by ws, bot at the least it may appeir probablie that haifing yat same caus then as now, and ye certan aunser to us without danger to accomplish our purpose, and not doing the same, nather nevir intending it, it is not liklie that evir sic barbarus creweltie suld haif sunkyn in our harts, quhen without danger we culd not haif accomplishit our purpose, nather without perpetuall infamie levit yairefter.

It is trew we must confes, yat yf tyme and occasioun had suit us heirtofore, that we myght haif remufit sic pernitious consalours from his majestie, quho yit shootis at the same mark, we knaw we suld haif done God, his majestie, and boyth the nations good service ever keping this in memorie, yat as the end yairat we shooite is godlie, lawfull and honest without danger to his majesteis sacred persone, quhat we haif for us that thir men prosecuetes the selff same course where the others reft of be God's grace heirefter we sall declair to your honours.

In respect yairfor of evill estates quhilk thes men hes done and dois dailie bayth in generall unto our nation, and in particular towart our selffis, we trust your honoure will not burdene us to mak any purgation to yame, quhat sumever our intention hes bene althoct yat we may cleir our selfis, yit, seing how prejudiciall it is unto our caus and hurtfull to our auin honouris, we look not to be burdenit yairwith. As concerning any thing menit aganis the kings majestie by us we sall not only be anserable sens our coming to Ingland, bot sens our youth to this day, ather direcly or indirectlie.

Thair is thre accusations laid agens ws, the two first allegit to be devysit by ws because of the middis and impedimentis yat fell yairin were not able to be brocht to execution, the therd a treason devysit by us and had bene accomplished, gif it had not bene revelit.

As to the first, yf we had cume quhair his majestie had bene with few or mony desyers our selffis for to haif bene hard, had mouit his majestie by good reasones to haif remufit sic wickit consalours from his cumpany without any violence, finelie we had done his majestie good service and had been aunserable for the same by all lawis. Bot to anser directlie and not to truble your lordship yat we myct do of law, we nevir devysit no sic purpose.

As to the secund, quhair we shute haif had fyftie horse and laid violent handis on his majestie and brocht him to sum of the housses or places, we anser, that yf any faytfull subject on fute or horse many or few mycht move his majestie to see ye perrell and danger presentlie imminent by thos quha are with him, to his auin persone, and yat cuntrie, and heirupon movit his majestie upone good ressones to withdraw himself from yair cumpanie to any place sure for his majesteis auin persone, till sic tyme as his moist lyell and faythfull subjects of quhois gud service he had had experience, mycht haif cume to him to knaw they had done God, his majestie and boyth thir

Elizabeth.
1584. realmes good services. But to anser directlie to our accusation, we nevir devysit any sic purpose.

As to the third, surely we abhor to speik of it, and esteim if evir it had cume to our thocht, mekle les to haif beine spokyn be our mouth and execut be our devyse, that we wer not woorthy to leif or receave any, mekle les to be reteint within hir majesteis dominons, and so we think the thocht of it, lett be the deid or woord, is cryme aneucht yf it mycht be proved.

It wes anserit unto us—as I remember—that for the verefeing yairof and specialie of the first two heids, thair was the Lard of Duntreyth's deposition, the speche deliverit be ane Robert Hammilton of [ ],* and the Lards of Drumquhassill and Manis boyth execut for ye same, and letteris allegit to the same effect send be sum of us to the Lard of Duntreyth, one Jhone Home, quhairupone we wer demandit yf we send any letteris to the Lard of Duntreyth. Our anser was to that point—towart our letteris that sence our cuming in Ingland, the haill good men in our cuntre being miscontent, we receavit comfort of mony and mony receavit the lyke of us, bot that evir we send ane lettir to theyis effects or any uther, that myct import hurt to his majestie, we nevir send any to the Lard of Duntreyth nor na uther. It wes yen demanded yf we send any to Duntreyth at all. Our anser wes yat althoct it wes no falt unto ws to send letteris in Scotland so yat they wer not prejudiciall to his majestie or estait, yit sic wes ye violence of our enemies yat yf they onlie receavit a commendation from ws they wer strischt way openit, and for verefeing yairof declairs ye execution of one David Home, sua that thair honours behuifit to bear with us, althoct we anser not in yat points, yf we send letteris in Scotland or not, and quhairunto, for thair is great difference to send letteris in Scotland and to that effect. So that least we suld by purgation of our selffs appere to accuse uthers, we behuifit to abstene from anssering to yat point.

As to the prufes laid owt aganis ws, we desirt yat ather at that tyme or yaireftir, my lord ambassadour wald declair quhat wer ye depositions of the Lardis of Drumquhassil and Manis. And yairupone he declairt yat the Lard of Manis denyit evir knaulege of sic purposs yat we wes convicted upone ane practeis conspirit agains the chancellour of Scotland the Earl of Arrane, as he revelit, sua to yat we maid na ansser becaus it was impertinent to us, and we wer not accusit yairof.

As to the Lard of Drumquhassill, he said he wes convicted on his auin confession upone foreknawlege and conceiling of thir purposs, quhairunto he said he nevir consented. Bot in respect he chargit not us wit haifing intelligence with Drumquhassill upon yir materis, it was impertinent to us to anser yairunto. Althoct we haid sen Drumquhassill past wit ane by resolution to deth, bot thuis melike we anserit,—'de iis qui non sunt et non extant nec est iudicium.'

As to Jhon Hamilton we knew not such a man or hard na thing bot his naim nominat, and so culd do nothing bot deny yairin, for we nevir knew, had to do, nor delt with sic a man nor naim at our command.

As to the Lard of Duntreth surelie I knew him not well, bot this

* Blank in the MS.

Elizabeth.
1584. we knew of him, to profes himself plainlie the Erle of Levenox his man, quha broct a commission frome the Erle of Levenox to the kings majestie that tyme quhen the erle was remufit from his hienes, with great vehemence delivert the same, haldis his lands of him, receavit good deid of him, wes in good fauvour and credit with him, wes maid knict quhen he wes maid Erle, as he understands neir in blood joynit to ye Erle of Montrois, quhois uncle hes mareit his sister and is detenit in ye handis of our enemies, yf ather by violence this be drawin out of him for feir of his lyfe, ather be persuationis inducit to speik this, or yf he hes spokin it at all, or yf any uther passion hes ovir cum him. We trust samelile in his auin honestie yat yf he wer heir present he wald nevir say yat evir we devysit sic purpossis. Bot yf he wer inducit yairunto, quhat the testimony of one man culd prufe your honours knawis.

As to the third, it wes allegit yat we onlie usit a simple negation in so great materis and so clear; for vereficacion quhairof he allegit yat the Lard of Duntreyth looking for nothing bot deth, eftir his first confession, and finding himself grevit in conscience, revelit this last barbarus and crewell conspiracie, quho being broct in jugement quhair he wes convict, afoir his convictione, this his confession of his foreknawlege of this last tressone being red out in the audience of fyve hundret personis, ane knawlege yairof cuming to ws, we absentit Jhone Home yairupone, so yat the confession of the Lard of Duntreyth and the fleing of Jhone Home quho took the deid on him by not compeirance, suld serve aganis us for two witnesses, so yat it wes sufficiently proven.

It wes anserit yat into materis quhilkis we knew not nor culd say no more bot deny, as to the probacionis by him allegit concernyng the Lard of Duntreyth we ar thus mekle persuadit of our auin innocency and of his honesty, quhatsumevir he be, that yf he mycht be broct heir and confrontit with us, he suld nevir stand be sic a deposition, or if he did it suld evidentlie appeir he had nevir nothing of us for ye same, and heirupone haifing no thing left bot our lyves and honours, we offir to engadge ye same yf evir he myct be confrontit with us, yat we suld appeir innocent to all men, and heirin devislie insistit that Duntreyth myct be broct to be confrontit with us, for we are assuritlie persuadit yat sic ane fait as yis culd nevir sink in no chryteains breist.

As to Jhone Home it is not unknawin to your lordship yat we wer not able to enterteyne our hoill cumpanie in thayis partis, and heirupone, lest many of thame and him amungis the rest, to see quhat they culd do for yame selffs at our cuming furth of Newcastell, not knawing at that tyme any sic purpose as this to be laid to his charge sic as we had with us, we haif exhibit yame all, becaus yat we wer not able to enterteyne him and hys with ws and they ar past away in sic places as we knaw not, and ar not able presentlie to present yame quhatsumevir thingis salbe allegit in yer uies ganis us. To take yair absens as ane prufe aganis us we think your honours will not esteme it equetable, for yair is of thame yat ar in this deposition, sum in France and sum in Spayne, and hes bene yair this yeir and moir; quhom we ar not able to presente, and yit they ar allegit to be executioneris of this barbarus fait, sic is the stuff that is laid out aganis us. Heirunto my lord Ambassadour replyit yat it come ane

Elizabeth.
1584. month unto our knawlege befoir Jhone Home departit furth of our cumpanie, quhairunto we anserit ye contrarie was moist certaine.

Thairupone he callit for his servand and broct furth Duntreyth's first deposition, as he said, quhilk wes of the auct day of February so yat his conviction behuifit to be at the sonest ye 9 or 10 of the same month, quhilk day we anserit yat we cam furth of the Newcastell and allso that we had writtin the same unto hir majestie and sum of the secreit consele, quhilk we observit preceislie. The ambassadour yen said it wes the tent day of Merche yat we remufit. 'Quhaerunto' we anserit 'yat we wer in Stanfurd the tyme of his cuming ye quhilk wes in February, we wer in Cammerage the tyme of the commencementis quhilk wer in February also, we com to Nortwise as we understand the 28 of February, so yat departing furth of Newcastell the 10 of February at quhat tyme Jhone Home departit from us, it is maniefest yat Duntreyth his conviction culd not cum to our knawlege neither his deposition quhairupone we suld haif absentit Jhone Home, bot the veretie of all thir materis wald easelie appeir gif Duntreyth wer heir presentit and we and he to be confrontit.'"

5½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

1584–5. Jan. 2. C.P., vol. XV.

488. Prince of Parma to Mary.

Thanks her for the great trust she seems to repose in him. Assures her of his affection towards her. If he were not entirely bound to the service of the King [of Spain], his lord, he would venture his person for her service. There is no more honourable action for an honourable soldier to employ himself in than for such a mirror of constancy and Christianity. Begs her to believe what he says. She may freely impart to him what she thinks good. Will keep her secret as he ought. Span.

1 *p.* *Spanish. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed. Notes in the margin.*

Jan. 2. C.P., vol. XV.

489. Sir Francis Englefield to Mary.

At the writing of my last [letter], dated 15 Dec., upon an advice from Morgan that his means of convoy to you had failed, I meant to have stayed my pen for a time till I should have some necessary, or some comfortable, matter to give you, and find some way that it might come to your hands. And being now in hope of this part by the receipt of yours of 30th October, I have thought good with these to give your majesty the copies of such relations as I have made in your behalf to the Pope and the King of Spain on the first advice of the change of your keeper and guard, and since upon the receipt of these your last [letters], which did not come to my hands till the 2nd instant. If your majesty shall vouchsafe to advise what defects you find in these relations, and what had been requisite to have been added or omitted, I shall gather therefrom good instruction for any like to come. And by these copies your majesty may understand what I have conceived, and believe, as well of the accusations fathered upon Francis Throgmorton, published in print against you, as also of this new and strange oath of association, and of the change of your

Elizabeth.
1584–5. custody to the guard of men of so base condition. And though I hear that wiser than I be of the mind that this fear pretended by the Queen of England and her Council is certain and unfeigned, yet I cannot concur in that censure, but, contrariwise, believe that the same is but a forced pretence as well to incense the Queen of England more against your majesty and the Catholics, than of herself, perhaps, she is inclined, as also to give a shadow and colour to the world of those Machiavellian and barbarous practices which they intend to put in use against your majesty chiefly, and all those who may appear to be suspected to be Catholics. It may prove better, and God of his mercy grant that my suspicion be more malicious than their meaning.

I can obtain no answer to any relations I give, nor anything to write to your majesty, yet have I oft and lately pressed Granvelle and Idiaques that I might now at length make an end of holding you any longer in suspense, and vain hope of that which I cannot perceive to be intended. Whereunto neither gives me any direct answer, negative or affirmative. And for the 12,000 ducats promised to yourself, and for the 4000 remaining unpaid to the King your son, I pressed Granvell so far three or four days past, that he answered me with these express terms: "quod non ceperint æque displicet mihi atque tibi. Putabam pro certo quod antehac recepissent. Si Reginam deceperint et me etiam deceperunt. Quid faciemus? cogere non possumus." More than this I could not get out of him; and it may be by their moving of Tassis and substituting of Mendosa some occasion might arise for the sending of it to London. I know that Tassis once had it in his hands, in September; and also I know that Mendosa would not it should come to your hands from or by any other but himself. What other impediments have risen against the satisfaction of those monies, I can learn no reason or cause, but may fear and suspect that Mendosa has hindered it, for the opinion he has that by having it, your majesty would the rather adventure to start, which he thinks not needful, nor the danger of your person such as should enforce it.

Of any intention to accomplish your other greater demands here is no great show or appearance, but some arguments from which I gather that the intention thereof is laid aside till the Low Countries may be recovered, the Queen of England dead, or some other mutation occurred in that realm as unlikely as they. It may be there is a better meaning, secret and in heart. But I see no token of it, yea rather some signs of the contrary, of which one is that Granvelle and Idiaques do not show that favour and affection to hear of your affairs that they were wont. Another is that Mendosa has prevailed against the will of Granvelle to supplant and remove Tassis, perhaps the sooner for your majesty's oft motion and request, long since. Yet Granvelle resisting it, I presume it could not have taken effect if the King of Spain had not better allowed of Mendosa's reasons and persuasions of delay, than of Granvelle's and Tassis', which tended to hasten the expedition. A third sign is that the navy here is laid up in dock, [There is] no provision to set it forth, no assembly of old soldiers nor levying of new. But the King of Spain wholly attends to the swearing and establishing of the young Prince, and to the marriage of his younger daughter, which is to be solemnised some time next month, if not before, and thereby the motion made for the King your son [is] now desperate for any of these infantas.

Elizabeth.
1584–5.

If there be any hope of succour from hence, I see no way likely to procure it but by the Pope, the Duke of Parma, and the King's other ministers abroad; and sure I am that Tassis furthered it to the best of his power. But what Mendoza will now do, I cannot but doubt, for the resolute persuasion himself made to me against all present and speedy executions. Neither do I see how he can with his credit now persuade that which he so lately dissuaded with all vehemence. "Lett it like" your majesty therefore to advise what and how you find him in this his new legation, and whether your pleasure be that I treat with him in this his new legation, and whether your pleasure be that I went with him for the convoy of my letters or otherwise.

Still I fear that the King your son's acceptation of spiritual primacy by Parliament, and his proclamation since to expel Jesuits, may much cool the favour and affection of the Pope and the King of Spain assisting him, or doing aught that might much advance him till they may see some better tokens of his conversion. For, though I make no mention thereof in my relation or discourses, nor they here say aught thereof to me, yet do I hear that the same comes so many ways advised from Rome and from France, that it cannot be but that the Pope and this King hear it with the first, and perhaps in worse, sense than he deserves.

What pretence soever be made by the treaty of your deliverance, or by any more liberty given you by your new keepers, I trust your majesty's great prudence will not be abused thereby, as some I perceive be, but will assure yourself that their final meaning tends to your disherison and personal ruin, and that you will not pretermit, therefore, to lay hands and hold upon any opportunity that God and good friends may offer for the better assurance of your royal person, be it by transportation or any other way likely to promise more security, all appearance of feigned favours being meant, no doubt, but to purchase the more advantage against you by discovering your times and means of receiving and sending, by intercepting some of your letters to and fro, if it be possible. And with this I suppose your majesty will hold it for best that I stay and forbear to adventure the increase of your peril by casuality of intercepting, till I may either find some more hope than yet appears of performing your commands, or till I may by some fresher letter from you understand as well that there is good means of sending and receiving, as also your further pleasure and direction for my proceeeding here. Wherein I am very timorous to do or speak of my own head whilst your state is subject to so sudden variety and dangerous mutation. And so resting with a sorrowful mind and bleeding heart that I am not able to advance your service in this Court as I desire, I will not fail to supply my defects in that part with my daily prayer for your majesty's liberty, and for the conversion of the King your son. "At my wonted residence."

2 *pp.* *In cipher.* *No address, etc.* *Decipher of the same.*

Another copy of the same. [*With vol. xvii., No. 75.*]

Another copy of the same, in cipher. [*With No. 437.*]

Lansd. MSS., vol. 96, fol. 46.

Another copy of the same. ***In the hand of Mr. Thomas Phelippis.***

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Jan. 4.
C.P., vol. XV.

490. BURGHLEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Sir, here hath been much to do. Her majesty very earnestly, by my Lord Steward and me, has charged my Lord St. John to make himself ready to take the charge of the Scottish Queen, and he very peremptorily delays it, I may not say refuses. But, I may write, he would not accept it, but rather offers, in a sort, imprisonment. Since this, I alone have dealt with him, and found him, upon my violent persuasions, with fear of her majesty's indignation, that he would obey. But, upon this report, her majesty resolved that though he would, he should not, and so commanded my Lord of Leicester, my Lord Chamberlain, and me to show to him her displeasure; wherewith the good gentleman is sore troubled. And now, hearing from you of Sir Ralph Sadleir's sickliness, she has commanded me to write to Rycott for Sir Amyas Paulet, whom I think she will send to ease Mr. Sadleir until she shall be otherwise advised. Of this none knoweth but myself.

Her majesty would gladly know what the Prince of Parma has to say, and now sending to you his safe conduct, she would have you by some means urge him thereto. She would also have it declared that she refuses to hear him; not only because Don Bernardino has done evil offices, but also because the King of Spain refuses to admit her ambassador who went to declare to the King Don Barnardino's evil service.

I think if the Queen of Scots were at Tutbury the charge would be less. I have procured a warrant for 6*l.* for maintenance of the house. *Signed:* W. Burghley.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 4.
C.P., vol. XV.

491. CHARLES PAGET TO MARY.

Not long since it was my hap to be with the Spanish ambassador, who fell into talk of your majesty's son and marvelled much at the course he followed in taking the supremacy of the Church, in refusing conference with Catholics, and in treating with the Queen of England, which he said was a manifest sign of his resolution to remain a Protestant; and that adding thereto his coldness for the making of an association with your majesty confirmed, as it were, in him small hope of any good to be done by his mean. I answered that, saving his correction, I was of a contrary mind, [and] that some things which he interpreted against him as tokens of despair were to me, by probable reasons, signs of comfort.

For, first, the taking of the supremacy upon him, and other actions of his besides, manifestly declare the great dislike he has of the ministers in seeking to abridge them of their authority and credit. Which I said was a very good degree to come to know the truth, by declining from the evil; which being once known to him, he might the easier dispose the supremacy, being in his own hands, to the person it was due, rather than when it was at the disposition of so many.

For the second, which was for not conferring with Catholics, I said he was not so much to be blamed, considering the dangerous state he stood in, not having any about him of his own nation that was to be trusted, or of sufficient learning to talk with him, unless it were some Jesuit or priest, who, if it should be discovered had once conference

Elizabeth.
1584–5. with him, were enough to procure some traitorous act against his person, and for my own part, considering what open favour he showed to Catholics in suffering them to live there with safety, what great mislike he showed to the ministers in driving some of them out of the country, and the small relief he has from foreign Princes, I marvelled how his majesty escaped danger; and that I only imputed the cause thereof to God's goodness rather than anything else. And further I said that for the accomplishing of this point to good effect, there was no way so meet that somebody of mark, learning and humours fit for his majesty were sent "for" [from] the Duke of Guise to treat with him of some things concerning the commodity and benefit of his and the realm of Scotland, and so might the oftener without suspicion confer one with another of that which might be most for the benefit of his soul's health, and of the means to affect the same.

As for his treating with the Queen of England, I said that he had great reason for doing it. For I supposed that the principal cause thereof was not to any other end than to win time and to stop the Queen of England's malice, who, if she did not take the present advantage to invade him, having many of his own subjects both at home and abroad very disloyal, and who would be ready to join with the Queen of England in any enterprise, and, besides, himself, having no assurance of foreign aid, might turn him to utter ruin. Marry, if in the meanwhile there might be any cause tendered to him from the Pope and the King of Spain, or any other that might prove to the relief of your majesty, I assured myself he would take hold thereof to the uttermost of his power.

Lastly, for the association he spoke of, I said I thought that the hindrance thereof came not so much from your son as by the negligence of others, for I never heard but that he was well inclined to do all good and kind offices to your majesty, and that in some things myself could be witness, as in his respecting very graciously such whom your majesty recommended to him.

The Spanish ambassador did not answer to these points orderly, but grew to some earnestness, and said he understood by as good means as I, that your son would not yield to the association, and asked me why, since your majesty wished it should be so, that your ambassador here did not go to Scotland. I answered that I thought the stay of his going did not proceed from dislike that your son had of the association, but in respect of divers in credit near your son, who had no great good opinion of your ambassador. Then the Spanish ambassador said he marvelled your son did not send to the Pope, and asked whether it were comely his holiness or the King of Spain should send to him. To that I answered, that, in respect they were both greater Princes than your son, it were not comely. But because your son had ever been brought up in the religion he now professes, and never had—being young—experience how to direct himself in these cases, that it were not uncomely either for his holiness or the King of Spain to use all the practices and means they could to win him to be Catholic, whereby they should not only do most acceptable service to God and to all the Catholic state of Christendom. "Well," quoth he, "he must be Catholike afore there will be any good done." "Nor I suppose," quoth he, "the Pope nor the King of Spayne will enter into any action afore they

Elizabeth.
1584–5. be assured thereof." "For mye part," quoth I, "I do pray to God to make him presentlye Catholike." And so, other company coming, we broke off.

I find by the talk he used at that time he receives advertisements from some to your son's disadvantage, who I could wish were otherwise occupied, for discretion and duty should teach them to conceal all which might turn to your majesty's and [your] son's hindrance. And if I knew them, as I suspect them, I would reveal them to your majesty. I thought it good, and my duty binds me, to declare this speech between the Spanish ambassador and me to your majesty, whereby you may fully collect that there is not that expectation to be had of the matter your majesty "wotteth" of this spring coming. And things resting upon these points, God knows when the effect will follow. For I see every day there are new devices to breed delays, and therefore your majesty is to think of some other course for yourself, and to provide for the safety of your person as well as you may; whereof your majesty has need to have more regard than heretofore, because you may well see by the new monstrous oath, lately devised, how desirous they are to entrap you and cut off your whole line. Which plainly appears, because, if the Earl of Leicester—who of late has said to a friend of his that he will persecute you to the uttermost, for that he supposes your majesty to be privy to the setting forth of the book against him—or any of your enemies can but suborn a person to say he would kill the Queen of England, and thereby advance your title, though he does not the act, and that yourself never knew thereof, yet are all they of this new devised association bound by oath to prosecute you and all your line to death. I trust God will save and defend your majesty, as he has done hitherto, from all their malicious practices. Howbeit, if your majesty could by any probable means be conveyed away, it were a course to be put in practice, not as a thing that can now be brought to pass by force, but by cunning and sleight, wherein I most humbly beseech your majesty to give me leave to remind you of my conception, which is to be used or rejected at your majesty's pleasure.

Methinks there is no way of escape so sure as to clothe yourself in man's apparel, and to have one woman so clothed to attend you; and so may your majesty be conveyed to any place of England to pass the sea either to Scotland, Spain or Lorraine—this latter, in my opinion, being the best—where you should "be in your choice," being in a place indifferent, to make your commodity there of the Pope and the rest. Whereas if you should be with the King of Spain, you would, perhaps, be forced to that course of life, and those conditions your majesty would be very loth to take. Besides the passage is long, and [it is] doubtful how the "whot ayre" would agree with your body. From Calais, or some other part fit for the purpose, there might be a ship provided, which might lie at some haven or creek in England for the purpose, attending your majesty, who should never know to what end "he" lies there, unless it were for some ordinary Catholic who was desirous to come away.

The like course and practice being ordinarly used for Catholics who daily come out of England, I dare undertake to provide a sure ship and persons accordingly; and also there may be found very easy horses, and some few discreet, courageous and faithful

Elizabeth.
1584–5. persons to attend your majesty, which will breed the less suspicion. Howbeit, the chief thing to know is how your body will endure a journey, which, in my opinion, need not be with haste. For those that tarry behind may keep your chamber door shut, and say you lie sick in your bed. And if so [a] little space may be gotten before you are missed, I trust all would succeed as well as you would desire. And going clothed, as is aforesaid, though the wind would not serve to pass the sea, yet might your majesty, in spite of all searchers, be kept without danger or suspicion till opportunity served. Now, and please your majesty, there can be nothing done unless there be sufficient persons made in the house where you are to serve you, and by whom you may have intelligence, and to that end—not having as yet disclosed to him any of this device aforesaid, because I know not your majesty's pleasure therein—I have procured one called Alban Doleman, a learned, wise, virtuous, and discreet priest, to go from this town within these six days towards England; who has entire and familiar friendship with one of my Lord St. John's near kinsmen, called Henry St. John, who may "dispende" one way and other 300 marks in Norfolk, and his house is called Hockering. My friend assures me that he has that authority over this good priest that he shall be able to make him do you any service he can. And further he tells me that the said St. John has so great credit with my lord, his cousin, that there is nothing his lordship conceals from him; so that my friend Mr. Dolman not only puts me in hope to know my lord's mind from time to time for your better direction, but also to win a brother of the said St. John's, who serves my lord, to be at your majesty's commandment with divers others. So that if by your majesty's own practice, or by this means, there may be a likelihood of your majesty's conveyance to be put in execution, then shall your majesty do well to acquaint Mr. Doleman therewith, whose credit is so universally good by reason of his function in many shires with the best, and his discretion such for the contriving thereof that I trust you shall find him a marvellous necessary instrument for the same to do your majesty's service in whatsoever you shall command him.

The best of the St. John's aforenamed is a Catholic in heart, notwithstanding [he] yields to the time. This brother that serves my lord is a Protestant. This priest has lived in England fifteen years and so thereby hath great acquaintance and love of many. He is of comely person, and when he is attired like a gentleman of good calling, one would esteem him a justice of peace. He has lived out of England in this town, for his own particular respect, a twelvemonth. He is not a seminary priest, and therefore our laws are not so sharp against him, and thereby he shall be the better able to do your service; and I think, if need be, will be able to lay a course between your majesty and your son. He will call himself by a forged name, which is "Allisson," and I have delivered the same name [to] De Courcelles, the French ambassador's secretary, because by that name I have desired Alisson from time to time to write to me in cipher—which we have "each with other"—how his business stands. I have given him 60 French crowns towards his charges into England. If he can procure an intelligence with your majesty, then I have promised to call off De Courcelles or the French ambassador—to whom

Elizabeth.
1584–5. I have recommended him by the name of Alisson—where he shall find a writing to your majesty, which shall be of no moment, and have willed that his friend shall deliver it to Mr. Bastian or his wife, because I would not bring any of your secretaries in question till there were a trial made of the messenger's surety. Alisson himself will write to your majesty, because mine must be inclosed in his. And I beseech your majesty to render him courteous words, as also a cipher, whereof there cannot, in my conceit, but fall out good to your majesty, *etc.* Mr. Doleman is well acquainted in Staffordshire and Derbyshire.

Mr. Charles Arundel not past three days ago grew into a marvellous passionate humour, and by deep oaths swore before Morgan and me that he would within six days after go into England, because he could not get his money he had lent to your majesty alleging necessity to be the cause of his going. I told him that though my state were very hard, rather than that he should run that course, I would lend him 500 crowns. I could in nowise entreat him to take hold of my friendship, alleging that he would not smite any other with his bad fortune. I went with Morgan to your ambassador, and in secret opened this course of Mr. Arundel, and prayed him to take a thousand crowns which I would have furnished him with, and to deliver them to Mr. Arundel, as in part payment of that sum your majesty owes him. I could not thereby persuade him to do so; which was no small grief to me, knowing right well that he had broken your majesty's pleasure in some matters, and had used your name, what was nothing so profitable for your majesty as this.

In conclusion, I devised with Morgan that he should say that he had gotten money from your officers, and so as parcel of your debt, paid by your officers, he has with much ado taken the thousand crowns, which I have disbursed with much difficulty; yet rather than he should have gone into England, I would have sold my garments off my back, though for my own part I can be content to bear with greater errors committed, and so most humbly beseech your majesty to pardon the same. Yet it shall be a warning to me while I live how I deal with him or any others so "appasionate" in matters of importance, being sorry he knows so much as he does, which was not with my "previty." And for my own part there is not he nor any friend I have in the world that I will so favour that I will forget my most bounden and vowed duty in advertising that which may be for your majesty's better direction. I had almost forgotten that Lord Paget, who is now at Milan, and, I think, will shortly be at Rome, willed me to remember his duty to your majesty. I never dealt with Richard Bankes, because the occasion of his service is taken away. Paris.

2 *pp. In cipher. Signed on the back by Burghley, Hunsdon, Cobham, Shrewsbury, and Walsingham.*

Decipher of the same in Phelippe's hand.

Jan. 5. **492. Mary to James VI.**

C.P., vol. XV. The Master of Gray has undertaken to negotiate [in England], which seems to her very strange. Has the Earl of Arran's letters. Wingfield.

p. French. Copy. (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 85.*) With No. *321.*

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Jan. 5.
C.P., vol. XV.

493. Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow.

Her principal desire is to acquire and keep the amity of the Queen of England. The treaty for her liberty. To thank the King of France and the Queen Mother for their last despatch, and request them to write to her son. Wingfield.

1 *p. French. Copy.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 78.*)

Jan. 5.
C.P., vol. XV.

494. Thomas Morgan to Mary.

I hear of your removing to the Castle of Tutbury, to the guard of the Lord St. John; but of his deportments towards your majesty I do not yet hear. "Alwayes" I beseech your majesty to be of good comfort, and so, by the power of God, all will fall out to the best, whatsoever your adversaries design to the contrary; from whose malicious practices you have good reason to defend yourself. It was told me that Leicester should say that the book written against him tended all to your honour, and his ruin, and therefore he would provide thereafter; meaning by all conjecture to extend his whole force to do your majesty harm; which I hope in God shall not lie in his power.

I have no great matter presently to trouble your majesty [with], but to accompany the inclosed to your majesty, and to advertise your majesty that we be here informed that an Englishman is lately newly arrived, by the practices of Leicester, to kill Charles Arundell and others. I was not able to relieve Charles Arundell's necessity as the same required; and therefore, for avoiding of inconvenience that might have ensued by leaving him in distress, and to shift for himself and his people, I "broke" with Charles Paget to lend 1000 crowns for the said Charles Arundell's furniture, which were of late days delivered to him by myself, nevertheless, as your majesty's goods, which I made him believe I had gotten of your majesty's treasurer for some service much importing your majesty's service, although the said crowns were, indeed, the goods of Charles Paget; for which may it please your majesty to thank him, if you like this office done by him and me. Paget and I were in hand with my lord of Glasgow that, for the more honour of your majesty, he would take the pains to deliver the said 1000 crowns to Charles Arundel; but my lord refused flatly to do it. Whereupon I did the office as I have told your majesty, and told an acquaintance of Charles Arundel's of the receipt of the said 1000 crowns through my hands, as your majesty's goods. Which service of mine I beseech your majesty to accept in good part.

We are here informed of extreme laws made in England this Parliament for banishing of all the seminary priests. In which number Dolman, mentioned in my former letters, is none. But [he] was made priest before the said seminary was established, and is a grave man, and one who has great acquaintance and credit amongst the Catholics of that realm, besides the particular familiarity that he has with some nigh in blood to the said Lord St. John, as I wrote to your majesty already. Whereby I hope that before this day he has reaped some contentment, if my letters be come to your hands,

Elizabeth.
1584–5. as I hope they be, or shall come shortly, by the grace of God, for they were directed to Mons. Mauvissière and De Courcelles, whom I labour to have placed with De l'Aubespin, in like condition as he was, and yet is, with Mauvissière. For the better service of God and your majesty the said Dolman is persuaded to return to England, as I am sure Paget has written to your majesty at large at this present. And when Dolman is upon his departure your majesty shall hear more.

Doctor Lewes is advanced to a place of honour in Rome by his holiness's favour borne to the said Lewes, whose service your majesty may boldly demand. The nature of the office and charge he has brings him great occasions to deal with his holiness, and with all the Cardinals.

1 *p. In cipher. Indorsed:* "5 January 1585. Thomas Morgan to the Scottish Quene. Deciphred. Phelippe." *Signed on the back by Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Cobham, and Walsingham.* Decipher of the same, by Phelippe.

[Jan.] 5. **495. [Father Robert] Parsons to Mary.**

C. P., vol. XV. I have "expected" now long in hope to have received some answer to my long letters of the 12th of [ ] sent to your majesty; the first by —— Morgan; the second by my Lord of Glasgow. The chief matter thereof was about your escape, touched in your former letters to me, that bear no date; which were the only letters I received from your majesty this year past. And upon hope that I might hear from your majesty concerning that point, according to our long desires, but especially of the Prince of Parma, I have entertained myself in these parts of Normandy till now, not without some danger of English letter-takers, and have retained by me some days the inclosed from the said Prince of Parma, to the end I might at last give the same with more safety to [*]. But seeing nothing can be hoped from your majesty, and for that I am commanded by obedience to retire myself into Lorraine for a time, I have thought good to deliver this to Godfrey Fuljambe, with request to seek to get it conveyed to your majesty by the first opportunity that he can; for he is a very honest and discreet gentleman, and very fit, in my opinion, to do your highness good service; for he seeks God directly in his actions; which I would to God every man had done that pretends to deal for your majesty, and then, I think, things had been better in "forwardenesse." But for the time to come I hope God's divine power will direct things better. I and other men would be glad to receive the answer which your majesty shall think good to give by Godfrey Fulgeam, as also to have means to send by him for the time to come.

Your majesty, I am sure, will be informed otherwise of the new broils in France. God grant they do not prejudice also in England. Your majesty shall hear other things shortly of more importance, and, I trust, to your great comfort. And thus I leave for this time, not knowing what passage this letter shall have, assuring your highness

* Cipher.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. that your poor servants in this country do not cease to deal zealously by all means possible in God's, and your cause, the event whereof time shall declare; and we here would write more particularly if once we had a way established of intelligence. Our Lord bless and preserve your excellent majesty to His honour and glory. Rouen.

1 *p. Copy. In the hand of Thomas Phelippes. Notes in the margin.*

Jan. 6. **496. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**
C.P., vol. XV.

On the 29th of this last month Monsieur Nau returned hither. By this Queen's speeches and "countenances" to me upon Nau's report of his negotiations with the Queen's majesty, and his honourable entertainment with her Privy Council being favourably heard in all his doings, she seems to be very well satisfied in all things, and promises to deserve all the favour which it may please her majesty to bestow upon her, when it shall please God to grant her the means to show it here, and in all other places where with her good liking she may be, and end the rest of her years.

She sends now herewith her answer—she says—to certain points which were not cleared at his coming thence; and other things depending upon his negotiations with her majesty, whereunto I, not having been made privy any way, can say nothing, but pray to God that all may tend to His glory, and her majesty's contentment, as her humble and dutiful servants and subjects desire.

She consented to remove hence on Monday next, the 11th, but by reason of the Quarter Session, at Derby, upon that day, where all the gentlemen of these parts will be, of whom I have appointed some to attend on her to Tutbury, the "remove" is deferred until Wednesday, the 13th of this month. And on the next day I make account, God willing, to be there, out of this unpleasant place for this time of the year, as myself and almost all my company have felt by cold and "murres," notwithstanding any provision.

I understand that the plate, linen, and mats sent down came to Tutbury "as" yesternight. Amongst which, I find by the inventory, that there being but sixty pair of sheets, they will be occupied almost all at once; so that there must be necessarily as many more for a change to be provided there by you, or here from such cloth as this country yields, which will be found good. Wherein, I pray you, answer me by your next, as also her majesty's commandment for the levying of soldiers to watch and ward at Tutbury, whereof I wrote to you by my last, of the 29th of last month.

My desire to be redeemed from this charge increases daily upon just cause. Therefore, I humbly beseech her majesty to have such consideration of me that I may shortly see the effect of my assurance, and "stay" upon her majesty's promises so far forth as with my duty I may beseech it; for the present state of my body now moves me to be earnest herein.

I trust you will help Mr. Cave to his despatch down again.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. for the store of money left by him here is gone, and without money our case will go hard, we living altogether "upon the peny."

The state of this Queen's body is much amended, but she is yet lame, not able to go alone. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Jan. 10. **497. [WALSINGHAM] TO MR. JOHN COLVILE.**

Received his letter of the 5th instant, dated at Wetherby, together with a letter to him [Colvile] from the distressed lords remaining at Newcastle. Is sorry to see them grieved as they are; but hopes when they shall understand from him what course the Queen of England thinks meet to be taken for the relief of their distressed state, they will be somewhat comforted therewith, though not so fully as he wishes and as they desire, for that, perhaps, they hold a doubtful opinion that the course that is now held by her majesty will work that good either for the public or their particular that is conceived. On the other side the lords are to consider that her majesty, seeing the hard success that the late enterprise at Stirling was accompanied with, and doubtful that some like plot may have like issue, thinks that more good may be wrought by way of mediation than by any violent course, whereof her majesty thinks it meet to make some trial—not without very great hope of very good success—before she has recourse to hard and doubtful remedies. Therefore he desires him to travail what he may to persuade the lords there to yield to the allowance of her majesty's course. Whereupon, if there shall not follow that fruit that is looked for, they may be assured her majesty will never abandon them.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Jan. 11. **498. MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.**

Because I had directed a packet before me, wherein I declared to the noblemen her majesty's pleasure concerning their removing, and of the comfort sent to them, I made the more haste, thinking that they should have been "at some point" before my coming, on the sight of my letters. But when I came, finding my packet—which was sent away by your honour—not come to their hands, but either abstracted or lost by the way, I propounded the matter to them. "Quhairat thai wer so amazed as wes incredibill." They "tuik thame" that night to their chamber, and the Earl of Mar cannot yet be comforted. The whole number of gentlemen here being in marvellous necessity, hearing that the lords should depart from them, came and lamented their hard estate, "schawing" how they would be cast into prison for debt as soon as the lords should remove, and the poor lords "had no other comfort to furnes wnto thame bot wythe sighing and regretis to mak ane pitifull spectacle to beholderis."

The Master of Gray in his "bravery" made public speeches, where he supped at Newcastle, of such things as I thought had been secret, saying that I was returned with 600*l.*, that the lords were to remove

Elizabeth.
1584–5. to Oxford, and that it lay in him to have made them go to Lincoln, or farther, if he had pleased. For all this I find no disposition in them to refuse her majesty's request, but they are humbly to crave some delay till it may please her majesty either to "consider" more liberally of them, or else that they may provide money otherwise. For if they shall remove "unsatisfeand" such creditors as their friends and servants are "addettit" to, then shall all be imprisoned "how sone" they depart.

Besides this the Earl of Mar has sent for his lady, and, I think, so has the Master of Glamis; and they think it shall be no small displeasure to their ladies if they remove before they be made acquainted with their meaning. Other more urgent causes seem to move them, which I desire not to know.

Because I am somewhat moved by their last letter sent to me, which I think your lordship has received ere now, they travail much to excuse the matter and to persuade me not to take the same in evil part. And indeed my heart is so "fixit wnto thame," that nothing except death shall put us asunder. Yet I have kept myself somewhat closer from them since my arrival than I can do hereafter, for I am sorry to "eik" affliction to affliction.

Concerning the estate of Scotland, "no thing bot continuall serchis and hunting of men moir rigorus nor ye Spanishe Inquisition." The Lord Claud [Hamilton] repents much of his ingoing, but his lady more. They are compelled to "brek" their household, and one of their servants is come to me, assuring me that his lord "cursis thame yat devydit him from his brother." The Lord Seton [is] extremely sick. Arran [is] more credited than ever he was, let others brag as they list. At the marriage of young Farnieherst the King's own bed took fire, which made great "frey" among them.

I am assured your lordship will not be glad to hear of the "departure" of my brother, who, coming home by advice of "medicines" to have his natural air, as he came in sight of his own house, expired on the sea.

The noblemen's letters of the receipt of 600*l.* and allowance of 315*l.* to the merchants shall be sent with their own packet. They are to send one of their own very shortly with their answer to her majesty. Newcastle. *Signed:* Colvile.

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

Jan. [12.] **499. The Association.**

C.P., vol. XV. [*Commission by Mary to conclude the treaty between her and her son.*]

2 *pp. French. Copy. In Nau's hand.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 82.*)

[Jan. 12.] **500. Mary to Monsieur Fontenay.**

C.P., vol. XV. Is to use this commission, letters, and articles. Sends him an alphabet for Maitland. Will send other ciphers. Message to her son. Is to conduct himself according to the course which she has commenced with the Queen of England. Has written him four

Elizabeth.
1584–5. despatches. A word addressed to the Master of Gray. Her health mends daily. Attestation by Nau.

⅔ *p. French. In Nau's hand.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 80.*)

Jan. 13. **501.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

Thank him for his continual pains for them and their cause. This late request sent by Mr. Colvile has for sundry causes mentioned in their letter to the Queen of England, as he may perceive by the double thereof inclosed, "wrocht ws gret displesour." All they desire for the present is that he "insist" with her majesty to take in good part their humble petition, wherein they "propone" only a certain delay of time till it may please her to consider more bountifully of them, or at least till they may by some other means provide for their desolate friends, who cannot escape imprisonment and shame if they remove before their creditors be satisfied. Have also written to the Earl of Leicester to the same effect. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

Postscript.—Request him to thank the mayor of this town for his courtesy to them.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 13. **502.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. I received yours of the 6th instant on the 9th, and find therein, to my great grief, your absence from the Court through the cause of your old disease; but I trust that by your experience and practice of the former means to restore you to ease, you shall not be long under the hands of those who would not be well at heart's ease if all men were well at ease. I perceive by yours, and by one from my Lord Treasurer that my Lord St. John is at last with much difficulty persuaded to accept of this charge by her majesty's commandment; but not with his goodwill; and that you have been a good "remembrancer" of me therein, for the which I most heartily thank you. God grant that there be no change herein, but that I may shortly hear of his despatch from the Court, and give some guess at the time of his coming hitherward; "for the whiche I call by cowghing through colde lowder than is myne ease."

I find also that a proportion of 70*l.* by the week is set down as sufficient to defray all charges for this Queen's diet and occasions depending on this charge. And so I believe it will do, and some spare, being skilfully husbanded: and so as my Lord St. John and his company to come with him—besides the soldiers—do not exceed much above forty persons, as you have written it shall not.

Within a while after my coming to Tutbury, I may, perhaps, send you some notes of means to ease the charges, whereof Mr. Cave had some remembrance in part, and save the signing of some warrants which otherwise are to come from her majesty for the maintenance of this charge.

This day we depart hence towards Tutbury: this night to Derby, the whole journey of sixteen miles being now too great, especially for the first day, after lying so long still in a place, accompanied as by my former I have signified. There is no other fitter way than

Elizabeth.
1584–5. by Derby, by reason of the hills and woods, and yet this [is] very evil.

I have given strait order to the bailiffs and others of that town to provide that there be no assembly of gazers in the streets, and for all quietness, as much as may be done.

This Queen has a small train of her most necessary people with her. All carriages—saving such as must needs go with her—and other impediments being gone before, and are already at Tutbury, with some of mine to attend on them.

Touching new orders to be observed from henceforth at Tutbury for the guard and safety of this charge, which—you write—are not yet agreed on by her majesty, by reason of your absence, and are therefore referred to my discretion for the time, as is signified in your letters to Mr. Somer.

I mean to observe the former orders, according to the places, times, and company: and for the number of soldiers, until I shall be otherwise commanded by her majesty. I have already given order, by virtue of her highness' commission to have ready at Tutbury to-morrow, Thursday, twenty-one soldiers to remain and serve there as her majesty's ordinary retainers in her daily pay of 8*d.*, and six honest able men to come nightly from the villages adjoining, as their turns will come about, who, with three of those soldiers—whose turns will come about every seventh night—shall watch nightly in fit places. And for the daily ward, the soldiers being still in the house, some of them shall supply that service. And one of my men, named Richard Smythe, a man of good trust and like personage, to be gentleman porter, as he has been since the departure of the earl's people; and some others by turns to be yeomen porters; and the watch to be set by James Fenton, who has served with charge in Ireland, and since his discharge, and long before that service, has followed me.

This I trust will suffice for the time until her majesty's further commandment shall be brought hither by Lord St. John.

Herewith I send you a copy of the inventory which you sent to me of her majesty's stuff sent to Tutbury at this lady's coming thither, for her use. And now upon the breaking up of this house, and dividing that stuff from the earl's, and now sent to Tutbury, I send you a note of so much as is found here of her majesty's by the report of his lordship's officers, which they say is all that remains in his custody; and also a note of the wants, to be used and called for as shall be thought good.

It is thought by them that one Lawrence Steele, a servant of his lordship, now there with him, can say most of all his men what is become of those wants.

Herewith are also letters from this Queen to the Queen's majesty. Wingfield. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 13. **503. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV.

Your honour, for answer to your letter to me of the 6th of this month, touching the Laird of Esterweames' suit, and stay for answer

Elizabeth.
1584-5. from this Queen, I have solicited Mons. Nau, according to your direction, without naming you, for so by your former you advised me, but as recommended by a good friend who had dealt with him therein at London—for I had heard that Mr. Wade had done so, and so did he take it. He answered that his mistress was well persuaded of the said laird's good devotion to her service, and would, therefore, be ready to gratify him in a better suit when occasion might serve, and that he, being much about the bishop of Glasgow, in France, might watch for some such means. But that for this suit, being but a small amount of 200 francs—20*l.* sterling—she had bestowed it, before Nau's return, upon one of her gentlewomen who came first with her into England, named Janette Kenetthy. In this answer he added—without cause given—that he was never moved by nor from you therein—only by Mr. Wade. Which, if he had been at that laird's first coming into England, he would have recommended it to his mistress, who, he supposed, would willingly have granted that, and a better, suit, upon your motion.

Touching the other points of your letter, as the orders to be observed for this charge, which for the time are referred to Mr. Chancellor's discretion, and her majesty's commandment to my Lord St. John to accept it, they are now answered by Mr. Chancellor's letter.

As for Sir Amias Powlet to be a second, your good judgment of the weak state of his body, and the distance of his dwelling, I think, are to be allowed as a sufficient supersedeas in this matter. And in case my Lord St. John would like to have some joined with him—which perhaps his lordship would take as a discredit,—though indeed it would be a good company, and ease for him, if it would please her majesty to make choice of two of these gentlemen of these parts, sound in religion—such is the report of them—and faithful to her majesty, besides their near dwellings, their credit and knowledge in these countries, good helps and means of maintenance and other helps at hand, and who will not seek to have their wives with them—all which a stranger will lack—viz., Mr. John Maners, a widower, Sir John Zouche, Sir John Byron, Sir Thomas Cockayn—one of these to attend with his lordship, and in his absence for a time by her highness' leave, two of them to be upon the charge, her majesty may well be served, and they by turn eased, and the burden not found so grievous. Pardon me, I pray you, for saying my opinion. Motions must be made before anything comes to effect.

And so with my hearty prayer to Almighty God for your perfect recovery of your grief, I humbly take my leave of you. Wingfield, "turning our backes thitherwarde." *Signed:* John Somer.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 13. **504. Hugh Owen to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XV. May it please your majesty to understand that forasmuch as the Prince of Parma has [employed], and does employ, me in the following of your causes about which he sent me to Spain, and that I continue in his Court, Father Parsons thought convenient to give me a copy of his cipher, by which I should directly from hence advertise your majesty of some things; and also that you might thereby have the

Elizabeth.
1584–5. better means to be served, I shall willingly obey, according to my bounden duty and great affection I always have borne your majesty, whereof I have given view and proof since, and before your majesty's coming into England, as [some] of them that dealt in your causes can tell. From Spain I could not write to your majesty for want of means, which was supplied by Sir Francis Englefield thence: Dr. Allen and Father Parsons [supplied it] from [Spain]. To both which I gave continual intelligence. Wherefore I will not molest your majesty with any further discourse what passed, and was resolved, all concluding in fair promises; but of performance I see small appearance.

The King of Spain liked best the Prince of Parma's opinion for the manner and order how to proceed in the enterprise. So it depends much on the Prince, who may do most therein, as well [as] to persuade the King of Spain for the execution. And the rather for that the Duke of Guise seems desirous to have it done from the Low Countries, in respect of the nearness and commodity of victuals, munition, and other necessaries fit for such an enterprise. The Prince of Parma is desirous to have it done, and to be the head, partly in respect, as may be supposed, of such glory as princes are carried away with. Also he is a zealous Catholic, and seems to me to have an extraordinary desire to do your majesty's service therein, as I think he signifies so much to your majesty in his letter that goes with this in answer to yours. The same is in Spanish. The Prince of Parma, considering the danger your majesty is in, concurs with many of us in opinion that it were convenient to do your best to get out of their hands by escape, for that there is no present means to do it by force, and in England no place of strength to carry your majesty to, where you might remain till more forces came. So that that way it is not "factible" till there be more forces in the field, or more hands to keep and defend your majesty. If your majesty may, and do resolve to escape, the Prince of Parma offers all assistance of money to provide horses; and I will venture my life to put it in execution, doubting not, by God's grace, but to bring it to pass to your majesty's contentment, and all our comforts. Only it is required of your majesty that you procure within the house the delivery of your own person with one or two with you at the most, at a certain hour in the night, a quarter of a mile from the place of your abode. For the rest your majesty need take no care. Intending to take that course, your majesty's resolution must be known two months before it can be put in execution, for providing of horses, men, and necessaries. The same must also be done in winter, for in summer it will hardly be brought to pass, for that in such great houses people are up long and late, and watches kept in villages all night. But if your majesty could find the means to be conveyed two or three miles off, it may be done in the summer: but the winter is best, when the night is longest, and the weather is foulest. And if your majesty has not taken any resolution touching this point, which we expect by your last letters, I fear it will be too late to resolve to have it done this winter after the receipt of this letter, except it pass with better speed than heretofore. And there is no better way in my opinion than to temporise with the Queen of England, and the while to see what this summer will bring forth for the enterprise. And if it pass without anything done, then to do

Elizabeth.
1584–5. what your majesty can for procuring your escape the next winter. On which you must think, and resolve long beforehand, to the end it may be executed with more facility. Your majesty has had over long experience, to all our great griefs, what want the lack of your liberty has brought to your own subjects and all Christendom " by that the Queen of England will never deliver you, but either must fear or force." And I see small appearance yet that she may be constrained to either. And truly I can hardly hope for better where so sundry expectations have so often failed, all ending in delays. The consideration whereof makes me and many others to wish your majesty to see what may be done for your escape. If God should permit that it fail in the execution, your majesty shall not be in worse case than you are. There are but few ensamples of kings that came to crowns out of prison, and many being at liberty, out of their countries, recovered their own again with facility, and nowhere more than in England.

If your majesty were at liberty, and out of England, you should find both friends and followers enough. In England itself they would quickly have " engraven in theyr head " her that is next successor, and who in right should have proceeded. I have had long experience in divers courts where your majesty's causes have been propounded, that the want of your liberty was ever one thing to stop our mouths withal, and so they do still, notwithstanding all we can say either from your majesty or from ourselves, willing them to go forwards with the enterprise, as your majesty has divers times written, albeit you were in prison, *etc.*

The Prince of Parma is still about stopping the river to get Antwerp. They within are wilful, and the Prince of Parma for his credit sake may not " give over " ; so the siege is likely to be long, and till it is done nothing can or will be " harkened " to what belongs to foreign causes.

In Spain the King of Spain " armeth not," so, for the present, I see no appearance towards the enterprise. What the spring will bring forth, God knows.

From the camp at Bever.

3 *pp. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Notes in the margin.*

Jan. 14. **505. Thomas Morgan to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XV. Not long since it was my hap to be with the ambassador of " P " ——, who fell into talk of your majesty's son, and marvelled much [at] the course he followed in, taking the supremacy of the church upon him, in refusing conference with catholics, and in treating with that Queen, which he said were manifest signs of his resolute mind to remain a Protestant ; and that, adding thereto his coldness of making an association with your majesty, did confirm, as it were, in him a small hope of any good to be done by his means.

I answered that, saving his correction, I was of a contrary mind, that some things which he seemed to interpret against him as tokens of despair were to me, by probable reasons, manifest signs of comfort. For, first, the taking of supremacy to him, and other his actions besides, manifestly declare the great mislike he has of ministers, in

Elizabeth.
1584–5. seeking to abridge them of their authority and credit, which I said was a very good degree to come to know the truth, by declining from the evil, which being once known to him he might easily dispose the supremacy, being in his own hands, to the person [to whom] it was due, rather than it was at the disposition of many, *etc.*

[With a long discourse of the Prince being or not being a catholic. His sending to other princes and they to him.]

Of her majesty's escaping—three manners.

Of Charles Arundel's passions.

1 *p. Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes;* "14 Jan. 1585. Articles of letters from Morgan and others extracted by Curle, *etc.*"

Jan. 20. **506. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.**

Since my last [letter], of the 13th, I hear the King is to take up a more violent course against sundry good men who before were spared, upon suspicion taken that her majesty would be offended therewith. But now since [the Master of] Gray has assured him that at his return here—which he gives out here shall be about the month of May—he shall have all the "distressit" removed out of this land, and no refuge granted to any wanting the King's favour hereafter. Their intention is to go plainly to work against all our friends, specially against such as opposed themselves to the Queen mother in his minority. So, dissemble as they list, none shall smart but Queen Elizabeth's friends, and the Queen of Scotland's favourers shall be exalted. What speeches Gray passed to a gentleman of good credit in his by-passing, Mr. Andersone can "schaw" your honour, if Mr. Bowes has not already declared the same to your honour. Surely they are such that I am astonished to think thereon.

I believe your honour has heard of the death of [Lord] Seton, "and that ye corps of ye lait decessit Abbot of Dunfermling suld be in the nixt parliament takin wp and forfalbit."

I fear Lindsay also shall now smart. The poor lords here "hes" their humble duty recommended to my Lord Leicester and to your honour. They have been at Widdreintoun advising with the Lord Hamilton on their removal. They are preparing as they may for this removal, but "allace"! they are full of "displesour." As your honour desires me, I shall omit nothing that lies in my power to persuade them [to] obey her majesty's pleasure. Newcastle. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

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

Jan. 20. **507. Mary to Burghley.**

C.P., vol. XV.

Her arrival at Tutbury, and her confidence of the care the Queen of England will have for her safety. Desires to know whether her letters which she sent for her son have reached their destination. Is desirous to satisfy her good sister the Queen. The proposed treaty. Incloses a memorandum for her ordinary necessities. Requests him to obtain permission to send one of hers to her son in Scotland. Tutbury. *Signed:* Marie R.

Elizabeth.
1584-5. Postscript.—Her health. This house very irksome at this season. Is more prisoner than ever without her stable.*

2¾ *pp. French. Holograph, also address.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 88.*)

Jan. 22. **508. The Master of Gray to Elizabeth.**

Madam, although I am not able to requite the obligation I have to do your majesty all humble service, yet I shall contend with all men in good will, and "hoypis" that time shall be my very sufficient witness. For of all things that ever God Almighty hath bestowed on me—poor "vratche"—I account myself most "obligit" unto Him for that he made my honest meaning to be well considered of by your majesty, and I hope so far that it shall not turn to your majesty's disadvantage. For in effect it has advanced—I praise God—my credit here, in so far that hereafter I shall be the more able—although unworthy—to entertain the friendship now begun between your majesties. But I will not importune your majesty with tedious discourse or "cerimoniall" words, seeing I have "discours of good subject to amplifie the paiper."

To discharge myself of the promise made to your majesty I will first give a declaration truly of the King's majesty's disposition, which at this time is such to your majesty as though he were your natural son, and minds never to alter the same on his side for any accident that can "fall furthe," his life, crown, and honour preserved, as I hope his majesty's own letter shall give a sufficient testimony. For by it your majesty shall know that at my being with your majesty I spoke nothing of myself, but by special command; and chiefly concerning the pretended association between his majesty and his mother, which shall evidently declare that I am not so worthy to be named and honoured with the title it pleased his majesty's mother [to] give me as her man Nau—worthy to be baptized a lying knave. But I will not do evil for evil, neither yet good for evil, but I will the more willingly "mak his majestie forsein" of such things as be not well meant for his estate and standing. And more touching this foresaid association, that day I delivered my embassage in presence of his majesty and his most honourable Privy Council, I gave a declaration what impeachment it was likely to have made me in my negotiation, and also, if order were not taken with it, "quhat" it might impeach others his majesty's ministers hereafter. So in one voice it was "concludit"—as a thing very disadvantageous both for the estate of his majesty and [the] country—that it should never be. So your majesty shall be freely "resolvit" of that doubt, and shall never hereafter at any time be "cassit" in question.

Further, I declared to the King's majesty my master, how that Nau had said that his mother had the means to cause him put water in his wine, and that she had a greater party in Scotland than himself. And upon this, madam, Nau's brother, Fontainie, has got a charge to pass farther off the country, and is to obey as soon as commodity can serve. He is a greater liar than his brother. I beseech your

* Left at Sheffield.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. majesty to confirm what I have spoken touching Nau's speeches by the first letter it shall please your majesty to write to the King my master to "coute ate" the opinion of such as esteem that I spoke it only for malice.

His majesty was very well satisfied in all points of my negotiation. But a little after my arrival it came to his ears that his rebels were not removed, according as I had promised, and "likuayis" my general answers did bear; which made his majesty somewhat to marvel. Yet I assured him it would be done very shortly. Therefore, most humbly I beseech your majesty for the performance of it, if it be not already done. I see nothing that can in any sort be a stay in solid friendship between your majesties, that only point reserved. Yet your majesty being so wise and considerate a Princess, I see not why your majesty should "equiponderat" their entertainment to his contentment. I give and grant not that they were not offenders and traitors in the highest sort; yet, if his majesty so esteem them, as I have oft said to your majesty, I think your majesty should "satisfie" in that point, seeing in recompense you have him not as the King of Scotland your good neighbour, friend, and cousin, but as your own natural son to content and satisfy you in all things. Therefore, I pray your majesty, according to promise, that upon consideration of his majesty's well meaning to your majesty, they may be removed forth of your kingdom, and I doubt not before it be long your majesty shall find a great contentment in doing of it. "Lykwayis seing it comis to ye propose," I beseech your majesty, for the weal of your own estate, to remove forth of England the fugitive ministers, "or than" ordain some limits to them for avoiding practising within your country. For, as I showed your majesty at my "perting," their "democriticall dissingis" be enemy to all Princes. But I will not insist herein "ne videar curiosus in aliena republica."

I "scheu" his majesty that I believed your majesty could send him some horses. At which he was very well contented, and answered that he would rather that sort of visitation should be used, than any private intelligence, to let the world know there was openly professed friendship between your majesties.

The Earl of Arran was very glad of your majesty's letter, and, as I believe, will satisfy your majesty by his own letter. Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Le Lieureau."

Postscript.—I beseech your majesty that Monsieur Nau may be permitted to come hither, to the end your majesty may see what force his mistress has here in Scotland, and if so it please your majesty, the sooner the better. I thought good to let your majesty "be forsene" of the going of a gentleman to the Low Countries, to the end your majesty may know that the occasion of his voyage proceeds from a particular suit of Colonel Stewart's for his wife's dower.

4 *pp. Holograph, no address, etc.*

Jan. 22. **509. The Master of Gray to Burghley.**

If fair discourse were a sufficient recompense for unrecompsible courtesies, then should I essay myself to play the orator. But seeing

Elizabeth.
1584–5. neither that nor anything else which I can effectuate is able to requite the courtesy received of your good lordship, I must needs "claime to good vil, offering yat as volountaire to do your lordshipe all heumble service as any freind or child you have in ye vourld stud cravers of God, to have sutche hape oneis or I dee to schau you sume nobable preuful of ye same." As it pleased her majesty to account better of the discharge of my commission than any merit of mine deserved, so has his majesty very well allowed the answer received from her, in so far that, I thank God, it partly rather decreased than diminished my credit. For in all points his majesty was well satisfied. So that I hope the friendship begun shall continue, and that rather by your good lordship's assistance. For there is no stay in it if her majesty put furth of her country his highness's rebels, a thing very regrettable that such a trifle should stay so great a weal. Therefore, I doubt not but your lordship advisedly will consider the best, and counsel thereafter. Holyrood House. *Signed:* Maister of Gray.

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

Jan. 23. **510. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV.

This bearer, my servant John Danet, has "indented" with Andrew Melvill, master of the Scottish Queen's household, for the plate which he received by his bill indented of the master of the Queen's majesty's jewels and plate, for the use of the said Queen, as shall appear to you by Melvill's indented bill, which my said servant will deliver into the said office, to withdraw his own. Wherein, besides his own request, I pray you to favour him so that he may be discharged, and have out his own bill.

He has likewise "indented" with Mr. Brian Cave for the plate sent hither with the former for his use who is to take this charge after me, and also for all the linen which was sent hither at that time. Wherein also he beseeches your favour for the withdrawing of his bills whereby he stands charged as to have received the same. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 24. **511. WALSINGHAM TO ANGUS, MAR, ETC.**

By reason of my present indisposition, being forced to keep my house and to absent myself from Court, I recommended the delivery of your lordships' letters, directed to her majesty, to the Earl of Leicester; who, after the presenting of the said letters, having had some long discourse with her majesty, signified to me that her pleasure was that both his lordship and I should let you understand that she misliked of your stay there after the direction sent by Mr. Colvile for your "remove," and was also grieved, upon view of your letters, to find your mislike of the course she is entered into with the King your sovereign for the recovery of his favour towards you. Whereof she rests in great hope, not without good ground of good effects, provided your lordships conform yourselves to follow her direction touching your "remove." Wherein she "looked" that you should

Elizabeth.
1584–5. have considered that, besides that it touches her in honour to seek by all the means that she may to procure your restitution into your country with the King's your sovereign's favour, having so many ways as you have made your affection and devotion towards her appear to the world, she cannot also for her own good—in due course of policy—but be careful to plant such good instruments, as by proof she has found you are, about the King, for the better maintenance of good friendship between the two realms.

She prays you also to think that she is not unacquainted with the doubts that you conceive, that the course that she is now entered into will not work that good for your relief that is looked for. And as she is not unacquainted with them, so she does not doubt but things shall be carried in such provident course that you shall see, notwithstanding, those doubts [have] better success than you looked for.

In the meantime, to the end your stay here may be no impediment thereto, she "looks" immediately upon the signification of her pleasure as well by my Lord of Leicester's letters, which I now send you, as by mine, that your lordships will take present order for your "remove." And to the end there may be no impediment therein for lack of means, I have taken order with this bearer, in case your lordships be not already furnished by virtue of some letters I wrote to Mr. Anderson and to Sir John Foster to that effect, that then he shall see you furnished.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Jan. 24. **512.** [WALSINGHAM] TO THE MASTER OF GLAMIS.

The opinion he has of his secrecy makes him deal as frankly with him and Mr. Colvile as he does. The impression he has conceived of the party mentioned in his letters is grounded upon so infallible an argument—experience—that he does not well know how it can be gainsaid. This answer only may he make to it, that God oftentimes uses the ministry of ill instruments to bring good purposes to pass. Requests him to use his credit and best persuasions to move the lords to take in good part the contents of the letters that the Earl of Leicester and he have by her majesty's commandment written to them and himself, for the purpose thereof is certainly grounded upon her good meaning towards them, and the care she has of their well doing, though they will, perhaps, otherwise interpret the same for the present.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Jan. 24. **513.** [WALSINGHAM] TO MR. JOHN COLVILE.

As he may perceive by the letters written by the Earl of Leicester and him to the lords by the Queen of England's express commandment, she is somewhat offended with some part of their lordship's letter. The Earl of Leicester, who delivered the letters to her, very friendly sought to satisfy her by laying before her the distressed state the noblemen were reduced to, chiefly in respect of the devotion and love borne towards her. The offence taken by her did not grow from

Elizabeth.
1584–5. any mislike she has of the noblemen themselves, but because she doubts that, not following her direction touching the "remove," it will greatly hinder the course that she is entered into to do them good. Hopes that their lordships will interpret it in good part.

1⅓ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

Jan. 26. **514. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.**

The lords have laid certain impediments before the Queen of England which will breed some delay, but sees they are fully minded to fulfil her demands in that behalf. His honour would have removed one of these impediments if Mr. Anderson had been present here, whose letter he returns and requests him to send another in the same form to Mr. Midfoord, mayor of this town, a very discreet man, or else to some other friends of his here who will be able to furnish 300*l.*

Whereas they alleged that it was necessary to have the opinion of their friends in Scotland before their "remoif," they are now resolved thereon. The said sum being furnished, and a letter being written by his honour to them to such effect as this bearer can inform him, their "remoif" will be made without delay. They think there is small choice between Norwich and Oxford. Presents his humble duty to the Earl of Leicester. Newcastle. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. 26. **515. Angus, Mar, and the Master of Glamis to Walsingham.**

This gentleman having affairs of his own to do at London, and being sore distressed with them in defence of the good cause, they earnestly recommend him to him. Requests him to esteem him as an honest and discreet gentleman, well affectionate to religion, the estate of this realm, and to him [Walsingham] in particular. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. J. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 28. **516. J. Forret to Walsingham.**

My lord, in respect of the goodwill I know your honour bears to my Lord Hamilton my master, to Mr. Colvil, and other my friends there, I have "taken the hardiese" to write this present [letter] to your lordship, "quhilk is to participat to you sik novelles" as I have learned from Rouen by a letter of the 20th of this instant that was sent to this town by one "Frere" Gray to a gentleman here called Andrew Gray. "The quhilk buir" that my lord of Ross was "preparen him self to Scotland," and had desired him to go with him. But he had refused by reason that the Master of Gray, who is there, had promised to advertise him when the time should be proper for him to depart. Upon whose advertisement he "vas deliberat" to attend, and to that effect willed the gentleman to send him word with diligence if he had received any of the Master's news. For, however it were, he would be constrained to "part," for my lord of Ross had

Elizabeth.
1584–5. assured him that he should pass with him, and would obtain, if he should refuse, a command of the Pope and of his superiors that he might go with him, seeing the matter tended to the advancement of their religion, and that there was nothing more necessary than that learned men, such as he is, should be in his company. For if that "var" he was "out of doute" of having their Catholic religion replanted shortly in all the country. There is great "recerche of all the zoung men that ar Papistes heir and ar in this toune." My lord of Glasgow is in good hope to receive letters shortly from my Lord Setone, for at his "parting" he promised to him that within two months after his arriving in Scotland "to haif vretingis of the Kingis to desyr him to cum hame." Paris. *Signed:* J. Foret.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Jan. 30. **517. ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.**

Concerning our "remoif," all excuse set apart, we mind, by God's grace, betwixt this and the 10th of next month to depart from this town. Albeit in so doing we shall be compelled to leave our affairs in greater disorder than we "lookit for." Yet if we shall please her majesty therein, we esteem the less of our own particulars.

We are not a little grieved to understand that her majesty should seem to impute any unkindness to us, or to suspect that we have any diffidence in her majesty's care and providence for our relief, in respect [that], as your lordship knows, we have "reposit" only upon her majesty, and have sought no other means to recover our sovereign's favour but by her only. But we hope after her majesty shall be informed of our obedience, that it shall please her still to hold us in her wonted favour and good liking.

We mind also, for her majesty's better satisfaction, to send up Mr. Colvile immediately after the departure of this bearer. In the meantime we humbly pray your honour to continue our good lord and friend, that her majesty may be well informed of the uprightness of our meaning concerning her highness, as our actions past and to come shall evidently prove. Because Sir John Foster disbursed to us the sum of 300*l.* we have received none from this bearer. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 30. **518. ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO ROBERT BOWES.**

Are to remove from hence betwixt the date hereof and the 10th prox., and "suppose" they see great appearance that their removal will be very hurtful to their cause, yet they obey her majesty's pleasure because Mr. Secretary and he advise them so to do. Request him to assist a servant of their own whom they are sending up. Hope the Queen of England will hold them in her former favour. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Jan. 30.

519. Mr. John Colvile to Walsingham.

These noblemen are "concludet" to depart from hence betwixt the date hereof and the 10th Feb. They care for no other matter, neither will they leave anything undone which may tend to the Queen of England's honour or contentment. They are sore afraid lest her majesty should be offended with them. Expects to be sent up very shortly. Newcastle. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 231. Original of the same.

Jan. 30. C.P., vol. XV.

520. Walsingham to Sadleir.

Because the Queen, your charge, is desirous of the speedy conveyance of her letter to the King, her son, her majesty's pleasure is you should in her name let the said Queen understand, to excuse the long stay thereof, that the gentleman who had the carriage of the same, falling sick by the way, and doubtful of the time of his recovery, sent back to know what should become of the letter. Whereupon another was despatched to carry it through with speed, so that it is thought that ere this it is come to the King's hands.

I am also willed to let you understand from her majesty that she is sorry there was so little care had by those who were appointed to see the house at Tutbury furnished, that it was not performed in such sort as was meet for a Princess of her place and quality, whereby she herself has been constrained to complain of the want thereof by her letters, which her majesty is ashamed of, and therefore would have you use some compliments in excuse thereof from her, and promise for the amendment of all that is amiss. London.

½ *p. Draft. Indorsed.*

Feb. 1. Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 232.

521. Mr. John Colvile to [Walsingham].

Please your honour, by my last, of the 10th of January, your honour knows "so far as I haif lernit" since my hither coming, and according thereunto this bearer is sent to desire a delay of their removing, for certain causes mentioned in their letter sent to her majesty, whereof I have sent the double to your honour. Indeed, if they remove before their friends in Scotland know thereof "thai sall ether discourage or tyme thame," and surely without some more help of money they cannot remove. Surely the ambassador's speeches in passing by have grieved them much. "For his tabill talk wes no other thing bot becaus theis poor nobill men wes giffin to prayer he had purchasit thame licence to go to scooll wyth other cheldring." And this he spoke most in houses that are not of the religion. I pray God reveal his deceit before he work with this estate as he has done to us.

I hear that Mr. Archibald Douglas should be made agent for the King there. The nephew of "Black" Ormistown—who was actual murderer of the King's father, and apprehended by Carmichael—is rewarded with the benefit of pacification, and has taken in hand to kill the said Carmichael.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Arran guides all, and will not suffer any favour to be shown to Claud Hamilton except he will resign over his title to the crown and earldom of Arran and take the Earl of Mar's livery, whereat Huntly and Morton are much grieved, and Seton for displeasure is fallen very sick. If her majesty writes again to these noblemen it were necessary that the double of her letter were sent, to the end the Master [of Glamis] and I might advise thereupon before it were delivered, and such direction given us as we should follow. For this purpose let the packet be delivered to me. *Signed:* Colvile.

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

Feb. 1. **522.** VICTUALS, ETC., FOR THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.
C.P., vol. XV. "A note of what victuall, and other thinges, is demaunded for the Quene of Skottes and her houshoulde, by her officers, for the day, for the week, and for the monethe."

"For the fleshe daye."

"Beofe, a brest and a flanck or three peices of the like quantetie. Veale, half, or the quantetie in some other kinde when veale cannot be had. Mutton, j. Pigg, j. Capons, vj, viz., ij fatt for the Quene, and the rest for the housholde. Conyes, iiij. Lambe, half, or half a kid in the season."

"Wilde fowle, vj peicies; everie peice to be compted as followeth —xij larkes for a peice; ij partridges; ij woodcockes; iij snypes; and likewise of all small wilde foule; for hethecock, phesaunt, and the like everie one to be compted for a peice."

"Pigeons, xij; chickens, xiiij, to serve in the season in place of wilde foule."

"Larde, iiij lb.: sewet, ij lb.: butter, vij lb.: egges, xl: vergys, j quart; veniger, j quart."

Per septimanam.

"ij beof tonges: ij calves muggetes, feet, and head. Shepes feet, xl: trypes of beof twise a weeke."

"For the fyshe day. Lynge, half: codd, half. For everie meale xij dishes of the sea fishe followinge:—bret, soles, skate, playce, lobsters, crabes, gurnarde, haddocke, whytynge. In the season, muskells, oysters."

"For everie meale also xij dishes of fresh water fish, viz., salmon, pykes, carpe, tenche, breame, perche, roche, barbell, smeltes, eles, creviz."

"Per diem:—egges, iiij^{xx}xij: buttur, xiiij lb.: milke, ij quartes: creme, ij quartes."

"For boyling of fishe:—wine, ij quartes: ale, iij quartes."

"In Lent is requiered per diem:—salt salmon, half: salt herring, lx: red herring, xx: stockfish, j: which shall be deduced of the proportion hereabove mentioned."

"Pease, barlie, onyons, herbes, and such thinges for pottagies."

"Spycies for a moneth:—suger, xxj lb.: pepper, iij lb,: gynger, j lb.: maces, vj oz.: nutmeges, vj oz.: safron, j oz.: ryce, ij lb.: cloves, ij oz.: almondes, ij lb.: raisons urr, vj lb.: great reasons, ij lb.: prunes, viij lb.: dates, j lb.: sallet oyle, ij quartes: capers, ij quartes: olyves, ij quartes."

Elizabeth.
1584–5. "In Lent is requiered per septimanam:—great reasons, vj lb.: almondes, vj lb.: prunes, vj lb.: ryce, iij lb.: sallet oyle, iij quartes: fygges, vj lb. To be deducted of the former months proportion."

"Sugar for the Quenes chamber by moneth in winter or other times when nede shall requier, xij lb."

Bread per diem:—"mancheat, xviij caste: cheate, xv caste: for the kytchen, manchet, iij caste: cheate, j caste."

Wine, v gallons. Ale, vj quartes. Beer, about xx gallons by estimation per diem.

Wood and coal, per diem.

"For the Quenes bedchamber, utterchamber, closet, gentilwemens chamber, and the place where the dine, to serve as neede shall requier."

"For iiij of the principall gentilmens chambers, j bushell of coles, and a horse lode of woode for everie one."

"For vij other fiers, everie one a bushell of coles, and half a horse lode of woode."

"For the kytchen, x bushells of coles and foure horselode of woode."

Lights from Michaelmas until the xvth of March.

"For the Queen, vj wax lightes weying ij lb.: for her and her gentilwemen, white lightes, iiij lb. per diem: for viij chambers of the houshoulde everie one, j lb., per septimanam: and for Mr. Nau his chamber, iij lb.: the kytchen and pastrie per diem, j lb. white lightes, and j lb. wax lightes per septimanam for the mr. Coke: the pantry, half lb. white lightes per diem: torches, iij per septimanam.

From the xvth of March until Michaelmas the half of the said proportion.

"Laundres—ij and a helpe of one more." [*In the margin.*] "Theis are not compted in the Queen's householde, but in case they shallbe the allowance must be the more."

For the stable—"ij nagges for the Queen's owne person: iiij horsses for her coche: iiij horsses for her gentilwemen: vj for her gentilmen:—xvj. Everie horse j lb. di. provender per septimanam: hay, ij bottles per diem, and straw for lytter."

The Queen's coachman and four grooms: in the same case as the laundress.

Consideration must be had of the augmentation of servants required by the Queen.

5½ *pp. Indorsed:* "A diet required by the Scottish Queen and her officers to be established, primo Februarii 1584. At Tutbury."

Feb. 1. **523. Orders to be observed in Tutbury Castle.**

C.P., vol. XV. "Orders sett downe the said day by the right honourable Sir Rafe Sadleir, knight, one of the Queenes majesty's Privy Counsell and Chauncellour of her highnes Duchie of Lancaster, to be observed and kept within the castell of Tutbury, for the gard and safe keping of the Scotish Queene now under his chardge, as followeth":—

Sir Ralph Sadleir, now governor of the said castle, has caused to be levied and sent to the castle of Tutbury thirty honest men, by the choice of a gentleman sent to the counties of Derby and Stafford, to serve her highness as soldiers in the said castle. Every of the said

Elizabeth.
1584–5. soldiers to have for his wages 8*d.* by the day during their attendance on this service.

All the said soldiers shall give their corporal oaths for their allegiance to the Queen of England.

All the said soldiers, saving such as are appointed to ward at the gates in their turns, shall come daily to such service as shall be said before the governor, and shall be diligent and obedient.

The said soldiers shall be also at the direction of the captain or gentleman porter for their night watches and day wards; and shall not depart from their watches after they shall be once set thereunto until the next morning.

If the said watchman shall see or hear in undue hours of the night any persons within the said castle, especially of the said Queen's people, to be walking abroad out of their chambers, other than necessary, they shall in quiet manner will them to retire to their chambers; and in case of stubborn refusal they shall carry such persons to the gentleman porter to be by him stayed till the next morning, and then to be brought before the governor.

If the said watchmen shall see or hear any company of people abroad in the night coming towards the castle in suspicious manner, and that will not answer upon calling to them, one of the watchmen shall give knowledge thereof in quiet manner to the gentleman porter, with speed.

The said soldiers shall wear their swords and daggers until they go to bed; and every of them shall have a weapon always standing at his bedside.

When the said Queen of Scots shall go abroad the gentlemen, yeomen, and soldiers at the appointment of the governor shall be ready upon warning to attend and wait upon her in such sort as shall be appointed; and none to straggle or wander abroad out of her sight until she returns to the castle.

None of her people shall pass out of the gates without leave, and upon such licence there shall be two soldiers appointed to go with them, to observe and see that they use no conference with any stranger nor deliver or receive any letters to or from any; and not to go further than they are licensed; and that none of the said governor's servants or soldiers use any private conference with the said Queen nor with any of her people, other than officers for necessary occasions only.

When any alarm shall be given either by the said watch, ward, drum, *etc.*, all that are in the said castle shall come forth with all possible speed, and shall be ready to follow any such directions as shall be given by the said governor or his officer in charge for the time being. And when such alarm shall be given, that the said Queen's people shall be warned by the governor, captain, or some other in charge, not to come out of his or their chamber upon peril of their lives until they shall be called for by name, and especially licensed by the governor or principal officer in charge.

That watch and ward shall be continually kept in and about the castle with four soldiers, whereof two are to watch in the great chamber.

And every soldier that is to watch shall be ready at the sounding of the drum, which from this time until Lady Day in Lent shall be sounded at 6 in the morning and at 6 in the evening; and from Lady

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Day to Michaelmas at 6 in the morning and 8 in the evening; and from Michaelmas to Candlemas at 6 in the morning and 5 in the evening.

The gentleman porter shall search and relieve the watch at his discretion from time to time, and if he find any default or offence he shall appoint such punishment as his offence deserves.

The gentleman porter shall deliver the watchword by nine o'clock at the latest.

No soldier or servant belonging to the said governor or to any other of the said Castle shall ride abroad and "lye furthe" of the same without licence and knowledge whither, and for what purpose he goes forth.

The gates shall be locked up every day about eleven o'clock, and so kept until all the house have dined, and in the meantime none to pass to or fro unless they be necessary officers of the governor's or about his business. After the watch is set the gates shall be kept shut, and none to enter without known cause; and in the morning to be opened when the watch shall be discharged—a yeoman or two always attend ing there.

All the said soldiers shall live quietly together.

If the drum shall be sounded in the daytime or in the night upon the tower of the gate, all the soldiers who shall then happen to be abroad shall forthwith resort to the castle on pain of imprisonment.

3 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Orders set downe by Sir Rafe Sadleir for the safe custodie of the Queene of Scotes."

Feb. 1. **524. Oath for Soldiers at Tutbury Castle.**

C.P., vol. XV. "An othe for the soldiours retayned in the Queenes majestes service and pay at Tutbury Castell."

That you will continue true, faithful, and obedient subjects and servitors to Queen Elizabeth in all things, and in this service whereunto you are now chosen and called.

You shall do your best to defend this castle and the governor thereof for the time being having the custody of the Queen of Scots, and all under his charge from all offence and violence, if any be attempted, which God forbid.

You shall be obedient at the commandment of the said governor for the time being.

You shall diligently and wakefully keep your watches.

If any of you shall hear anything spoken against the Queen's majesty's person, state, dignity, or government, you shall forthwith disclose and tell the same and the speakers' names to the said governor or to such as he will appoint, and to none else.

You shall not receive or convey to or from any of the Scottish Queen's people or from herself, any letters, tokens, messages, or any other thing without the knowledge of the gentleman porter or other officer in that charge. If any of her said people or herself shall offer to any of you any reward to do any secret service for any of them, or shall by word or reward go about to corrupt any of you to tell them anything, you shall utter and tell the same and their names to the said governor, and to none else, or to some by his appointment.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Finally you shall also well and truly observe and keep all other orders "so neere as you may." "God save the Queenes majestie our said gratious soveraigne."

1 *p. Indorsed.*
Copy of the same.

[Feb.] **525. CUSTODY OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.**
C.P., vol. XV.

"Certen remembraunces for Mr. Secretarie to know her majesties pleasure concerning my service and custodye of the Scottysh Quene."

(1) Whether Tutbury be the place where the said Scottish Queen shall continue, or only for the present, until further order be taken?

[*Answer*] Tutbury is the place where it is meant she shall continue.

(2) *Item*, what number of persons the Scottish Queen is to have of her own servants, and how many of every sex?

[*Answer*] Your lordship shall be resolved by the inclosed from Sir Ralph Sadleir.

(3) *Item*, what retinue of servants I shall furnish myself, and in what sort I am to furnish them?

[*Answer*] The Queen is served by her own people, and therefore thirty persons are thought sufficient to attend on your lordship, and ten servants on the party that shall assist you.

(4) *Item*, whether the officers in the house—as the pantry—and such like, are to be furnished with my own servants or by such as her majesty shall appoint?

[*Answer*] They are to be furnished from your lordship's own men.

(5) *Item*, what guard shall be appointed, and where they are to be levied; what officers shall there be to govern them; and whether they shall be lodged in the same house?

[*Answer*] The number of the guard "40 shot," to be levied at your lordship's choice by virtue of her majesty's warrant: part of them to be lodged in the house.

(6) *Item*, whether the guard shall be victualled by her majesty's provision, without recourse to the town, other than by special licence?

[*Answer*] They shall be victualled in the town upon an allowance of 8*d.* the day.

¾ *p. Indorsed:* "Remembrance for L. St. John." *The answers are in Walsingham's hand.*

Feb. 1. **526. STUFF AND COMMODITIES FOR TUTBURY.**
C.P., vol. XV.

"Hanginges for the Scottish Queenes chambre, lynid so deepe and so many peeces as ar mentionid in Somer's lettre to my Lord Treasurer xxv Januarii."

"Three or fowre hundred weight of good sweete fethers, to amende some thyn beddes and bolsters there."

"Downe and fustian for iiij or v pillowes, or the pillowes ready made for the Queene. She hath pillow beeres of her owne."

"Fustian for x or xij other pillowes, the best of the said fethers will serue for them. And cloth for pillowe beeres, ij to every one."

"Three or iiij good peeces of brode dornex, most greene, for curtens, canapyes, and some hanginges."

"vij or viij lib. of curten rynges."

Elizabeth.
1584–5. "Somme peeces of course lyre to bynde them about."
"xij or mo lyvery coverlittes."
"Blancketing or blancketes for x or xij payre of blancketes."
"These besydes certen peeces of plate, and foote Turky carpetes which the said Queen requyreth to haue."
"*Nota*, that the travers or crosse curteyn in the Queenes bed chambre being ix foote deepe and about xviij foote long, is nowe of good new greene dornex. If it please the Queens majesty to bestow some better thing it must be thyck to defend the wynde."
"And of the same stuff ar three wyndow curteyns in her bed chambre, and ij in her two cabynetes, about v foote long and iiij foote deepe."
"In the dyning chambre ar the lyke, but with all these the Queen seemith well content."
"Commoditees of my Lord Pagetes to be used for Tutbury."
"There hath ben mention already generally made of certeyn thinges about Burton, as medowes, tithes, pastures, cony warren, pygeon house, woodes, and fisshinges. But now yn particuler, these ar som of theym."
"The warren of Burton
"The pigeon house } not 3 miles hence."
"The fisshinges there
"The demeane medowes—iiij miles."
"Shapnoll farme—iij miles."
"Stapenell tythes—iiij miles."
"Bramson and Burton } tythes—iiij miles."
"Mickle Owr and Lythe Owre and Fynden } tythes—vj miles."
"Burton owt woodes—ij miles."
"Tatenell owt woodes—ij miles."
"Ansley owt woodes—not ij miles."
"Seny Parke woodes—iij miles."
"The herbage of this for horses."
"Good store of deere for the house, 2 buckes a week in season."
"More the said Lord Pagetes iron mylles going still, ar reportid to yeld yerely all charges borne neere—m^{l} m^{l} *li.*"
"They ar in Staffordshire."
"All these thinges wer of my lord's demeanes, and for his provisions. And as I heare ar all out of leasse, saving some from yere to yere by thappointment of the High Sherif by ordre from the Counsell as I heare."

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Commodities of my L. Paget's to be used for Tutbury."

Feb. 2. **527.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

For declaration of our obedience and upright meaning in all things that may tend to her majesty's honour and contentment, as also to satisfy her majesty if any "greif" be conceived through our abode here, we have returned Mr. Colvile, whom please trust and assist with your accustomed good counsel and favour; "wpon quhiche reposing

Elizabeth.
1584–5. we haif disgestit mony thingis importabill to fleche and blood," as he can declare to your honour in particular. Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.
½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 4. **528. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**
C.P., vol. XV. With your letters of the last of January, brought hither the 2nd instant, I received a letter from the Queen's majesty, which, had [it] not been [for] the direction, I would have thought [it] had not been for me, *etc.*

Mr. Chancellor [Sadleir] was lately advertised that Sir Amyas Powlet was thought a meet person to be an assistant to Lord St. John, and that his lordship, having at last accepted this charge, should be hastened hither. But now your thinking of a change, my lord, to Sir Amyas, makes Mr. Chancellor doubt—with grief—of his "so short returne home," as he persuaded himself it should be, his lordship being in a manner ready, and Mr. Powlet not yet moved to it by her majesty, whereupon depend many circumstances.

With your said despatch, in a letter of Mr. Waade's, I found two letters written from this Queen of Scots, and one from Mons. Nau, left with Mr. Waade to be delivered, with her majesty's knowledge, to the Master of Gray, which the said Gray refusing to receive, returned them to Mr. Waade, who sent them to me, to be redelivered to Mons. Nau; which I have done.

The said Queen wondered not a little at that manner of Gray's refusal; but yet marvelled the less when she remembered what Nau had told her touching the using of those letters which he had learned, and there made him tell it to me: which was, that her packet, directed to Nau, wherein were her said two letters unsealed, to be seen by her majesty before the delivery of them to Gray, had been opened, and her lettters shown to Gray, and so to Archibald Douglas, before it [the packet] was delivered to Nau, as he said was told him at the Court by a personage of credit, who would avow it—but I could not learn who that was. And so this Queen imagines that by reason of some words of attack in those letters, he would not receive them, having seen them before, and so was not bound to answer to the imputations wherewith she taxed him; and in particular disliked that Archibald Douglas had that credit to be made acquainted with her letters, whom she takes to be her "unfrend," a dangerous person, and privy—as she has learned—to the murdering of the King, her late husband. And yet by letters of the French ambassador he is set forth to her with great commendation, and makes show to be at her devotion, protesting never to receive benefit but by her means; and yet finds that he has joined with the Master of Gray to advance his negotiations—I will not say that she names the ambassador too—in her son's name, without her, notwithstanding Gray's secret ciphers to her of the contrary.

She finds [it] very strange that the Master of Gray should be so much devoted to the Earl of Arran, as to deal by his direction only in these important causes of her son's, for he has written often privately to her how much he dislikes the earl's using of him, and of his wife, all the worst words that may be.

Elizabeth.
1584–5.

She said further, that howsoever he has dealt with her majesty, the French ambassador, under colour of taking the air in his coach, and to go to a house certain miles from London, meeting with Nau the day of his departure thence, on purpose, made him understand by covert words that the "marchant"—meaning Gray—would never vary from her in religion or duty of service in all that he could do.

This much I have thought good to impart to you of this Queen's speeches to me, upon the occasion of "remanding" those letters to be used as to your wisdom shall be thought meet.

As touching an estimate of a weekly charge of all this household, because in your letter to me you desire to know it; upon the like motion made by my Lord Treasurer since we came hither, Mr. Chancellor sent a book on the 25th ult., made by Mr. Cave, to his lordship for the first week here, as things then fell out. You may have it readily of his lordship if it please you to see it.

That despatch was delivered on the 25th of January to Hills, a messenger sent down by his lordship, as not knowing how the posts were laid hither: and, as I presume by a letter which this day I received from his lordship of the 1st of February,—that messenger was not then come to him, for his lordship writes again for such a note, and for other things which are signified in that despatch to him.

As soon as Mr. Chancellor came hither he laid a post in this place, and another at Loughborough, fifteen full miles hence, and he of Loughborough to carry the packets to Witham, fifteen miles further, which is the post between Grantham and Stamford. Each of these two posts agreed withal for 20*d.* a day; and he of Witham looks for consideration for coming out of the way; as Howlson of Newark beseeches to have for the like service to Mansfield, all the while we "lay" at Wingfield.

Whosoever comes hither, I perceive that poor I am like to ride it out here, I know not how long after Mr. Chancellor's departure hence.

If I had thought I should have tarried here all this while, I would have taken other order at home, and come better provided all manner of ways for myself than I did. For coming in the beginning of August for a month or two, I came almost in my doublet and my hose, smally provided for my enemy winter. But I trust all will end well. Tutbury. *Signed:* John Sommer.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 5.

529. Mr. John Colvile to [Walsingham].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 233.

"Of treuthe theis nobill men hes werey larg promeses from thair freindes at home gif thai will draw neir the Bordoris or at lest ly still quhair thai ar. Falzeand tharof thai certifie thame that the caus is perfyctly owerthrawin. Notwythstanding suche is theis nobill mennis repose upon your honour that thai will follow your opinion quhat inconveniencis soever appeir to the contrarie, because thai find all the comfort thai resaif to proceid only from your lordship. So gif it may pleis your lordship send ane letter to ye maiour of yis toun, or ellis to sum other for furnesing of ye mony togidder wyth ane other letter to thair lordships assuring thame yat this matter of yair remoif sall turn to yair comfort and benefit, quhatsoever be giffen out to ye contrarie. Thai sall then remoif indelaitly, bot lett yis proceid

Elizabeth.
1584–5. from your honour to thame as wythout ony suggestion. Suirly thai ar altogidder at your honouris devotion to be usit as yow list, and sory ar thai yat your honour suld haif suche burthing for thame yat can serve presently for so small purpose."

I have already moved them to make a roll of their company, which we have divided into three; one part to the number of twenty to remove with them; the second part to be distributed in the country amongst our well willers; and the third part must be left here "in pension" till they be otherwise provided. Twenty persons have already removed.

The Lord [John] Hamilton is "sumquhat seik," and one of these days they are to visit him.

"Concerning the estat of Scotland, thair is a generall visitation throuchout all dioceis to caus ye ministeris subscryif to yis new ordour. Proclamationis ar publesit to yat effect and ane new interpretacion sett out declaring the Kingis intention and meaning in his lait actis maid contrar ye liberty of ye Churche. Mr. Johne Baxter ane man yat hes kepit him self obscuir theis twenty yeris past for papistry and necromansy is now placit upon the session in ye place of Mr. Robert Pont, minister. The Erll of Arren gydis all togidder wyth his lady quho is maid Lady Controller, and it is as suir as dethe Gray had never credeit bot by ye Quenis meanis and most mentein it by ye same moyan. He promisit to my cousing Wemes to work his revocation, bot for all yat Wemes is summonit to compeir becaus of his owercumming to England, and contrar ye tenour of his licence qwiche restrenit him tharfra. Sum stryif is fallin out betwix Gray and Craw[ford]." *Signed:* Colvile.

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

Feb. 5. **530. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV. Upon receipt of yours of the 30th of January, brought to me on the 2nd instant, I let the Scottish Queen understand that her letter to her son was sent, and of the cause of the longer stay of it, as is mentioned in your letter. She could hardly digest that cause, but seemed rather to mistrust that it was stayed—she knows not by whose means—until the master of Gray had wholly discharged himself of his negotiations with the Queen's majesty, *etc.* As to the other point of your letter, for the evil furniture of this castle with things meet for this Queen, whereof it seems that she complained to her majesty, who thereupon conceived offence against those that were appointed to see to it; I wrote to you, upon report of a view made of Lord Paget's late stuff, how mean it was, and that unless the whole might be brought in, according to the inventory made with Mr. Gresley, then sheriff, there would not be sufficient hangings and beds with their furniture, and no linen at all. Whereupon letters were written to the sheriff from the Council, willing him to get in again all the stuff which he had sold by redemption for the money paid. Which he answered he could not do, for the stuff sold, namely ten pieces of the largest hangings—which Mr. Digby had—and some beds, were in hands that would not redeliver them without express commandment from the Council. And so, between his soliciting and their refusal, we found some wants; but very few

Elizabeth.
1584–5. in this Queen's own lodgings. With those few, as window-curtains and such small things, she seemed to bear, until things might be provided in this new time.

[*In the margin:* By the Queen's majesty's commandment my Lord Treasurer has sent down process to be delivered to Mr. Gresley to appear and to answer for these sales made without warrant. And surely in my opinion I find him not faulty, saving for the sales without warrant, for, as he has professed to me, he has no part of the stuff himself. There are also letters to Mr. Digby and Mr. Ferrers to restore their emptions.]

Indeed, some of her people had a little patience for curtains and so many coverings and hangings as they desired in this cold house—but most of mine have more patience even at this day—until I had got from Lichfield and Coventry some coverlets, blankets, some feathers, dornex, and linen for more sheets for a change. These things being come, they are all meetly well furnished, all the best, at least the higher sort, have no great cause to complain.

[*In the margin:* The Queen's meaning by her note to this point is to have lined hangings for her bedchamber, as in my letter to my lord of the 25th Jan. the width of the rooms and depth of the chamber is plainly set down. But it is otherwise thought by the interpretation of her French words] And less there will be when the lined hangings which I lately required by my letter to my Lord Treasurer—in your absence—for her bedchamber and other things required by her note, also sent up at that time, shall be sent hither. And being now entered into this purpose, if there might be brought down hither with that stuff 3 or 4 cwt. of good sweet feathers—none good hereabouts to be bought—good down and fustian for four or five pillows for herself, or the pillows ready made, three or four pieces of good broad dornex, colour greenish, for more curtains or canopies —only two or three old canopies from my Lord Paget's—and to serve for hangings for some of the gentlemen's chambers; and seven or eight pounds of curtain-rings, and some pieces of course "lyre." These things would do pleasure and good service here. Coverlets and blankets may be had hereabouts, if we need. If these things may come from you, and will be brought by horse by the carriers of Derby and of this town for 1*d.* the pound, it will spare this household money, which wasteth apace.

My Lord Treasurer appointed Mr. Gresley, late sheriff of this shire, to bring hither some of the money which has been made of the sale of Lord Paget's late stuff. And so he has delivered to Mr. Brian Cave 124*l.* whereof above 100*l.* have been already laid out for the provisions brought from Lichfield and Coventry. Upon my Lord Treasurer's motion to have an estimate of this household's charges for a week, I caused Mr. Cave to make a book thereof for one week, which I sent to his lordship with mine of the 25th of last month.

[*In the margin:* This book was sent by Hills, a messenger, who departed hence the 25th of Jan., who, it seems, was not come to my lord when his letter of the 1st of Feb. was written.]

And now upon a conference with this Queen's officers, there is set down one book of what is now daily served to her and to her household; and another book of what is desired to be augmented. Both

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1584–5. which I now send unto my said lord, because he required it, and do now go herewith, which you may see, and then send them to his lordship under your seal.

[*In the margin:* These books are sent now herewith.] After we had done, this Queen herself perused them, and cut off some small things of her officer's demands, "lyke a frugall good housewyf."

She desires very much that an order may be settled and established for her in all things, as well for her house as for her "escuirye," not to be altered upon any change of governor.

[*In the margin:* Upon sight of those books her allowance may be established, if it so please her majesty. For the "escuiry," it shall be anwered upon Mr. Chancellor's return:—Lord Treasurer's answer from her majesty.]

Likewise she desires to know her majesty's pleasure upon her requests which I sent lately to my Lord Treasurer, for two gentlewomen more to ease these four in their watchings with her in the times of her sickness and griefs. [*In the margin:* This shall also be answered upon Mr. Chancellor's return] to the end she may with her majesty's good favour send into France or Scotland for them if she can have none in England.

[*In the margin:* No English shall be permitted to serve her.]

And also for more horses to make up sixteen with eleven she already has, whereof six are at her majesty's charge, and so have long been, and found before by the Earl of Shrewsbury.

[*In the margin:* This for the "escuiry" is to be answered as above.]

Of these and other things she delivered a memorial, which I sent to my Lord Treasurer. I except them again, because she is so earnest to have answer. For she must have a good time to get them—especially the servants.

She is also earnest to know to whose custody she shall be committed after me, and who shall assist, if any do.

[*In the margin:* She is told this already, as you may see above.]

She is now answered to one of the two special points which she specially recommended to my remembrance—that is, what is done with her letter to her son.

The other—yet unanswered—is, how her majesty likes and accepts the act which she sent to her highness since Nau's return, touching her joining in that sort in the association.

[*In the margin:* No answer is yet made to this point.]

I am right heartily glad to find by your letter that you trusted to be at the Court now very shortly, so I hope you are well recovered, and that I may have the continuance of your help to rid me hence, *etc.* In this time of your absence from the Court I received two despatches from my Lord Treasurer. I send now also to my said lord, as promised by my last letter to him, such orders as I have set down here for the safeguard of this Queen to be observed by the thirty soldiers whom, by her majesty's commandment, I have retained in this castle in the "sold" of 8*d.* per diem, handsome, lusty men, and well appointed, all having good friends in these parts of Stafford and Derbyshire; most of them being the sons of her majesty's farmers depending upon this honor and duchy.

I have also written to five justices of the peace, next neighbours in this county, and to four in Derbyshire, for their readiness upon all

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Having written this far, thinking to send away this packet, I received yesterday by my servant, John Danet, a letter from my Lord Treasurer concerning certain points by her majesty's commandment, and among others, some answers to be made to this Queen to some of her notes, sent up with my despatch of the 19th of January, and are mentioned hereabove as desired to have answer to them, which in discharge of your care of them, I have noted in the margin against them what is answered by her majesty by his lordship's letter to be delivered to this Queen.

His lordship writes further to me of Lord St. John's stay from this journey and charge, upon afflictions of body and mind [which have] happened to him, and that in his place Sir Amias Powlet, now one of her majesty's Privy Council, has consented to take it, and that I shall not tarry here many days, which God grant. Tutbury Castle. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Notes in the margin.*

Feb. 6. **531. Mary to Burghley.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 234.

Requests him to take order for the new servants she has requested, and the horses which are necessary for taking the air. Complains of the delay in sending her letter to her son, and requests permission to send it to Scotland by one of hers. His honourable behaviour in the Queen of England's service makes her hope for all good offices on his part. Treated as one who has fever. Tutbury. *Signed:* Marie R.

1 *p. French Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p. 95.*)

Feb. 7. **532. Lord John Hamilton to Walsingham.**

According to my promise, I have sent my servant to Scotland, and as I can hear from him, your honour shall be advertised. I have taken boldness to write to her majesty that no evil information persuade her highness to have suspicion of me. For, like as in heart I have thought these many years, so must I "be writt subsigne" and confess that I am, and shall be, her majesty's most faithful servant to my life's end, howsoever some deceitful men seek to slander me, which they do for no other cause but to put me out of her highness's favour, in respect they cannot "conqueis" me to their opinion. "Assuring" your honour that I shall not "intreit" or receive condition from Scotland, be it never so much for my profit, but by her majesty's knowledge, not doubting but your honour will still "insist" with her highness to consider deeply of my distress, both because the wrong done to me touches her majesty in honour, as also for that I have left all others and rendered myself to follow her highness's pleasure. Other particulars I have referred to Mr. Colvile. Wedrington. *Signed:* Jhone Hammilton.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 235.

533. [MR. JOHN COLVILE TO BURGHLEY.]

The greatest causes that stay these noblemen from hastily removing are their necessity, which cannot be relieved with so small a sum; next, their friends at home have assured them if they can either get a house near the Borders or liberty to remain where they are, they shall "onis" mend the matter, by God's grace, within short space. And so these noblemen think it hard, having so good expectation, to remove, and thereby to discourage their friends and leave a purpose so apparent to be unaccomplished. This is the greatest matter of all, and which I have [had] revealed to me on my oath, to communicate [it] to none living saving your honour.

They marvelled much that her majesty esteemed so little of them as to assent to their removing before they were acquainted therewith. My answer was that I was commanded to advertise them, and that my packet which I sent to that effect was either taken or "tint" by the way, so there was no oversight in her majesty or in me, but in some others, either negligent or else evil-minded persons.

As concerning the Master of Gray, he sent one before him to have spoken with [the Master of] Glamis; whose answer was, if her majesty was privy to that his desire, he would, otherwise not. For himself he could do nothing within her country without her permission or foreknowledge, for it sufficed to have one Claud Hamilton among them all. There is no doubt if he could draw these home as Claud is, but he would do the same.

In like manner Arran has sent one here who was a very familiar servant to Mar, who, under pretext of exile, is come, and was to persuade Mar to take privy composition for himself. But this man finding himself deciphered is to return home.

To speak the truth to your lordship, I find, if her majesty does not deal more liberally with these noblemen during their necessity, they are minded, with her majesty's favour, to seek their fortune in some other country, rather than to be compelled to consent to all their enemies' devices; for they know that Arran a month [ago] spoke in Scotland that he should put them to the schools in Oxford till he hanged the best of their friends, seeing he could not get themselves And good "Cudde" [Armorer] spoke little less in London long since.

1 *p. Holograph. Unsigned. No address, etc.*

Feb. 10.

534. PROCLAMATION BY JAMES VI.

James, *etc.*, to our "lovittis," messengers, *etc.* Forasmuch as we are informed by our dearest sister and cousin the Queen of England how Angus M'Connell, our subject. inhabitant of our Highlands, has lately levied 2000 men of war, wherewith he has invaded the north parts of Ireland, and therein used all kind of hostility against the inhabitants thereof, to the great prejudice of the amity so long continued betwixt us, our dominions, and subjects, whereunto we minding on our part to put such speedy order as may give proof and demonstration to our said dearest sister how far we disallow of all such practices and insolent attempts in any of our subjects as may in any ways appear offensive to the amity—charge you that you charge the said Angus to "brek" and dismiss whatsoever force of men of war he has presently assembled in Ireland, and retire with them forth of the

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⅔ *p. Copy. Broadsheet. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 237. Another copy of the same.

Feb. 15. **535. The Master of Gray to Burghley.**

My lord, since my return such things have fallen forth that the King my sovereign has directed this gentleman, Sir Lewis Bellenden, his Justice Clerk, with some special commission to her majesty, which has made me take the boldness to "accompanie" him with these few lines, as well for discharge of that duty I owe to your good lordship as for recommendation of the said gentleman, my very friend, whom I pray your lordship assist with your favourable eye, to the end he may report to our sovereign a good answer, according as the occasion of his commission deserves; the which your lordship shall understand at length from himself; and as an evil answer may cause great "unfriendship," so a good answer haste [to] augment that solid amity now begun. For the matter touches so near the King his ma[ster and] my master, that it is not possible "bot" her majesty shall be a part[aker] of his grief, seeing he is of her own blood, which was so to be spilt. The Court. *Signed:* "Maister of Gray."

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

Feb. 15. **536. Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XV. I have received your letters of the 10th instant, and though I have no matter of moment to write, yet I have thought good, having occasion to answer such letters as I lately received from Lord Leicester, to occupy the posts—which have their hire whether they work or play—with this despatch, being glad to understand by your said letters that you are now come to the Court. By which I not only gather that you have recovered health, wherein I pray God to continue and increase you, but also am in greater hope to be sooner relieved of this charge, being now thoroughly tired of the same, and almost overwhelmed, not with business, but with idleness, care, and grief of mind, by reason of my long absence from my home and from my friends, which breeds in me some unquietness of mind, whereunto you know wayward age is much subject, being restrained from the liberty accustomed. But I commit all to God and to her majesty, who, I trust, will at last remember her most gracious promise, wherein I doubt not of your most friendly help and furtherance. And the like also I assure myself of it at the hands of my good lord, my Lord Treasurer, humbly beseeching you both to continue your care of my deliverance until you have brought the same to my desired end, for the which I can but pray for you both, wherein I will not fail; so nevertheless will

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1584–5. remain most ready and willing to do to you both such pleasure and service as I can while life lasts. And so now remaining in expectation of the good success of your last Friday's conference, which you wrote was to be had by my Lord Treasurer, my Lord Leicester, and yourself, touching as well Sir Amias Pawlet's despatch hither as an answer to such matter as Mr. Somer and I wrote of in our last letters, I commit you to God. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. **537. THOMAS MORGAN TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XV. Since my last letters to your majesty of the 10th instant, I received some letters out of Scotland from Fontenay, who, in some of his letters to his friends here promised to return hither very shortly; but he does not write so to me.

About three months [ago] Fontenay sent to this country a coffer, and hid in a secret place in the bottom of the said coffer certain letters written by the King your son to your majesty, the Duke of Guise, Mons. de Mayne, and the Bishop of Ross, with good allowance for his service, and promise of favours. The said coffer was addressed to Du Ruisseau, but he never opened the same until "this present," which is the cause that your majesty's letters have been so long by the way. The same being now come to my hands, I have presumed to send the same to your majesty, in hope that, wheresoever you be, the passage for a convoy of your majesty's letters is by this time found.

Bruce is returned from the Duke of Guise with letters in his favour to the King your son, and his credit given him otherwise, which I trust he will use to the honour of your majesty, to his own commendation. I have spoken to Bruce to send you an alphabet, whereby he may yield your majesty the better account of his service; and he has promised to bring me his alphabet this day, and if he performs this I will send the same here inclosed.

On Saturday last the Earl of Derby arrived here, and is lodged in the hostel nigh the Louvre, which was magnificently furnished for him. Mons. de Montpensier, by the King's command, conducted the said earl from St. Denis to this town. Yesterday the said earl, accompanied by the ambassador leger for England, had audience, which was but short. At which time the said earl delivered to this King two letters; the one was great, the other a lesser volume, closed up with silk or thread of colours.

Lord Sandes and Lord Windsor, and the gentlemen who accompanied the said earl kissed the King's hand at this audience.

The Order of the Garter shall be presented to the King on Thursday next, but it is not concluded whether the same shall be done in the Louvre or in the church, because of the difficulty the heretics make to come to the Catholic church. The best sort murmur not a little to find this King so disposed to entertain amity with heretics of all parts, and to offend the King of Spain, whom he has cause to honour. But these things will not be long borne withal, but must needs bring forth some strange mutation in this realm.

Upon this question made, where the said Garter should be presented, and to the end the English should want some part of the honour they

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1584–5. expect, I thought good to intimate secretly to the heads of the Cardinals and prelates of the Church the sentence of excommunication denounced by Pius Quintus against her of England, which since is yet in force, and was never revoked. And so alleged that the said cardinals and prelates might not assist with their presence [at] any ceremony that is put to favour the excommunicated by means of the Queen of England; and for the maintenance hereof I have delivered among them a true copy of the said sentence. And this day at the Cardinal of Bourbon's table, where were present the Cardinal of Vandosme, the Cardinal of Guise, Cardinal Joyeulx, and many other prelates, this matter was debated; and amongst them was the Bishop of Ross, with whom I had talked before at large of this matter; and thereby was he well instructed to utter and testify the verity of this matter, and so he did sufficiently when this matter was propounded. And thereupon the Cardinal of Bourbon declared that he thought not with his presence to assist and honour with their presence the negotiations of the Queen of England.

This Court is informed that the King your son should marry the Queen of England. God forbid he should be so matched. There are some expected to come from Scotland hither. Inform your friends there of the Master of Gray's negotiations, which he has reserved to himself all this time from all friends on this side of the seas.

The ambassadors of the States have had audience twice in this court, and make large offers of Holland and Zealand to this King, and five millions of gold towards the support of the wars; wherein, if the King embark himself he shall have his hands very full shortly.

There is a league concluded between his holiness, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Princes and States Catholic for the subversion of heresy, and this King—as I am informed—has been moved by his holiness to join in the league, wherein he has taken time to deliberate. If the King dissent from this holy union his holiness is likely to trouble this realm, and perhaps dispose the same *in predam*, rather than suffer the same to support heresy; and the principal favourers of the same King of Spain practise with the Cantons of the Swiss in league with this King to make them neutral, whereby the Duke of Savoy may recover Geneva, which is his inheritance, and so remove that den of heretics; for which purpose the King of Spain is disposed to be at charge, and to assist the Duke of Savoy.

The Duke of Guise does not come to this Court, nor yet may take other enterprise in hand in other places, but must reserve himself and his family for the service of the church, and for the good of this realm, and for his own defence, as far as I see. Paris.

Postscript.—Good Curle, I kiss your hands with all devotion, *etc.* I perceive that the Earl of Derby has "demanded" for me since his arrival here. I understand that Lord Seton is departed this life—God absolve his soul—and the Earl of Arran's credit in Court decays.

1 *p. Cipher. Indorsed:* "15 February 1585. Morgan to the Scottish Quene." *Signed on the back by* Burghley, Hunsdon, Walsingham, Cobham, and Shrewsbury.

Decipher of the same in Phelippes's hand; underlined in parts and notes in the margin. Signed on the back by Phelippes.

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538. Deposition of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath, Knight.

"At Edinbroch castell ye 8 of Februar ye zeir of God 1584 in presence of ye Earle of Arane, Chancelour, the Earl of Montrois thesaurer, S[r] Jhone Metland, Thirlstane, knicht, Secretare, and Allexander Hay, Clerk of Registare."

Sir James Edmeston of Duntreth, knight, acknowledging how far he had offended Almighty God and the King his sovereign lord in his long concealing of the most dangerous and most treasonable enterprises devised and intended to have been executed against his highness by his rebels now remaining in England, declares that it was devised by them first to have made a force of 1000 or 1200 horsemen, and with the same to have come through the west of [ ], by Dalkeith, to Holyrood House, and on the sudden to have environed his highness's palace and been masters of him and his company. But because this enterprise appeared to be subject to many perils and difficulties, for that such a company could hardly be assembled without his highness's "intelligence," for resisting whereof a greater company might be gathered, and that the "perseweris" horses after so great a "rod" should be weary and unable to carry them away, however the matter fell out. Therefore the two enterprises and deliberation were to provide so much money as might entertain forty or thirty able men, unsuspected, who should be directed to await on his majesty in the fields when his horse was "sowpit" [supped] and he single, and there take him and convey him either to the houses of Douglas or Cumlege, or, failing thereof, to Island Trovo or Island Warnik in Loch Lomond, there to be kept, where the rebels in England might come and receive him. But both these other devices "standing difficill and longsowme" to be brought to pass through the sundry impediments that fell out, the third and most dangerous enterprise for his majesty was devised, and thought most likely to be put in practice—"quich yis deponent upon ye respect of his conscience to God, and for ye naturall dewtie quiche he aught to his soverane lord, and in signe of his penitence for so long concealinge of so great and mischewous a treasone can noct keip longer unrevelit, for ye perrol and danger yat in defalt yairof may occure," therefore [he] declareth that the third device was that, when "nowehere" the "publicque force" of 1000 or 1200 horses apparently could be had, nor yet money nor men unsuspected for the executing of their secret device, every one of the four principals, that is to say, the late Abbot of Arbroath ['Arbrothoke'], the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glamis, should "cast" out of their own companies two or three, so that there should be eight at the least, to "convoy" themselves in the most secret and quiet manner they could to the town or place where his majesty should happen to make residence, and if it could not otherwise be, in beggars' clothing. And at the first possible commodity every one of them "to persewe to slay his henes by schot or uther weapon," and to that effect to have tried horses "of proofe," but to disguise them by cutting off their tails, manes, and ears, that none should suspect they could be kept for such a purpose, and should lurk in such places of their friends near to his majesty's residence, where they might be entertained for twenty or forty days, "awating upon ye commoditie" to execute their wicked attempt;

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1584–5. and any time or place failing, to have "recurse" and seek their advantage at another by any means possible whereby they might accomplish their heinous and most treasonable enterprise. And that, because they saw no other mean how to recover their livings and former estate but by "cutting avay" of the King's person, during whose life they had no hope of any ordinary mean to receive the same. For which purpose the Abbot of Arbroath should appoint Robert Cunningham, Forret of Glasgow, and Hamilton or two of them; for "the late" Earl of Angus, William Colvil, and Hector Douglas, called "reid Eckie"; for "the late" Earl of Mar, Mr. James Erskine [Easken], Thomas Howme, and [ ] Edmesone, or any two of them; for "the late" Master of Glamis, Andrew Rollock, and John Keir of Greenhead. All this was declared to the deponent by "black" John Howme of the Law, who came twice to him, and first brought with him a letter of credit from the Earl of Mar; and the like the second time.

Witnesses: the Earls of Montrose, Huntly, Arran, and Glencairn; the Laird of Thirlstane; James, Lord of Downe; the Lairds of Blakquhan and Lochinvar; Sir [Lewis] Bellenden; and the Laird of Seagie.

"This depositione maid of new by Sir James Admeston of Duntreth, knycht, upon ye 16 of Februarie 1584, collationed and agreaing with ye former in all poinctis in presence of ye noble men and utheris of ye Privie Counsell above subscrivit." Alex[r] Hay.

On the back of the flyleaf: "Of the personis nominated in yis deposition to haif bein aponted for the murther within mentioned, sum ar in Spain, sum in France, and hes bein this half yeir past, sum ar in Scotland. Otheris quhair thai ar suirly we knaw not, for thai wer never wyth ws since we wer banisit. The deposition is ye testificacion of our singular vitnes, vassall to ye D. Lenox, cusing germanis to ye Lord Montrose, and detenit and kepit by ye Erll Arren. Quhat validite it careis wyth it by theis circumstances may be presumit."

2 *pp. Copy. The depositions are in Alexander Hay's hand. Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. **539. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 240.

Trustie and weilbelovit, we great you weil. We have directed our trustie and weilbelovit counsalloure Sir Lewis Bellendoun of Auchinowle, knycht, oure Justice Clerk, to oure dearest suster, to open and communicate unto her sic practizes aganis oure lyff and persoun, as we have be the speciall gudenes of oure God laitlie disclosit and ryped up within our realme. Quhairwith as we have gevin him speciall directioun to mak you mair particularlie acquented, sa will we hertlie pray you to excuse us, gif upoun this suddantye of his dispesche we have not writtin unto you with oure awin hand as uther wyse we wald. And in sic uther maters as he careis, to further him, according to youre place of credite, to sic ansyr as may be to oure lyking and contentment in reasoun. Sa praying you to credite him on oure behalff as ye wald do oure self, we commit you to God." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

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540. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 241.

[*In favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden, as in No. 539.*] Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

Feb. 16. **541. ARRAN TO WALSINGHAM.**

Upon some conference had with this bearer, ambassador for the King's majesty my sovereign, being my tender kinsman, I have taken deliberation to write these few lines of credit to your lordship, which shall nowise be to your dishonour. And as they shall be accepted, I doubt not the ambassador, present bearer, will resolve your lordship further, to your better satisfaction. Holyrood House. *Signed:* Arrane.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 16. **542. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

We have directed our trusty and well beloved Councillor Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchinowle, knight, our Justice Clerk and ambassadors to acquaint you with some new plots and practices of our restless rebels, now in England against our very person, lately "detected" to us by such as they had by express messengers opened and communicated the same to within our realm, praying you, dearest sister, in these and other matters which he has to deliver you on our behalf firmly to credit him. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 239.

Copy of the same.

Feb. 18. **543. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV.

In my likely absence from the Court all this next March—one of the times of my ordinary attendance on my office—I have prayed Mr. Windebank "to ad myne unto his short February"; yet, lest some other needful business may cause his absence, I have thought it meet to refer to you in that case the choice of another for that time. To show my goodwill to be there myself, I send now this bearer, my clerk, Thomas Norreys, to write to the seal under him who shall wait in my place, trusting that he shall not be disliked, being well able to do it.

I will not omit to let you understand that this Queen has kept her bed these six days through her old aches in her side and hips, and in the "muscleous places." This day she, hearing of the danger of old Mistress Rawley [Raulet], a French gentlewoman of about 74 years old, not likely to escape this sickness, was carried to her chamber—not far off—to comfort her and put her things in order.

Upon some inkling, from the French ambassador belike, of Sir Amias Pawlet's likelihood to come hither, and so to change governors in this time of a treaty, as she says, she mistrusts the proceeding thereto, or more liberty, as soon as she hoped; wherein no persuasion of her majesty's respect to Mr. Chancellor's age, or his discharge, promised long since, can work any good effect with her. She has

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heard of Sir Amias Pawlet when he was ambassador in France, and "fearith to fynde him suche as I have assured of him"; as indeed she is fearful of every change, and thought that her majesty would not send any under the degree of a lord to take the chief charge, for so Nau had told her. In the end, I find by Nau, that if it would please her majesty by her own letters, if it may be, or under her highness' hand, to assure her that she shall be safe under Sir Amias Pawlet's custody if he comes, and that he depends only on her majesty, and that her highness will give her word to answer for him, she may like the better of him. Otherwise she says she cannot be well satisfied, he being of no higher quality than a knight, and but lately made of her majesty's Privy Council. Such word she would gladly have from her highness before his coming, that she may take knowledge thereof, which she would fain have learned of Mr. Chancellor or of me. But on that humour, the certain knowledge thereof was, and yet is, kept here from her. May it please her majesty to consider hereof as a matter of some importance for her service at this time, and to contain this lady in hope of her majesty's good meaning towards her, whereof Nau has given her great assurance. And so has the French ambassador lately certified her—as Nau says—of the continuance of her majesty's good favour towards her, whereof she longs to see some good effect. This I thought was meet to be certified, lest Sir Amias Pawlet's sudden coming hither, without such a forerunner, may confirm her in her apprehension of doubt and fear, which are no rare things in her.

May it please you to remember that all the commissions here are in the name of Sir Ralph Sadleir, as well that from the Queen's majesty, under her hand and signet, for appointing of watchmen abroad in towns and passages, as to command watchmen hither or to any other place by the appointment of the governor, so many, and for so long as he shall see cause, as also those from the Council for horses, carriages, and other necessaries, whereof the governor, or any of his shall have need to be sent to any place by his appointment. The like may now be sent with Sir Amias Pawlet as very necessary, with some letters from her majesty to some justices of the peace and the sheriffs of Staffordshire and Derbyshire to be aiding and assisting to him in all services of her majesty, as she shall require of them, wherein Mr. Chancellor's office gave him great credit in these parts without such letters. Tutbury. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "Febr. 18, 1584, Mr. Sommer"; *and in another hand:* "From Mr. Somer employed about ye keeping of the Scot. Q."

Feb. 18. **544. Elizabeth to Sir Ralph Sadleir.**

C.P., vol. XV.

Being given to understand how basely our house of Tutbury was furnished at the time of the Queen your charge's repair thither, and what wants there are there of things of necessary use for one of meaner quality than her, the said Queen, we cannot but think our honour greatly touched therein, and [that] the party to whom you committed the charge and oversight thereof [is] worthy of severe punishment.

And although we have given order for the present supply of those wants, yet we are ashamed that such as were put in trust with the

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1584–5. matter should be found so void of judgment, and so careless of our honour as to give so great advantage to those that look curiously into our doings to find fault upon so just a cause. And therefore our meaning is that the said parties that have so offended shall receive punishment answerable to their deserts.

And whereas you have been a long suitor to us—not without just cause—to be discharged of the burden you now sustain—though unfit for your years, yet most fit for a man of your approved fidelity—we have not been unmindful thereof. And although it has been deferred for some especial causes, yet we have at length taken such full resolutions herein that you shall very speedily be at liberty to make your reply to us, which, as we know, you do most earnestly desire; so shall we be most glad at the time of your access to us to make appear unto you our good acceptance of your most painful and faithful service performed in this late charge.

2 *pp. Draft in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "Feb. 18, 1584. M[inute] from her majesty to Sir Rafe Sadler."

Feb. 18. **545.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XV.

To the end you may perceive what care is had here to ease you as soon as conveniently may be of that charge, I have thought good to let you understand that Sir Amias [Poulet's] journey is so hastened that he has promised her majesty to be ready to set forth by Monday week, wherein there shall be order taken accordingly. Upon receipt of Mr. Cave's account of the disbursement of the sum that he had received, we have had conference with the cofferer and other officers of her majesty's household for abatement of these rates, but cannot see how the ordinary and extraordinary charges can be defrayed for much less than 4000*l.* by the year, the particulars whereof I think needless to trouble you with, since you are now to be eased of that charge.

For that Queen's requests, if she shall not greatly insist for a present answer, you may tell her that she shall receive the same by the gentleman that is to succeed you. But otherwise, if she shall require to have the same sooner, you may then let her understand, first, for the priest, that her majesty misliking of the like motion heretofore made to her, my Lord Treasurer and I dare not now renew the same again, knowing that it would both be in vain, and, besides, offensive to her majesty.

For the new supply of attendants and necessary servants, that her majesty will be content from time to time to grant them passports, but cannot like that any of the number should be of her majesty's own subjects.

For her stable, her majesty is content to allow her four coach horses, and two geldings for her own saddle at her charge, but the rest are to be continued at the said Queen's charge, which may be signified to Melville, the Master of her household.

[For] such other necessary household things as you require to have from hence, there is order already taken, [and they] shall be accordingly sent to you.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

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1584–5.
Feb. 19.

546. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV.

May it please you to remember that a good while since, you wrote to Mr. Chancellor that there was "a meaning" to send hither a coachman for the Scottish Queen, and to discharge the Earl of Shrewsbury's man, being somewhat mistrusted. For lack of another he yet remains upon that charge. Mr. Stringer, his lordship's steward, fearing my lord's displeasure for suffering him [to remain] so long here from my lord's service, wrote lately to me to tell him so much. After the coachman, named Sharpe, had acquainted Mr. Curle therewith—who has the care of this Queen's horses—he answered me that this Queen disliked his departure before she was provided with another, and that seeing he is acquainted with that service, and can [*sic*] good skill of choosing and ordering of horses, she would gladly keep him still, if she might. The fellow refers the matter to my lord his master's pleasure, whom he says he has served twenty-eight years. And yet I perceive by him that if he goes from hence, he does not mean to tarry in this country, but to continue that service as a coachman, and for that purpose to resort to the Court or somewhere else, to be so entertained. Finding, but not by himself, that he is loth to return to his old service of tending cart-horses and my lord's horses abroad, after this easy life, for he only oversees these coach horses and leads the coach, may it please you to advise of some course in this matter, to know his lordship's pleasure, either to have his servant home or to part with him for this Queen's service. And yet therewithal the Queen's majesty's pleasure must be first known therein. I know none more to be suspected than he; his house and wife are at Sheffield. He may send whither he likes without the least suspicion. And yet in talk with this Queen of him since coming hither, doubting of his departure, she swore—by God—that he never did her any other service than about her coach and horses, and seemed very desirous to keep him for his skill other way.

The fellow stays here until it may please her majesty to resolve on another, or for his continuance, with my lord's liking. May it please you to signify this to Mr. Chancellor as soon as you shall be resolved in this matter.

For letters to be directed to some justices of peace in these parts: the nearest are these; in Derbyshire, Sir Thomas Cokayn, knight, Francis Curson, Thomas Knyveton, Nicholas Francis, Henry Sacheverell, Mr. Vernon, esquire, sheriff, dwells [within] 20 miles: for Staffordshire the nearest are, Mr. Lee, sheriff, Thomas Gresley, Humphrey Ferrers, John Chatwyn, Thomas Trentham, John Bowes, Richard Bagot, Aderley, esquires.

"I beseeche her majeste that I may not be forgotten heere, though I say litle, after fourteen monethes absence from my poore home." Tutbury. *Signed:* John Sommer.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 19.

547. [WALSINGHAM] TO SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XV.

Her majesty's letter to him that he shall now receive, signifying her dislike that there was not more care had of the well furnishing of

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1584–5. the house at Tutbury, is rather written *pro forma* than otherwise, to the end he may show it to that Queen for her satisfaction. In doing this her majesty thinks meet he should seem to be much grieved with the complaints she has made of the wants there. Yet her majesty's pleasure is that he take no discomfort at all; for although she could have wished that things had been better ordered by those to whom the care thereof was committed, lest the said Queen and her servants should have had that advantage to give out speeches to her dishonour, yet for himself, she acknowledges that she has made so great trial of his continual care and circumspection in the whole course of this service, that she has just cause rather to commend than any way blame him. Sends him also the copy of her majesty's letter to the said Queen, to the end, if she shall dislike any part of her majesty's answer, he may be the better instructed to reply to her therein.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Feb. 23. **548.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

We have taken occasion by the "wpcumming" of one from Scotland to return the bearer hereof, whom, please your honour assist and credit in your accustomed and loving manner.

We hope that nothing objected against us shall be trusted before we be heard to answer for ourselves. "Quiche being," we fear no accusation, for our conscience bears us record that we have never thought so much as an evil thought against the King's majesty our sovereign, albeit we be most rigorously persecuted; which we do not impute to his majesty, but to others, to whom we "aucht" no purgation. But if we shall be accused in our actions or intentions concerning his majesty's person, or in our behaviour concerning his estate, if we cannot clear ourselves in these two points, then we must needs confess a gross and heinous error. But, for our behaviour to others, albeit we have rather suffered their injuries than opposed ourselves against them, and that for the reverence we always bear to the King our sovereign, yet in respect they have so deeply offended us, we believe her majesty will never think it reasonable that either directly or indirectly we shuld purge ourselves to them. Huntingdon. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. **549.** BORDER AFFAIRS.

"The general griefes penned by the Cleark Register, of Border affayres, must be a ground to you to give in to the Councel in heades, whereof immediately after your arrival you will be demaunded, for that is their custome, whereof you onely have to crave redresse, the like by you being propounded in his majesty's name for Scotland."

Is to sue delivery of the traitors and rebels according to the league and amity. The Queen of England must show herself a league and covenant keeper. What she has by her great seal promised must be kept, and it is mere foolishness for his majesty to "tyne" his foreign friends and trust her next obligation. If it be propounded that her majesty cannot in honour do it, he is to demand their banishment.

Is to "instruct" her majesty that for her only friendship the King

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1584–5. of Scots loses all foreign amity. He must make Lord Hunsdon and all his "organs" travail for the delivery, or at least banishment, of the rebels, showing them that neither purpose of the marriage nor revelations of her majesty's enemies dare once be pronounced from his lips until he be justly satisfied, according to the Queen's honour and league. This he must speak to such as will always "beare" the Queen's ear. He must deal frankly with Hunsdon, for he deals frankly. "In lamentable manner deploring the Queen's age and yeares, and so uppon the Queen's age and love of single lyfe, you see not but it happely falleth out in hir majesteis blood, and so to his great honnour, in his lordship's own blood, whereof that it stay not, his lordship hath to hold hand that the abiding of these traytors in this land stay not a work so godly to the realmes, so proffitable, and to his lordship and his blood so honourable and such surety." This surely persuades much. Is also to use these or the like terms to the Chamberlain. To the Treasurer he must only propound the "purpose" of the Queen's own person, even as to herself, until he has "fully gotte his mynde, yet he must be plain with him, that he has nothing to speak till the delivery of the rebels or their exile be first granted. It will be well done to "hold" Leicester "so far out" that Hunsdon shall not be jealous. Sir George Carey will be profitable "uppon his father's information," and if his father agrees he is to be privy with him, the gentleman must be the more earnest. He must countenance Mr. Raulet [Rawly], who always professed himself the King of Scots' "fidell" friend, but he [Bellenden] must be general. All this or what else can be written, he must enlarge or limit by his own wit, for nothing can be here propounded but the very contrary may yet be determined.

3⅛ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* "Heades of instructions brought hither by Justice Clereke, February 1584."

Feb. 23. **550.** SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. On the 21st instant I received a packet from you, and therein one to this Queen from the French ambassador, which I sent to her forthwith. The same day, towards night, I received another of the 19th, and therein a letter from the Queen's majesty to this Queen, and the copy, and one from her highness, and another from you to me. I forbore to deliver the letter to this Queen until the next day, hearing she was in great pain by her old griefs, and also much troubled in mind for the late departure of her servant Mrs. Rallay—of almost eighty years—buried in this town that day.

After she had read out her majesty's letters, she said that the first part of them was very comfortable, full of gracious words to her contentment, finding therein her majesty's own natural good disposition towards her, agreeing with Nau's report; but that for two other points she was greatly perplexed; the one, that her son should make such an answer to her majesty with his own hand, as is contained in her letters, confirming the Master of Gray's assertion directly, that her son never assented to any association; and that he also did not write an answer to her letters to him, saying that Gray having returned to Scotland so long before her letters came to her son, and having—with others like—wrought him to their will, caused him to write Gray's own words, which he had formerly used to her majesty; which, she said, were otherwise than he had that time signified to Nau—who

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1584–5. vouched there the French ambassador for a witness that Gray in his negotiations with her majesty neither disavowed nor yet approved that association between her and her son. The other point wherewith she was perplexed is, that in case—notwithstanding her majesty's advertisement in her letter—she will determine to send one of hers to her son, her majesty will be content to do therein as her highness shall see to be best for this Queen and for him. To this she desires very earnestly that she herself, by some of hers, may deal with him; a thing, she says, most natural, knowing best what is best for him, and how to deal with him to bring him to join with her to be at her majesty's devotion, as she has protested to do if she may send to him in time. Which to do as she would have him, he cannot deny his bond by his own letters to her; whereof she sent one to Nau to be showed to her majesty, vouching still his subscription to that association, and lamented much that Nau could not be suffered to speak with Gray in the presence of her majesty or council, where—as Nau said now—he would have driven him to speak otherwise than he had done to her majesty and others. Hereof she said she would write her mind to her majesty at good length, but her letters are not yet ready.

To these things I, knowing little of them in substance, could make none but ordinary answers, with advice to comfort herself—taking it very heavily—with her majesty's favour, whereof I doubted not but she should in time see some good effect, unless she would give occasion to the contrary.

Unto this hour she has a good opinion of the sending of her said letters safely to her son, because she does not hear from her majesty or other ways, by whom they were carried, nor has any answer from him to her, as she specially required and willed him by the authority the mother has over her son.

To the last point of her majesty's letters, of her doubt and fear of my successor in this charge, being still inquisitive who it shall be—for, as I have oft said, she fears every change—being persuaded that she has many dangerous enemies in England, in the hands of whom or of such as depend upon them, she thinks she cannot be safe, she would gladly have understood his name. And surely, sir, to remove such jealousies, whereof she is very apprehensive, if it would please her majesty to name him unto her by some letters from her highness to come hither before, though it be sent away about the time of his setting forward—which, I presume by your letters, he promises shall be on Monday the 1st of March next—to be here three or four days before him; in my opinion it would do good.

[*The rest is in Sadleir's hand.*]

I am sorry to understand by your letters that any such wretches should live in England of such wicked mind as Parry has confessed himself to be, which declares what are the fruits of popery. I pray God there be no more such, and that he may shortly receive the guerdon thereof according to his deserts.

Your good news of Sir Amias setting forth hitherwards upon Monday next to receive this charge, are not a little comfortable to me, being now almost at the "pittes brinke." Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2¼ *pp. Part holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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Feb. 23.
C.P., vol. XV.

551. Thomas Livingston to Mary.

I have written sundry times by Mons. de Fountenay, who has given sufficient proof of a trusty and faithful servitor in your majesty's advice. And seeing he is on his return to France by your majesty's command, it is needful that your majesty had some man of good office here at Court, who, having credit, might continue the work and build upon such foundations as have been already laid by the said Fountenay, whose proceedings, all those of sound judgment, must allow. And to this effect, saving your majesty's wisdom, [I] would wish Arran were remembered by your majesty's letters in good terms, for I think he and the young courtier might easily be divided, if your majesty has found your honour any way interessed by him in his voyage towards these parts.

As for my own part, I dare not write to your majesty upon the common rehearsal, but will suspend my judgment until I hear further, not doubting but your majesty's secretary, who lay at London for the time, knew particularly of his proceedings. As concerning the especialties of [the] Court here, I doubt not your majesty is sufficiently informed by others.

[*Note*].—Seton "shows" the death of his father and his faithful service to this Queen, and for a pledge and last witness of his fidelity, and of the continuance of his goodwill and affection towards her service, did wholly dedicate this Seton his son to her, as a thing which was now dearer to him than all the world besides.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Feb. 27.
C.P., vol. XV.

552. Sir Francis Englefield to [ ].

By my last to you, dated the 9th of February, I answered yours of the 6th of December, which had been almost two months in the way hither: and now I have your other of the 26th of January, which also came with such leisure that it was overtaken by some others fresher by fourteen days. Glad I am to perceive thereby the abettering of your health from the late infirmity of your breast, whereof I wist right well the cause to be your immoderate "baynes" before I read the same. God forgive you that fault, which in me you would call indiscretion, and would enjoin me penance for it. And if your leisure does not serve you to use the last alphabet, I pray you to return it; for hereafter I shall use the old, as now I do, because you do not find it so dangerous now as you feared before. And albeit I easily believe that the chief of the camp has no great affection to be served by any of ours, yet, as I hear, there are some other and more causes for which the matter of the regiment goes so slackly forward; and, namely, one writes that he that showed most zeal and fervour at the first to gather Catholic footmen, having obtained the name and pay of a captain, never since showed any further care either to increase his number or to maintain those he had. Of which matter I presuppose you have heard from many, and will therefore take no knowledge thereof from me—you know good reason why.

Of recovering the pay of your old "arrerages" so long solicited, I am of your mind that there is small hope thereof in any convenient time,

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1584–5. finding the resolution changed, if I be not deceived, from the first coming of Don Bernardino de Mendoza into these parts.

Whereas for long time together the reformation of England was thought to be the surest and shortest way to reduce Flanders, upon the said ambassador's [Mendoza] persuasions that the first part was not "factible," whilst the Queen of England lives, it was, and still is determined, first to reduce Flanders to obedience, and from thence to attempt England, as occasion shall require and opportunity permit. And albeit I constantly expect that this later resolution will prove so erroneous that the said Mendoza will have no thanks therefore in the end, yet, for the present, he is better believed than any others can be, and at least has won thereby for himself that which he desired so long. I mean, by supplanting the ambassador at Paris to occupy the place himself. But when the King shall see his excessive charges lost in Flanders, the Catholic party in England decayed, the King of Scots confirmed in heresy and allied with his enemy, and the Queen of Scots either perished or entangled with prejudicial conditions, sure I am that his majesty will not then allow of this, howsoever these proud "dullardes," perhaps, will never be brought to see their own error. Howsoever it be, or shall fall out, we may not give over nor cease from endeavouring to do what we may, as well to draw the first plot for war, be our travail never so desperate, as also by every other way to seek the mean and second good till we may come to better. Instead, therefore, of the sword, which we cannot obtain, we must fight with paper and pens, which cannot be taken from us. The two books of justice and Leicester's life have raised the building much. Let the same, therefore, be followed and backed with some pamphlets of like kind, fresh and fresh from time to time. The accusation of the Queen of Scots in Throgmorton's confession; her removing from Shrewsbury to the custody of the Earl of Leicester's allies; her bait at Tutbury, being more than half way from Sheffield to Kenilworth; and the oath of association excluding whatsoever successor they list to say, attempted, ought [to] be to this Queen of England's annoyance, all excellent points to be laid forth in proof and confirmation of that which is already set down of the Earl of Leicester's practices. Among which I marvel how the death of the Duke of Lennox was forgotten, and how the King of Scots and his father were pretermitted in the thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh pages, where mention is made of the Lord Charles [Stewart] and his daughter Arbella; whereat I warrant you some skittish humour will both stumble and kick.

Of the Parliament's proceedings I expect as you do, and am glad to see that the old knight, your friend here, bears so well this last upshot of the manifold injuries he has long sustained. But a monstrous thing it will be when it shall come to be chronicled how odious priesthood is in a country that professes Christ. Your said good friend was very sorry when I showed him that part of your letter that made mention of your speedy retiring to some corner till God shall send better hope of your pay. Which resolution I perceive he nothing allows; but thinks your travail and endeavour now more necessary than at any time before. Beware therefore what you do, and consider deeply of it, for that point imports more than can be laid forth in few lines, or can be foreseen, perhaps, at first, especially

Elizabeth.
1584–5. if you retire before, and without the consent of the Queen of Scots, who had never so much need of your service as now. "Once" sure I am that some emulators will make no small advantage thereof, and take courage to confirm sundry envious and false suggestions surmised before. God of his mercy grant you keep promise in comforting the good old knight wherever you go. The 9th of March 1585.

2 *pp. Copy. In Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed by him.*

Feb. 28. **553.** SADLEIR TO BURGHLEY.

C.P., vol. XV. I received your letters of the 22nd instant on the 25th of the same by Mr. Dorrell, and I most humbly and heartily thank your lordship for your most friendly help and solicitations for my deliverance from this charge, hoping very shortly to see your lordship myself and to give you thanks again by word of mouth.

And whereas, your lordship writes that her majesty is offended with the charges here, and mainly with the charges of the stable, I would to God it lay in me to abate the charges according to her majesty's mind. I have here six horses, thirty-two geldinges, and four nags, and ever since my coming from home I have in a manner borne the charges of them all myself, until now since my coming hither, since when her majesty has borne the charge. But for all the time before, both at Sheffield and at Wingfield, I bore the charge of them all, except of twelve horses and geldings which my Lord of Shrewsbury allowed me in his stable for the space of one month or a little more; and then his officers, alleging that his provision and store of hay and provender were spent, as indeed they were, I had leave—having only stable room—to buy hay, oats, and straw too, as I could get them in the country, at the dearest. So that for four months and more I have borne the whole charge of my said number of horses, and sometimes of more as occasion has been given, whereof at my return I will make a just and true account, trusting to have reasonable allowance of the same, and of other charges, as of posts laid at Wingfield and Mansfield to Newark, and now here, and at Loughborough to Wytham, being the next post to Stamford, the charges whereof I have borne hitherto after the rate of 3*s.* 4*d.* by the day ever since I came to Wingfield, with such other charges as I have sustained in this service, towards which neither before nor since my coming from home I have received one penny of her majesty's.

Also, whereas your lordship desires to know whether Mr. Digbie and Mr. Ferrers have sent the hangings hither which they bought of Lord Paget, Mr. Ferrers has sent hither eight pieces, being all that he bought, and had his money again from Mr. Gresley—which are very mean and very coarse stuff, meet to serve rather as coverlets to "lyverey beddes" than to be used for hangings, but Mr. Digbie has sent none hither, nor yet do I know what he will do. Now, how many pieces shall be needful to be sent hither for this Queen, Mr. Somer and I have heretofore sent your lordship a note of the depth and compass of her chamber, whereby your lordship may guess how many pieces would suffice to furnish the same, as now again your lordship shall receive another note herewith to like effect. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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554. SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your letter of the 22nd instant by Mr. Dorrell on the 25th, by which I understand that Sir Amias Poulet intends to keep his day hitherwards.

One Humphrey Bridges, late servant to Nicholas Langford, esquire, being departed from the same Langford in some displeasure for that, as he says, he was very ill used at his hands, did thereupon write a letter to the said Langford containing very ill and suspicious matter against him, whether of malice or that it is true, God knows; but Langford, after the receipt of the letter from the said Bridges shewed the same to Humphrey Ferrers, esquire, a Justice of Peace, desiring that I might see it; whereupon Mr. Ferrers, having at the same time the said Bridges in his custody for that he was suspected of felony, brought him to me, and the letter also, and Mr. Langford came likewise to this town of Tutury with Mr. Ferrers to speak with me, if I so would. But Mr. Somer and I having read the letter and considered it, and upon the special points examined the said Brigges, who seemed then to be sorry that he had so touched the said Langford, and denied that any such matter was meant to be written by him, but because he cannot write nor read he had procured a friend of his, who, he said, wrote that matter without his consent, I thought best therefore to let Mr. Langford alone, without speaking with him, and left the said Bridges to Mr. Ferrers to use him according to the law. But afterwards the same Bridges being then committed to the constable of this town by Mr. Ferrers to be carried to the gaol, desired the same constable, after Mr. Ferrers and Langford were gone home, to bring him to me to the end he might speak with me again.

At his coming he then affirmed all he had written in his said letter to Langford. I need not tell you what an obstinate Papist Langford is, and Sir Thomas Gerarde as ill as he; who both lurk in their houses, the furthest not past four miles from this castle. Neither of them, their wives nor families come to the church, but do nourish certain massing priests who haunt their houses, where, it is thought, they have their masses secretly.

It seems that the bishop of this diocese is not so diligent as he ought to be. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—I received your letter of the 26th of February on the 28th, and sorry I am that Mr. Poulet is not in so good health as I wish him to be, trusting, nevertheless, he will be here by the 10th of March.

I have thought good to send you a catalogue of the names of divers recusants and papists of this country, and of certain massing priests lurking in the same, and also the names of the Justices of Peace of this shire, amongst the which you shall find but a few of the best sort. Surely this is a perilous country, for both men and women of all degrees are almost all papists.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 28.
C.P., vol. XV.

555. BRIAN CAVE TO WALSINGHAM.

I do acknowledge myself in many sorts to be bound to your honour, and especially for that it has pleased your honour to accept

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1584–5. my motion for my deliverance from this charge, and also for the care you have had of my preferment in Court.

According to your honour's letter I mean, at the coming of Sir Amias Pawlet hither, to deliver up my charge to Mr. Darrell, which before that time he is not willing to accept. Tutbury. *Signed:* Brian Cave.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. **556. Sir Francis Englefield to Mary.**

Lansd. MSS., No. 96, fol. 46.

At the writing of my last, dated the 15th [5th] of December, upon an advice from Morgan that his means of "convoy" to you had failed, I meant to have stayed my pen for a time till I should have some necessary or comfortable matter to give you, and some way be found that it might come to your hands. And now being in some hope of this part by the receipt of yours of the 30th of October, I have thought good with this to give your majesty the copy of the relation made in your behalf to the pope and the King of Spain, upon the first advice of the change of your keeper and guard, whereunto I have yet received no answer.

And for the 21,000 ducats promised to yourself, and for the 4000 remaining unpaid to the King your son, I proposed Granvelle. So far that he answered me three or four days past in these express terms: "quod non ceperint eque mihi displicet atque tibi. Putabam pro certo quod antehac recepissent. Si reginam deceperint et me etiam deceperunt, quid faciemus cogere non possumus."

More than this I could not get of him, and it may be by the removing of Tassis and substituting of Mendosa some occasion might arise to the hindrance of sending it to London. I know that Tassis once had it in his hands in September, and also I know that Mendosa would not it should come to your hands from or by any other but by himself.

What other impediments have arisen against the satisfaction of those moneys I can learn no reason or cause, but may fear and suspect that Mendosa has hindered it for the opinion he has that by having it your majesty would the rather advertise to start, which he thinks not yet needful.

½ *p. Copy in Mr. Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed by him.*

Feb. **557. Parties in Scotland.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 253.

It is somewhat difficult to declare who stand affected to France, England, and the King's mother, at present.

Our Queen most misliked those who were the authors of her deposing, [and] were known most affected to England, as her own base brother the Earl of Murray, Regent Morton, Glencairn, Mar, Gowrie, Lindsay, Sempill, this same Earl of Montrose and Hume. The others who sustained her side, chiefly at Langside, whence she escaped into England, were the Hamiltons, Huntly, Ogilvie, Cassillis, Eglinton, Rothes, Crauford, Seaton, Livingston, Fleming, of whom some have altered from one faction to the other. The King's party is now greatly overthrown, and the King professes himself—since the Duke of Lennox came to Scotland—a lover of his mother's preferment, and pleased with the French amity.

How his majesty's affection to England is recovered is best known

Elizabeth.
1584–5. to those who understand the mysteries of the privy dealings of the Earl of Arran at his meeting with Huntly, and of the Master of Gray during his legation in England. I am ignorant of them except by conjecture and bruit. At that time they seemed to run one course, but now the contrary is deemed.

Most of those that opposed our Queen and were reputed of the King's faction are either dead, banished, lurking or wanting credit. The other faction, favourers of our Queen, seems well divided among themselves—the King now showing himself friendly with England, a course in which the Earl of Arran and the Master of Gray seem to concur, though the common opinion is that they are not joined in heart.

The most part of our nobility are in effect neutrals, and disposed to follow the King's course. Those in the present government are unwilling to "kythe thame" directly in any faction, for the hard reward that others have found, and because they have seen that which was considered good service to the King, afterwards accounted treason. They see our Queen, competitor with her son for the crown of this realm, kept in England 17 years, without resolution if she shall return and be avenged on those she dislikes or not. No solid course is taken for our King's marriage, no certain declaration made of the successor to the Crown of England.

They hear of the amity to be contracted between the two realms for mutual defence in case of invasion for the cause of religion, and yet little care is taken for the defence of the true professors of religion in this island.

The foreign prince that would now deal for a league of amity with Scotland, had need to consider the circumstances of the King's age, inclination, his experience these last five years; the present condition of the three estates of the realm, the youth of many of his noblemen, unable or unexpert, sundry new made, and divers of the chief houses exiled. The bishops, abbots and priors are now either the noblemen themselves, hirelings to noblemen, buyers and sellers of benefices, young, or Jesuits.

The state of the towns is likewise under the sway of the noblemen, being deprived of the free choice of their own magistrates. The Earl of Arran is provost of Edinburgh and captain of the castle there, and has also the like authority at Stirling, the Earl of Montrose at St. Johnston, the Earl of Craufurd at Dundee, the Earl of Huntly in the north, the Earl of Rothes at Cupar in Fife. Methinks it were alike to deal with these four or five having all the power in their hands, as with all the estates convened.

The greatest force now in the kingdom are the barons and knights, yet to seek to deal with them might be interpreted as some alteration of our laws, which, alas! are so altered in these last few years that only their shadow remains. Yet there is a great number of them of larger means than many of the nobility, called earls and lords, especially in that part of the country best known to England—Cessford, Farnihurst, Buccleugh, Drumlangrig, Johnston, Bomby, Lochinvar, Garlies, Garthland, Bargany, Blairquhan, Sheriff of Ayr, Craigywallace, Caprynton, Craigywallace, Lus, Buchanan, Sir James Hamilton, Kerr, Airth, Tullibardine, Lochleven, Westerwemys, Bas, Wauchton, Dalhousie, Rosslyn, Edmonston, Corstorphan, Balwery, Glenurquhy,

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Wemys, Powry, Ogilvie, Fintrie, Downe, Edzell, Thornton, Glenbervy, Pettarro, and sundry more.

It would seem necessary in view of the King's youth, and that of so great a number of the nobility, something further should be done in the league. I mean that conditions accorded should be solemnly approved by parliament, so that it should stand in force for some reasonable space between the two countries.

If any support shall be granted to the King, it would be well to be not oversparing, nor with great delay, that he might be thereby induced to follow the Queen's good advice in all his actions of importance, as if she were indeed his own mother.

It would be well that a common confession in religion and a tolerable ecclesiastical policy were in both realms, agreeing as near as might be.

It would be well that the Queen should appear careful and minded to give her best support towards the King's marriage, and to have the same accomplished with all convenient speed; also that upon particular knowledge of the present state of the King's rental, she would give her best advice and help how he might be relieved of all past debt.

Her advice might also be given to reduce the confusion of the power and authority of the estates, to the lovable and ancient laws and customs, and the most apt men so placed in public offices of government.

The offer of her support might be made, to repress the insolence of the Borderers and Highland and "ilishe" men, and to reform the exchequer. These would be motives to acquire the King's heart and the universal goodwill of our people, without which no league seems to be of great purpose. Having done these good actions, it would then be well for her to propose the reconciliation of the banished noblemen to the King's favour, and the reconciliation of the nobility among themselves, which I take to be the only means of peace and surety of the King's estate.

4 *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.*

March 1. C.P., vol. XV. **558. Marmaduke Darell and Brian Cave to Burghley.**

Not long since there was sent to your lordship from hence a demand for a proportion of victuals and other allowances for the diet of the Scottish Queen and her family, somewhat larger than heretofore has been served. And for that by the book of diet lately brought hither by Mr. Marmaduke Darell it appears your honours have not determined upon any increase of her former allowance, we perceive some mistake is conceived thereof. And for their better satisfying, upon the return of the demand, it has been answered to her officers, that because their note, sent to your honours, was imperfect and not to be well conceived, the establishment of it is forborne.

Mr. Somer and we have had conference with her officers, and all points being explained, a book of diet is set down and sent to your honours herewith, without which, it seems, she cannot be satisfied, misliking, they say, that such small things should be denied, being no more than needful; and the rather for that her secretary, Nau, has assured from her majesty that she should be better used than in former times.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. Your lordship shall perceive by their book that their demands are not much more than the present allowance, the granting whereof will very well content them, as the denial greatly discontent them and give them cause to exclaim, whereto they are very apt. Tutbury. *Signed:* Marmaduke Darell. B. Cave.

1 *p. In Darell's hand. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

[*Queen of Scots' diet.*]

"A demaunde of diet to be increased for the Quene of Scottes and her famelie, at Tutbury Castell."

"A proportion of diet for the Skottish Quene and her famelie by the daie now demawndede to be establishede, and a declaration what increase of chardge will growe therbie."

Manchetes for the table .	xviij caste .	. xviijd.
Cheat for the table .. .	. xv caste .	. xxijd. ob.
Manchetes for the kichen .	. iiij caste .	. . iiijd.
Cheat for the kichen . .	. j caste .	. . ijd.

Bere—xx gallons—iijs. iiijd.; ale—j gallon and a half—xd. ob.; wine for the table—v gallons—vjs. viijd.; wine for y^e^ kichen—half a gallon—viijd.; ale for the kichen—3 quartes—iijd.

The flesh day. Beef—vj stone—xijs.; veale—half—iijs. iiijd.; multon—j—vjs. viijd.; pigge—j—xijd.; capons, fatt—ij—ijs. viijd.; capons, goode—iiij—iiijs.; conyes—iiij—xvjd.; lambe or kide—half—xxd.; foule of sowndrie sorte accordinge to the season rated at xd. a dishe one with an other—vj dishes—vs.

Larde—iijlb.—ijs. viijd.; sewet—ijlb.—iiijd.; butter—vijlb.—xxjd.; egges—xl—vijd.; vergis—j quarte—ijd.; veniger—j quarte—iijd.

The charges of the diet for the flesh daie according to the demawnde—lviijs. vijd.: as it is now servid—xlviijs. vjd.: thincrease—xs. vd. per diem.

The fishe daie. Bred, bere, ale and wine—xvs. vjd.

Linge—j—ijs.; codde—j—xvjd.

To make up xxiiij dishes at euerie meale at the discreacion of ther cookes: yf thone kinde will not serve—as not to be had—to be supplied with the other. Sea fishe of severall kindes accordinge to the season—5 sortes; oysters—cc; fresh water fishe of severall kindes—vj sortes: reckoned at xijd. the dishe with all chardgies—xxiiijs.

Butter—xiij lb.—ijs. vjd.; egges—iiijxx. xij—xxd.; milke—ij quartes—ijd; creme—ij quartes—vjd.

The chardgies of a fishe daies diet accordinge to the demawnde—xlviijs. vd.: as it is nowe servid—xls. iiijd.: thincrease—viijs. ijd.

Md. pease, barlie, onyons, herbes, ntemell, and suche like thinges for pottagies, as nede shall requier.

Salte salmon—half; salte hearinge—lx; red hearinge xx; stockfishe: to served in the time of Lent and to be deducted out of the former proportion.

The proportion of woode, cole, and lighte to be allowed, accordinge to ther late demawnde because yt doeth appere lesse will not serve

Required also by the weeke: beof townges—ij; calves mugget.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. hed, and feet—ij ; shepes feete—xl ; tripes of beof twise in the weeke.

Spicies demaund for a monthe : peper—iij lb.—viijs. vjd., thincrease—half a pound—xvijd. ; suger—xxj lb.—xxxs. vijd. ; ginger —j lb.—xxd. thincrease—iiij oz.—vd. ; maces—vj oz—iijs. ixd. nutmegges—vi oz.—iiijs. vjd. ; saffrone—j oz.—xvjd, ; rice—ij lb.—vjd. ; cloves—ij oz.—ixd, ; thincrease—j oz.—iiijd. ob. ; almondes —ij lb.—iiijs ; reason corners—vj lb.—ijs. ; great reasons—ij lb.—vjd. ; prunes—viij lb.—ijs. ; dates—j lb.—xviijd. ; sallet oyle—half a gallon —ijs. viijd. ; capers—ij quartes—xxd. ; olyves—ij quartes—xxd. ; streyners, fine,—j yarde—viijd. Swm lxvijs, iijd.—thincrease ijs. xjd. ob.

Memorandum that besides the said monethly proportion of suger ther is xij lb. required onely for the Quene to be spent in her chamber for pussettes and cawdells for to serve a monethe. Required more for Lent by the weeke ; reasons, great,—vj lb. ; almonds—vj lb. ; figges—vj lb. ; prunes—vj lb. ; rice—iiij lb, ; sallet oile—ij quartes ; to be deducted for that time out of the former monethes proportion. Tutbury.

3½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed* (by Burghley's clerk).

March 2. **559. MARY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig. C. VIII., fol. 243.

Desires he will consider her request to the Queen of England, for sending someone from her household to her son.

Wishes that the treaty might be concluded before her death ; which must be expected soon to strike her in her prison.

Requests that the 16 horses she asked for be sent immediately.

Desires that her people may be allowed to go to the next towns to buy necessities for themselves, if they give their parole. Will continue to submit blindly to the will of Elizabeth. Tutbury. *Signed :* Marie R.

1 *p. Holograph, also address.* (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. vi. p.* 98.)

March 2. **560. PROVISION OF TUTBURY CASTLE.**

C.P., vol. XV.

28th Feb. 1584. " Thinges necessary to be considerid, and to be answered in good tyme, for provision to Tutbury Castell." Wood and coal for Tutbury.

What woods of the Queen's majesty's shall be used for fuel and coal for provision of this castle, failing the wood for fuel, tolerable to be spared in " Castle hay " (1 mile), and " Rife haye " (2 miles), for coal, both being now " grudged at " by the governors of them ; the one in respect of the race, as is alleged. The other for the pannage [of] the same, and the herbage farmed out to Mr. Richard Aderley.

If these be forborne, that provision must be brought further off, from the forest of Needewood—which carries *omen cum nomine*, especially for timber—and so will be the more chargeable to the Queen, but much more to the country, which is already to be charged for this year by the consent of the justices of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, here before me, [*in the margin :* 20 Feb. 1584] with 20*l.* in money, whereof 24*l.* in Leicester for the carrying of wood and coal from those near places to this castle. Whether the Queen's majesty

Elizabeth.
1584–5. March 2. will give authority to the governor for the time being upon this charge, to take the "loppes" of Lord Paget's woods, called "Burton out woodes" (2 miles), "Tatenell out woodes" (2 miles), and "Ansley outwoodes," being easier wood to be made than the other, which by age, *etc.*, is without "lop" almost throughout, and "boystrous great" at the root, though dead and hollow, and thereby cannot be made "manyable" so fast as it is meet to carry it in due time in summer to prevent winter carriage, which by experience is very grievous. Wherein also husbandmen's seasons are to be weighed; and having the commodity also of Lord Paget's woods, the one may be brought whilst the other is in dressing.

Whether it will please her majesty to command the said Lord Paget's bailiffs at Burton, and his other officers having cause, to suffer the governor—being therein warranted—to appoint to be brought hither such hay—[*in the margin*: wheat, oats, peas [and] straw] from the said lord's demesne meadows, and other compositions and tithes reserved for his provisions, as the tithes of Shapnoll, and of Burton and Bramson, and any other out of lease, as he shall think to be fittest for the provision of this house. The governor to have authority to demise the same from year to year to such as will deliver most of every kind at this place, without troubling the country for carriages, and to avoid uncertain gathering of them other ways. And likewise the governor to have the ordering of some pasture grounds of Shapnoll farm and Seny park, for cattle for this provision, or in case of composition for beef and mutton, the compositors to have them at a rent.

Whether it will please her majesty to suffer the governor to take the use of a very little park, called the "Castell park," part of it being a botom, all the winter, and yet wet, unmeet by water and bogs for horses or head cattle; and part of it high ground, and is adjoining to this castle, for the use of his geldings in summer—a good sparing off for provender—and sometime to serve for oxen and sheep to be ready at hand. This little park was lately taken in, and upon Mr. Chancellor's motion, surrendered by Mr. William Agard for a help to the race as joining to "Castell hay" where it was kept.

The Queen's majesty has no other ground near this castle for geldings in summer. Whether shall the six country watchmen have their supper and breakfast as they have had always, and wherewith they are very well pleased, or else 4*d.* for their night watch, as was once written hither they should have.

1⅛ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

March 2. **561. JOHN SOMER TO BURGHLEY.**

C.P. vol. XV. Herewith goes another note of the depth and compass of the Scottish Queen's chamber here for the juster appointing of hangings for it, and of other things which may be well bestowed here; among the rest, the sheets and "pillowbeeres" for herself are very specially recommended as very needful by the report of the principal gentlewomen about her. This Queen often expostulates with Nau, in that she says he brought her little other than words, seeing hitherto small effects, and thinks that the increase of her "escuyrie" to make up sixteen horses of her own to be found at her majesty's charge, is not granted her. Seeing Nau gave her such assurance thereof, she has

Elizabeth.
1584–5. now six found so, and that she esteems that most next to the two principal points: viz., to proceed to a treaty with her majesty and to send one of hers to her son to know the long or the short of his intention.

I have alleged—in answer—the weak state of her body, the coldness of the time, the foul ways hereabouts, like to be unpleasant this good while, the charges to provide so many horses more, the expenses incident thereto, besides the grooms' wages to be paid by her, and when she would take the air she may have of the governor's. But all will not serve. I am every day assaulted with this motion by Nau and Curle, and seeing my answers cannot satisfy them, I have referred further answer to come from her majesty by the successor, together with the establishment for her household.

She cannot be satisfied, in that she takes no knowledge by Mr. Chancellor, but specially from her majesty, of the name of the successor in this charge, yet she has advice thereof from the French ambassador.

Her majesty wrote lately to her that it should be a person not to be doubted of for his integrity. I wrote lately to Mr. Secretary of her dislike and jealousy thereof, who has answered now that her highness means to write again to her of him. If it would please her majesty to send such a letter before his coming, and to name him, giving her good assurance of him, and that he depends upon none other than her majesty—for thereof she is marvellously suspicious—it may, perhaps, make him the better welcome to her, and serve to good purpose, namely at this time, when all good is expected. On Mr. Darel's coming hither we have conferred again with this Queen's officers about the note for the establishment of her household allowance according to the book which he brought down; which being somewhat short in some things of their demands, they showing some dislike—though with modesty "as Melvil uses in well"—that such small things, especially in matters of diet, should be "stand upon," is helped somewhat in the book sent now to their liking, if it may be established in that sort which is as near—they say—as may be. And surely, my lord, that little will give contentment, and the abatement in this time may offend more than a greater matter ought to do, seeing they look, as they say, to be better used than they were before.

Here is also a note sent once more of Lord Paget's commodities near and helpful to this place, if it may please her majesty to grant the use of them hither; and withal to give authority to the governor here to bargain with tenants from year to year for corn and hay to be delivered here in most profitable process, and that thereof knowledge be given from her majesty to Lord Paget's officers, or to others having the charge there, for their discharge, and in like sort for his woods.

For the helping of her majesty's charges, if it may be—which, perhaps, may be the greater by greater number of the governor's company and horses, than is limited by her majesty, and by resort of his friends or coming of his lady, and such like, what if he were allowed an ordinary daily diet, ambassador-like, for his side, and being a gentleman of credit, honour and livelihood, will, perhaps, for his reputation, add somewhat of his own to it—perhaps he will by his own good officers husband the matter as well as it is now at least.

But, as for this Queen's diet and charges, it will be hard to take that course; wherein, nevertheless, a discreet, skilful officer, having

Elizabeth.
1584–5. no other charge than for her, may use the matter as though she have an increase of horses. [*In the margin:* "A horse charges for meat will not cost here above 5*d.* per diem, comprehending also litter."] Her household charges and stable, comprehending therein wax and "wher lightes," sauces, fruit, and some other small courtesies in honour at need, cannot arise to 5*l.* a day; as by an estimate sent up now by Mr. Cave and Mr. Darell, even as is required, saving for the stable, may appear to your lordship. Herein wood is not comprehended, for that being the Queen's majesty's she only pays for the making and carrying at her process.

The countries hereabout having compounded by the justices of the peace meeting here for that purpose, three for Stafford and two for Derby, in the names of all the rest, for this years carriages of wood and coal which will stand the country in 204*l.* [*In the margin:* Stafford —90*l.*, Derby—90*l.*, Leicester 24*l.*] and the Queen not 25*l.* unless it be fetched further off than coals two miles, and wood one mile.

Your lordship can consider that there will be still some extraordinary charges, as sending, repairing, glasing, altering, utensils wanting, *etc.*

The French ambassador has given this Queen good comfort—as Nau tells me—that her majesty will grant her license to send into Scotland, naming Nau. But I preceive by him she means then to send Curle, her Scottish secretary, who shall go lightly in post, without such parade as Nau went with to the Court to show his greatness, besides length on the way. He is not so quick-spirited nor prompt as Nau—Frenchlike—but has a shrewd, melancholy wit, not so pleasant in speech and utterance, suspicious enough. She makes great account of him for his fidility and secrecy.

[*In the margin:* Besides these households there are thirty soldiers in "sold" at 8*d.* [a]piece per diem; 363*l.* per annum.] Tutbury. *Signed:* John Somer.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

[*Queen of Scots' bedchamber.*]

"Hanginges needfull for the Scottish Queen's bed chambre at Tutbury."

The said Queen's chamber is but nine feet deep from the raison or wallplate being "seelid" under the rafters, as a pavillion roof.

The one side of that chamber having no window to open—for it is near, and under the height of the castle wall—is eleven yards long with the return from the chimney at one end to the corner. For the same, so many pieces as will hang so many "gardes."

From the chimney to the door, and to cover it, is eight feet.—One piece.

From the door to the corner of that end, and with a return to a window is almost eight feet.—One piece.

Between the two windows on the side towards the court is ten foot. —One piece.

From the window to the corner, and a little return to the door at the lower end of that chamber is about nine foot.—One piece.

From the door—and to cover it—all the rest of that end is about fifteen feet, perhaps two pieces. [*A plan is given of the chamber.*]

Other things required as needful.

Elizabeth.
1584-5. Three or four hundredweight of good sweet feathers to amend more beds here.

Three or four pieces of broad "dornickes" for many uses in chambers, "fayre coulours."

Some pieces of course "lyre" and curtain rings—none here to be had.

A dozen or more livery coverlets, lined with canvas to last the better.

Blanketing for ten or twelve pair, or so many ready made.

Certain Turkey carpets to lie about the Queen's bed. One under her seat in her dining chamber. [*In the margin:* The dining chamber floor is plaster, very cold, though strewed with rushes]; and one like in her bed chamber, as she eats there when she is not well: in all five or six. She has the best of the old long ones to walk on in her chamber, which is matted, but yet too hard for her sore foot.

Besides, the plate whereof Mons. Nau wrote lately, and is promised shall be sent.

One other special thing is much recommended, whereof this Queen has great need, as is said, and whereof I have not heard until now, and that by one of her gentlewomen nearest about her, that is, to have for the Queen's own use six pair of large fine sheets and a dozen "pillowbeeres."

Woods and other commodities of my Lord Paget's near to Tutbury.

"Burton outwoodes—2 miles. Tatenwell outwoodes—2 miles. Ansley outwoodes—1½ miles. Seny park woods, good store of deere, 2 buckes weekely in season—3 miles. Shapnoll farme—3 miles. The demeane meadows—4 miles. Shapnoll tythes—4 miles. Mikle Owre and Lytle Owre and Fyndon—6 miles. Burton and Bramson tythes—4 miles. Warren of conyes rented out for 2 years to come—10*l.* per annum. Dove house at Shapnoll. Fisshing in Trent."

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "1 March 1584. A note of thinges for Tutbury."

March 2. 562. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. Your packet of the 26th of February was brought hither on the 28th, and therewith another to the Scottish Queen from the French ambassador, which I delivered forthwith, finding her writing to the Queen's majesty, and to others, as Nau told me, as she has been doing these four or five days, which has caused Mr. Chancellor's despatch [to] stay so long, looking daily, by their own words, for hers. Upon such occasion of letters she sometimes, but Nau oft, is desirous to understand who shall succeed Mr. Chancellor in this charge, and when she shall look for him—whereof she has advice, perhaps from the French ambassador. But nothing is told her here for certain who it is, whereat she is not well satisfied. Wherefore such a letter as you wrote of last hither, from her majesty naming him, [*etc.* as in no: 556].

She longs very much likewise to hear of her majesty's consent and allowance of an increase of her escurie [*etc.* as in no: 556].

Butall this serving not I have referred further answer to her majesty's pleasure, together with the establishment of her household [*etc.* as in no: 556].

By the French ambassador's last despatch he has given this Queen good comfort, as Nau says, that her majesty will give her license to send one into Scotland [*etc.* as in no: 556].

"I must needs say, that Almighty God be praysid and thankid for

Elizabeth.
1584–5. ever, for the discovery of suche a most detestable intention as that wretchid ipocrite, dissolut Parry had in his hart, a fit grownd to receave suche seede as suche husbandmen do usually wickidly sowe; and that thorough our mercifull Godes goodnes, to all our comfortes, so oft heapid upon us, bothe the thorny grownd the rockely seeke, the popishe poppy, and unseasonable labour have worthely perished together. Amen, amen, for his mercy sake to all such horrible husbandry." This Queen has "gotten" advice from the French ambassador of Parry's intentions, and a copy of the Cardinal of Como's letter to him, as Nau told me. And questioning with me of Parry, I set him forth in his true colours, having known him ever since he married old Mistress Haywood, then my neighbour in Fleet street, of whom he made as much as he could, besides abusing her daughter—proper to his profession. Nau seemed to rejoice greatly at this discovery, and for "requitall" told me of the like discovery in Scotland against the King, and for the same Dromwhassell and another were executed. The ambassador gave advice hereof also. Tutbury. *Signed:* John Sommer.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 4. **563.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH TO SIR AMIAS POWLET.

C.P., vol. XV. Whereas we have made special choice of you in respect of the great trust we repose in your approved fidelity, and for the trial we have made of your sufficiency otherwise, to have the charge, as well of the safe keeping of the Queen, of Scots, as of restraining her and such as attend upon her from secret conveyance of letters and other like practices, we do not doubt but that you will accordingly have a special care to see the articles following duly put in execution, which we deliver unto you for your better instruction and direction in that behalf.

And first, forasmuch as the said Queen by means of secret conference with some of the ordinary attendants upon those that heretofore have had the charge of her, has practised the said parties to become instruments for the secret conveyance of her letters, we think meet, for the avoiding of the like inconvenience hereafter, that you restrain her from having any speech or conference with any that shall appertain to you, otherwise than in your own hearing.

You shall also inhibit all those that attend upon you to have any conference with any of the said Queen's servants, otherwise than for matters that concern her diet, or such other necessary provisions as are to be made either for herself or those that attend upon her. For which purpose you shall make special choice of some trusty persons among your other servants to have the only care and charge thereof.

You shall from time to time, when to yourself in your own discretion it shall seem convenient, suffer the said Queen to take the air abroad for her health and recreation, either on horseback or on foot, so that the same does not exceed the space of two miles distance from the place where she now remains.

And in the time of her so going abroad to take the air, you shall give order that none of her train have any speech or conference with any of those that appertain to you.

Also, when any of her servants shall go out of the castle to take the

Elizabeth.
1584–5. air, you shall appoint certain of the soldiers and of your own servants to attend upon them, and yet with special charge and commandment that they may have no speech together.

If any stranger have occasion to repair to you, you shall, upon knowledge of his coming, give order that he may not enter into the castle, but remain in some place in the town to be by you appointed for that purpose.

And forasmuch as some of the inferior sort of those that appertain to the said Queen, as "cochers," laundresses and such others, have heretofore been used as principal instruments for the conveyance of letters and messages, you shall have a special regard that a watchful eye be "caryed" over them, and that their doings be so observed that the like inconveniences may not grow by them hereafter.

You shall, with the advice and assistance of the justices next adjoining, presently upon your entering into this charge, take order for the setting of day watches in places convenient—if by you it shall be thought meet—about the castle; and for privy searches to be made from time to time in places of any suspicion, as also for the restraining of rogues, beggars and other like vagrant and loose persons from any resort near to the castle, lest any other dangerous persons should in disguised sort repair thither about matter of practice. You shall give order that she shall not in taking the air pass through any towns, nor suffer the people to be in the way where she shall pass, appointing some always to go before to make them withdraw themselves, for that heretofore under colour of giving an alms and other extraordinary courtesies used by her, she has won the hearts of the people that inhabit about those places where she has heretofore lain.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed:* "4 March 1584. A drawght of instructions for Sir A. Pawlet." *Alterations in Walsingham's hand.*

Copy of the same, with this additional article (*in Walsingham's hand*).

Lastly we think meet to refer to your discretion such other matters as may concern this charge, wherein we have given no particular direction, not doubting but that you will have regard to carry yourself in such sort in the said charge as shall be answerable to the trust we repose in you, and for your own credit and reputation.

March 4. **564. Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XV. Having heretofore, in July last past, presumed to offer to your majesty my most humble service both by my own letters and also by the commendation of some of your majesty's agents here, and having now of late received from your majesty a letter in answer thereto, assuring me of your majesty's favour and good acceptance of my service offered, I thought it my duty to yield your majesty most humble thanks therefore, and further to signify to your majesty that I conceive therein unspeakable comfort, and find my zeal to your highness' service redoubled thereby. I humbly beseech your majesty to account of me as of one who will ever rest wholly at your majesty's devotion as far as my poor ability, yea, or my life, can extend. Whereto no other thing has moved me but the due consideration of your virtues and the duty that I owe to my native country and God's afflicted church

Elizabeth.
1584–5. therein, the reparation and weal whereof depend principally upon your majesty, in whose person God seems to promise to all his distressed servants in England peace and repose, having to that end—as we may well hope—preserved your majesty most miraculously from the malicious practices of your enemies. His divine providence must needs produce in the end some rare and strange effect to his own glory, and the consolation of your majesty, in whose innocence and approved patience his name is so highly glorified. The which I am now bold to put your majesty in mind of, to move you by the remembrance thereof to take courage and comfort in your adverse fortunes, and to attend a happy end of God's so merciful and miraculous proceedings with you, the remembrance and consideration whereof make me bear the burden of my banishment much the more contentedly. Paris.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Another copy of the same.

March 5. **565.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS.

Whereas the King their sovereign has by the Justice Clerk, his ambassador here, charged three of the gentlemen of their train, Andrew Rollock, John Keir, and Thomas Hume, with the late conspiracy practised against his person—whereof, notwithstanding, he [Walsingham] does not doubt they are able to clear themselves—the Queen of England thinks meet they should all three be presently sent hither for their answer. Has imparted to Mr. Colvile what other particularities are fit for their lordships to know in this behalf, to be more at length communicated to their lordships by him. Hopes God has offered this occasion very aptly, and to good purpose, for the trying out of their innocency.

½ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 247b. Another copy of the same.

March 9. **566.** ANGUS TO WALSINGHAM.

How "sclanderouslie" we are of late dealt withal by our "wnfreindis" presently about the King my sovereign, I hope your lordship will somewhat perceive by our letter directed to her majesty. But I trust your honour will be more fully resolved and satisfied therein by the trial of the gentlemen who, as is given out by our enemies, should have committed a most detestable and heinous fact, yea such a fact as I believe never entered into the breast of any one of that nation, much less into ours or any with us, who, as is well known—albeit otherwise thought now by him—from his highness's youth have given good proof of our loving and cheerful minds for the preservation of his person.

The greatest earthly comfort, therefore, that we have in all these our troubles, "joynit" to our innocency, is the assured hope we have that her majesty will not easily be induced by the sinister information of any to belief that of us which in any point may "derogat" us in honour or may tend to our discredit, the preservation whereof we have alway preferred to our lives and all things temporal.

Elizabeth.
1584–5. I think it will not be necessary to trouble your honour at this time with any purgation of our part in this matter lately laid to our charge; but I remit the same to such trial as shall be thought most meet by her majesty and your lordships [the Privy Council], not doubting but the truth and our honest parts will then most clearly appear. "Alwayes" one thing I must still crave of your honour, that both in this cause, which generally touches us all so deeply, and in all other good causes, as they shall fall out, your honour will continue in your wonted goodness towards us, so far as the uprightness of our cause shall merit. And in my own particular matters I will take the boldness to trouble your honour after my accustomed manner, hoping that your honour will accept the same in good part. Norwich. *Signed:* Angus.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

March 10. **567.** ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS TO WALSINGHAM.

Declare their innocency in this false accusation lately given out under manner of deposition. Think there is no nearer way to make the same manifest than to seek trial therein. Beg that they may be called upon when the ambassador [Bellenden] is there resident. But if this matter be overpassed, as was the accusation given out by Drummond, they will be altogether discouraged, and their enemies will take boldness daily to forge new calumnies against them. Recommend their present state to his good consideration. The change of places and distribution of their friends has put them to great expenses, and now being among unknown people here, who are very courteous, they are ashamed to want. His benefits shall not be bestowed on unthankful men, howsoever fortune frowns on them. Refer further to Mr. John Colvile, whom they request him to trust. Norwich.

According to the Queen of England's pleasure and his honour's desire, have sent their servants to be tried, which is the thing in the world they most desire, [and] not only that their servants, but also they themselves may be put to exact trial. If their servants be detained and put to no trial, surely they cannot but think their enemies have too much credit. Hear also that there are many slanderous books there printed to their reproach. Whereat they are sorry, seeing it "lesum" for their evil willers to publish what they will against them, and they can "have no place" either by their own presence or apologies to answer for themselves. *Signed:* Angus. Mar. Tho. M^r^ Glammis.

⅜ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig. C. VIII., fol. 248. Another copy of the same.

March 10. **568.** GODFREY FOLJAMBE TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XV. A few days after my last despatch to your majesty I received the inclosed from Father Parsons, which he desired I should send by this "convoy." The contents may best appear by the letters themselves, I not daring to write anything thereof, for that my cipher is not sure; for the best part thereof I lost in my troubles, and the rest is fallen by sinister means into some other hands. And therefore I

Elizabeth.
1584–5. humbly desire that I may receive so of your majesty's causes. Otherwise I dare not write as is convenient to your majesty to know them.

The father has retained the letters in his hands a long time in hope to have received answer of his former.

But seeing his expectation therein frustrated, has thought good to commit these to this convoy. Great troubles are beginning here: divers towns of the King's being presently taken and held by noblemen and gentlemen who profess the Catholic religion, and some say that the noble houses of Guise are the chief conductors thereof: who, with the consent, advise, aid, and support of all Christian Catholic princes of Europe, will attempt the abolishing of heresy, not only in France, but also in all other Christian kingdoms. There has been of late in England an Italian [ ] from Rome who has dealt with the [ ] in matters of great importance. His success has not been as was promised, for the late accident happened to Parry, whose travails employed to serve their turns are condignly rewarded. He has accused the Pope, his nuncio, and an Italian Jesuit at Padua, for the allowing of his action, and Mr. Morgan for his instigator and persuader to the same. Part of them he accused before his apprehension. to the [ ], as is supposed, hoping thereby to have gained some office or dignity, which mark he ever shot at.

It is thought that he has accused these men wrongfully, in regard whereof it were good your majesty should write in the behalf of Mr. Morgan, either for his liberty, or at the least that he may not be delivered out of this country, which is urged vehemently by the Queen of England, with faithful promise to deliver him back again to the French King alive, whereby it is plain they seek to discover divers articles for some other in him, for whose ruin they thirst after.

My desire is to hear some certainty of your majesty's estate.

1 *p.* *In the hand of Mr. Phelippes.* *With No.* 564.

March. **569. Godfrey Foljambe to Curll.**

Your continual silence has greatly afflicted me, who never received any word from you since my departure from England. You have no friend living that loves you more than I, nor that shall venture more for your sake than I will do; and so I pray you to account and make experience; and if in any lawful cause I refuse, you hold me ever for condemned.

I have written to you divers times, and I trust Mr. Morgan has caused [the letters] to be conveyed safely. For my opinion of the state of things here, I remit you to her majesty's letter.

I hear Sir Amias Powlet shall have the custody of her, whereupon I have enquired what men "towards" him are fit to be dealt with for her majesty's service. I have learned the names. Mr. Heydon, his son-in-law, and his wife, Hugh Brice or his son, one called Mr. Roe; all will serve [and are] thought reasonable men, and likely to be dealt withal.

Mr. Morgan at ten o'clock at night was arrested by ten of the King's guard, his study ransacked, his letters, papers, and part of his money taken away, the rest watched by the King's guard, the sum amounting at the least to [ ] crowns. I hope he shall lose no part thereof. The King, on [receipt of] the Queen of England's letter, granted the ambas-

Elizabeth.
1584–5. sador license to arrest any one English without knowing what he was. Then [he] requested his delivery, with promise that he should be examined of no other matter than the conspiracy with Parry for her death, which Parry had confessed. His delivery by secret means has been stayed. His papers [are] never yet viewed, and if they be, there will no great matter fall forth thereby, as I think, for he had sufficient notice four days before. It chanced so that he had shifted as many as he knew [to be] dangerous away.

They keep him still in prison. What the event will be, I know not, but I hope the best.

1 *p. In the handwriting of Mr. Phelippes. Indorsed with other copies.*

March. **570. GODFREY FOLJAMBE TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XV. The extreme grief and sorrow I have endured, in respect of the manifold and unspeakable troubles wherein your majesty has been tormented and troubled since my departure from England, have been yet more extreme and violent than I can possibly express by writing. For, when I have compared your majesty's regal progeny with the base parentage of your adversaries, your knightly throne with their contemptible cottages, your rare and excellent virtues with their monstrous and detestable vices, your sincerity, integrity, and innocency with their enormous guilts and crimes, and, all that notwithstanding, to behold the manifold crosses and afflictions which daily pursue your majesty's constant and invincible mind and courage, and the surpassing prosperity that the paltry companions, your adversaries, enjoy, I find myself so animated for the instant time, that in rage I cry out that there is neither right, equality nor order of justice in human things.

But after that violent perturbation of my mind is overpast and subdued to the rule of reason, I conceive good hope and assured confidence that God will undo utterly in the end these traverses, and turn them to the benefit of our country, to the eternal renown and surpassing glory of your majesty, no less in this world than the next, and finally to His own honour and praise. For this has been the course of the unscrutable wisdom of God in all past ages, rigorously to entreat with time to see whom he most "affectioneth," whereby their virtues may advance and make them more worthy the renown and triumph in time to come. Which property is so incident to his divine wisdom that He spared not the most blessed Virgin Mary, his own mother, who endured more sharp torments, and that in her tender heart, than any that ever lived have suffered, or are able to bear; whom, notwithstanding, he crowned with more perfect consolations, joys, and comforts, yea, and that in this world, than any other has, or shall taste. Which blessed Virgin, as your majesty resembles in name, which is common to you with many others so in afflictions and sorrows, you approach nearer than any other, and by consequence most assuredly shall be, to your unspeakable consolation and infinite glory, advanced and preferred before all others, as well in this world as in heaven.

Persevere therefore, most gracious Queen, in the accustomed course of your invincible courage, and thereby you shall daunt the enemy of God and yourself, and so firmly fix the crown of virtue upon your

Elizabeth.
1584–5. highness' own head, that neither the malice of the devil, nor craft of his members, shall be able to remove the same.

I have sent divers letters to your majesty from Scotland and England, but never received any answer to any of them, which I ascribe to want of intelligence. For the reparation whereof I travail by an honest and well-qualified gentleman, Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert, who would have undertaken the journey if it had been so thought good by Mr. Paget and Mr. Morgan, who "seemed" to me that your majesty stood in need of no such service.

I have sent herewith a letter from the gentleman containing an answer to a former letter delivered [to] him by Mr. Morgan from your majesty.

I have in my former letters signified all my proceedings and dealings, as also the accidents of my journey hither, with many other particulars, and therefore I never need to "reiterate" the same again, for I trust Mr. Morgan has caused my letters to be delivered safely.

I have here entered [into] divers conferences with Father Parsons, to whom your majesty recommended me in your letter to him. I wish and pray a thousand times that his "invention" [Mary's escape] might be happily effected, the difficulty whereof rests in my fancy in that [which] shall be accomplished by your majesty's person; for the rest it will be easily performed. Fit agents for the same will be found. The father expected a long time answer of your resolution herein, having sent no letters to your majesty since he received that wherein mention is made of me. If God grant that my desire may be well accomplished, that after you shall attain what you desire there by request or commandment [*sic*]; for, as the case presently stands, your friends dare never attempt any action of difficulty in respect of the harm of your majesty's person, wherein rests the chief anchor and the only "esperance" of the restoring of religion in our country, which is the principal motive that induces princes to procure your release. And therefore they, suspecting what course the King will take, are almost resolved to attempt nothing before security of your majesty's person, lest, as they say, they but haply relieve one that would be [an] enemy to the Church.

And herein, as in duty I am bound partly to the King, but especially to your highness, I must signify plainly how far I have sounded the intentions of divers in this behalf, which rests in this, that of late time there is, and has been, wonderful enquiry of the King's disposition and affection towards the Catholic religion. And it is certified by divers out of Scotland, which they gather for that he follows of late the form of government practised in England as well in causes ecclestical as temporal. He also joins [in] league and amity with England, and his actions are so secret in that behalf as gives great presumptions that his intentions are never suitable to the desire of Catholic princes, whereof the ambassadors and others do greatly complain besides us.

Religious men that have continued in Scotland divers years by the convenience of [ ] are ready to depart for fear of persecution.

These are matters of great consideration, and to be thought upon in time; for already I see the affections of Catholics wax cold towards his highness. It is therefore very necessary in my opinion that the King, by some public and notorious act, manifest to the world that he bears no evil affection towards the Catholics or their cause, whereby

Elizabeth.
1584–5. to entertain their devotion towards him; whom, if he first cast off, they will never resolutely follow as they presently do, and your highness will. Also I would advise your majesty to advertise and advise the King more seriously to consult upon these causes, wherein consists his chief happiness or infelicity in this life. For in my simple opinion his course in this case is never better, if he take regard but to the forces he expects abroad or at home. For all foreign princes will forsake him, and the Catholics at home have so long tasted the tyranny of heresy that they will never hereafter endure the like again. And if it be imagined that the Protestants be never so sufficient a force to serve his turn, that error is very palpable, considering that five parts condemn no less the politic government of their churches than the Catholics themselves. And therefore they will wholly forsake him and join themselves to their god Huntington, or some such other companion. Especially they will prefer any Protestant that is born a native subject before his majesty, whom they term and take as a stranger, and the rather so for that he is descended of so virtuous and Catholic a Queen, as all the world acknowledges your majesty to be.

But admitting for better consideration hereof that all Protestants would follow his course, yet he shall find that in time indifferent the catholic party will be strong, albeit they had but an ordinary head to follow.

But, alas! it is a resolution already arrested and determined that if—as God forbid—any harm should chance to your majesty, and the King continue in the state he now is, they will have the most puissant King of Christendom to follow for their release; who, if for no other cause, yet for the gain of so rich a kingdom to his own, will spare no cost to possess himself thereof, the way thereunto being so plain and open. Also, his forces shall be found more puissant than in times past, especially for that he is in furnishing and building so great provision of ships fully resolved to govern at his pleasure the whole ocean of Spain, France, and England, by reason whereof he will enter upon England at his pleasure. For all the riches of England are never able to maintain a continual and sufficient navy upon the sea to encounter him; and he dealt so providently herein that the charges of this provision will be small to him, he paying only a third part of the charges towards the building, and the merchants the rest; who are bound to grant him the use of them for four months every year, without paying anything therefor, and the rest of the year for certain hire which is agreed upon.

The special cause of the provision is for the obtaining and safe keeping of his countries of Holland and Zealand, which will never be kept in subjection without great forecast by sea.

I trust your majesty will hold me excused for dealing thus plainly, who otherwise shall neither discharge my conscience towards God, my country, and your majesty, nor my duty to the King, whose cause, next to your majesty's, I will preserve with the loss of my life.

The estate of the affairs here in France is very dangerous, there being a general expectation of some tumults to break forth. The Duke of Guise and his dependants absent themselves from Court, and there is a general discontentment through the whole realm.

Mons. Lansac, the younger, has taken one of the King's towns,

Elizabeth.
1584-5. Mons. St. Luc another. The Earl of Derby has been very well entertained here: the King received the Garter, but refuses to deal with Flanders. What the Queen mother will attempt is not yet resolved.

Mr. Arundel has performed many good offices towards your majesty in this place; by whose means there can hardly any evil intention be contrived against your majesty but there will be notice thereof obtained out of hand; which intelligences Mr. Arundel is appointed by the Duke to communicate to [ ], who signifies the same to the Duke or the Cardinal of Guise; for in this action each party refuses to deal with Mr. Morgan, who is of all men most suspected to hinder many good attempts enterprised on your majesty's behalf. By reason whereof it is certain that neither they nor the Prince of Parma will deal in any thing he shall manage. It shall be good your majesty make very good semblance to the Prince, whose desire, I hear, is very excessive to perform some notable service in your behalf. In which respect the King his master has committed all your causes to his managing, as a principal recompense of his service.

Mr. Arundel with great difficulty has obtained the payment of [ ] crowns. He desires your majesty to write for the payment of the rest, whereof I know he stands in extreme need; otherwise he would be loth to request the same; and as causes fall forth here he has done, and will do good offices, his sufficiency being answerable to his devotion, which is inferior to few.

Since my arrival here, I and my brother received your majesty's pension for the last year, which I divided with my brother, as also the [ ] which the King bestowed on us. For which I humbly thank your majesty.

Marry, your officers find difficult to continue the same according to your majesty's appointment. Of which scruple we humbly pray your majesty to deliver them by your next letters. Also, if it would please your majesty to vouchsafe a few lines to the Spanish ambassador in my behalf, to procure me a pension of the King in regard of the service I did to him in England, the favour to me will be very great, who otherwise shall never be able to maintain my wife with 200 crowns, whose arrival I daily expect, and without whom I count my life most miserable.

If it please your majesty to employ my endeavours in France, I dare promise they shall be as sufficient and profitable as ever they have been in England, finding myself as able, and at better leisure to execute any attempt here than I was then; with this, that I find many more willing to communicate secrets unto me which they conceal from other agents.

If it please your majesty to write to me, I would wish the letters to be directed to [the bishop of] Glasgow. Paris.

5 *pp.* *In the hand of Mr. Phelippes.* *With No. 556.*

March. **571.** GODFREY FOLJAMBE TO CURLL.

C P., vol. XV.

Since my last certificate of Mr. Morgan he is removed from the custody of the provost of the King's household, to the Bastille, where he remains a close prisoner. What the end will be, God knows. Marry, we hope better than the beginning has been. The ambassador

Elizabeth.
1584–5. does daily what good offices he can for the procurement of his liberty, the particulars whereof it is likely he will certify himself.

I desire you to certify me of the good estate of her majesty, in whose safety consists all the comfort I have in this world.

I have written to her highness in my former letters something concerning my own particular. I pray you further the same with such friendly endeavours as have furthered my former desires, and you shall find my services towards you most ready in what you desire to satisfy your contentment.

If her majesty shall have any occasion to use my service in these parts or elsewhere it shall please her to command me, I will perform it faithfully, and as I hope sufficiently, my present state and condition yielding me good opportunity thereunto; I dare say my action shall be as profitable to her majesty's affairs as of any other of my nation.

If I might know any means how my letters might be safely conveyed, I could give intelligence as necessary for her majesty to know as any.

After I had written this letter I understood Mr. Morgan's case to be more dangerous than I expected, therefore I pray you do for his benefit all you possibly can. Paris.

¾ *p. In the hand of Mr. Phelippes. With No. 556.*

[March.] **572.** GODFREY FOLJAMBE TO CURLL.

C.P., vol. XV. I have written many letters to you since my departure from England, but as yet have not received any answer to any of them, which greatly afflicts me, partly in respect of the desire I have to be assured by your letters of the continuance of your friendly good-will to me; wherof I make no doubt, for that I am assured my faith and actions on your behalf may never deserve the contrary. But, most of all, for that I gather hereby that the gracious Queen has no mean of intelligence, although some persuade me to the contrary.

The assured bond of friendship which I imagine to be between you and me does not permit that I conceal anything from you—anything that may be prejudical to your credit or estimation, whereof I have no less regard than of my proper reputation. Yet I am not ignorant that the strings I may play upon are so unpleasant to you that I may thereby hazard your friendship, whereon I rely more than on any other favour, her majesty's favour only excepted.

The matter is such as you have been longer acquainted with than myself, albeit not so sufficiently instructed, I suppose, as I have been; which is that Mr. Morgan is not only suspected, but condemned as dealing dishonestly with the virtuous Queen in her causes, as also with the catholic estate of England. The time and occasion do not serve to set down the particulars. This I can assure you, that the definitive sentence is so arrested, and therewith neither the Pope, the King of Spain, the Prince of Parma, the princely house of Guise, nor any other catholic prince will deal or employ themselves in any action wherein he shall participate, whereof her majesty may at divers times have been informed were it not that with great vows he gives assurance that howsoever his actions are, there remain no means possible to impair his credit with her majesty, which is said to proceed for that whatsoever is pretended to her with his discredit

Elizabeth.
1584–5. may never come to her hands or hearing. How near this assertion touches you in credit, you may best consider, and also conceive what may be the consequence thereof, if ever God grant her highness liberty in such sort that her best friends may freely discourse with her of these causes.

In sum, if any mishap, which God forbid, betide her majesty or any overthrow to the catholics of our country, the whole blame doubtless shall be laid upon him and his adherents.

I deal with you herein as I desire you do with me, that is, to advertise you of any accident, which may be prejudical to you, and according to my opinion to advertise [you] what to beware [of] or follow.

1 *p. In Phelippes' hand.*

March 12. **573.** SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

Yesterday, the 11th instant, I received your [letter] of the 9th; and therewith a letter to this Queen from the King her son, which was straight delivered to her.

After she had read it, she said that she would not acknowledge it to be her son's letter, being altogether otherwise than he had, by sundry [of] his letters, made profession and protestation to be towards her. But said it was the invention and doing of some that would be loth to see them join together.

She has now written her mind, she says, to the Queen's majesty, which is the only cause of this despatch, praying that it might be sent away with speed.

I am sorry that Sir Amias Powlet has yet another clog to stay him a little longer, and yet glad, and in good comfort, to see by your letter that within two or three days he was to take his leave of her majesty, to come hitherwards. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 18. **574.** SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. Yesternight, the 17th, I received your [letter] of the 15th, with a packet for this Queen, which contained nothing but a book and small trifles from the Bishop of Glasgow's secretary to Nau, and a letter to him from the French ambassador.

The occasion of this despatch is for money, all the store here being spent, and some borrowed, and here nothing can be had without money. Mr. Darrell has forborne to send up till now, hoping daily to hear of Sir Amias Powlet's coming, who has the rest of the last warrant. But finding by yours that it may be yet all this week ere he comes forward, [I] can tarry no longer without desiring help that way.

I mean, according to the Queen's majesty's commandment, signified by your [letter], to deal with the parties charged in Bridges' examination as soon as I can get the one from Nottingham and the other from Langford. But until I shall be further advised by your answer, I mean to forbear to call for Mr. Langford himself, who is the principal. Wherein I trust you will send me answer, as also what I shall do further with the other, in case of apparent matter worthy consideration and restraint.

And so having nothing else to write to you but of this Queen's good health of body, but weak of limbs, not able to go without help, I

Elizabeth.
1584–5. commit you to the protection of the Almighty. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 18. **575. MARMADUKE DARELL TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV. In my last letter I signified to your honour, as I have now done to my Lord Treasurer, our wants here of money, which could not be otherwise, in that at my coming hither the money which I brought with me was not sufficient to pay what was then owing to the country. And so the chief part of that, being then paid out in discharge of former debts, Mr. Cave and I have been forced, for the furnishing of this service since, to borrow money of Mr. Chancellor here, and Mr. Agarde the receiver. Wherefore may it please your honour, and my Lord Treasurer, to take order for the sending of some more money hither with speed, whereof we would have written unto your honours more earnestly before, but that we have been in hope from time to time of the coming of Sir Amias Powlet, and to have had a supply by him.

I further signified unto your honour that here [there] is yet small abatement of the charge, both by reason of the so long stay of Sir Amias from hence, until whose coming your honour gave me no order to use any abridgment or alteration, and, besides, because we have yet had no help out of Lord Paget's living, neither money to make our provisions at the best hand. Tutbury. *Signed:* Marma. Darell.

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

March 18. **576. MORTON TO ARBROATH.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 251. Advises him of the present estate of the countries.

The Earl of Arran so handles all the nobility that all must yield to him in every particular. The Earl of Morton has no course other than banishment if he does not give up to him the lands called "the Merins." The King is so ruled by him, and so subject to his affections, that law, reason, and innocence cannot defend any man against his designs. This has caused such a general feeling of misliking and unrest as Scotland has never known before.

Has sounded Lord Scrope's mind on this subject, and finds him very cold towards Arran, therefore thought good to advise him of this state of affairs, and desires to know what his counsel is on the matter. If this opportunity pass by the Queen of England will never have a like occasion.

There is bruit of revolt in all parts of Scotland, and a man must needs divide his heritage in two parts, and use the one half to defend the other.

It were expedient that he should feel the Queen's own mind and some of her Secret Council, and send the same to him in haste.

1 *p.*

March 22. **577. ELIZABETH TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XV. We find by your letter of the 2nd of March that you are entered into a very hard conceit of the association, as though the same carried a factious meaning, tending to the prejudice of yourself and the King your son, which, considering your former allowance

Elizabeth.
1584–5. thereof by making yourself a party therein, seems to us somewhat strange. For, whatsoever others conceive of the matter, we are persuaded that our subjects never yielded a better testimony of their love and devotion towards us than by entering into the said association, having shown thereby that they carry more regard to our present safety, than seek to content others by hunting after future hopes.

And whereas you conceive that the King's letter written to us in disavowing the association between you, was a matter forced, yet, because your own last letters—contrary to that which has heretofore been affirmed—now declare that no association has passed, but only an act subscribed by him, which he, notwithstanding, denies, affirming that there was never further proceeding in the said association by him, than that he by way of "postilles" quoted certain articles without any subscription, or any act that might import conclusion therein; and whereas you seem to conceive that the same proceeds from the Master of Gray, though we have no reason to be his advocate, considering his "inwardnes" heretofore with our greatest enemy in France, so far he has been privy not only to such practices as tended to the trouble of our estate, but also reached to our own person, whereof long since we were thoroughly informed; yet, for that both honour and conscience commands us to say the truth, we must needs affirm on his behalf, that he has but verified that which the King has often affirmed to such of our ministers as have been sent from us to the King, and as his ministers sent to us have also by his special direction maintained. So that you have no cause to charge the gentleman, who has but dutifully performed that which he was by instruction directed to do, and as he saw it stood his master greatly in honour to maintain, having so often, and so many ways denied that there was any such association.

Touching your request to send a servant of yours to the King your son in company of the French ambassador, as we see no present cause for the said ambassador [to] repair now into that realm, as at such time when the King stood in hard terms with his subjects, whose presence then by way of mediation might have served to very good purpose, so, if there had been cause for his repair thither, we would most willingly have assented to your servant's repair in his company. And if you shall, notwithstanding, like to send any thither in company of some one of ours, we can be content to yield thereto.

And as touching the proceeding in the treaty, we suppose you cannot be ignorant how, since the time Parry's wicked intent has been disclosed, and known to our loving and devoted subjects, they are grown so jealous of our safety—the rather for that the said Parry confessed, before certain of our council appointed to examine him, that his attempt tended purposely to the restoring of the catholic religion by advancing you to this crown—that in open Parliament motion has been made, with a general applause of the whole house to revive the former judicial proceedings against you, propounded thirteen years past in Parliament. Which, as you know—being assented to by both the nobility and commons—was only stayed at that time by us, as it was also at this present on the same motion, and not without the great misliking and discontentment of our best devoted subjects.

This being most true, we leave then to you to judge whether the time be now apt, amid this jealousy, grounded on so apparent matter,

Elizabeth.
1584–5. and of so great consequence, for us to enter into a treaty with you for further liberty, or not.

As touching your desire to know the party to whose custody you shall be committed, we had hoped that you had rested satisfied with the assurance given by our last letters, and therefore pray you to put on that honourable conception of us that we have no less care in that point of our honour than you have of your safety.

And as for Powlet, against whom you seem to take exceptions in respect of his dealing—as you say—against you, at such time as he had the charge of our ambassadorship in France, the question is, whether the cause grew from himself or from you and your ministers there. If he advertised us truly of such things as he heard were practised both by yourself and them against us, therein he did but discharge his duty. And if you still hold the rule which you have heretofore professed that you love and esteem best those who serve us most faithfully, then have you more cause to like than to dislike him, for we repute him to be towards God religious, towards us most faithful, of calling honourable, by birth, in respect of the antiquity of his house, most noble.

And therefore if we should see hereafter cause to use him in Sadleir's place, you need not doubt that a man who reverences God, loves his prince, and is no less by calling honourable than by birth noble, will never do anything unworthy of himself.

As touching your request, that the Justice Clerk might be permitted on his return to make his repair to you, we could have been glad to have gratified you therein, but that the gentleman himself, being moved in that behalf, refused the same, saying that he had no commission from the King his master so to do.

Postscript.—Finding by your last letter how earnestly you desire to send a servant of your own to the King your son, we very willingly yield thereto, which, our meaning is, shall be in company of one of our own, whom we purpose to send to him out of hand, as our servant Sadleir shall more at large declare to you. Greenwich.

2½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "22 March 1584. The Quenes Ma^te^ to the Quene of Scottes."

March 22. **578. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XV. Whereas by your letters of the 19th of March, I understand that her majesty is informed of the liberty that is permitted to this Queen here to go a hawking six or seven miles from this castle, *etc.*, in sort as your said letters purport, if it were true in all parts, as it is informed, and as I will not deny that part which is true, yet if it be not otherwise taken than I meant well in the doing, I am sure it cannot be interpreted to be any great offence.

The truth is that when I came hither, finding this country commodious and meet for the sport, which I have always delighted in, I sent home for my hawks and falconers wherewith to pass this miserable life which I lead here. And when they came hither I took the pleasure of them sometimes here, not far from this castle; whereof this Queen hearing, earnestly entreated me that she might go abroad with me to see my hawks fly, a pastime indeed which she has a singular delight in, and I, thinking that it could not be ill taken, assented to her desire.

And so has she been abroad with me two or three times hawking

Elizabeth.
1584–5. upon the rivers here, sometimes a mile, sometimes two miles, but not past three miles, when she was furthest from this castle. And for her guard when she was abroad, though I left the soldiers at home with their halberts and "harquebutes," because they are footmen and cannot well toil on foot, the ways here being foul and deep, yet had I always forty or fifty of my own servants and others on horseback, and some of them had pistols, which I knew to be a sufficient guard against any attempt that can be made by any man here upon a sudden for her escape, whereof I assure you I see no manner [or] cause of fear so long as this country remains in such quietness as it is now. But if it were otherwise, and that any such force might be used or attempted in that behalf, as her well willers would desire, it is not twenty or thirty halberts and harquebussiers, nor all the small power that I have here, nor yet the strength of this castle, which, God knows, is very weak, that could defend us.

And therefore, sir, I have used my simple discretion in granting this Queen this liberty, the rather for that she thinks herself by such comfortable words and messages as she receives from her majesty by Nau to stand now in better terms, and to be in better grace with her majesty than she has been heretofore. Wherein I thought I did well. But since it is not so well taken as I meant, I would to God some other had the charge that could use it with more discretion than I can, for I assure you I am so weary of it, that if it were not more for that I would do nothing that should offend her majesty, than for fear of any punishment, I would come home and yield myself to be a prisoner in the Tower all the days of my life, rather than attend any longer here upon this charge. And if I had known when I came from home that I should have tarried here so long, contrary to all promises made to me, I would have refused, as others do, and yielded to any punishment rather than have accepted this charge. For a greater punishment cannot be ministered to me than to force me to remain here in this sort, being more meet now in my old and last days to rest at home to prepare myself to leave, and to be out of the miseries and afflictions which we are subject to in this life, and to seek the everlasting quietness of the life to come, which the Lord Almighty grant to us when it shall be his good pleasure. And if it might light on me to-morrow I would think myself most happy, for I assure you I am very weary of this life, the rather for that I see things well meant by me are not so well taken. But now I trust her majesty will deliver me of this burden, and lay it upon one who can better bear it and more wisely discharge it, though in duty and goodwill thereunto I will compare with all men. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[March.] **579. Treatment of Mary.**

C.P., vol. XV. "Requestes on the behalf of Sir Amias Poulet." It seems very requisite that he be directed what liberty shall be given to the Queen of Scots for her exercise and recreation, and likewise to her servants.

That such letters as shall be directed to the said Queen from hence, or shall be sent by her from thence to the French ambassador here, or any other, may be opened and perused by her majesty's secretary, seeming unmeet for many respects that the same should be opened or perused there.

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1584–5.

That letters may be written in manner of commissions dormant to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and such other lords and sheriffs as shall be thought meet, for their assistance upon all occasions occurring.

That it may be considered if it shall not further her majesty's service, that the thirty soldiers have their meat and drink within the castle, whereby it may seem that some dangerous inconveniences may be avoided, besides that the governor shall be the stronger by reason of their continual attendance. It is said that such as watch and ward are already allowed their breakfasts at her majesty's charges.

That there may be a commission for carriages upon all occasions occurring.

That he may be provided with two carts out of the Tower with ropes and bear-hides belonging, either for ready money to be paid or restored again, as shall be thought most meet. In case these carts be granted, to have a commission for taking up of horses to draw the said carts.

2 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

March 22. **580. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV.

I cannot but testify to you how grievously Mr. Chancellor takes the Queen's majesty's conception on some over liberal information—like that of Derby—given to her highness that he has given this Queen more liberty than she had in my Lord of Shrewsbury's time; as to suffer her to go six or seven miles a hawking, from this castle, and that the soldiers using to attend her abroad with their bills have lately used only their swords and daggers.

Mr. Chancellor writes more plainly the truth in that behalf, that the furthest part that ever she went a hawking from hence was to Burton moor, not so far as Burton, which is but three little miles hence, and sometimes nearer, and [in] all but seldom, for since she came hither neither her health nor strength of body would suffer this above four or five times at the most.

It is the only comfort he has had since he came to this charge for exercise and some contentment is this restraint—as he accounts it—from his wonted life.

And considering the great contentment her majesty was pleased to give her by her highness' letters, but the more amply by Nau's report, how sorry her majesty would be of her evil, and much more that she should die in her hands, Mr. Chancellor could not—he thought—in honour, respecting that favour, refuse her her desire to see that wherein she takes such singular delight, as being scant able of late to abide the amble of her easy horse, would yet force herself, by small pace, to see that sport, and take the air, not being able by lameness to do it afoot.

And this your honour will give me leave to say truly, as I can make good account to her majesty, whereof there has been given good testimony since Mr. Chancellor's coming hither, that without some such contentment given to this Queen she would never have delivered her mind so frankly, as to utter her soul and offer her body to her majesty by word and writing, which is all [that] can be "gotten" of prince or people, leaving to the Almighty to judge the inward secrets.

And yet had Mr. Chancellor such care of her safety that he had always with him a good company of good horses and like men well appointed, and she never above four men and two gentlewomen.

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1584–5.

And of this one thing her majesty may be well assured, that if any danger had been offered, or apparent doubt suspected, this Queen's body should first have tasted of the gall. There is so good order given to the gentlewomen hereabouts, and watch and ward in every village within ten miles of this castle—witness an extraordinary number of rogues and vagabonds in the gaols, taken by these watchmen and warders—that no company can resort hitherwards without speedy knowledge given hither.

And though there be in this shire, and in the next, some well-known papist gentlemen—the more blame to the bishop of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry—yet they are of so small means that, besides their small credit among the gentry and people of sort, they dare not stir out of their doors to offend the meanest by force. Tutbury. *Signed:* John Somer.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 23. **581.** [WALSINGHAM] TO ANGUS, MAR, AND THE MASTER OF GLAMIS.

The King of Scots having authorised the Justice Clerk to move her majesty that they may be sent for to be charged before her Council here, she requests that they will accordingly repair hither.

¼ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

March 25. **582.** SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV.

The Queen of Scots sending to me these inclosed [letters], the one to the Queen's majesty, and the other to the French ambassador, prayed me to move you earnestly that her letters to him, and his to her, may have speedier passage than some have had of late. Wherein she does not impute the fault to you, but, being laid out of sight, may be forgotten.

I have examined one Rowland, servant to Mr. Langford, of Derbyshire—of whom I wrote lately to you—touching a letter mentioned in Briges' examination, which I sent then also; and have desired one Edward Stanhope, of Nottingham, to examine one Anne Tailer, now there, upon the same letter, and of other points of Briges' examination, but can get nothing from either of them, denying flatly the whole wherewith they are charged. And therefore I have forborne to send for Mr. Langford, having no better proof against him of those matters, which are the principal points touching matters of State.

But this I find plainly by Rowland, serving his master in his chamber —though he says he must not accuse Catholics to hurt himself and them in matters of religion—that Mr. Langford and all his family forbear at all to go to the church, and does not deny that he has received into his house divers massing priests named in the examination of Bridges, whom I take to be a bad fellow, and was pursued by Mr. Langford as suspected of horse-stealing, as I wrote. I "stay" him and Rowland yet close here, until your answer shall advise me what I shall do further with them, and with Mr. Langford, to charge whom—otherwise than by Bridges' report—I find no proof, saving for his refusal to go to church and receiving of priests; for which the bishop may deal with him, as is pertinent to his charge. Wherein it appears he has not been diligent that way in his diocese, as his charge does in

Elizabeth.
1585. duty require. For if he would look out he should find some gentlemen whose example withdraws the inferior sort, their tenants, and others depending on them, from their duties towards God, and unsoundness often consequently follows towards this State, which God long preserve in quiet by the good health and prosperity of the Queen's majesty. I never longed for anything more than to hear of Sir Amias Powlet's despatch from the Court and setting forth hitherwards, which many words have promised, but many weeks have worn them out. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "25 March 1585. From Sir Ralphe Sadleir. To receave answeare touchinge Bridges and Rowland."

March 29. **583.** WALSINGHAM TO SIR RALPH SADLEIR.

C.P., vol. XV. I have acquainted her majesty with the contents of your late letters, who rests reasonably well satisfied withal, yet her meaning is that the Queen your charge shall, notwithstanding, be very straitly looked to, the rather for that the Guises of late grow to be very great, *etc.*

This doubtful and dangerous state of things gives her majesty just cause to carry the more watchful eye on that Queen and her doings, yet, if she delivers to you any despatches to be conveyed hither, you shall do well to send them to me still, who will so order the matter that they shall not be delivered with that speed they were wont.

Touching her request to be suffered to send a servant of hers into Scotland, her majesty's pleasure is that you should let her understand that she is content to yield that she shall send such a servant accordingly in company of one of her own, though she does not mean that the said party shall repair up hither, but remain in readiness there to go forward with her servant when he shall come that way, whereof warning shall be sent the day before, to the end he may meet him in the ordinary way. And in this behalf her majesty would have you persuade her to send hither a copy of the instructions that she shall deliver to her said servant, to the end both ministers may by like direction concur in the course of their nogotiation.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "March 29 1585. M[inute] to Sir Rafe Sadler."

March 30. **584.** THOMAS MORGAN TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XV. While it pleased God to give me life and liberty I was wont to give your majesty, according to my duty, [an] account of my life and actions, and of such things as your majesty commended to my faith and charge in your service, whereof, God is my witness, I have always had a special regard. Now, by some accident happened, which deprived me of liberty, I thought myself bound to give your majesty the reasons thereof; as I will, God willing, so near as my present condition and state will bear and permit.

When the Earl of Derby arrived here he gave his sister, the Lady Morley, special caution that she should not deal with me or with Mr. Thomas Throgmorton. Which admonition so given to the said lady, whereof she advertised both myself and the said Throgmorton, I took also as a warning to look to myself and my papers the better.

Elizabeth.
1585. And thereupon [I] made a special view of all my letters and papers that concerned your majesty, the Duke of Guise, or the Bishop of Glasgow, or any other in charge or service for your majesty, and so "retired" all apart, which are defaced since.

In the treaty that the said Earl of Derby and the ambassador leger of England had here with this King, one of the points was that the Queen of England desired to have me restored to England. And upon some new matter happened in England by the confession of one Parry, to please that State, and to deliver himself from torments: he uttered some matter against great personages, and against myself also, which increased the fury of them of England against me, insomuch that new special instance was made by the said earl and by the said ambassador to have me still delivered to England, bearing this King and his mother in hand that, besides many evil offices done by me against her of England, I had also in this place offended this crown and realm, and that I served here the King of Spain, and brought the people of England to his service, to the offence of this realm and England, and that for these considerations I had great sums of money and a pension of the King of Spain.

Upon these untrue suggestions this King sent his officers to my lodging on the 9th of March, about ten o'clock at night, and in their company a "spiall" of the Queen of England, named Shute, to conduct them to my lodging. Where, when they arrived, they arrested my person, and searched my study and papers, and brought my papers to Mons. Pinart, and seized all my goods in my chamber to the King's use. And, upon my expenses and charges, left a company of the King's officers in my lodging, by the space of three weeks, to look to my lodging till further order was taken with me; being, the said 9th of March, carried from my lodging prisoner to the house of the lieutenant of the Provost del Hostel to the King, where I was [for] five days [a] close prisoner and guarded both day and night. When I was apprehended the said Mr. Throgmorton was with me, to my comfort, and gave speedy advertisement of that accident to friends to us.

Whereupon the Bishop of Glasgow and others solicited the King earnestly for me, lest I should be delivered to England, which was so earnestly sought for. Though for that time the Earl of Derby departed without me, yet to satisfy the importunacy of them of England, I was removed from the place where I was first imprisoned, to the Bastille, the selfsame day that the Earl of Derby departed towards England. And in the Bastille I have been close prisoner ever since, and so remain, well contented with whatsoever it shall please God to lay upon me.

And now I hear Wade is come an express ambassador from the Queen of England to thank this King for his dealing against me in favour of her, and to entreat this King to deliver me to England, which, I think, cannot be done with the honour of this realm, whereof I doubt not but the King will have due regard. But hitherto the matter is in deliberation, and not concluded, and if it be, I hope it be rather in favour of my cause than against me.

I hear by Charles Paget and Throgmorton that the Bishop of Glasgow has laboured earnestly for me by all means, for which I beseech your majesty most humbly by your next letters to thank him, although the

Elizabeth.
1585. cause of God and service of your majesty, the preservation of my life, and conservation of the quiet state of others, worthy to be respected, required his labours and endeavours in this case of mine, whereupon somewhat depends.

This trouble comes to me in a strange country, and at such a time as I am unprovided to bear the burden and charge annexed to the same, not knowing of any support that I shall recover of any living, yourself excepted as my refuge, under God, in all fortunes; and to God I have resigned this cause and my life and death, with that confidence also that he will of his mercy dispose of my life to his glory and my comfort. And I take no discouragement in this state, but rather patience. But so far forth as I remember that my captivity or death may be any decay to your service, so am I indeed troubled; which conceit I beseech your majesty humbly to hold of me living or departing out of this life, for I shall live and die your majesty's faithful and loyal servant. And if I erred in your service, of a zealous affection to your service, apprehending deeply—God is my witness—your long captivity, which goes not to so many hearts as I would it did, I beseech your majesty to forgive me: and in the rest of the days I have to live to comfort me in your good grace, and in the good grace of all yours, and to charge the Bishop of Glasgow, and such as shall have charge under your majesty, to yield me that honour and comfort in this captivity, or wheresoever I be, that I may hear of your majesty's state, which I trust to God shall never be unprofitable to your majesty, whom I shall serve while I live, and honour with the effusion of my blood, if that be the lot of life assigned to me by God. There were taken in my lodging when I was apprehended 6000 crowns of the sun, of the provision of Lord Paget, sent to him out of England since his departure out of that realm, which he left with me to be transported to his service, wheresoever he should happen to be. All those crowns, and some few of my own, and whatsoever I had besides, are seized to the King's use, and so yet remain. And they of England maintain that the said crowns were sent to me out of Spain to do ill offices. But God and my conscience, and others, can witness the contrary, which is already here proved, to the dishonour of them of England who wrest things ever to the worst sense for the serving of their purpose.

Having to do with many of divers countries, and thereby daily letters and intelligence, I could not choose but have some papers in my lodging, which I would be loth should come to the hands of adversaries. Yet, as I said before, there were no papers concerning your majesty or from you, one little cipher excepted, which came to me from Sir Francis Englefield out of Spain the same night that I was apprehended, and one packet of letters in blank which I had made long since, prepared to be addressed to Germain Ireton, wherein is contained no matter whereof you need to care. Which I tell your majesty to put you out of doubt, and that you be not terrified with the brags of the adversaries, although I hope they, nor any of the rest, shall come to their hands to be surveyed. And for the present they remain in the hands of Mons. Pinart, who has used some grace towards me by secretly permitting the said Throgmorton to repair to me sometimes in this captivity, whereby I was much relieved and satisfied in many points which close prisoners want.

Elizabeth.
1585. Charles Paget and Throgmorton labour earnestly for me, being their friend, as they know it shall be a comfort to me, if you let both of them know that their kind dealing with me at this time is grateful to your majesty. And many more of the English here are ready to adventure their lives to relieve me out of this captivity. I thank them, and mind to resist my going to England, unless the King sends a special guard for the purpose, which I trust his majesty will never do. Yet it is good to prevent the worst and to hope the best, as I do; concluding that to be best for me that it shall please God to lay upon me. Yet this trouble comes in this time of diffidence between this King and your majesty's parents and their confederates in the league accorded among them, whereof I doubt not but you shall hear amply by the Bishop of Glasgow and others at liberty.

The Queen mother went eight days past to Mons. de Guise, who is at Chalons, to see if things may be accorded between the King and them, and the rest. And on Monday last I perceive that the Queen spake with Mons. de Guise: but how they agree, I trust you shall hear otherwise than by me. I will consider as duly as I can that my captivity or death do not hinder any service of your majesty by me continued in times past, and as long as I live I shall be careful of your majesty's estate and do my best for the advancement of your service.

Now that Gray has—as I hear—dishonourably acquitted himself of your majesty's service, there be some instruments that "lay to me" that I procured his credit here and with your majesty. He was commended out of Scotland by Father Holt to some others of that society here, who gave him all the credit they could to the Duke of Guise; and the Bishop of Glasgow entertained Gray with great respect of him, and all matters were imparted to him—God is my witness, never by me. But he could tell me many particulars which, when I heard, I was sorry to hear that the same were so dispersed, and thereof I advertised your majesty, testifying the devotion he showed to have to your service, and indeed I thought a gentleman of his quality and religion could never so ungratefully and undutifully forget himself towards his sovereign lady and mistress. And so I hope your majesty will not impute to me any blame for his lewd parts, whereof he shall hear at my hands if I live to speak with him.

Fuljambe is here for his pension. You know that "Baynard" (Francis Throgmorton) and he were familiar, and he keeps the same course with Francis Throgmorton's brother, who is here, who is a good one. "Barasino" (Thomas Throgmorton) repairing to me in this captivity, signified to me full modestly and discreetly that Fuljambe had signified to him that he had a pension of your majesty, for which cause he was come hither at this time. Fuljambe committed error by revealing anything to Thomas Throgmorton; for, though he can retain secrecy and use discreetfully, and so will, specially where the matter concerns your majesty, yet by this revealing of things one to another in this distress and banishment of ours, whereunto many crosses be annexed, Thomas Throgmorton seeing your liberality to all that have engaged themselves, may presume so much of your honour and goodness that it will please your majesty to have some gracious consideration of him, utterly spoiled by the fall of Francis Throgmorton, by my knowledge of the devotion of that family towards your majesty; and by consideration of their present state, so spoiled

Elizabeth.
1585. and "maliced" by the state now "regnant," I am of very conscience and duty moved to beseech your majesty most humbly upon my knees that it will please your majesty to establish some order for some yearly provision to Thomas Throgmorton. Whereof your majesty shall have both honour and service, the gentleman being well qualified, and like to be a profitable servant to your majesty and his country.

Thomas Throgmorton and his friends hold me one of the best witnesses they have of their devotion and service to your majesty, and they all think that my poor credit with your majesty may weigh somewhat. In this case I beseech your majesty "eftsones" to confirm that conceipt of theirs by yielding some present support to Thomas Throgmorton, and some yearly pension for the time to come, which I assure myself your majesty shall find well bestowed, and this favour at your majesty's hands shall restrain me from troubling your majesty in the like case hereafter.

I beseech your majesty return your pleasure for answer herein with the first opportunity, and let the same be addressed to the Bishop of Glasgow or to "Hert" (Charles Paget), to be delivered to me, and in case of my absence or death, to Thomas Throgmorton, with instructions to the Bishop of Glasgow to see your pleasure performed in favour of Thomas Throgmorton.

"I do this remember" your majesty, because I know not what shall become of me in such a "broyling" time as this is, and when the Queen of England has more credit here than she deserves, or ever will be for the commodity of this realm.

The Bishop of Glasgow visited the Earl of Derby and found him courteous, as of his nature. I hold him not malicious, though carried away to serve the appetite of them of England.

I understand that Sir Amias Powlet is appointed to wait upon your majesty. He is a gentleman of an honourable family, a Puritan in religion, and very ambitious; of which humour you may take hold. He is courteous, and, I hope, will know his duty towards your majesty. But he will be very curious and watchful about your majesty and your people, and respects Secretary Walsingham above all the rest of the men in the service of that State; and I believe Walsingham was the procurer of him to that charge.

The said Powlet was within this twelvemonth far out of liking with Leicester, and I pray God the matter is not altered between them. The said Powlet is governor of the Isle of Jersey, belonging to that crown, which is worth to him 1000*l.* by the year at the least. The hope he may conceive of your majesty's favour towards him and his house, and that they may continue in that charge, and receive some advancement otherwise, may bring him with time to be careful and tender of your majesty, far contrary to the expectation that is conceived of him.

They that serve that State desire nothing else but commodity, present, and advancement, which your majesty may assure him [of], and make him and his house for his good service another manner of assurance of the said island than ever was given to subject of that realm of a thing of like state and nature. For you give him the said island for many years, or in fee, if he deserve it, whereas he has the same at this time but for term of life—to himself and his son at the most.

Elizabeth.
1585. He may "dispend" in lands of his own 1000*l.* by year. His son and heir is married to the daughter of Lord Norris, a protestant, and out with Leicester, unless they be lately reconciled.

The said Powlet's wife is a plain gentlewoman, and was the daughter and heir of one Mr. Anthony Harvye, a catholic gentleman of the west country of England; but he is dead a good while since, whereof I am the more sorry as the case now falls out. The said Powlet's wife was a catholic during her father's life, but her husband has altered her since, but not so far but there must remain in her some of the good instructions and examples of her father.

I think of all the means I can to find out among Powlet's friends and followers some to serve your turn, which God will send yet.

There is one Hotman, a Frenchman, who much haunts the said Powlet, whose children he brought up both here and in England. The said Hotman is a great Huguenot, and much addicted to Leicester, as far as I perceive, [who] is a kinsman to Hotman, who serves your majesty in your council here: wherefore upon these occasions I will give instructions to the Bishop of Glasgow to deal with old Hotman, and to see whether the other may be made an honest man and an instrument to serve your majesty, which he might do without suspicion.

Having written thus far, I perceive Wade has got audience of the King, and was marvellous earnest to have me delivered to England; which the King would not grant then. But Wade and the "lidger" ambassador still prosecute the matter with grateful offers of pleasure, and assistance of two millions of gold to this King to make the wars in Flanders and against Mons. de Guise and his adherents, so that I remain but in a "tickle" state here. But the best is, I have committed myself to the providence of God.

And for that this rude writing of mine in haste may, peradventure, be the last that your majesty shall have of me, I shall upon my knees most humbly desire your majesty, first, whatsoever becomes of me, to conserve with yourself a gracious memory of me for the devotion I have borne to your service, which, God is my witness, has ever been sincere and faithful; and if I ever committed any error, which never proceeded of malice or negligence, I beseech your majesty in like manner to pardon me.

If it be my lot to be transported to England, there to suffer death, for that I hope well in God your majesty shall live with joy and honour, and see a better world in England, I shall most humbly beseech your majesty to cause two masses to be said for ever for my soul every day in Paul's Church in London.

By the advice of my Lord Paget, Doctor Lewis, Doctor Allen, Charles Paget, Charles Arundel, Thomas Throgmorton, Richard Gilford, and Godfrey Fuljambe, being friends in this banishment, I shall also desire your majesty, for the long conjunction and amity I have had with many personages to whom I desire to leave some memory of my goodwill towards them all, may it please your majesty to give to every of the personages here named some jewel to remain with them in memory of me.

And whereas I wrote to you that I had taken, to the use mentioned in my said letters, 500 crowns of the sun, of the goods of Thomas Somerset, I shall desire your majesty to repay the same to him, and

Elizabeth.
1585. to do the like, if I shall be forced, as I am sure I shall, in this captivity to take up some money here for the service of my necessity, whereof I shall have need of the Bishop of Glasgow, " Hert " (Charles Paget), and Thomas Throgmorton.

I recommend to your majesty my poor family and two brethren of mine, the one named Henry, who has lovingly remembered me in this banishment. My other brother is a man of the church, and prays for your majesty wheresoever he is.

Rowland Morgan, Edward Morgan, Thomas Morgan, Edmund Morgan, Rice Morgan, and Thomas Lewes are the gentlemen of my name and blood which I recommend unto your majesty, being all well placed in their country, and I hope will some time serve your majesty.

I pray you to give somewhat to the poor to pray for me.

I recommend to your majesty the wife of Francis Throgmorton and his only child, and Thomas Throgmorton, with all devotion, and his only brother.

De Courcelles and one Hubert, a brother-in-law of the said de Courcelles, dwelling in this town, having merited well of me in the service of your majesty, wherefore I pray your majesty to gratify the said Hubert with something to the value of 100 crowns. And as for de Courcelles, I trust you have him in recommendation; and Arnault and Pasquier. Some of Arnault's friends, by his means, are in this time tender of my ease and state, as many good personages else are—God reward them—and murmur that I should be prisoner at the instance of the Queen of England, by whose life and reign this noble realm has been pitifully embroiled and infected with heresy, and the cause of the death of many notable princes, and spilling of much innocent blood here and elsewhere; whereof God give her grace to repent.

Albeit this cipher was taken as I told you, yet there was no mention in my letter that it was for your majesty; and whensoever I shall be thereof examined, I will allege that the same was for some other, and not for your majesty.

There is a discreet lady, called Lady Pope, who was married to the aforesaid Powlet's father. She is a catholic, by whose means it may be that you shall draw some service of Powlet and some of his. Because I may not in this state practise with the said lady, I have remembered her and some other instruments to Charles Paget, and wished him to deal with them for your better service; whereto I have put my helping hand, being very sorry that the force of my captivity or death should decay your service any way, for the which I will provide as well as my ease and state will bear.

If this King and his mother stay me here, and not send me to England, as I trust they will not, I think it shall not be amiss that your majesty cause your ambassador to thank them in your name, as he has already alleged to the King and others that I am your servant, as I am to the death. But this point I leave to your majesty's wisdom, praying your majesty also to write to your ambassador, and to the Duke of Guise, that during this captivity I may not want necessaries for my furniture, wherein, God willing, I will be found as profitable as may be.

It should seem to me that all the nobles and gentlemen of the north part of England, from London to Berwick, receive a great check in

Elizabeth.
1585. that the Queen went to the west parts of the realm to pick out Powlet to attend on your majesty, and could not find any of the nobility and gentlemen between London and Berwick to take that charge: and as it is a check to all the north parts, as I would have them to take it, so it is also a great argument of the diffidence which the State has of the north parts, though it is yet to your honour, as I have alleged and written as soon as I heard of the resolution that Powlet should wait on your majesty. I think it shall not be amiss, for the service of your own turn, that you cause some of your friends of those parts to visit Powlet and to do him some courtesy, which shall breed some amity between them, which may turn to your service. Whereas if Powlet is left there alone like a stranger, it will breed occasions of repair to the place of your continuance, which the more it be, the more [it] will serve for your turn, which I desire, as God knows.

My own conscience, [I] now here a prisoner at the mercy of God and this King, bears me witness that I have truly served your majesty as my duty bound me, which makes me the more bold to desire your majesty to perform these my most humble petitions when God pleases to repair your state and to give you that which is due to you.

In the meantime I beseech your majesty to show your goodness and favour to Thomas Throgmorton; which petition being, perhaps, one of the last I shall make to your majesty, I trust you will not deny me for so good a member and servant to your majesty.

The personages that I desire your majesty to acknowledge hereafter with some token of your liberality in memory of me are these:—the Duke of Guise, the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Worcester, Mr. Thomas Somerset, Lord Ross, Lord Lumley, Lord Paget, Roger Manners, Doctor Lewes, Doctor Allen, Sir Edward Herbert, Sir Francis Englefield, Charles Paget, William Shelley, Charles Arundel, Mons. Nau and Curll, your secretaries, whom I should have named rather, the Laird of Farnyhurst, old Mons. Curll, du Ruisseau, Fontenay, Doctor Atslow, Thomas Throgmorton, Richard Gilford, Foljambe, Lygons, de Courcelles. Many more I could name, whom honest friendship binds me to remember, but I will no further trouble your majesty. Yet I pray you give me leave to recommend to your favour Doctors Mouse, Aubrey, Griffith, Jones, and Floyd, professors of the civil law, resident in London, and I have been beholden to the said Griffith in times past.

I still recommend to your majesty William Green. I recommend also to your majesty's favour some reverend priests on this side of the seas, Doctor Gifford, Mr. Reynoldes, Doctor Elye, Doctor Barrett, Doctor Wendon, Doctor Nicolson, Mr. Clitherow, all daily orators for your majesty.

And thus I finish my last will and testament, if God will have it so, thanking Almighty God that I have served so gracious a lady, who, of her charity and goodness towards me, will, I hope, cause the same to be performed, and lastly dispense with me for my boldness.

In a good time Thomas Throgmorton will instruct your majesty for the recovery of the 6000 crowns delivered to Francis Throgmorton, for the recovery whereof there is no dealing in this time. Written in the Bastille where I am prisoner.

Postscript.—Good Curll, adieu, and pray for me, and love me as I have loved you, and will while I live, and if God call me out of this

Elizabeth.
1585. life in this time, I shall desire you to "remember" her majesty for the performance of my petitions here mentioned, and that it will please her majesty to have a gracious respect to Thomas Throgmorton; which point I recommend also to Mons. Nau as, perhaps, my last request to you both, whereof I desire that Thomas Throgmorton may find some good fruit, whatsoever become of me.

Commend me heartily to Mons. Nau, to your good sister, and to your wife that shall be, if it please God, to whom I commit you for want of more paper.

6 *pp. Cipher. Signed on the back by Burghley, Shrewsbury, Hunsdon, Cobham,* and *Walsingham. Indorsed:* "Ther ar thre leaves here in a small cipher." *In another hand:* "9 Aprill, 1585. Morgan to the Scottish Quene." *In Phelippes' hand:* "Decifred, Phelipes."

Decipher of the same in Thomas Phelippes's hand.

March 31. **585. Master of Gray to Walsingham.**

Protests mutual goodwill, readiness to follow his advice, and performance of all he should promise to do.

Need not write of the present state of this realm as Mr. John Miller knows it so well, but asserts that Mr. Randolph, her majesty's ambassador, had a great deal more to promise than to perform. He possibly believed in them at first, his hasty belief proceeding from his own honesty or otherwise.

Nevertheless, trusts that Randolph's "embassad" will end well, though men have done evil offices for the impeachment of his negotiations.

Thanks him for his message concerning the Earl of Leicester's affairs, received through Randolph. Will rest satisfied until the return of Sir Thomas Heneage.

Received a latter lately from Sir Philip Sidney, which Mr. Miller will show him. Upon receipt of his answer will satisfy his [Sidney's] desire.

George Douglas landed an Englishman at Yarmouth. Will inform the ambassador when he learns what is his name. Holyrood. *Signed:* M^r^ of Gray.

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

March 31. **586. Lady Margaret Fleming to Mary.**

C.P., vol. XV. Since the coming of Mons. Fountenay, and the receipt of your grace's letter by him, I had never the commodity to make answer, by reason of the contagious sickness that has been, and yet is in this realm, so now my coming to this town [is] for lamenting my own hard handling by my son, my lord of Athol, whereof I find little remedy or good "esperance" to be had as yet. God will send better when he thinks time. And finding your majesty's advice far altered from the point I left you at Michaelmas, I wot not what to say therein.

Our Court changes manners, which your majesty must take in patience, and impute naught to the King's majesty, your son, but evil company and counsel; for after the assurance his grace commanded me to make your majesty in his name of the great affection

Elizabeth.
1585. he bears to your grace and your liberty, I can never believe, for all the evil persuasions that he can get, that ever his grace shall be other than an humble, obedient, and most heartily loving son to your grace.

As to the estate of Court and affairs of this realm, I refer to others more experienced therein than I am; for truly I wot not what they are doing in this world, yet there are some, I believe, will be true to both your majesties, and if they are not, I "quit my part of them."

I pray God that I may see your majesty and the King's grace, your son, together, as you ought to be, ere I die, which would be in one part satisfaction to me for all my troubles.

In the meantime, if either myself, or your grace's servant, my daughter Mary, may do you agreeable service, we are at command, as Mons. de Fountenay will declare to your grace at more length, to whom your majesty ought to be [a] good mistress. For, so far as I can see, he is altogether your true and faithful servitor, and good friend to all that favour your grace's service, and not recompensed here according to his merit. For my own part I am sorry I had not the means to do as I would always. He wanted no goodwill of me. "Canygate," Edinburgh.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

April. **587.** INSTRUCTIONS BY ELIZABETH FOR MR. EDWARD WOTTON.

"Instructions for Mr. Edwarde Wotton to be sente to the Kinge of Scottes."[1]

You shall at your access unto the King let him understand that the great assurance that he has heretofore given unto us, especially of late by his two ministers sent to us, the Master of Gray and Justice Clerke, as also by his letters, written with his own hand, of the great love and devotion he professes to bear towards us, as one that does vow wholly to depend on us before all other princes in the world, has given us just cause to send you at this present unto him as an especial person to witness unto him our good acceptance thereof, assuring him that as our hope—after so many promises and vows made by him of the soundness of his affection towards us—that he will with all sincerity perform the same, so shall he find us, above all other Princes in the world, most ready to perform all offices of friendship and goodwill towards him, as we doubt not but he has already received some testimony and good proof thereof, by the readiness that his late ministers have found in us to yield him satisfaction in all such things, as have been by them propounded on his behalf to us, so far as might stand with our honour.

You shall further signify unto him that we had not so long deferred to have sent unto him, but that we thought meet to defer our sending, to be informed of some matters of importance that might in time—unless some course of prevention be taken—concern us both, and our realms, whereof, having of late received full information, we have given you special charge to communicate the same unto him.

You shall let him understand that we have by the space of this half year received from sundry places most certain intelligence that there is an intent and determination in such Princes as are of the contrary religion to that which we do profess, to do their uttermost indeavours

Elizabeth.
1585. —according as was agreed upon in a Council held at Trent—to overthrow the professors of the Gospel, which does now appear most manifestly by the late attempt of the Duke of Guise and certain other Catholics in France that seek most undutifully, contrary to all justice, to force the King to deprive the King of Navarre of his right of succession, upon pretence that he is schismatic, being set on by the Pope and the King of Spain to prosecute these matters under the veil of religion, not only in France but also against all other Princes that are professors of the same religion, which you may say to him, being confirmed to us many ways.

We therefore do think it very meet and expedient that both we ourselves, as also the rest of the Princes that make profession of the religion we profess, should join and unite ourselves together for the common defence thereof. Wherein we were glad, by his last letters unto us containing very honorable offers fit for a Christian and religious Prince, and answering to the goodwill he has of late professed to bear towards us, to find him so well bent; a matter we have always expected of his hands, considering the good Christian education he has had even from his cradle, and the earnest protestations he has, before the receipt of his letters, made and published in print of his constant determination to live and die in the religion he has always professed, that nature cannot have any such force in him in respect of any kindred or alliance as to draw him—for any affection that he may have to mortal man—to forsake the immortal God, who, though he suffer the wicked to prevail for a season by using them as a rod of correction towards his children for their good, yet he will in the end confound both them and their counsels. Whereof you may say unto him, that no creature has received more lively experience and assured testimony than ourselves who—notwithstanding such malicious practices and attempts as have been intended against us—He has not only preserved us by confounding both their devices and many of their persons, but has also blessed us and our government with more happy and prosperous success than any other of our progenitors have ever enjoyed, which we do with all thankfulness acknowledge to have proceeded for that he has used us as an instrument to set forth his Gospel and to serve as a "nourse" to his church. Which course, you may tell him, we doubt not but he will—comforted by our example—hold, prefering God's glory before all other worldly respects of either kindred or friendship, whereby he may taste of the like fruits of God's goodness as we have done. And if on delivery of these speeches he shall make any offer unto you to concur and join with us in some more straight league for the maintenance of the Gospel, as a thing that may serve at this present to very good purpose to comfort and encourage other Princes and states that make profession thereof in other parts to concur and join with us in that behalf, you shall then let him understand that you are well assured that such an offer will be very acceptable to us, whereof you will advertise us, to the end you may receive from us commission to proceed to treat with him in that behalf.

And whereas Justice Clerk pressed us greatly, in the King's name, at the time of his being here, to deliver, restrain, or banish out of this our realm the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glamis, and divers of their friends and followers, upon pretence that they had

Elizabeth.
1585. conspired somewhat against his own person: which motion he may of himself, perhaps, renew to you, you shall thereupon take occasion to signify to him that we cannot—as being very careful of his well doing—but continue still our former advice towards him, in persuading him as well to remove the griefs and discontentments of his subjects, and to extend grace and favour towards the said noblemen—who protest all innocence in these matters and imputations they are now charged with concerning his own person or state, and offer to submit themselves to any trial—assuring him if upon his ambassadors charging them before certain of his councillors, it might have appeared that they had been culpable, or that if we were not persuaded in our conscience that they were innocent of the said imputations, they should not remain one day within our realm, but we would make present delivery of them to the end he might proceed against them with all severity, as men unworthy to be allowed upon the face of the earth. [*In the margin:* And we are the rather led so to doubt, for that we have noted that as well such matters as were given out against the said lords about last summer, when the Laird of Drome was allowed to be the author of them, as also these late heinous imputations wherewith they are now charged by a confession of Duntreth, prove in the end so weak and groundless as gives just cause to the world to think them but maliciously devised for serving of some particular turns, and that he the said King is greatly abused by those that seek by such indirect means to breed a dangerous divorce between him and his best affected subjects, which in the end cannot but be accompanied with hard effects. And therefore for remedy thereof we would wish him to take a more temperate course, and not to suffer himself to be guided by the violent counsel of those that seek more the satisfying of their own passions than the honour and safety of their Prince and sovereign.]

And in this behalf you shall tell him that we fear greatly, as it falls out commonly in the government of young Princes, that some about him, possessing his ear, have sought to make him a party to their particular quarrels, or an instrument for their private gain, by confiscating some of his subjects goods by such manner and kind of proceeding as stands not with the ordinary course of justice, which cannot in the end but prove dangerous for him and his estate.

And therefore we could wish, as one careful of his well doing, that for the due examination thereof, he would commit the same to a Parliament freely and orderly chosen, and according as they shall be found innocent or guilty, so to yield them such measure as to justice appertains.

And forasmuch as divers causes, meet to be redressed on either side, are referred over to commissioners to meet upon the Borders, to be by them decided and determined, our pleasure is, that you tell our said good brother, that therefore we think meet that both the persons, time, and place should be agreed on out of hand, lest for lack of seasonable redress the Borders on both sides may break into some disorders, to the occasioning of further quarrels and needless disquiet of the subjects of both realms, so easily to be prevented.

"Her Ma^tes^ plesure to be knowen towching supportes, as also what speeches are to be used at the presenting of ye horses."

And for that we are given to understand the King's revenue there, by the over liberal spending of his mother in the time of her govern-

Elizabeth.
1585. ment within that realm, is in such sort diminished as does not suffice to maintain him according to his degree and calling: we can be content, rather than he should receive support from any other Prince that might be disposed to give the same, to the end to make him an instrument to disturb and trouble our estate, to bestow on him yearly some reasonable proportion. And therefore our pleasure is you do make offer to him of the sum of [ ] thousand pounds, letting him understand withal, that we would have made him a more large offer, were it not that we are like to sustain great charges for the release of the King of Navarre, the matters of the Low Countries, as also in putting both our realms of England and Ireland in readiness to withstand any foreign attempt.

We think also meet, that during the time of your being there you should inform yourself how the King stands affected to marriage, [and] what overtures have been made in that behalf. Wherein our pleasure is that you shall proceed to such particular direction as you shall receive from ourself by speech.

7½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed:* "April 1585. M. of instructions for Mr. Edward Wotton sent into Scottland."

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 263. Copy of the same.

April. **588. MEMORIAL FROM ANGUS, MAR, ETC., TO MR. EDWARD WOTTON.**

That the ambassador move our supplication to his majesty, which contains two heads, the one for trial of our innocency, the other the humble suit and offer of our obedient service and affection towards his majesty.

To which effect that indifferent noblemen, and best affected to the religion and to this estate, may be appointed commissioners to hear us.

Item, that the ambassador may deal with such as are best affected to this estate, and are about his majesty for the "forderance" of these heads.

¼ *p. Indorsed:* "Thir lordshipes memoriall for letters to Mr. Wotton."

April 27. **589. WALSINGHAM TO SIR JOHN MAITLAND.**

Expresses the honour he feels in the acceptation of his goodwill and friendship, and the love he bears him for his endeavours to increase the friendship between the two crowns. Consider that the antichristian league, formed some time ago, but lately put into effect in France, should be overthrown by a counter-league between the princes and states that profess belief in the Gospel.

The Queen is especially desirous for it, and has approached by her ministers, some of the princes of Germany, who though they were before coldly affected, now that they see the danger that may befall them, are more ready to take counsel in the matter.

Hopes that notwithstanding the projects afoot to breed disunion between them, both their sovereigns will join together in the defence of so holy a cause.

Elizabeth.
1585. It were expedient that those around their princes, in places of trust and credit, should have a care to prevent discord between the two nations.

1¼ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

April. **590. Mr. Fowles Bill.**

An account of monies received in April 1585, by Roger Aston at Berwick, by Carmichael at Berwick, by Wemyss at London, by John Colvile, by Carmichael at London, by James Hudson, by Thomas Hudson, by Sir Robert Melvill. Total 24,000*l.*

⅓ *p. Indorsed in Burghley's hand.*

April. **591. Alleged Conspiracy by Angus, Mar, etc.**

(1) With 1200. (2) Douglas with 50 men. Lough Lomond, in hunting. (3) To take his life, "every of these to have two men disguied."

Duke of Lennox. For religion. No disposition in them when they were with the King, yet they had received money out of England. Confess. To remove evil councillors by all lawful means.

The Duke of Lennox professed. The King confirmed in religion. The King pardoned all that accepted.

Laird of Duntreth. The instrument. Confessed the two first. Laird of Mans executed. Laird of Drumwassell executed. One Robert Hamilton's messengers. John Home. Laird of Duntreth the Duke of Lennox's man, a near kinsman to the Earl of Montrose.

Laird of Drumwassell convicted of concealment, though not having any mind to commit it. Laird of Mans denied all, but he confessed a purpose to have killed the Lord Chancellor. Laird of Duntreth and Robert Hamilton two witnesses against the Laird of Mans.

Sir James Edmeston. "For ye 3" Laird of Duntreth revealed the third attempt. And that the messenger that was sent was John Hume of the "Law." He is fled now. So Duntreth's confession and the fleeing.

To inquire what time Duntreth was convicted.

8 February. Duntreth examyned 10 February. The three lords came from Newcastle 23 February. At Cambridge 28 February. At Norwich 3 April. They came to London. Persons. John Hume. Edmeston.

1⅔ *pp. No indorsement. In Burghley's hand.*

April 5. **592. Sir Ralph Sadleir to Burghley.**

C.P., vol. XV. I received to-day your letters of the 3rd instant, for which I humbly thank your good lordship. And although I have no matter of moment to write of, yet having the opportunity of so convenient a messenger as Mr. Darrell is, I could not omit to write this, only to render my humble thanks to your lordship for your careful solicitation of my delivery from this charge. Wherein I beseech your lordship to continue your care and goodness towards me, being now overwhelmed with care and grief of mind, whereto your lordship knows that wayward age is always subject when it is restrained from the liberty

Elizabeth.
1585. accustomed, trusting that her majesty will have pity and compassion on me, and now in respect of my years will deliver me according to her most gracious promise.

I am sorry that her majesty mislikes the liberty permitted to this Queen of late, wherein I have not much exceeded my commission, having always been well assured to answer the charge committed to me, as indeed I see no manner [of] cause of fear for her forthcoming, so long as this country remains in so good quietness as it is now. And if it were otherwise, truly, the small force I have here, nor yet her restraint within this castle, which, God knows, is very weak, could help the matter.

But that I have a determination that howsoever things should fall out, I will render such an account to her majesty of this charge that there shall be no cause to impute any default to me in that behalf, whereof I am, and will be no less careful than of my own life.

And now, according to her majesty's pleasure, I will do what I can to keep her more private from intelligences, which I assure your lordship is very hard to do, having so many about her as she has, English, French, and Scottish, as well men as women, who have so many errands and occasions to go about one business or another that all the soldiers here are too few to attend upon them; which, nevertheless, shall be looked to as well as Mr. Somer and I can devise. Whereof he and I have been, and will be no less careful than our duties require.

But she says she will shortly write to her majesty in that behalf. May it please your lordship to let Mr. Secretary understand so much, to whom I have nothing else to write at this time. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

Postscript.—This Queen here much mislikes the answer which she last received by letters from the Queen's majesty, whereupon she stands now in "advisement" whether she will send any man of hers to Scotland, to her son, according to her former request, or not.

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

April 6. **593. JOHN SOMER TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV. In answer to yours of the 26th of March, willing that care might be had to intercept certain letters which are coming out of Scotland, I would to God it were in me to perform as much therein as I wish for the Queen's majesty's service. It will be a hard matter to do, considering the great number in this large house, where this Queen's people lodge in so many several scattered places, according to the means of the house, and the grooms of her stable lodging in the base court at the stable. And yet I will do what I can in that behalf.

The gates are well kept at two wards, and all persons well observed. None of her people stir forth without the company of soldiers. The coachman is the only dangerous person in appearance, though this Queen has sworn to me deeply—moved by occasion of her desire to keep him—that she never used him in any other service than about her coach and horses. He altogether follows Curll, who has the charge of her horses, and lodges in his chamber with his man. Mr. Stringer wrote earnestly to have him return to the earl's service

Elizabeth.
1585. as I wrote to your honour, but I had answer from you that he should not be removed yet, for some causes which I should know at my return. He has not been at Sheffield since we came hither, but if he had, or will yet ask leave to go thither, it is meant to have him searched. But for all that, other means failing, he may serve her turn for he "usith" often to ride abroad to "breathe" his horses, most times without Mr. Chancellor's privity. He has often been put in mind of his oath and allegiance to the Queen's majesty.

This Queen said lately, and vouched it with an oath, that these five months past she received no writing from Scotland, nor since she entered into good terms with her majesty ever wrote anything thither privately, meaning to avoid all occasions of mistrust, hoping for a treaty with her majesty. But [she] was content to say that if the treaty goes no further, she is not to be "wytid" if she seeks to hear from her friends in that realm and in France.

Touching the carrier who brings things thither, he is one Alsop, carrier of Derby, who has used Wingfield and this town. The things he brings have always been seen before delivery, the writings are always open, containing only memorials of things. If it be thought good to have him searched, in my poor opinion he may be "deposed" before some justice on the way, what he carries for this Queen or for her folk, and then commanded to show all, and be searched if need be. This being done out of London, less clamour may come by it if he be commanded to be silent.

Nau is very curious to observe seals, and finding that things have been opened [does] not hide his mind, but is as well answered.

And so humbly beseeching your honour to remember my home-coming, this being the sixteenth month of eighteen of my absence from my own causes, which have taken no good. Tutbury. *Signed:* John Somer.

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

[April.] **594.** THOMAS MORGAN TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XV. A few days before I was committed to prison I received from England, out of the Tower, an examination and confession made by good Father Creichton, which forthwith I imparted to your ambassador, for that it appeared to me manifestly, to my great grief, that there was foul and dishonest secret kept in a matter of great importance, wherein at first there was only the Duke of Guise, your ambassador, Father Claud and myself acquainted, and the old nuncio, whom I should have remembered rather.

But in [a] short time I well understood that others of the fathers of the Jesuits had the matter among them, and had written thereof to some of their friends in England, which then much terrified me. Yet for that I well hoped that the matter should not come out of good men's hands to your enemies, I said nothing then, whatsoever I thought. But having seen the said examination and confession of the said Father Creichton, I was not a little troubled, insomuch that I told your ambassador that I was ashamed to live and intermeddle with things of importance, and to have the same in such sort discovered by the adversaries, and therefore prayed your ambassador

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1585. for God's sake to confer of this discovery with the said fathers, and to pray them that for the time to come some few of them should handle things in secret, and that the same should not be communicated to all the rest, whereby such discoveries happen to the overthrow of good service and good members.

I delivered also the night before I was prisoner the said confession of Father Creichton to Father Odo, the provincial of the society, and made to him the like request that I made to your ambassador, for I cannot serve and discharge my duty with honour where things of this consequence are thus handled. And so much, and more, I told your ambassador and the said provincial.

But, thanks be to God, so much as was discovered and come to the knowledge of the adversaries—whereupon Creichton was examined—did not concern your majesty, whereby the adversaries could have direct matter to charge you withal. "Those" now I remember that your majesty wrote to this country of the like matter wherewith you had been there charged, though against all equity, and yourself altogether ignorant of this matter here begun by the Duke of Guise, your ambassador, the said nuncio, Father Claude, and myself. And God knows—who knows I would sacrifice my life to do some signal service—the grief I have borne, and still bear, that the said purpose took no better effect. Wherein I did faithfully discharge my duty, and so shall all the days of my life in things commended to my charge and honour, *etc.*

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Thomas Phelippes:* "A note out of a letter of Tho. Morgan's to the Q. of Scottes. Wherby it may appeare that father Claude, a principal Jesuite, was one of the five that plotted the enterprise discovered by Creyton's examination, which was that Fr. Throgmorton dyed for. That the Jesuites had theyr oores in it generally, and how it came to light by theyr meanes."

April 12. **595.** SIR RALPH SADLEIR TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. I have written to you in my former letters touching the matter whereof Nicholas Langford, esquire, has been detected by one Humphrey Brigges, late his servant, whose examination and confession I also sent to you for the trial and finding out of the truth. Of which matter Mr. Somer and I have done what we can, but cannot perceive that any good, sufficient or due proof can be had thereof, as heretofore I have advertised you.

Whereupon, having detained in ward here the said Brigges and one Rowland Kytchen, the said Langford's servant, one that waits on him in his chamber, who could have said somewhat to the matter if he would, I suffered first the said Brigges to have liberty within the castle here; who obtaining leave of the porter to go not far hence to fetch some clothes, as he pretended, has taken his leave and is "quyte gon," I know not whither. And also, since his going away, having no good matter to be proved against the said Rowland or his master touching the chief points of the said Brigges accusation, although the same Rowland saying that he could not with a safe conscience accuse any man for matter of religion, yet did not deny his master's entertainment of massing priests, and massing secretly in his house. I,

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1585. nevertheless, not urging him to accuse his master in that behalf, was in mind, with Mr. Somer's advice, to have set him at liberty and upon his own bond for his forthcoming, to have sent him home to his master, had not his great master the devil, and himself, prevented my meaning in that behalf. For before the performance of my intent to let him go, he fearing, as I suppose, lest some matter might be drawn out of him which he would not disclose, has hanged himself in his chamber with his hose garters, and so has rid himself of all troubles in this world. Such are the fruits of his religion.

Also, sir, I send you herewith a letter from Mr. Pierpont to his daughter, a young maiden who waits here on this Scottish Queen; which letter, being brought hither by one of his men accompanied with three or four of his fellows, was delivered to the gentleman porter here, who brought it to me. And I, on the sight thereof, opened and read it, and finding the matter such as it is, have thought good to send it to you, to the end you may see how the foolish man seems to be devoted to this Queen and her family.

I talked with his servant who brought the letter, and willed him to tell his master that if he were as wise as God might have made him, he would not have written such a letter nor have sent for his daughter in that sort, but rather, knowing me to be in this place, would have written to me in that behalf.

I also bade him tell his master that it was a shame for him to suffer his daughter to be nourished and brought up here in popery, as she is; and that if he had sent for her to keep her still at home, I could have been content to have let her go to him; but sending for her to return hither again within two or three days, as he showed himself to be but a fool in so doing, so should I show myself to be more fool to let her go in that sort. And so I sent him and his fellows away without her, and without making her or her mistress acquainted with the matter.

This Pierpont I know to be a fond man and a peevish papist. His wife is one of the Countess of Shrewsbury's daughters. I do not take the man to be a better subject than I am persuaded all papists are, who hope for a day to see an alteration of this government, and a papist to enjoy the place and royal seat of our dear sovereign.

I assure you there is never a papist in England but would be glad to see the change. And how such can be good subjects, let wise men judge. Her majesty may "dandle" them as much as pleases her, but she shall never find them better.

The Lord, in whose hands the hearts of princes are, direct her majesty by his Holy Spirit to seek their reformation in time, which, in my opinion, is over much neglected. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same.

(Mr. Pierpont to his daughter.)

With God's hearty blessing from your mother and me. We both being desirous to see you before we "go upp," the rather for that on some respects—which at your coming hither we will acquaint you with—we break up house, and know not when we shall come so near you again, do most humbly beseech the Queen's majesty, your

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1585. mistress, to give you leave to come over for two or three days. In hope of that favour I have sent of my servants to await on you.

You need not bring much "shifte" of clothes with you, because of your short abode here, and therefore I have sent no trunk, but only a "male" for your night stuff.

I pray you present my humble duty to the Queen's majesty your mistress—wherein your mother desires for her part to be remembered. And so with my humble commendations to Mons. Nau, my son Curll, and the rest of my good friends in your company, [I] commit you to God's good protection.

Postscript.—Your mother desires you to do her very hearty commendations to Mons. Nau and your good man. Woodhouse; 7th April 1585. *Signed:* J. Pierrepont.

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* "To my verye loving daughter Mistres Elizabeth Pierrepont." *Indorsed:* "7 April 1585. Mr. Perpointes letter to his daughter."

April 13. **596.** THE MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

"Sir, I estime my self verie mitche obligit unto you for ye courtaisie I resave of you in my particulair, yit mitche more for that favorable assistance you schau to the king my mastres ministres, and the rather for my cause: in recompance you shall ever have me redy to do you ye service I can. I resaveit inclosit in yours hir majesties verie gratiuse lettre whereby I persume hir majestie not to be unmindfull of that good wil I do beare touardis hir service. It is not possible to me to contend for requytting, bot I offer unto hir majestie all I can witche shalbe found worthi or agreable in me, and promisis sche shall have no veiluillair of my qualitie shall surpasse me in good wil and shall dayly give preufice of it quhan occasion servis in all thingis witche schall ly in my handis, bot cheifly in wishing yir good amitie to continou to ye disavantage of ye commun ennemie to bothe the crownes. And I trust as I have begun so shall I continou it in dispyt of sutche heir as wische ye contrarie, provyding that you, sir, and sutche as lykis of it do ye lyk withe the quene your souveraine. I must rander unto you hairtly thankis for the courtaisie scheuit unto yis berar my servant quhome frome tym to tym I wil send unto hir majestie quhan occasion serveis. I durst not be so bould as to offer all heumble thankis unto hir majestie for ye favorable visage he did resave of hir majestie hir self, bot I wil be yat herty as to pray you to do ye same in my name as I shall do you service in recompance. I remit them to ye berar to schau you ye estet of ye King, country and myn in particulair: other fortune shall feall me or God willing I shall keep promeis. So remitting uther thinges to our freind anonin, I commit you, sir, to God his holy protection. Frome ye Scottise Court."

"I assur you ye king his majestie hathe fully forgot his former wrothe he did bear touardis you, as ye berar haithe to schou you furthe of his auin mouthe." *Signed:* Maister of Gray.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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597. Sir Ralph Sadleir and Sir Amias Powlet to Elizabeth.

I, Amyce Poulet, arrived here [on] the 17th instant, in the evening, and Ralph Sadler spending that night and the next morning in conference with me, after dinner we signified to this Lady that we were desirous to have access to her; which being granted I, Amyce Poulet, delivered to her your majesty's letters, which she seemed to receive very gladly.

After she had perused them [she] desired to be informed of the state of your health; which was answered to be very good and perfect, thanks be to God for it.

Then this Queen said to me, Amyce Poulet, that indeed she had been informed that I had been ill affected towards her, and that I complained of her kinsmen and ministers when I served as ambassador in France, and that she was not to be blamed if she desired to be committed to the custody of such as bear her no ill will, thinking that she had enemies in England, and did not know if I were of that number.

I answered that I was very glad to hear that her challenge had no better ground than that I served your majesty truly and faithfully, and confessed that, being employed in France, as a public minister, I was content to make it known that I did not "like with" some of her kinsmen and ministers, because I was not ignorant that they sought the disturbance of the quiet of this realm, and especially Morgan, your majesty's subject, and her professed minister, whose doings I was careful and curious to observe.

I told her that this conceit would soon be removed, if she would be content to judge by my actions with that measure which was due to all subjects.

I asked her if, when she reigned in Scotland an absolute Queen, she would have liked of that subject that would have shaken hands or had intelligence with any Prince abroad or subject at home that had maintained her rebels and fugitives, had allowed her subjects to renounce their obedience, or had attempted the subversion of her estate and dignity. I prayed her to have like consideration of my duty towards her majesty, promising to honour her kinsmen when they shall be your good neighbours and friends, and to love her ministers when they shall leave their bad practices.

She said that she could not but allow of all subjects to be obedient to their sovereigns; but that she had heard that I did not love her, as she would tell me further at some other time; but that of late she had heard so well of me that she was now better satisfied, and trusted that I would give her no cause to the contrary.

After this talk between that Queen and me, Amyce Poulet, she uttered how grievously she took it that after her so plain and faithful dealings with your majesty by her own letters, and by her secretary Nau, she had not received any full answer to the special points of her offers and motions to your majesty, wherein she was put in good comfort to be satisfied by Nau at his return from your highness, but instead thereof, after a long time, she had now lately received a letter from your majesty to the contrary. So that now she fears that her portion hereafter will be nothing else but griefs of body and mind,

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1585. and therein to end the rest of her years, finding in this negotiation so many thwarts.

Thereto I answered, that if things had not succeeded yet to her liking, and that all her motions had not been accepted, I prayed her to believe that the delay was grounded on great and grave considerations, and therefore advised her to continue in her good beginning to deserve daily more and more at your majesty's hands, to solicit you often—that which is not done this day may come to pass the next morrow—good things never came out of season. And especially I wished her to forbear to do anything that might alter your highness' good inclination towards her, which could not but work good effects in time, knowing well, and praying her to believe—as she has good cause—that she has not a better friend in Christendom than your majesty is to her, all things considered.

She acknowledged that, indeed, your majesty was so, but yet her long imprisonment—said she—these seventeen years with loss of health and limbs, and little effect of all her offices, and the remembrance of your majesty's late letter, breaking off her whole hope, made her mistrust the worst, and therefore must rest in patience.

There she remembered the long time spent in sending to her son, and the like in return of an answer from him, which she took not to come from himself, the dealing of the Master of Gray with your majesty, contrary to his own promises by his letters to her before that journey, the working to sever her son from her, contrary to that he had protested to her by sundry very obedient letters, and yet imputed no part of all these dealings—as she protested—to your majesty, whom she acknowledged, indeed, to be her good friend.

I, Amyce Poulet, answered, that if there were any fault, it seemed from her own speeches that the same came from her son and his ministers, and therefore I continued still—as ignorant in all these proceedings—in my earnest persuasion to her to continue her well begun course, to refer herself and her cause, first, to God's providence, and next, to your majesty's favour, which would be sufficient against all thwarts, as she termed them. And so pacified her, being entered into some grief of mind, as her yielding countenance showed.

"And now, madam"—quoth I—"may it please you to give me leave to say something to you concerning myself, and do trust, that being sent hither in such sort, and for such purpose as has appeared to you, it will not mislike you, and will stand best with the discharge of my duty to many respects, if at my first entrance into this place I declare to you in plain terms what I desire to find at your hands, and at the hands of all those belonging to you, and what you may expect from me, because plain dealing is always best."

"It is a thing that I love well," said she, and promised to deal as plainly with me.

I told her I was bound by duty of allegiance to serve your majesty truly and faithfully, and would not fail to employ all my endeavours to acquit myself of that duty, neither would be diverted from it for hope of gain, fear of loss, or for any other respect whatsoever.

Your highness' commandment and service being first observed, I assured her that your pleasure was I should do her all the good offices and show her all the courtesy that might seem convenient, wherein there should be no fault on my part.

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And to the intent that this course might have its continuance without let or interruption, to her satisfaction, and to the better discharge of my duty, I prayed her to have care of my poor honesty and credit, a thing more precious to me than living or life, and that nothing might be done directly or indirectly, by her or her servants, that might procure me blame, or suspicion of blame, at your majesty's hands, having no worldly thing in so great reputation as your service and contentment. And, therefore, if occasion moved her to send any letters or remembrances to London or any other place, I desired that they might be delivered to me, and I would see them safely conveyed, and would procure answer, if so it pleased her.

"Indeed"—said she—"the time was that being deprived of all open means to send to my friends and to hear again from them, as it is natural for all persons to seek to help themselves, I did not spare to seek some extraordinary helps to convey my letters, which, since I entered into good terms with the Queen, my good sister, I have utterly forborne;" assuring me that I should have no blame for any [of] her doings, and asked me, Ralph Sadler, if she had used any such practices during my attendance on her.

Having thus ended with this Queen, and being departed from her, we prayed her secretaries and all her other men-servants to come before us, as all the servants belonging to me, Amyce Poulet, did the like. Where I, the said Amyce, commanded and straightly charged my said servants upon pain of such punishment—besides the loss of their service—as their offence should deserve, to give no occasion of injury in word or deed to any of her people, praying this lady's servants to use like quietness and conformity on their parts, and especially to forbear to say or do anything that may touch the honour of your majesty's person, or shall be repugnant to the quiet state of your realm, or to the religion established in the same, which they promised to observe on all parts.

I, Ralph Sadler, departing from hence this present day, Mr. Somers remains here with me, Amyce Poulet, for some short time, according to your majesty's direction, for my better instruction in all things belonging to this charge, wherein both he and I will employ our uttermost endeavours, and trust that all things shall be ordered to your highness' good contentment. Tutbury. *Signed:* R. Sadleir, A. Poulet.

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

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598. Sir Amias Powlet to Walsingham.

I fear lest my calm beginning here will have a rough proceeding, and doubting lest some complaint may be made, I have thought good to prepare you to answer.

Mr. Sommers has been charged by one of this Queen's retinue that rigours and alterations have been used of late in this house, and that he is the author of them. I must confess that I have no commission to show any rigours, and therefore if I have exceeded my commission it is reasonable that I answer it at my peril. But I trust these rigours shall be found nothing else than dutiful service. And besides that, my dealings have been far from rigour in substance, I may affirm, and Mr. Sommers will bear me witness that the manner of my pro-

Elizabeth.
1585. ceedings has had no taste of rigour, but has been as plausible and as quiet as was possible, yet so tempered that they might perceive that their cavillings and quarrellings could not divert me from my duty. And indeed there may be no yielding to these people, "but being assured to require nothing but that which is meet, and to stand stiffly to it."

The rigours are these; first, I restrained Sharpe, this lady's coachman, from riding abroad without my privity, yet with this condition, that he should be permitted to "breathe" his horses as often as he would, giving me knowledge of his intention, so that some of my servants might ride with him. This was found hard, because he had not been restrained in times past, as they said.

The second rigour was this; I found on my arrival here, in the great chamber where Sir Ralph Sadleir usually dined and supped, a cloth of state for this Queen, representing by letters the names of her father and mother, and furnished with the arms of Scotland in the midst, and the same quartered with the arms of Lorraine on every side.

Sir Ralph Sadleir told me, at my first entering into the said chamber, that this cloth of state was set up at the first coming hither of this Queen, on a meaning that she should dine and sup ordinarily in that chamber, referring the standing or taking down of the same to my discretion. Wherein I have considered that, in my simple opinion, her majesty's subjects may not with their duties allow in this realm any more cloths of state than that which is due to her highness. And therefore this chamber, being applied to the use of the governor here, and so employed in all this time, I could not but resolve with myself that the same was now to be accounted as her majesty's side, as they call it commonly in the Court, and therefore no cloth of state of any foreign prince to be allowed in the said chamber.

Whereunto may be added that this Queen had not dined or supped there more than one night only, shortly after her coming hither, at which time Sir Ralph Sadleir supped also at the lower end of the said chamber, as the Earl of Shrewsbury did the like at Sheffield, and I must do as much if the use of this chamber is allowed to her, which would breed a dangerous familiarity between these two families.

Upon this opinion I resolved to move this matter; wherein I had this further argument to induce them to yield to my motion—that this Queen has now entered into a diet, and will not come out of her chamber these six weeks.

But being willing to deal herein in as plausible manner as I might with the discharge of my duty, I prayed her secretary, Nau, to come to me, and in the presence of Mr. Sommers, I delivered to him my opinion at good length touching this cloth of state. And as the same had served his mistress to no use in all this time, neither could do during the keeping of her chamber by reason of her diet, so I might worthily be condemned for want of judgment, or rather of loyalty, to endure it to stand in that place, which served for my ordinary use to dine and sup in. And therefore [I] required him to move his mistress herein, which as I told him, I thought she would like better than if the motion was delivered to her by myself, referring to her pleasure to set up the said cloth in her own dining room if she thought good.

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1585. I received answer from this Queen the next day by Nau that she desired to know if I had in commandment from the Queen's majesty to take down this cloth, or not; and if I had no such direction, that then I would write to her highness before I proceeded further.

I answered that I had received no such commandment from her majesty, affirming that, to my knowledge or thinking, her highness had never been advertised of any part of this matter. And to write, I said, I should condemn myself of want of discretion, and should forget the duty of my place if in plain and open causes I should be troublesome to her majesty with my letters. Then he told me that his mistress doubted lest the taking down of this cloth of state threatened a diminution of her estate, which she believed the rather for three causes; the first, the late motions of this Parliament against her; the second, the strange and unnatural dealings of her son; the third, that she was not ignorant that some great personage in England had assured her son that he should be the next successor to this crown, and that she should be deprived of her title. So that these things concurring together, he said, she had just cause to conceive that this matter of the cloth of state was but an entrance into greater innovations. He concluded that I had promised this Queen in my first speech to deal plainly with her, and therefore prayed me that if I had in commandment to make any alterations of importance, I would signify the same rather at one word, than to minister new griefs from day to day.

I told him that I had no commandment, neither did I see cause to make any such innovations as should breed any dislike, and having already, with the consent of his mistress, forbidden the "cocher" to ride abroad without my privity, there remained only one thing to be redressed, which, for his better satisfaction, I was content to tell him at that present.

I said I disliked greatly that those of this Queen's retinue were often seen walking upon the walls, where they overlooked the gate and ward, and took a full view of all comers and goers, a thing very offensive to all the neighbours, and not meet to be endured in reason and judgment.

He said it was not done with any evil intent, and that those who did so had no other meaning than to take the open air, which was not without need for such as were shut up in this castle. I answered they should not be, neither had they been denied to walk abroad in convenient sort when they required it, and therefore this excuse was of small effect.

He did not insist in the defence of it, but yielded that it should be reformed, and concluded that the cloth of state should be taken down, trusting that upon request made in that behalf by the Queen his mistress, I would not refuse to write in her favour, that after her diet ended the cloth might be restored, and she admitted to dine and sup in that chamber.

These are three of the rigours: the fourth, and last, is as frivolous as the former, by the which I ordered that Sharp, this Queen's "cocher," having been accustomed to dine and sup with Sir Ralph Sadleir's men, as he had in time past with those belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, should not dine and sup with my servants, a familiarity too dangerous, in my simple opinion, considering the quality of

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1585. the man, but should be bestowed among his fellows in the Scottish train.

These are the rigours which I have showed, whereof Mr. Sommers bears the blame in words; but the grudge and displeasure is against me.

And now I refer to your consideration if there is any rigour in them; or rather, as I was bound in duty to require the observation of them, if these people ought not in reason to grant them without contradiction, as matters importing them nothing at all.

It is not to be doubted but that Sir Ralph Sadleir, attending here during the treaty between her majesty and this lady, can show good cause why he was not curious in these trifles, and, perchance, by this occasion was the more inward with her, and gathered the more from her. And therefore I earnestly pray you so to temper this advertisement that his doings may not be brought in question. I learn by Mr. Sommers that there is no other way to do good with this people than to begin roundly with them, and that whatsoever liberty or anything else is once granted to them, cannot be drawn back again without great exclamation.

I find the gentlemen servants to this Queen very well satisfied in appearance, and so I presume I shall find herself at my next access to her, which has been forborne these four or five days by reason of her physic to prepare her body for the diet.

Because these cavilling matters require no great haste, I send these letters by one of my own servants who has "to do" at London at this time.

The three posts between Tutbury and Stamford were agreed for by Sir Ralph Sadleir at 3*s*. 4*d*. by the day, amounting to 23*s*. 4*d*. by the week, which may be reduced to 15*s*. by the week. I pray you to take order how the same shall be paid.

Postscript.—I had just occasion in my last speech with this Queen to tell her, according to your direction, that it was not enough that some of her ministers had not long since practised most execrably the utter ruin of her majesty, but that now also very lately the Duke d'Aumal had rifled one of her highness' servants on his return out of France of all his letters and papers, which must be said to have been done either by her assent, or for her sake, and that it could not be but that these bad offices falling out daily in this sort must breed jealousy and distrust in the Queen my mistress.

She protested that she knew nothing of it, adding that this Duke was a mere stranger to her, and that she had never seen him. I answered that he knew her to be his kinswoman, and was content to give testimony of his good affection towards her by doing wrong to the Queen's majesty.

She spares not to betray her hard opinion of you. Whereon I told her that I remembered having seen a letter written by Sir Ralph Sadleir wherein he makes mention that Nau, her secretary, acknowledged himself very well used generally by all the Lords of the Council, but especially by you. And Nau, being present, I asked him if it were not so; which he confessed. "Yea, in woordes," said she, "but I knowe what I knowe, and am able to prove that which I saye." I answered that this conceit could have no other ground than the report of some busy-body, advising her not to be hasty on so slender

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1585. foundations to conceive so hard impressions of any of her majesty's Council, which could not be honourable or profitable to her.

The residue of her talk is not worthy of the writing. It may be that this motion was the cause that I heard nothing of the rigours. Tutbury. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 27. **599. CHARLES PAGET TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XV. The evil accident happened to your faithful servant, and my dear friend and fellow, has infinitely grieved me; but the unkindness that I hear is grown between your majesty and your son has overladened me with grief. I know there is nothing in reason that in this world will give you more cause of grief, nor anything that will procure more hindrance to the common cause, or more danger to yourself, than your separation. I trust God will remove such instruments from your son as shall advise him to undutiful courses, and give him grace dutifully to consider what he is to perform towards your majesty in respect of nature and the most tender, motherly care and affection you have always showed towards him; and in truth the advancement and safety that may come to him thereby.

But, good madam, let me humbly on my knees crave of your majesty the remembrance of his ill education, his young years, his want of experience, the counsellors about him, who never sought so much his well doing as the advancement of their particular, and then whatsoever errors he commits towards your majesty are the more pardonable.

I know it is dangerous for any man to put himself between the bark and the tree, and specially between such personages and princes as you are. Howbeit, making always an assured account of your majesty's favourable interpretation of my actions, my service, and duty which I have vowed to your majesty of long time, before all others in the world, makes me presume to take knowledge hereof to your majesty, and to let you understand that, with tears in my eyes, I heard your ambassador's account of this unkindness, I humbly beseeched him to deal by all good means with the Duke of Guise to send some Frenchman of reputation and wisdom with discreet instructions to feel the disposition of your son, and if he found him to trace crooked ways, that then he should speak by persuasions and all good means to reduce him to a right course. Which shall never be well brought to pass unless his hap may be to learn to know God truly, to obey your majesty lovingly, and to leave the Queen of England absolutely.

And the man that is to deal with him upon these points must be such a one that he may know neither for the present nor future time is any way to depend upon him, and so may he speak the more freely and boldly to him, and your son cannot put him so soon to silence with his authority.

Your ambassador seemed to like well of my motion, but he thought that the Duke of Guise, being occupied in so great affairs of importance as he is in for the present, should have little leisure and worse commodity to send any such as should be fit for the said purpose.

I answered that I would wish the Duke of Guise were acquainted

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1585. with that notion, and so refer it to his wisdom for the providing therein or not. For I told him it was not good your son should be suffered to dwell in these humours long, for fear lest tract of time and ill instruments might so root him in the same that the good offices of his faithful friends and servants which hereafter might be offered to him would little prevail. Your ambassador said he would deal herein as good opportunity should give him leave.

Good madam, once again on my knees I most humbly crave your majesty to match your wisdom with your son's want of experience, to yield him that love your majesty can for any unkindness he shall offer to you, and to exercise that noble virtue of patience, wherewith your majesty has been so long acquainted, towards him, not doubting that ere long he will acknowledge that obedience and love, and that you shall see good offices that shall be to both your comfort and contentment, howsoever he be stayed or held back for doing what he should do for the present.

I am sure Mr. Morgan has written to your majesty the manner of his imprisonment, which was by the French King's commandment, at the earnest request of the Queen of England, and likewise the cause that is alleged for it, which was Parrye's most false accusation. Who having neither religion nor honesty, was brought not only to accuse Morgan of being one that persuaded him to kill the Queen of England, but also Cardinal Como, the Pope's nuncio at Venice, and him here, with other persons, who he said long since practised with him to that end.

The Queen of England wrote very earnestly to have had Morgan delivered into her hands, and for that purpose sent Wade, who with great fury pressed the same, promising to the French King from the Queen of England that he should be returned with life after he was once examined. But, thanks be to God, Wade has gone away discontented, and the French King has promised he shall not be delivered to the Queen of England, which is the first point your ambassador and others have travailed for. The next is that he may be discharged from prison.

At the last audience the ambassador of England had with the French King he demanded me of the said King, as being so commanded by his mistress, but the King refused to do the same.

It is a world to see the emulation here and elsewhere in banishment from our nation, and what envy some bear to Mr. Morgan for no other cause but that they find your majesty bears him special favour. They are strange people, and have strange humours, which I would to God were reformed. Some are angry that they are not employed and favoured by your majesty as well as Mr. Morgan and others, of whom your majesty has had long trial of their faithful service, and [who] have ventured their lives and all they have in the world for your majesty, and they never wetted their fingers or suffered the least inconvenience in the world for your majesty. They would have authority to prescribe your majesty who should serve you, and not you to prescribe them.

I note this much to your majesty by the way, that if at any time such men should discover their humours—which I would be sorry they should—in my simple opinion your majesty should do well to cut them off. Your majesty has had sufficient trial of Morgan's

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1585. fidelity and honesty, and myself, as to confirm as much to your majesty with twelve years' experience of him, so that I assure myself that neither the malicious speech nor practices that shall come against him or any other that has long and faithfully served your majesty can prevail to the diminishing of your favour towards him in the least jot of the world.

Mr. Morgan is in the Bastille, a prison of great charge, and before he gets out [it] will cost him much, and more than he shall be able to bear. I most humbly beseech your majesty to have consideration thereof, as that I know will be to his most singular comfort.

Since the last relief I holped Mr. Arundel withal, which was a thousand crowns, in part payment of your majesty's debt to him. He is grown again into great necessity, so that he calls with great importunity for the rest. Your ambassador is cold in these reckonings, and I am not able to answer Mr. Arundel's desire.

I dealt with the ambassador of Spain to know whether any order was taken for the 20,000 crowns of the sun for your majesty, which so long has been promised and expected, and whereof your majesty appointed 6000 crowns of the sun for payment of some of your debts. He answered [that] your majesty never wrote to him of any such matter, so that unless your majesty forthwith writes to him thereof he will not deal therein. I would wish your majesty did write to him thereof and pray him to procure speedy payment of the same.

I pressed the Spanish ambassador likewise that he should help Mr. Arundel with some of the King's pension to serve his necessity. He answered me that he earnestly and often solicited the King his master to pay all our pensions, but as yet he had no answer, and before that he could not pleasure Mr. Arundel, who is become very "appassionate," and I am afraid in the end will run some desperate course. I seek to temporise him by all possible good means.

I have called on your ambassador to write to your majesty often, as I know that would be most comfortable to you, and especially of these wars in France, the bottom of the plot whereof I think he knows. But I cannot tell whether he has written or not, and especially of these wars. Wherefore I will declare to your majesty what I hear and learn thereof. I hear that the Cardinal of Bourbon, as principal, being assisted by almost all the nobility and gentry of France, has made a league to extirpate heresy out of France and to have established a catholic successor to the crown of France. They protest all duty and obedience to the King of France, and their pretence is not to hinder [in] any way his profit or offend his person, and therefore they hope, the cause being so honourable, that he will join with them in the end, though he seems to make some difficulty. The noblemen have, as it were, all the best towns of the country in their hands, and garrisons in them.

It is certainly given out that the Pope that is dead, and the King of Spain with all the catholic princes are entered into this league which is not only to reform France, but after, by degrees, other disordered estates. The noblemen have money plenty, and shall have foreign aid, as Ritters, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards, and other nations, to help them, which will make their army as great as they would desire. Which way they will employ themselves first is not yet known. If the King of France agrees, it is thought they will go to Rochelle, and

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1585. so to other Huguenot towns. If the French King [does] not agree, it is thought they will come to this town with all their forces, not coming to do any hurt to this town, but to crave their assistance. And surely it is thought the most part of this town is wholly at the Duke of Guise's devotion.

The Duke of Guise is general of the army, Monsieur de Mayn, his brother, of the horsemen, and Monsieur d'Aumal of the footmen. There are no nobles with the King but Monsieur Montpensier and his two minions. It is one of the wonders of the world to see how quickly and gladly the nobility and gentry join. The whole weight of the advancement of God's cause and the welfare of your majesty and your son depend upon the good or bad success of this enterprise, and therefore I pray God to prosper it.

Whatsoever bruits your majesty hears of any writings to be found that concern your majesty, I shall humbly beseech your majesty not to believe them, for there is not any one that touches your majesty. Some others there were of particular men's, both in England and on this side, of ordinary things of no moment, which I hope to recover to your ambassador's hands or my own.

I doubt if we get out Morgan lest he shall be forced to leave this town, which I should be right sorry of, for your affairs would be greatly hindered thereby. But if it shall happen so, I shall be ready to be employed where and whensoever it shall please your majesty to employ me.

Mons. Arnult, who comes over with Mons. de l'Aubespin, has desired me earnestly to recommend a suit he means to make to your majesty, wherein I mean not to "wishe" your majesty to the same, otherwise than shall stand with your good liking, and especially since it seems to me it will be about a money matter, which I know your majesty has great need of. Howbeit if your majesty lets him understand that he is beholden to me for his affection towards me, I shall be highly bound to your majesty for the same. In truth, he carries a serviceable mind to your majesty, and has done many good offices to Mr. Morgan and me in these troubles of Mr. Morgan's, which I shall in like sort beseech your majesty to take knowledge of.

Lord Paget had written a letter to you out of Italy, and that night Mr. Morgan was apprehended I burnt it with a number of other papers. I trust your majesty will pardon me for the same, considering the necessity of the time. My lord of late willed me to remember his most humble service to your majesty. My said lord has, I thank God, his health, and stays at Rome till the new Pope is chosen, and afterwards he will go to Spain or return to France as occasion shall be offered.

Postscript.—Good fellow Curll, receive Mr. Morgan's and my most friendly commendations to yourself and Mons. Nau. By the leave of the Chevalier du Guet I saw Mr. Morgan this day, who, I thank God, is in good health.

2 *pp. Cipher. Indorsed:* "W. Burghley; H. Hunsdon; H. Cobham; Fra. Walsyngham; G. Shrewsbury." "Decifred, Phelippes." "7 May 1585. Charles Paget to the Scottish Quene."

Decipher of the same. [*In Thomas Phelippes' hand.*]

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600. Mr. Liggons to Mary.

Meeting with Doctor Allen about the month of September, before his departure out of this country towards Rome, among other things [I] asked him whether he had sent such ciphers as I had written at these times to your majesty from the camp, and specially one dated the 20th Jan. in this same year. Whereto he answered that he had sent away [such] as came to his hands, except the letter mentioned, which he presumed to be yet at Rheims unsent, in respect that about the very instant it was written all means of intelligence, through the troubles happened in those parts and to your majesty, were stopped and quite taken away. I told him I was sorry it was not sent, for that it imported your majesty; but he answered, and I believe it, he could not do withal for the respects abovesaid, and that I should find it at Rheims, as I did at my coming hitherwards, and since have broken it up, presupposing it to be somewhat long and tedious in respect of the news and occurrences therein contained, which now time has made stale. I have cut off some part, but not wholly altered the form thereof, to the end your majesty may understand how I dealt in that you encharged me with; and perceive, though times so fell out that I could not presently advertise the same, that I neglected not to do what I might therein.

The contents of the said cipher inclosed [are] from Namur. I acknowledged the receipt of your majesty's [letters] of the last of October, and there answered as many points of them as I could and thought requisite to speak of, and showed some reasons why I was to stay two or three days before I undertook my voyage to come hither, which being unfeigned, I hope your majesty has taken in good part.

At that very instant I received a letter from one Owen, newly come out of Spain, wherein he signified that Father Parsons had given him letters from your majesty directed to the Prince of Parma, and if I were not able, in respect of my late great sickness, to come to the camp, I shall send for it and a copy of the alphabet between your majesty and me to him, for he presupposed the Duke of Parma's letters had been forwarded in mine. Whereto I answered incontinent and sent away my letters by the post, telling the cause of my stay, why I came not forthwith, that I intended to be there very shortly, and the Prince of Parma could decipher your letters without my alphabet, but wished him in no case to present the letters if he had not before the coming of mine to his hands presented them, or at the least not to procure answer thereto nor to meddle in the matter until I came, adding that I had instructions from your majesty to deal in some points with the Prince, which might be so handled that a negative answer would easily be framed to that you pretended.

This much I advertised him of, partly to be plain with your majesty, for that I presupposed there were certain his particular respects, on guessing what you demanded, that might move him to be meddling and to mingle private suits—whereof he had two or three sundry with your affairs, and so mar us, at the least be contented to please their humours here. For the better obtaining of his with what slight satisfaction they would give in yours, and partly for that I feared he would ask [*in cipher*] for which it was granted, a general answer would

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But in all these my devices I was prevented, though not in his ends and manner of proceeding not deceived [*sic*]; for, notwithstanding the receipt of my letters, answer was in all haste procured before I arrived. Yet for better expedition I took post horses, albeit my body was scarce by that means strong enough to perform the voyage, and this much if haply your majesty finds it strange that the answer was returned unaccompanied without any thing of mine, to the end you may see how I was prevented and now forced to make this preamble which may seem to your majesty superfluous. And so I had rather it should, than for want of true information [you should] misconstrue my doings; and what other cause I have to trouble you this far I omit to speak of, lest by desiring to shun one error I run into another; so humbly craving pardon for my folly, I return to the purpose and point of my negotiation.

About three or four days after my arrival here I was brought by the Secretary Como's mean to speak privately with the Prince, to whom I used these words following, which I put in English, because the alphabet accords with the English rather than the French tongue.

"May it please your highness, some few days past I received letters touching my mistress, whereby she commanded me to do her very effectual commendations to your highness and in like manner to thank the same for the great favour and courtesy she understands it pleases your highness to show in many ways towards her, and especially in favouring and embracing her affairs in these times of her troubles, which office of courtesy she always protests never to forget, but to endeavour by all means possible to requite the same. And her further obligation to your highness, to whom she signifies to me to have lately written to give credit to me in certain points I have to treat with your highness in her behalf, in which she says that in treating the last year by her ministers in Spain with the King touching her estate, among others she requested to borrow of him twelve thousand crowns of gold; which request was granted by his majesty, and she remitted to have the accomplishment of her desire therein to your highness and of this great devotion and desire to do her pleasure has long since, as she understands, prepared and given order for that money [*sic*]. But for want of sufficient intelligence and intercourse of letters between her and her ministers, happened through these late troubles, she has not understood with such expedition as had been requisite how matters have passed, and how [she has] not yet received the said money, where[fore] she most earnestly desires your highness of your accustomed zeal to advance her affairs to provide and give order that she may be satisfied according to his majesty's will, whereby her obligation shall be greatly augmented. So if presently such is her estate that she is constrained for the better preserving of herself from . . . . her life of them that have her person in custody, and even as heretofore she might have requested the money to second some his majesty's ends and intentions, now she instantly

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1585. desires it to save and preserve her life until such time as it shall please God to inspire the King of Spain to follow some former determinations, or to assure and assist her by some other means as time, occasion, and his affairs may permit."

Whereto he answered that his devotion to do your majesty all humble service was so great that he desired nothing more than to have opportunity to make the same by deeds more manifestly appear; and in this point he amplified many true speeches. But, for the money, he said it never came to his hands nor [had he] any special commission or commandment from the King of Spain to deliver any such sum to your majesty, and he knew not how to give present order therein unless he should give it of his own purse. To which I replied that if he had no such commandment nor order, that either the King's ministers in Spain had abused yours there or yours had misinformed you, for that you were given to understand as I had declared. Then his secretary Como said that it might be that the money was come to some other of the King's ministers' hands, and after a sort insinuated that Taxis, late ambassador in France, might best give satisfaction therein. Whereupon I desired the Prince that it would please him to write of his own authority to Taxis to know whether he had received any such money, what was become of it, why it was reserved and not delivered according to his majesty's will. To which effect, upon my demand, he willingly granted me his letters, and so referred me to proceed further as should be requisite therein, which the said secretary, to whose chamber immediately I repaired to have present despatch, made more difficulty in the matter than the Prince, telling me that I knew well enough that the Prince could do little therein, for neither the money nor order ever came to his hands, that Taxis would be there very shortly, and then the Prince might deal with him.

My reply was, that notwithstanding it was not in the Prince's hands to give present order, yet I would not in your majesty's behalf refuse his courteous offer to do what he could to know what was become of the money, to the end you might in time, according to his majesty's mind, be satisfied therein, that your estate was such that the procuring thereof required no delay, and I desired that, according to the Prince's promise, the letters might be drawn to Taxis in form as they were requested, which at length he promised to do.

And thus far I have dealt in the first point, and pressed the Prince further in the second, to wit, that he should have furnished the money of himself or of his [own auth]ority I thought not only indecent but altogether vain, yet for your majesty's reputation, considering his countenance and manner of speech in answer to my first point that he had to give present order without he should give it of his own purse, which if I had accepted, I knew very well he would never have given it; and yet that I went as far as I could without charging him with his promise, which had not been good manners, but very dangerous, and at the least to have incurred indignation, for I made it to be thought for a secret mean to his secretaries ears, that your majesty was not only informed that the Prince had offered of his own authority to have furnished the money, but also that he had given order to Don Bernardino, then ambassador in England, for so much there. Whereto the secretary answered in plain words that it was true, and that if Don

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1585. Bernardino had done his part, she had then had it, but the time and occasion were changed, and yet the Prince never offered with intent to have given it of his own purse, but to have had allowance for it of this King as now he could not demand if he should furnish it, because he understands there was a special sum come out of Spain to some others.

Indeed he speaks nothing more truly than that the time and occasions are changed, for when this money was offered, and many other things were pretended, they [*cipher*] were unsundered and your majesty's amity requisite. The like distress may happen again, and then she may receive favour. The point of making the money to London and the further conveyance of the same to our hands, I have not touched, nor [do I] intend to speak of until I see Taxis' answer to the former, whereupon it depends. For the other to have intelligence by the means of some Italian merchant banker or other their instruments remaining at London I have propounded. Whereto the secretary answered with great protestation to have no such, or any kind of intelligence from London or out of England. Which considered, and the little hope there is that the money will be furnished from these parts, I thought it to no purpose to discover the money you have by Courelles, whom I presuppose, in respect he is towards the French ambassador, although they had secret friends, they would be loth to deal with. Notwithstanding, if I perceive it hereafter for any respect convenient to propound the same, which to do before they are willing to use it, were but to serve their turns and not yours.

This much for the above-mentioned cipher written from the camp at Bever, dated the 5th of Jan. [15]45. About some twenty days after Taxis returned answer to the aforesaid letter, demanded of the Prince, wherein he affirmed to have received such a sum of money, but denied to have commandment from the King to deliver it to anybody, and that the King's other important affairs since occurring, wherein was to be employed such a sum, it was taken to serve these turns.

To another he told it was true such a sum came to his hands out of Spain, which he could not deny to have been given to your majesty, but the Duke sent incontinent a command that he should not deliver it till he heard from him again. To others he answered, for divers were privy to the matter and divers dealt in it, and demanded the money as authorised by your majesty to have received it otherwise, and accorded in nothing with himself. But as I am credibly informed and by many circumstances find likeliest, the truth of the whole is that the man stayed it of his own action, contrary to the King's direct commandment, and took occasion so to do upon certain disorders he pretended to discover to be committed by such as had the receiving and distributing of some other sums that were assigned to the Prince your son's use. What cause was given in that behalf, I know not nor have to do therewith, but the chief moving him to this uncourteous part was upon indignation and a great spite he had conceived against your majesty, for he was informed that you were an intercessor to the King to have Bernardino placed ambassador in France, and so he to be put out of his office. And because he thought his own credit was not sufficient enough for his matter, if any fault should be found with him for his proceedings contrary to the King's orders, he joined Don Bernardino with him, alleging the former pretended disorders, easily persuaded him that it appertained to them to have care the King's

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1585. money was employed, and to know his further pleasure before it was delivered.

And so, to conclude, the one took the one half, and the other the other, with intent, as appears, never to render it again, for other satisfaction cannot be had than as abovesaid, than it is employed in the King's other necessary uses. So to which of them you are least beholden, it is as doubtful as it is certain if either of them had been friendly or honest you had not been defrauded of your money.

Taxis seems to be the chief instrument in deceiving you, but he has some pretence—how true I know not—upon the conceived injury—as is abovesaid—to do as he did, but for the other to have consented with him, there was none; and I think in his conscience he is, or at least has been ashamed of the matter, and as I hear Como affirms that the fault was in him that you were not satisfied before his departure out of England, and whatsoever he pretends in his excuse, I think some foolish point he stood upon with the King was the very obstacle that he proceeded not according to his instruction.

Howsoever it goes, these two ambassadors were the chief cause that you were not satisfied. A second—as your majesty yourself truly says—was the evil concurrence between, and among your ministers, for if the matter had been advertised in time and orderly dealt in by someone assigned for the purpose, there is no doubt but the success would have been better, at the least they should have had less reason to have hindered it. But your majesty may say—and I see it true—that it is impossible for you to give order therein, for when you appoint someone whom you know by previous experience to be faithful and sufficient to deal in your affairs, others for fraction's sake will dislike them and appoint such as they think will best advance their turns. The third, and the last cause, was the meddling of such as had neither authority nor commission, as I believe, but entered themselves to advance their own particular suits, which whosoever has, I would never advise should be permitted to deal at that instant in Prince's or public affairs, for since my coming into these parts I have observed so many and great inconveniences to come thereby to all general ends which they have pretended to advance, that greater could not happen, for give them satisfaction in private—which is easier to do than in the general—their mouths are stopped, as now this Owen after he had cosoned a great many—a history too long though not unpleasant to tell—by a voyage into Spain. He pretended, for general ends, returning by Paris, where father Parsons gave him your letters to the Prince, by which means, authorising himself, [he] sued for the answer of your letter, which imported little, and as he himself told me, contained nothing but fair speeches, and never urged, at least to no purpose, the matter of your money, but so handled his own particular that he obtained more than ever his quality could have pretended, unless it had been by dealing in your affairs there at the liking. And so he [is] satisfied, and you [are] deceived, which verily you could not so easily have been, but the Prince had been well urged in the matter before he had answered your letters. For either he would not have written to you at all, which had been an absurd and very uncourteous thing, which he would not have omitted, or else upon your ministers declaring further suit and desire, would have endeavoured by all means possible to have given you satisfaction—which he willingly would have done, for that he had

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1585. promised before to have furnished it—as it had been easy enough to have done considering how many millions of [the] King's money pass his hands, and that the order was come from the King, and the accomplishment thereof stayed by others, contrary to the King's mind. But when he had answered your letters and thought to have satisfied your majesty it was easy to stop mouths withal if it had been done therein, in respect the money was come to other of the King's officer's hands.

And now the cause of all causes is God Almighty, who permits your majesty to be in that estate that you cannot use your royal authority in correcting such as disobey your commandments, but he may change all when and how it shall please him, and that he will soon do to your majesty's best [contentment].

2 *pp.* *In cipher.*

Another copy of the same, deciphered.

In Mr. Thomas Phelippes' hand. Indorsed: "20 May 1585: from Liggons to the Q. of Scottes." "Decifred, Phelippes." *Signed:* W. Burghley, G. Shrewsbury, H. Cobham, Fra. Walsyngham.

Another copy of part of the same.

April 30. **601. THOMAS THROGMORTON TO MARY.**

C.P., vol. XV. Although I doubt not the late trouble of your old and faithful servant [Morgan] has been ere this signified to your majesty both by reports from the Court of England, framed on purpose to disquiet and trouble you, and by letters [and] advertisements of some of your servants of these parts, yea being myself an eye-witness; yet as one who was present with him at the time of his apprehension, and having through suit and friendship found the favour to speak with him since his committing, whereby I was the better acquainted with his zealous devotion towards your majesty, and with his constant resolution to endure all that God should send, I thought it my part to advertise your majesty of the whole, as well to take away all fear and doubt that you might be brought to by bruits falsely raised against him, as also that you might take comfort—seeing how God afflicts you and yours—to hope for a calm after these boisterous storms.

To set down the original cause of his trouble were superfluous, it being already notorious to all the world—I think—in common bruit, not unknown to your majesty that one Parry accused him as privy to his treasonable purpose; whereupon that Queen having here at that time, besides her leger ordinary, another ambassador extraordinary come on purpose to present the Garter, and persuading herself that what by virtue of the league—wherein, as they say, is a special clause for delivering of traitors touched within twenty days—and that in counterchange this late honour done by her to the King of France, she should be denied nothing in this Court.

The soundest part of the Council being absent, she urged the King by all means possible to have [Morgan] apprehended and his writings seised.

The King—as now he would have appear—not knowing the party whom they sought for, and being desirous at that instant to give some contentment to that Queen and her ambassadors, granted out a

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1585. warrant and the apprehension of one whom the English ambassadors might appoint. And so betweeen 10 and 11 o'clock at night, on the first Saturday in Lent, being the 11th of March, as [Morgan] was walking alone in the chamber, came in an officer with sixteen of the French guard, conducted by one of the ambassador's servants, and apprehended Morgan, searched his studies, took away his papers and seised such money and other stuffs as they found of his in the chamber. From thence they carried him to the officer's house, leaving at his lodgings three of the guard to keep such things as they left behind. And in the chamber where he was prisoner three were appointed to remain, five others to watch him from escaping; and all upon his charge, which I assure your majesty for the time was very great.

In the meantime his friends made what means they could both to ease his charges and procure him comfort, and especially your majesty's ambassador travailed very effectually with the King in his behalf. So did the nuncio and some others by their procurement. But it was too soon to have any comfortable answer, and they were desired to have patience till the Earl of Derby was departed. Notwithstanding his charges being exceeding great, who so many months lived daily on his purse, to relieve him in that point, it was thought most expedient to send him to the Bastille, where he should need no guard. And so, after four days, thither he was committed, where he remains at this instant at the mercy of God and this King.

After the earl's departure your ambassador had audience, and since other friends very earnestly solicited his cause and received indifferent good answers; but such are no security, for his delivery could be granted thereupon.

On the other side, the English ambassador pressed to have him sent to England, and charged the King with the league, and some others—I fear—with bribes; but he received only dilatory answers, insomuch that the Council of England, mistrusting that he perused not the matter so hotly as were convenient, sent over one Waade, now clerk of the Council, with the Queen's letters in her own hand " and " [in] expedition of the matter.

This fellow at his first coming found at the King's hands good countenance and fair promises, insomuch that he assured himself he should obtain the thing he sought for, and began to deliberate with his companions which way he might best transport his prisoner. But *in fine* he received a plain conclusion, negative, and so departed three days before Easter very much discontented, and was in his return taken by a few soldiers about Abeville—whom he takes to be of the Duke d'Aumal's company—and all his packets [were] rifled and himself stayed for a time, till upon the King's letters to the Duke he was delivered.

By this congé of his we are in good hope that [Morgan's] cause is already at the worst, though his full liberty cannot yet be procured till the return of the Queen Mother and secretary Pinart, the two principal agents in this matter, who have been this fortnight in Champagne to make some accord between this King and his nobles; of whose discontentments I suppose your majesty is advertised by other means. Nevertheless, what may be done in their absence " and " [for] his comfort shall not be omitted. Howbeit these public troubles so

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Since his imprisonment I have sometimes repaired to him, partly for his private consolation, and partly to assist him in anything that might concern your service, which himself being in captivity could not perform, and I have ever found him not so careful of his own life as of your majesty's weal and the good of the Catholic party, which by his delivery into England might have been further afflicted. And though he was resolved in mind to endure all extremity before he would utter anything that might be prejudicial to your safety or that might grieve any catholic man with whom he has had dealing in all his life, yet, knowing the barbarous cruelty of our state at home, and how largely he should have had his part thereof, he had cause to fear his own frailty, being a man as others are, and to doubt of the event thereof, though he contemned death. But now I trust he is past that danger. Howbeit it is like that upon his delivery he shall be driven to retire [out] of this place, and unless some good accord follows between this King and his peers, I fear this country will be neither quiet nor secure. And therefore, if my abode here be not [in] some way serviceable to your majesty—as I think it is not requisite—I mean, with your majesty's favour, to make a journey into Spain towards the end of summer, in hope to reap some fruit of that pension [which] was procured [for] me by your favourable letters, and granted in July last.

Whatsoever shall become of me, your majesty may assuredly prescribe of my simple service—which in very deed is nothing—as, next to God, vowed and dedicated to you, not, I protest, in expectation of any benefit present or to come—for it was no want or discontentment of our present estates that moved me and my friends first to serve and honour you—but principally for conscience' sake, and then for a persuasion that God has appointed you the instrument to reduce our country to His service.

And therefore I trust, according to our upright intentions, that your majesty will ever conserve a sound conceit of my brother's dealings, notwithstanding any corrupt interpretation that such as know him not may forge to the contrary; and I will engage my life before God and your majesty, if the time were fit to examine the cause, that no action of his was but sincerely meant, as first intended for the honour of God, and then pursued by honest and due means, and [for] the service of your majesty and good of that country. Wherefore, if that event that he wished, and others looked for, follows not—as commonly it is not in man's power to perscribe the issue, though the device be good—the fault is not to be imputed to him that did his endeavour and took that course which was most probable, but to the hidden iniquity and inconstancy of human things that ever fail men most when they seem most likely in show, or to God's secret judgment, who suffers sometimes a good purpose to fail of its end, because he is able and willing to turn it to a greater good.

I know that some, and, perhaps, not ill men, would make a hard construction of his dealings in some things, because they mark only the unfortunate event of his labours, but see not inwardly the endeavour and meaning. And I foresee, as it were before my eyes, the shame and discredit that he is like to sustain if some things should come to examination which now it is no time to debate. God is a

Elizabeth.
1585. just judge, who sees the hearts and secrets of men, and your majesty is a Princess of that wisdom and virtue that you will measure things by the causes, and not by the events. Neither do I speak this of distrust of your majesty's honourable favour—whereof we have received so ample testimony—that I respect so much a little reproach of the world where the consciences are clear and the cause is just and honest. But I know that your majesty will hear divers opinions touching the handling of such means as we have been privy to; wherein, as some that know not the grounds of his doings will be hastiest to reprove that which they understand not, so will I humbly crave that I may answer for his actions, who best knew his secret and dutiful affection to your majesty; and I have that affiance in God's mercy towards you in respect of the long adversity that you have constantly sustained, and His cause, that, notwithstanding all the "packings" and plots of your enemies, and in despite of those that oppose themselves against you, He will reserve you a time of comfort with better opportunity to examine the actions of every man.

And in the mean[time] being able to justify our doings to Godward, I make small reckoning of other men's sayings, so [long as] your majesty in your conceit accounts us clear.

I have heard, and that with grief, of the undutiful and ungodly dealing of some that have done ill offices between your majesty and your son, whereas by all bond of religion and loyalty, and of favour, they ought to spend their blood for the union and comfort of both. But I take it as the greatest and last cross that God will lay upon your majesty, which if you bear patiently, no doubt the victory is yours. Neither can I persuade myself that the mighty hand of God has preserved that cowardly Prince from so many imminent dangers to be in end a "corasive" and discomfort to you, but rather that he means, as great reason is, to have all the honour and glory himself of the duty and affection that your son shall exhibit to you, when it shall be seen that, contrary to expectation, contrary to his bringing up, and contrary to the wicked counsel of all godless instruments, he will show himself that obedient child that such a mother deserves and expects. And the hearts of Princes are in the hands of God, and it is not one or two ambitious and flattering mouths that can turn the inclination of a nature so well disposed. Well they may draw him by ill advise to take a wrong course under pretence of the right, and to enter rashly into some bad action that at the first view carries a show of profit. But as soon as he perceives that he is amiss, he will detest them in his heart who have been causes of his "devour." It is your tears and prayers to God for him that will do him more good than all they can do him harm; and as long as your majesty relies upon so sure a pillow, you are safe from falling into any great misfortune, though it please God every day to try your patience more and more. And I doubt not but as He has stirred up hearts of good Princes to reform this country, wherein they find daily incredible comfort and encouragement, so He will in time work somewhat for the good of your majesty, whereupon depends the reformation of all the rest.

There is no small loss to Christendom by the death of the Pope, who departed this life the 10th of last month, having been ill but two days, and of no other sickness but of age, though a little distempered

Elizabeth.
1585. with extreme joy for the arrival of three ambassadors out of the isles of Japan, in the furthest parts of the East Indies, who had been three years in the voyage, and came to present to his holiness in the behalf of the Princes all reverence and obedience to the see apostolic. Yet for a conclusion of all his good works, he added this upon his death-bed, that he required all the Cardinals there present to give what furtherance they could to this holy war begun, and to move them the more in his example, gave—as they say—all that he could dispose by will to it.

The King of Spain has been much busied this last month with the marriage of his second daughter to the Duke of Savoy, which solemnity was kept at Savagusa, in Aragon, the 11th of the last [month], and continued in pomps and shows till the 2nd of last month. At which time the King went to conduct his son and daughter to Barserona at the seaside, and appointed 5000 or 6000 soldiers to wait upon him into Italy, and so to come for Flanders, as it is given out. But by some [it is] rather thought to be intended to await the Catholic party and the assailing of Geneva, which is allotted to the Duke of Savoy: and this bruit is the more likely, because in Flanders at this present there is no great use of soldiers, the most part of the towns being already come in, and the others shortly hoped for, upon conditions. Notwithstanding, they of Antwerp, by a device of wildfire, secretly contrived in an empty ship which they sent down by the river to the new bridge that the Prince of Parma made to stop the intercourse between Zealand and the city, slew fifteen or sixteen of the principal captains in the Spanish army and put the Prince himself in some danger.

It is also reported that they levy continually in Spain, and there is preparing a great navy of ships on the coast of Biscay, and great matters are talked of, whatsoever is intended. But these things I refer to the relation of others. Paris.

Postscript.—Good Mr. C[urll], albeit I have already overmuch detained both her majesty and you with this my tedious letter, considering how many other more necessary and important businesses you have to despatch in these unhappy times, yet because I know not when I shall have the means to salute you again, all things growing so troublesome with you and with us, I could not omit at this present my heartiest commendations to you, with like thanks for all your goodwill and friendship to my brother and me, which, as it has been bestowed upon no unthankful men, if time and means served to make known our good desires, so I shall earnestly desire you that it may be continued to me and mine still, whereof I trust you shall never have cause to repent.

You [know] better than any other what matters passed my brother's hands, and seeing how unfortunately everything fell out, you may, perhaps, doubt of his honest and trusty dealings; but I pray you suspend your judgment from condemnation of him till time and place serve to debate the matter more freely. And in the mean[time] hold this conceit of him and me, that for the value of a kingdom we would not abuse you nor consent to any that should have such an intention.

I desire also to be heartily recommended to Monsieur Nau, of whom I have heard so much praise and commendation that I cannot but honour him, though I never knew him.

Elizabeth.
1585. 4 *pp. Cipher, with interlinear decipher. Indorsed:* "This from Thomas Throgmorton. Gilbert Curll."

In Thomas Phelippes' hand: "10 May 1585. Thos. Throgmorton to the Scottish Quene." *Signed at the end of the first and last folios:* W. Burghley, G. Shrewsbury, H. Hunsdon, H. Cobham, Fra. Walsyngham.

[May.] **602. PETITION OF GEORGE BRIGGES.**

"The effect of the humble sute and petition of George Brigges of Newe Castell uppon Tyne."

(1) That he may have free liberty to land, house, and dispose of such wines, corn, fish, *etc.*, as he shall from time to time bring or cause to be brought to the port of Newcastle, without any let, impeachment, or disturbance of the mayor: paying all her majesty's duties and customs in that behalf.

(2) That he may be admitted a free boothman in the said town: paying the accustomed duty in that behalf.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

[May.] **603. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.**

The great assurance we have lately received as well from yourself as also from your ministers, the Master of Gray and Justice Clerk, of the good devotion you bear towards us, as one that means wholly [to] depend [on], and be directed by our advice and counsel before any other Prince, has wrought and grounded in us such strong belief of your sincerity and good affection, that we could not but assure you by an especial messenger from ourself, of our great good likeing and "acceptation" thereof, whom we did the longer defer to send, in that we were desired to be more particularly informed of some matters of importance which might concern us both, and our realms, which we have given him in charge to communicate to you, to whom we pray you give such credit in whatsoever he shall deliver you in our name, as to ourself.

And as we doubt not you will accordingly with effects confirm this our grounded hope, so shall you likewise find us willing and ready to perform all good offices of friendship in anything that shall stand with our honour.

1¼ *pp. Indorsed:* "Draught of a letter to the K. of Scotes." "By Mr. Wotton."

May 1. **604. MASTER OF GRAY TO ELIZABETH.**

"I resaveit your verie gratuise letter, and accomptis my self more than happy to knou quhat cair and favour it doeth testifie your majestie to beare towardis me.

In recompense I shall never spair my lyf for ye avancement of your service, and as I have hithertils borne good wil to interteinie a solid amitie betuene your majestie and the King my maister, and to remoufue all occasiouns of impeschement, so shall I yit continou, and rather or ye course decay, shall hazard my lyf and poor estet, and never shall interpryse anything witche may irritat the King my

Elizabeth.
1585. maister in my auin particular, bot quhair necessitie compellis for uphoulding the said course. In witche doing I hoyp for to fynd touardis me the incress of your majestie his good wil.

This gentilman your majestie his embassador is verie wyse and descreit so he is ye more plainly delt withe, as some litle preufue alredy he haithe of it. Bot he being so sufficient I remit all particularis to his auin advertisement." Holyrood. *Signed:* Master of Gray.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "A minute of a letter from the Master of Gray to her majesty."

May 2. **605.** SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. I had forgotten in my letters of the 28th of last month to thank you for yours of the 18th of the same, advertising the stay of the Earl of Arundel and the hard usage offered to Mr. Wade on his return out of France.

I have also received your letters sent by Mr. Darrell, and therewith some heads of the French "occurrents." Wherein I think myself beholden to you, and indeed it may stand me in stead to be acquainted with some part of the French and Scottish doings, which will minister good occasion of talk between this lady and me, whereby, perchance, somewhat may be drawn from her when she is in her angry mood.

And now, this last evening at 6 o'clock I received your letters of the 28th of last month, and trust that before this time you have received mine of the 27th of the same.

The post having his pay whether he works or plays, I thought good to make this short despatch, thereby to advertise you that it is found strange here that the French ambassador has sent to this Queen by Mr. Darrell so good store of money, and has written nothing mentioning the same. Which was excused by answering that, indeed, Mr. Darrell received letters for her, but delivered them to you, and not speaking with you at his departure, the same remain in your hands, which he thought you would send hither by the next passage. And now this last packet being arrived, whereof they cannot be ignorant, because the post, after his accustomed order—although out of order, and [it] shall not be done hereafter—sounded his horn at his approaching towards the gate, there is no doubt that they will mistrust false measure when they shall hear that no letters are come for them.

May it therefore please you to consider what I shall do with the packet which I have received from you for this Queen, being very sorry that the same was not opened there, because this "tickle" time seems to require that it be perused before it is delivered.

On the 30th of last [month] this Queen sent her secretary, Nau, to pray me to come to her chamber, where she told me that, having spent some days in taking physic, and being now entered into her diet, she was willing to spend half an hour with me, more to pass the time than for any serious matter that she had to say. And then, after some ordinary compliments, she told me that Mr. Darrell being now arrived here, she hoped to have been satisfied, or at least answered, in such small things as she had desired as well by her secretary, Nau, as other ways, but she was not so happy [as] to receive any direct answer from the Court in any causes great or small.

Elizabeth.
1585. I said I did not see but that she was directly answered, and had cause to hold herself well satisfied. The plate which she desired was brought and delivered to her; the hangings for her chamber were sent, and being unlined by the negligence of some inferior officer, order was taken for the lining of them out of hand; only the three Turkey carpets for compassing of her bed were forgotten, which should be "remembered" by my next letters.

Then she told me that she had desired to have her diet established, the certainty whereof would give her great satisfaction, and that otherwise she might be in doubt every day of new alterations. I said I did not know that her diet was established, and as I might show some reasons to let it, so I saw no cause why she should desire it; it might suffice her that she had that allowance which was set down by her assent, and that she was not abridged of any part of it. "But," quoth she, "I am now subject to new alterations at the pleasure of every officer." "And yet," quoth I, "you shall do yourself wrong to complain until you have better cause."

She proceeded to another unkindness, complaining that she could not be answered touching an increase of the number of her horses and servants which she desired.

I said that Sir Ralph Sadlier had received a resolute answer therein long since, and did not doubt but that he had delivered the same to her; which was that six horses were allowed to her by her majesty, and that if she would keep a greater number at her own charges, she might do it; as also that passport should be granted to her from time to time for servants to come to her out of France or Scotland, but [it] was not thought meet that she should be served by the natural subjects of this realm.

She seemed to mislike that she should be allowed no greater number of horses, alleging that four of the six horses served for her coach, and that, considering her calling, it was meet that she should be followed with more than two servants of her own train, and that at the least she must have two or three gentlewomen and two or three gentlemen to attend her, besides one to carry her cloak, who could not be furnished with two horses. I told her that myself and all my men and horses served here to no other use than to attend on her, and to do her honour, and therefore the less number of her own might suffice, adding thereto that this order was already in practice, and that she had kept the residue of her horses at her own charges now many weeks. Which she denied. But talking afterwards with the purveyor, I found it to be very true, and yet I might perceive that there was a meaning to use that shift for a help.

Then, after her accustomed manner, she fell into a great complaint of the breach of the treaty between her majesty and her, wherein she has already, and at sundry times, and to sundry persons, said so much that she can say no more. So I know you have heard so much that you can hear no more, and therefore I forbear to trouble you with vain repetitions.

I thought to have heard some great complaint of the "rigours" mentioned in my last letters; which word no doubt proceeded from her own mouth, although uttered by her servant. But they were digested—or at the least dissembled—for no mention was made of them, but [she] seemed to be as well satisfied as before.

Elizabeth.
1585.

I had forgotten to write to you in my last letters that, besides the cloth of state which has been taken down, there is another always standing in the chamber where she dines and sups.

I was once in mind to have returned this Queen's packet to you to have been perused there, but because you required me to stay it in my hands until I heard further from you I doubted lest my letters might meet your direction by the way, which it may please you to advertise by the next.

God grant you a short return to the Court in good and perfect health. Tutbury. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

Postscript.—"May yt please youe to signyfye your pleasure touchyng thys packett as sone as youe may, because I knowe yt wylbe urgyd here with all earnestnes, as yt hathe bene alreadye very muche to Mr. Darrell upon and sythens the delyverye of the money."

"Mr. Somer ys yet here, and yn dede I could not spare him without great prediudyce to her majesties servyce, but ys nowe agreyd that he shall depart from hens about the xth of thys monethe."

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Postscript in Powlet's hand.*

May 4. **606.** ANSWER TO THE LORD AMBASSADOR OF SCOTLAND'S PROPOSITIONS.

Touching the delivery, restraint, or exile of the lords, for the first, if her majesty had found the imputation against them to be sufficiently proved then she would have willingly yielded to the delivery of them, as her desire is to gratify his majesty in his requests as far as she may, with justice and honour.

For the second. If they could produce John Hume, then it were meet that they should be restrained, but since the charges are not sufficiently proved, and John Hume is out of their power, her majesty can do nothing further than give order that they be forthcoming, until she hear further from the King. This they have promised, both for the satisfaction of the King their sovereign, and for the clearing of themselves of the imputations.

Touching their exile; though her majesty would be loth to deal so hardly with those whom she holds innocent, yet she will be ready to yield thereto on knowing the King's mind in the matter. She is convinced however of their innocence, as if they had evil design upon his person, they might have executed the same when they were about him, and prays that he will not exclude them from all manner of defence in a course of proceeding agreeable with justice, or exclude her from interposing her mediation for them.

They constantly profess their innocency, and confess that they would be unworthy to live if they had been privy to such an execrable act as that they are charged with, and desire, in order to clear themselves, to be confronted with the Laird of Duntreth or any other who out of malice incenses the King against them. They desire above all things the recovery of his [the King's] favour.

2⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1585. May 4. C.P., vol. XV.

607. MARMADUKE DARELL TO WALSINGHAM.

This bearer, Mr. Cave, has to deliver to my Lord Treasurer and your honour a view of the last month's expenses here, with a declaration of the disbursing of the money brought down by Sir Amias Pawlett, both which reckonings fall out much larger than we ourselves hoped they would have done.

The particular reasons and occasions by which this surcharge grows Mr. Cave will set down to your honour, as also inform you if anything in them shall seem doubtful, which he can best do, for that he has disbursed the chief part of the money, and has had, also, almost the whole direction of this month's expenses, myself having been—as your honour knows—attending at the Court the most part of the month.

And for that the greatness of the expenses past may—I doubt—breed in you some suspicion of indirect dealing, I am humbly to desire—for the better "advouche" of my service from henceforth—that either there may be by your honour's direction some one joined with me, or else that I may make my account weekly to Sir Amias Pawlett, the governor here, who may make ready trial of anything that shall seem doubtful, and so he may from time to time certify of the charge and manner of my service as he shall find it to require. Tutbury. *Signed:* Mar. Darell.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "1585, 4 May. Mr. Darrell."

In another hand: "The expences with the Scotish quene excedeth the proportion agreed on."

May 8. **608. HENRY CARMICHAEL TO MR. JOHN COLVILE.**

"Accordine to my deuty I have taine occasione throw the commodite of my lord Screopes prif letteris to wreit unto yow, nocht that I had any greit mater of importance to wreit, bot only as I have beine alwayis, so am constranet yit to be chargable and trublyt unto yow. I dout not yow understand my meine tuitching my fatheris effaires, quarinto I desyr your worship to tak sum cair off, as sum y day godvilline we shal be redy to owr pouer to requyt it. The hail newes I have wretene unto my lord of Anguse quha will mak yow forsein I haup of yem, quarinto I wolde see that ye suld confeir wit ye lord and wey ye precoius tym and comodite yat is offerit now unto yow all.

This thinges I have wretne unto my lord ar of certainty. My father is out of Carlisle—ether man ye motion be made that he may cum bak or uther wayis I creiv time, or ellis ye sall not heir of ye procedins." Carlisle. *Signed:* Hen. Carmychell.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 11. **609. [ ] TO ROGER ASTON.**

Since writing his last letter, he wishes him here. If he came speedily the service he might do his friends there, by the credit he has with some, would give them great pleasure. Thinks he will be desired to come by others, and prays he will not refuse, as he may bring things to pass which greater persons have failed in. Though the guest of Sheffield [Mary] is "straitlier" kept, hears thence, and may be able to help in any reasonable way in that direction.

Elizabeth.
1585. Sees a change of opinion in great ones lately.
Fears to write too plainly, but the convoy is sure.
Bids him burn the letter, and let none see it.
His [Aston's] horse is "stayed" till his coming, which will not be out of his way, whatever his other journeys have been. Marvels that he has not written often to this ambassador, who speaks very well of him.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

May 12. **610. MARY TO GEORGE DOUGLAS.**

C.P., vol. XV. Letter received from him. His constant dealing for her and her son. Ill offices of Lochleven and Cleish against her. "At my wonted habitacion."

¾ *p. In Phelippes's hand. Indorsed:* "12 May 1583. The Q. of Scots to George Dowglas. Decifred." (*Printed, Labanoff, vol. v. p. 466.*)

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 47. Copy of the same.

May 15. **611. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.**

C.P., vol. XV. Your letters of the 9th instant came to my hands on the afternoon of the 11th, and I am no less glad to hear that the late false alarms have wrought so good effects for the defence of this realm against all events, than sorry to understand that the matters of France take so hard a course; wherein our peril will be the less, if, beholding with open eyes the great interest that we have in the good or bad fortune of the King of Navarre, we shake off our security and provide with carefulness to prevent his ruin by timely help.

Having delivered to Nau the packet brought by Mr. Darrell, as also one other letter sent with your last, I prayed to have access to this Queen. Which being granted, I signified to her, according to your direction, her majesty's request touching Colonel Stewart, which she seemed to accord willingly, but desired to be excused for some little time, because she had grief in one of her fingers, and indeed it was covered with silk.

She said that she trusted her doings herein would be more thankfully accepted than when upon a like motion she wrote to the Duchess of Feria in favour of one FitzWilliam—as she called him—and others, who, obtaining their deliverance by her mediation, and the said FitzWilliams having received for her from the said Duchess a letter with some small token of remembrance, he could not be suffered to deliver the same to her.

Having now received this Queen's letters to the Prince of Parma, I thought good to send the same to you without delay, having nothing else wherewith to trouble you. Tutbury. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

Postscript.—Following the resolution which was taken at the Court, I have not perused this packet, but have left them to be perused by you. In which behalf may it please you to have like consideration of the packets coming hither from you.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1585.
May 15.

612. Mr. Liggons to Mary.

C.P., vol. XV.

In my last, of the 10th instant, I advertised your majesty how and in what manner I dealt with the Prince of Parma touching the recovery of the 12,000 crowns the King of Spain had assigned to be delivered to your majesty's use. What his answer was, and in what terms the estate of your suit therein stood, which I delivered to my lord of Glasgow to be conveyed, partly for that they gave me warning of the departure of a messenger, and offered courteously—I thank his lordship—any letter I would write, and partly for that Mr. Paget, whose mean for some respects I resolved to have used, was not here yet, I humbly beseech your majesty that both these means may be entertained, though there are but two lines sent by either. But if something occurs that concerns your majesty's affairs and requires expedition, may it please your majesty to use Mr. Paget, for that I have consulted and agreed upon some means with him how we may have with expedition correspondence of intelligence, which possibly will be every day more than other required. And although I was long and tedious in my former, yet if I had had more leisure I would have troubled your majesty further in uttering somewhat my foolish opinion of the present state of things of these parts of the world, which now I will do, though as briefly as I intended before. For I mean to write no particular news, otherwise than to tell your majesty that now the things that ever I have desired, since I have had cause to study by what means we might have relief to our banished estate, be come to pass, to wit, that that Queen [Elizabeth] should so far forth assail the King of Spain as to make him desperate and out of hope to remedy his injuries by his longer temporising; which are so many and so great that in man's discourse it is impossible to devise a mean between them, but that one of them must wreck the other. For all that she has done these twenty years and more by soliciting the Prince of Orange with other his rebels, and the bringing in of the French to depose him of his Low Countries is nothing comparable to the damage and dishonour he has lately received by her open and public taking in hand the defence of the countries of Holland and Zealand, and assalting his Indias with her own forces. And though the hurt that has already ensued as well by the overthrows that they have given as spoils and murders they have committed, are exceedingly great, yet it is nothing in respect of the evil he may receive by the example that other princes, by a number of pirates, may hereafter, whensoever they list, take in attempting the like, which has so nettled him that now he and all his are resolved that there is no other "outgate" to his affairs than to set upon England.

And before my coming out of the Low Country there was nothing more common than disputing the manner how and in what sort it might be done. So I doubt not but they will shortly solicit others to that they have been of long time solicited, and this country let it not—which greatly I dread. There must ere long ensue some exploit that cannot but cause strange alterations, which is not the least cause that moves me to desire that there might be means found to have intelligence with your majesty to the end you may understand from time to time how matters pass, and your poor servants know your opinion of them.

Elizabeth.
1585. In the meantime I could wish, and presume, under correction, to advise your majesty to make good choice of such as you employ to deal between you and others such great personages you shall, peradventure, shortly have to do with, and to request them that they use no other but such as you shall appoint and authorise. For besides the great disreputation that comes by every base person intruding himself for his own glory and other particular into princes' affairs, the discommodities and dangers that happen thereby, as well to themselves as to such as deal for them, are infinite. And by my own experience, among others, in this last consultation that the Prince made to be called and held of our nation upon some intent he had, as your majesty has heretofore heard, there were so great errors committed that if things had gone forwards all had been thereby overthrown, for there were so many made privy, and every friend had his friend, as they say, that in less than nothing more than thirty persons knew of what was intended, and the most part neither of judgment nor understanding, no, nor fit almost to have served any turn but to have blown abroad all that was intended, and this chanced for want of someone authorised by your majesty.

Here I am forced to end, and this much the great disorders that I see daily committed here by such as study nothing but to advance their own particular, moves me to speak, which if it were possible I would were in time reformed; for now, after having been a long time in despair, I begin to have hope for some good at hand, and therefore your majesty must be of good courage, for I think myself very skilful in divination.

I am within a day or two of returning towards the Low Countries, where, and in every other place—as I am most bound—I will not cease to do my best endeavour to advance whatsoever shall be for the service of your majesty. Paris.

1 *p. Cipher. Interlinear decipher in Mr. Phelippes' hand. Indorsed:* "25 May 1585. Ligons to the Scottish Quene." "Decifred, Phelippes." *Signed on the back:* W. Burghley; H. Cobham; G. Shrewsbury; H. Hunsdon; Fra. Walsyngham.

Decipher of the same. *Indorsed:* "Lettre written to the Q. of Scottes to advertise her of the King of Spaynes purpose and causes to sett upon England."

Another decipher of the same, *by Gilbert Curll, 5 Oct.*

May 15. **613.** WALSINGHAM TO SIR LEWIS BELLENDEN.

Does not need to write much, having recommended Mr. Wotton to him when here by mouth. Doubts not he will be welcome to the King and all others who tender his well-doing, and therefore will not lack assistance. Barn Elms.

⅔ *p. Draft, altered in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

May 23. **614.** WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

"The writing of the inclosed that you shall receive from Sir Philip Sydney, which he hath prayed me to peruse, groweth upon an advice delivered unto him by Mr. Douglas, touching the offer of a pension that you are directed to make unto the King," wherein what

Elizabeth.
1585. I may wish you to do, I do not know. If you keep within the compass of your instructions in offering no more than you are directed, it is likely that the small sound of the sum will do more harm than good, yet if you offer a larger sum than you are directed, you may give offence to the Queen.

My advice is, that you defer that point as long as possible, and put them in hope that her majesty will deal with princely bounty therein, for which purpose she has directed you to take such information as is necessary. It is likely that before long some more necessary occasion will occur for us to have a greater care of the "assuring of Scotland," and so we shall be able to prevail on her majesty to increase the sum.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

May 26. **615.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

On my arrival I sent Robert Carvell, brother of the captain, with a letter to Sir John Maitland, "as the manner is to know the King's pleasure for my repair towards him," and expect an answer before Thursday night to be in readiness to set out next Friday morning.

I wrote to the Master of Gray and sent him the letters of Mr. Archibald [Douglas] and Justice Clerk, requesting to speak with him my first night here, if it were safe for him.

You will know how things stand with them from the last packet received from Sir John Foster, sent by the Master of Gray.

The King is still at Edinburgh, where I hope to find him, unless the plague, which is said to be there, drives him to Dunfermline or Stirling, or to Kinneill, where Arran would have him, or to Falkland, where the Master of Gray would wish him.

I received commendations from the King by Roger Aston at Newcastle as he rode by in post despatch. I think he is perplexed, and so I shall be more welcome to him. Berwick. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 28. **616.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Acknowledges his last letter of the 23rd inst. with a letter from Sir Philip Sydney, and a cipher, which he received at Berwick. Was glad of his advice concerning the pension, as so much depends on his negotiations whether the King conceives a good or evil opinion of her majesty. Lest the King consider the smallness of the sum an insufficient show of friendship, or not equal to his reputation, will defer dealing in that point. In the meantime he will await news of her majesty's further pleasure by another letter, and confer with the Master of Gray.

Wrote last Wednesday informing him of his arrival, and a despatch made to the Scottish Court.

Has received a safe conduct from the King, and letters—which he incloses—from the Secretary and the Master of Gray, by Mr. Robert Carvell, who returned last night.

Is informed by the messenger that the King is glad of his [Wotton's]

Elizabeth.
1585. coming, that his lodging in Kellough's house near the Abbey Gate was already prepared, that only Arran's wife, Lady Montrose, the Secretary, Sir Robert Melvill, Justice Clerk, and the Master of Gray were at Court, but that the Laird of Johnston was expected, after the defeat of Captain Lammy. The jealousies between the two parties there are openly seen, though hitherto all consist in "mines and morgues."

Is glad of the Master of Gray's discretion used towards Arran, and if he had known Arran's mind before, he would have written to him as well as to the Secretary.

Has sent on part of his company and carriage, but is not expected there himself before the following day, when he intends to start, and ride through in a day, as he is to have an audience of the King the next day—Sunday—after dinner. Will then inform him further of how he has proceeded. Berwick. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

Postscript.—Was informed by Mr. Carvell that the King asked him whether his hounds were coming. As the King's mind is so set upon them he put this in a postscript, so that he [Walsingham] may inform Lord Leicester, or think about giving orders to send some, if it has not already been done.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 28. **617.** WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

The matter of the King's marriage being touched in general terms in his instructions, her majesty has ordered him to advise dealing more particularly therein, and the naming of the King of Denmark's daughter of thirteen years as a foreign match, and the Lady Arbella as a home match, to the Master of Gray and Justice Clerk. He should ask their counsel as to which were more fitting to offer as agreeing with his majesty's humour and liking, and whether he might do so as of himself or by special direction, not informing Arran of her majesty's instructions until he had first consulted the Master of Gray and Justice Clerk.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Ye particulars of ye marriage."

May 28. **618.** [WALSINGHAM] TO SIR AMIAS POWLET.

C.P., vol. XV. Whereas you write to me that Mr. Sommer has mistaken your meaning in the report he has made that you should purpose the opening of that Queen's packets yourself before Nau, wherein you desire to be excused, because my own leisure is very scarce, I must therefore earnestly desire of you, as a very special favour which I shall thank you do me, that you will take the pains to open the said packets yourself, alleging that you have received them open from me. who am directed by her majesty to see the contents of them in these dangerous times, and so shall you both avoid the inconvenience that you conceive, and have the better leisure to peruse the said packets, although I know nothing passes between the [French] ambassador and her this way that they cannot be very well content, or rather glad, should be seen.

I marvel much that any have heretofore been suffered to go from

Elizabeth.
1585. house to house distributing that Queen's alms, yet "that" that is past I mean to give no information of [it], lest it should purchase blame to those that have had the charge of her. But hereafter you shall do very well, as you purpose, to restrain that work of charity, which her majesty will allow very well of and find fault I know with the ambassador if he shall seem to complain of it.

The party whose name I send you in the inclosed note has heretofore been used as an instrument for the conveyance of that Queen's letters, and there is a plot now laid to continue his service that way in the place where she remains at present, you shall therefore do well upon conference with Sir John Zouch, an honest, well affected gentleman, in the matter, whose advice and assistance may, perhaps, "stead" you much therein, there to lay wait how the said party may be apprehended, not coming to the castle, but after he has been there, and shall be seen going back; for then it is likely that he carries somewhat with him; or else to find the means how some fit man grow so well acquainted with him as to discover when he has either letters or message with him worthy the discovery, to the end he may then be suddenly apprehended. Either of which two courses you may at your own choice put in execution as you shall see cause.

1 *p.* *Indorsed:* "May 28, 1585. M[inute] to Sir Am. Poulet."

May 30. **619. Edward Wotton to Walsingham.**

Mentions the postscript in his last letter, advising the sending of some buckhounds to the King, who is still eager to receive them.

Has heard the same from the Master of Gray by the Justice Clerk, who fears that if they are not sent, the adverse party will work upon that fact. Has written to Lord Leicester urging the despatch of seven or eight couples of buckhounds: as for harriers he has a score. In the meantime would like a letter to say they are to be sent, that he may inform the King.

Arrived at this town the night before, having been honourably entertained by the way. Was met by Lord Hume at the "bound rode," and on this side of Dunbar, by Lord Seton and other lairds and gentlemen, his friends, who conducted him to his house to a banquet prepared for him there. Both came with him to this town, and near Musselburgh he was met by Sir Robert Melvill and others.

After his audience of his majesty, which he is to have after dinner, will write further. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

1¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 31. **620. Master of Gray to Walsingham.**

I have spoken to her majesty's ambassador, Wotton, with whom I was very pleased, and informed him of the estate of things in general and in particular, so "I remit me to him for yir tym, as also unto a lettre witche I have writtin to my Lord of Leicester, to be communicat with your honour and Mr. Archibald Douglas, for my leasur presently wes not gryt." Send a letter to the ambassador that he shall not deliver his letter to Arran, lest the Secretary be jealous, as also "ye uther shall avant of it yat he is suttit by England and wil not acknowledge it." I pray you also cause her majesty to renew her offer, for I

Elizabeth.
1585. have spoken to the King of the twenty thousand crowns, and if it be not offered, I shall appear to have lied.

Make my excuse to her majesty, and within two days I will write both of my own state and the King's inclination. Inform her that unless my life is attempted I will do nothing violently against my enemies, but "in cais I see any hazard to my lyf I assur you I wil prevent it in deu tym, for quhan my lyf is gone all is gone to me. I remit ye more plenair information of yis to my Lord Leicester's letter," and will write fully in two days to Mr. D. Inform me of your own opinion of these things. After my most devoted commendations to Sir Philip Sydney, I commit you to God's holy protection. Holyrood. *Signed:* Master of Gray.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

May 31. **621.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

You shall receive in the general letter the effect of my last audience, and the King's inclination towards her majesty, wherein [the Master of Gray] and [Justice Clerke] have acquitted themselves honestly.

The King is so eager in the matter of the amity that I fear nothing, if her majesty is pleased to take good hold of it, as is hoped here.

There are some, however, that take hold of the least occasion, and work upon it to their advantage. Arran is one, and having had news that the hounds were not coming, he would have persuaded the King that all was but words, if Justice Clerk had not answered in the matter, and put the King in hope of some.

I will do my best to continue this good beginning, and will have an eye to the disturbers thereof, and hope that your honour will be as mindful at home.

The inclosed from [the Master of Gray] will give you his opinion of the pension, and the lords there.

What you have heard lately of the Earl of Morton is true. He is still strong, and is condemned here by no one save Arran. Since the death of Captain Lammy it is intended to send Colonel Stewart—a device only to separate him from Arran.

By the letter I delivered to [the Master of Gray from her majesty] their purpose is altered—at her request—to deal [with him by violence] shortly, and they have already laid a rod in waiting for him.

The general hatred of Arran is great, and he has not as much of the King's power as he once had. He will find that many whom he counted on will stand him in little stead. The [Master of Gray told me] that the [Earl of Morton] sent word that if he would stand his friend to the King he would undertake to cast him, but the Master is very guarded, and they still remain in the same terms.

I spoke to the Master of Gray about Lady Campbell and her son, who were sent for from Ireland by the King, when he was in England. They claim lands there called "the Glennes."

I have been advised by Gray not to deliver her majesty's letter to Arran, but I desire to know from you whether I can detain it without offence.

The Master of Gray thinks it expedient that her majesty should write to the Secretary, Montrose, Colonel Stewart, and Justice Clerk, herself.

Elizabeth. 1585.

Lord Claud Hamilton left the country before I arrived. The lords have not been so secret as they ought to have been, and Gray prays you will advise them to be more careful. He dare not yet seem to favour them.

The Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Bothwell, and Athol are still offended with Arran, and absent from Court, though good friends to Gray. The Laird of Cessford, whose place Farnihurst holds, is feared to be likely to break his word and make as great a "stimp stamp" in that wardenry, as Maxwell in the west.

Your doubt of [Maclane] is needless, for the [Master of Gray] tells me himself that he is more sure of him than of all the rest, and that he is greatly desirous to serve you well. I will expect your answer to all these matters with expedition. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. The words in brackets have been crossed through.*

May 31.

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 273.

622. Edward Wotton to Walsingham.

Had audience of the King yesterday, and declared to him that the Queen, having understood by the Master of Gray and Justice Clerk his goodwill towards her, confirmed by his own letter to her, rested fully satisfied of his good meaning. She imputed the fault that she sometimes had a hard opinion of his dealings, to others about him, rather than to himself.

At her command, acquainted the King with the state of the world abroad, and the sinister practices of such as aimed at the overthrow of both their majesties, that they might concur for the preventing thereof. Said his coming to his majesty was a little delayed that he might be the better informed of those proceedings.

Also laid before him the doings in France by the house of Guise, and the advertisements her majesty had received for this half year of the practices against the professors of the Gospel, and their proceedings against the King of Navarre. His case should move all professors of the truth to unite in its defence, and of their estates in particular, the better to withstand the fury of the enemy and the purposes of the Council of Trent.

To all the King gave good ear, and answered that he believed well it was so, and wished that their purposes were prevented.

For the amity with her majesty, what had been spoken by the Master of Gray, the Justice Clerk, and written by himself, he was desirous should take effect, and was ready to perform that which he had promised.

Desired the King to show his mind more particularly than in the general terms that had passed. He answered he had never yet contracted a league with a foreign prince, and was not acquainted with those matters, but desired it should be set down to her majesty's contentment.

Replied that her majesty being acquainted therewith, would take his frankness in very good part. The King received her letter very gladly, but did not read it at the time.

Afterwards presented the gentleman he came with—Chisholme—and performed such compliments to Arran, as he had been advised, and to others that were there. Was accompanied back to his lodging

Elizabeth.
1585. by Colonel Stewart and others. On his return received his [Walsingham's] letter of the 26th instant, touching Lady Campbell and her son McConnell. Will endeavour to satisfy him of them better than he can at present. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June. **623.** SIR EDWARD STAFFORD TO [ ].

About that time, the Bishop of Glasgow having daily conference with the Spanish ambassador, there were brought into his house in money 14,000 crowns, and thereupon a post was despatched to Flanders by the said ambassador.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p. Copy. With No. 395.*

June 1. **624.** EDWARD WOTTON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 276.

I have been moved to stay the despatch of my letters to you, intended to have been sent away a day since, till I had informed you of some matters of importance upon some conference had since the writing of them, with the Justice Clerk [39], the Master of Gray [40], and Secretary Maitland [27]. The Master of Gray came to me, beginning his speech with some words let fall by Arran [19], manifesting his evil opinion of the intended amity, and made a long discourse of the danger the same was subject to, and how, if it were completed, Arran would seek not only to ruin the contrivers of the same, but to make the King break it, to his great dishonour and the infamy of this nation. The only remedy was to cut Arran off.

When he had spoken of the necessity of the attempt, he began to seek of me what support the party that should do it would have at [*] hands, it being difficult to understand beforehand how the King would take the same.

He protested that their ground for doing it was the welfare of both realms, and that no private enmity had passed between them and Arran, who, he was assured, would concur with him hereafter if he should offer his bond. Here he began to pause and expect my answer.

Remembering the small account they had seemed to make of Arran in all their conferences before, I desired to know the grounds for their sudden alteration in their opinions of the man.

He replied that he did not esteem the man, and knew well enough that such a treacherous mind would take advantage when he espied it, for men could not always be on their guard, and so by wrecking them one by one, he might with little difficulty draw the King to his dishonour. This urged him to [*].

Since I had no commission to speak to them on this matter, I dare not persuade them to any course, but I replied that I knew not what to say, but that I would not move her majesty on the matter, for it were fit she should not hear of it beforehand.

I asked what opinion the Justice Clerk had thereof, and desired him to confer with him on the matter, and so he departed.

The Justice Clerk came to me next morning and used, in effect, the same discourse, tending to the necessity of cutting Arran off, which should be done for the welfare of the two realms.

* In cipher.

Elizabeth.
1585. To my suggestion that he [Arran] should be discourted, he replied that the King would not do it, though it might be for twenty offences. At last I perceived that he was to do it, and for the necessity of doing it he referred me to Maitland, who, he said, would come to me; by whom I should see it was not his opinion alone, but other men's withal.

The thing he required, said he, was to have thanks for his labour and his good affection towards her majesty; and if he fortune to succeed, that he be relieved with some money to support him in the state of a gentleman till he be able to recover the King's favour; and this he trusted Leicester [14] and [18] would not deny him. I assured him that you had him in special recommendation, and respected him, and told him I would make relation of this matter to her highness. He said he would write himself to the Earl of Leicester, and prayed me, if I did write, to commit his name to cipher. So we parted, he sending me afterwards the inclosed.

In the afternoon Maitland came to me and discoursed of the hard terms between the two realms of late years, and the diversity of courses they were driven to follow, sometimes with the Scottish Queen, sometimes with France, all because the Queen my mistress had not been pleased to deal so plainly with this King as now she had begun.

He hoped that none would interrupt it, only he thought that Arran would do what he might while the King was young, and in this point seemed to be of the opinion of the other two.

This evening I was with the King privately, and found him constant in all points, as I have written to you at length in my other letters.

This evening also the Master of Gray came to me again with the same speeches, and I told him I was not to be acquainted with the matter, the necessity for which they knew best, and requesting them to forbear at least until the league was passed. Thus I find that the doer of it, whoever he be, should not come into England till the league is completed.

I should be glad to hear again from you of all these matters out of hand. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

5 *pp. Partly in cipher. Some words crossed through.*

[*On the back, in another hand*]: 1585, 8 June. From Mr. Wotton. Ambassadors are coming out of Denmark under colour of matters of traffic, but with direction to make offers of marriage.

Cheltsom sent into France by Arran about a plot to break the purpose of the league.

The King hath yet no inclination to marry.

June 1. **625.** EDWARD WOTTON TO [WALSINGHAM].

Commends to him the bearer of two letters, Mr. Samuel Colbourne, who he understands is an honest man, as he believes both the man and the matter in the letters are better known by him [Walsingham] than by himself. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

½ *p. Holograph. Indorsed.*

June 1. **626.** WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

Since your departure I have received two letters from you, one mentioning your arrival at Berwick, and the other the receipt of my

Elizabeth.
1585. letter with advice as to how you should proceed in the matter of the pension to be offered to the King. I still advise the same course, hoping that her majesty will soon increase the sum by one thousand pounds, so that it be altogether, twenty thousand crowns. You may in the meantime inform the King that her majesty desires to enable him, as much as her means will permit, to maintain his state as a prince, and that if the sum offered be not as great as she would wish, he will consider the expense she is at the present time put to by the action in the Low Countries, and the defence of those of the religion in France. I trust you may "so season his mind that he shall take a good taste of a pension of twenty thousand crowns."

The advice given to you by the Master of Gray, that you should carry yourself indifferently between Arran and himself, I think you should adopt. There is rumour from Berwick that the Master of Gray has plotted to kill or "discourt" Arran, but advise the King against listening to such tales from his subjects about each other. Let him understand that Arran has brought discredit upon himself by imputations against some, which he has been unable to prove, and that if her majesty has not been spared, but accused of giving encouragement to Maxwell, his subjects can hardly hope to escape slander.

By the inclosed extract you will see that they are for a peace in France. A general assembly of the three States is agreed on. If the King of Navarre is summoned to assist, we fear there will be some danger to his person. If he do not come, we fear it will not turn out well for those of the religion, that the edict made for their benefit will be revoked, that the King will be deprived of his claim to the crown, and that their forces will be bound to root out all the reformed churches. Monsieur Segur has returned hither, sent by the King of Navarre, to solicit her majesty on their behalf.

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 4. C.P., vol. XV.

627. SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

I have received your letters of the 28th of last [month], together with two packets for this Queen, and two notes of advertisements out of the Low Countries, where their ill success seems to require more diligence in their commissioners expected here, whose over late help may, perchance, be little profitable to them, and will not fail to be hurtful to their neighbours.

Whereas your leisure does not suffice you to peruse this Queen's packets, and therefore [you] desire that the same may be done here by me, and to avoid the inconveniences which—as you think—I have conceived, [you] are content that I shall tell these people that their letters have been opened by yourself, directed thereto by her majesty, as a thing meet in this dangerous time. Following your direction, which I shall be always willing to observe, I have opened and perused the said two packets. But because the same, and the rest hereafter, are to be delivered by me open, I shall never persuade them that I have not perused them, and therefore it shall not be amiss, in my simple opinion, to tell them plainly that I have opened them and perused them. Which course I have followed in these packets, and I see no reason why they should mislike it, being all one to them

Elizabeth.
1585. to have them opened here or in another place. And for my part I do not esteem it as an inconvenience that they should know I had perused their letters, which can be no way offensive to them. And if it were, I account little of it, in respect of her majesty's service, as has already, and shall always appear in all my actions in this place.

But the inconveniences which I conceived are these; that being ignorant of the state of things abroad I shall advertise many trifles instead of matters of moment, and through the same ignorance may, perchance, omit some things worthy to be "remembered."

I want no leasure, so that my writing cannot be troublesome to me. I pray God my letters, when they shall for the most part bring nothing but that which you know already, prove not to be troublesome to you. Of this you may be assured, that I will deal herein with all careful faithfulness, yet I shall pray you that the packets coming from hence may be perused there by you, because these people seem to be ready to complain upon every light occasion; wherein I wish their letters free passage.

One of these two packets contained no other thing than bills of petitions, accounts, and letters from her Council in France, of their proceedings in her land and law causes there.

The other packet, besides many Scottish letters, of no moment, to some of the inferior sort of this Queen's retinue, had one letter from the French ambassador to this Queen; one other from him to Nau; and one to Nau from Mareshall, servant to the said ambassador.

Mareshal writes in the end of his letters that he hears nothing of Nau's brother, but that he was ready to depart from Scotland when Justice Clerk came from thence.

The ambassador writes to Nau that he will help the Queen, his mistress, to all the money he can get before his departure; that the French King owes him 50,000 crowns, which will not be paid during these troubles; that he will do his best endeavour with her majesty touching the memorials sent by Mr. Sommer; that he departs out of this realm rather innocent than malicious towards this Queen; that she does not despair of her majesty's good friendship; and that to further the same he will be always ready to return to this realm when he shall be required; which he proffers the rather, because it has pleased her majesty to tell him that she is more willing to treat with him than with any other.

In his letters to this Queen he writes that the alterations in France, and the backwardness of her son in refusing to yield to the association, against the duty of the son of so good a mother, has hindered greatly her affairs here, joining thereto the confession of Parrye to have intended the murder of her majesty for the advancement of the catholic religion, and of the successors of this crown; which has bred no small distrust in her highness, a thing natural and common to all Princes to be jealous of that which touches their persons and estates. Also that some suspicion is conceived of the Catholics of this realm to be willing to join with the French leagues, whereof her kinsmen of the house of Guise are the principal heads. Notwithstanding, presenting this lady's letters to her majesty, he found her full of all affection towards her, and as careful of her safety and preservation as of herself, and was not unwilling to go forward in the treaty with her and her son, and to receive the French King as a sincere friend and mediator therein.

Elizabeth.
1585.

He trusts that all these difficulties proceeding from her son, and from the frowardness of the time, will be removed, and that this treaty so well begun will have some honourable end. For the furtherance whereof, having been named by either party, he shall think himself greatly honoured when he shall be required to pass the seas, which he will do willingly, and will do his endeavour faithfully for the benefit and honour of either party.

He proceeds to a long discourse touching Archibald Douglas, nothing different from that mentioned in my last letters, saving that he excuses and justifies him more earnestly than before. The submission and protestations of Douglas are "all one with the other."

Then he makes mention of the troubles in France, and tells this Queen that her kinsmen have gone very far in these leagues, and that the Pope and the King of Spain furnish them with money, but that some of the nobility who had given their promise of assistance have revolted against the King, who prepares a great army and expects 12,000 Swiss, and will not endure that arms shall be taken in his dominions without his permission. Every man vouches the King's service, pretending to have no other end in all their doings. But, indeed, the difference in religion and other discontentments are the true cause of these broils and leagues.

The King of Navarre thinks that all these preparations tend to his ruin, and to the ruin of those of his party, and therefore, assisted by the Duke of Montmorency, arms himself with all diligence, and has proffered to serve the French King with 25,000 men, the said King of Navarre being in good hope that all the Protestants in Christendom will give their helping hand in the defence of his title to the succession of that crown. And whereas it is intended that request shall be made to the King his master to nominate a catholic successor, he thinks that the King will hardly condescend to this motion to please either Catholic or Huguenot so long as he may be in hope to have children himself, and that he will not offer so much wrong to any whomsoever that shall have just title to the crown after him. He says that the Queen mother is within a mile of Chalons with the Cardinal of Bourbon, who concurs in answer with the Guises, that without the consent of the rest of the league he can do nothing. Thereupon the King requires his mother to make a speedy resolution, and in this meantime prepares for war, wherein he will be an actor in person. I omit the end, as likewise some part of the precedent of this discourse, because it contains no material matter.

He concludes that the King his master prays this Queen not to deprive her son of the name of King, seeing that she has heretofore given it to him, requiring the said ambassador and all his other ministers in these parts not to take this title rashly from him, because there is good hope that he will do the duty of a good son, and that her majesty, this Queen, and her son will come to some good agreement, wherein his majesty has commanded him expressly by his letters to do his best endeavour, which he has shown to the Queen's majesty, who, when all things shall be most desperate, will do what shall be to this Queen's contentation.

At the end of his letters he tells this Queen that he will visit you at Barn Elms, and that you are a friendly furtherer of all his causes,

Elizabeth.
1585. affirming no less for Mr. Sommers, wherein I think you both are more beholden unto him than you deserve.

It seems that the French ambassador has learned a new phrase in writing of the French troubles since his last letters, which may be profitable to this Queen, and cannot be hurtful to me, because it is likely I shall find her the more quiet.

This Queen is now towards the end of her diet, and trusts to come out of her chamber this week.

These letters containing no matter of weight, I have forborne to send them sooner, hoping to have found some other convenient messenger whereby I might have spared the labour of the ordinary post, who deserves his small wages dearly in my opinion, yet for want of other opportunity I have been forced to have recourse to his help herein.

May it please you to command one of your servants to take order for the delivery of these two letters inclosed. Tutbury. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 5. **628.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Since his last despatch has been hunting with the King.

Last Thursday there arrived at Leith a gentleman from Denmark with news of the coming of an ambassador thence with a ship of 120 tons as a present to the King. Has heard a report that he is coming about an intercourse and traffic, but that there is also question of a marriage.

Is sure of the King's constancy. There is no fear of interruption from any except Arran and his wife. They sent lately into France one Chesolme about a plot to distemper the same.

Has been informed that Arran went to the King with report of a rumour that he [Wotton] had delivered his message before seeking an audience of the King, when he was to deal only on behalf of the rebels in England, but that the King received the idea with ridicule.

Has been advised not to speak of the lords until the conclusion of the league, so will await instructions from her majesty to mediate on their behalf. Begs that he will procure such a letter, undated, from her majesty, so that when fitting occasion arises he may insert the date and use it as if it were her direct instructions to him.

Is informed by [the Master of Gray] that the King has no desire to marry yet. He [the King] intends to depart for Falkland within a week for buck hunting. Is desired by the King to go with him to Dunfermline for a few days. Since beginning to write this letter has heard of the arrival of the Danish Ambassador at Dunbar. Is informed by the Justice Clerk of the rumour that the reason of his coming is known in England better than here. Intends to visit him after he has seen the King. Is also told of the expected arrival of a French ambassador, whose coming he mistrusts. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 5. **629.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

On Wednesday following the date of my last letter Arran went to the King after dinner, and fell into great commendation of the

Elizabeth.
1585. Master of Gray as a man of great worthiness, whom his majesty ought to reward in some special way. He bemoaned that he stood in such hard terms of familiarity with him, protesting for his own part great friendship towards him, but that the Master would not entertain it. He besought the King to interpose his authority, and to compound the offences growing between them. The King therefore gave order to the Secretary to make them friends. I thought this to be a stratagem to draw me on to urge the former purpose forward.

The next day while riding with the King, the [Master of Gray] told me that he had promised not to disobey the King's commandment. He seemed not to weigh the matter greatly, and continued in his former purpose, and that out of hand, before the King west to Falkland.

He afterwards conferred with the Secretary, who although he gave his consent thereto, began now to dislike it, alleging the dangers likely to fall upon them after the deed done, or that the King, knowing [their intelligence together] would impute the fact unto them all, as [a thing intended] beforehand, and so being in his disgrace, prosecute the same against them. The Queen having her turn served would not be likely to hazard the peace, and the King's assurance, [for any private matters in Scotland]. Yet he thought that unless it were done they could not promise their safety nor continuance of the league.

I think that her majesty's last letter to the Master of Gray advising him to do nothing to cause a decline of the King's favour, has bred conceit in their heads, and is the cause of the delay. In the matter of the King's marriage, I have written advice to [the Master of Gray]. The King will be advised by Lord Leicester and your honour when he is inclined to marry. In answer to the Queen's memorial to his majesty, he will write to her himself, on the return of Mr. Alexander. I have written so to her majesty and have touched on Arran's doings to impeach the league.

The [Master of Gray] has met [Earl Bothwell] by appointment, and has also been to Kinghorn to [meet the Earl of Athol]. Something is a-brewing, of which, when I know it, I will inform you.

Justice Clerk desires to be recommended to Lord Leicester, yourself, and Sir Philip. You are nothing deceived in the Master of Gray, and I think the Secretary is faithful, and I therefore wish you wrote him a letter to entertain the man. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

The words in brackets have been crossed through.

[June.] **630. Elizabeth Johnson to Edward Wotton.**

Owing to the banishment of her father out of England, was compelled to accompany him because of his great age, and so left her native country without licence. Her father having lately died at sea, she is left alone in a foreign land, so appeals to him as the Queen's representative in Scotland, to request letters from Sir John Selby or others permitting her to return quietly to England. *Signed:* Elizabeth Johnson.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed with No. 631.*

Elizabeth.
1585.
June 7.

631. EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Commends to his goodness, the bearer, Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of the old rebel Norton, lately dead, who is desirous to acknowledge her fault and commit herself to her majesty's clemency. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 7. **632. LEAGUE BETWEEN ELIZABETH AND THE KING OF SCOTS.**

1. Whereas it is most evident that divers Catholic princes are joined in confederacy, with full resolution to prosecute with all severity the professors of the Gospel, it is thought necessary for both realms to combine in a league for their common defence, and also to endeavour to draw the rest of the princes making profession of the same religion to join them.

2. To the end that the amity between their majesties may in the eye of the world show more openly the goodwill between them, they are content that the intended league be offensive and defensive, friend to friend, and enemy to enemy.

3. For the defensive it is agreed that if the dominions of either of the said princes be invaded, then shall the other prince assist with certain forces for a certain time and within a certain distance, at his own charge.

4. For the offensive, they shall during the time of hostility between any of the princes their neighbours yield such assistance as shall be agreed on. They shall also each aid and assist the other for the offence of any enemy out of their dominions, at the charge of the prince that shall demand such aid.

5. They shall enter into no treaty with any other prince without the permission of each other, and also be bound in all such leagues as they make, to comprehend each other by express terms.

6. There shall be a ratification of all former treaties that do not prejudice the present treaty.

7. Commissioners shall be appointed to meet on the Borders, within a certain time, to compound present differences and take order for better redress of future injuries.

8. The King shall promise to be advised and directed by her majesty in his marriage, on condition that nothing is done to the prejudice of his pretended title of succession in England.

Points to be considered touching the proceeding in this treaty, 1. Whether the treaty shall be passed under the great seal of England, with other usual ceremonies. 2. What persons shall treat thereof. 3. Whether it be not convenient that it first proceed by subscription of articles on both sides.

3 *pp. Draft. Partly in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed.*

Copy of same.

June 9. **633. EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.**

The Danish ambassador whose arrival I spoke of in my last, is not yet come, though one is expected. The King himself was

Elizabeth.
1585. informed that he had landed at Dunbar, and commanded he should be lodged where the best drink was to be found. A man named Lesley arrived last Sunday from the Bishop of Ross and addressed himself secretly to Arran and Colonel Stewart. At the same time there landed at Dundee one Bodyne from the Bishop of Glasgow, who, I am told, brought money with him, and addressed himself to the Laird of Fentry.

[*In the margin*]: There are two landed at Dundee—Mr. John Tully and Mr. James Bodyn. [The Master of Gray] undertakes to find out the reason of their coming, so I will inform you hereafter.

I hear from the [Master] that there is hope of drawing the Colonel from Arran, when he will be left with only Montrose as friend, of whom they make small account. Also, that he has won over one of Arran's trustiest servants of the chamber to acquaint him with his writings and doings: " this party is corrupted, and fed with angels' food."

The Colonel [Stewart] has heard that her majesty has the Scottish Queen's letter to the Prince of Parma on behalf of his wife's lands on that side. He is as ready to acquit himself of that favour by service to her highness, as any Scottish man in Scotland. I made answer that I thought it but the beginning of her majesty's favour towards him. I believe, as I wrote before, it would be to good purpose if her majesty should bestow a letter on him.

I believe that Arran begins to fear himself forsaken, for it is observed that he has lately taken armour and victuals into the castle, and strengthened himself in his chamber at Court. To me he is very friendly in words.

At the request of the Master of Gray I inform you that there is in this town an Irishman named Burnaby, who offers to win her majesty's pardon by discovering things necessary for her and the state to know, hitherto not revealed.

The Master thinks highly of the man, but until he has received his pardon he will disclose nothing. He does good offices here, however, and discovered the man that landed at Dundee came from Rome, but was sent hither by the Bishop of Glasgow.

[The master] tells me that the Bishop of Ross's man brought the Earl of Arran a letter from the Scottish Queen, in answer to a former letter to her.

Mr. Alexander has arrived with two horses and four geldings. The King goes on Monday towards Dunfermline, and a few days after, to Falkland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

The words in square brackets have been crossed through.

June 9. **634. Edward Wotton to [Walsingham].**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 279.

When I made my last despatch the Master of Gray was gone over the water to meet with friends.

The next day the Secretary and Justice Clerk, in the Master's absence, came to me, and in conference showed me their opinions of the dangers they foresaw the league to stand in, if the attempt were made before the amity was concluded. The master absenting himself after the fact might hazard the whole cause, for the King knowing their friend-

Elizabeth.
1585. ship for the master might consider them accessory thereunto, and seeing the frequent access they all have to me, hold me suspected. I found them very earnest in this discourse. They requested me to move the master therein, and Justice Clerk protested that he thought his absence dangerous, [and] his presence so needful, that rather than it should be done before the amity was concluded, he himself would be the actor.

The master came to me the same day, on his return, and having conferred with the other two, told me what he had been doing, and what he intended to do and leave undone, until the league was forwarded, all his proceedings tending in that direction only. He desired me to acquaint you with his doings to that affect, with the reasons for withholding for a time from what he had intended.

He thought Arran, being alive, would not be able to "let" the amity, but that in time he might rather wreck them and break it, which danger he thought might be better prevented afterwards, than to hazard the success of all before it was fully concluded.

I told the master that they had been with me to the same purpose, but that for my own part, considering the uncertain success of the attempt beforehand, I could not altogether dislike their reasons, but to wish the amity were first established, and then to assure the continuance of it, and to provide for their own standing, telling him therefore how much it behoved him and them, in the meantime, to stand upon their guard.

He told me that, but for this dissuasion by the Secretary and Justice Clerk, he had purposed to have despatched it last Monday, the King being hunting, and that the Provost of Clenecluden—whom he had lately relieved out of the castle—should have been the executioner [*]. I prayed him to tell me whence he thought this sudden alteration in the Secretary might grow, he having always liked well thereof, until now it came to the point. "Good faith," quoth the master, "the Secretary is my assured friend, and I hold him very prevoyant and wise, and I think, seeing me remove from the abbey and dispose of jewels and plate, makes him enter into a deeper apprehension of the matter than before, and believe that my absence would be dangerous to himself and others."

Ere he went I desired him to tell me, that forasmuch as this thing was so expected in England, that it was looked for to have been despatched ere I came hither, whence these difficulties have proceeded that have been so often laid before me, who of all men should be the last acquainted therewith, the better to mediate for him whose credit I am so specially commanded to advance and uphold with the King.

I saw him unwilling to tell me, till finding me to suspect aright, he frankly confessed that, but for the Queen's letter that he received by me the Sunday morning Arran had been slain the Monday following, as he had purposed, but that some words in that letter made him forbear till he had felt my advice, to see if I had any special direction in the matter, beyond the Queen's knowledge.

On Sunday the King went to the preaching in the high town, and I rode with him. After dinner the master rode to Leith and met Earl Bothwell by appointment. That man of all others thinks long to have

* In cipher.

Elizabeth.
1585. Arran and his wife in handling, and is wholly at the master's devotion.

The matters you would wish to have privately advised to you, I write apart, and leave to your honour's discretion.

I have a great desire you should know that the master acquits himself honourably and faithfully towards her majesty, to his own daily charges, which, to hold out in court both for his rank and place, and for the entertaining of so great a company as necessarily are to attend upon him, cannot be small.

The King now going into the Fife, a place of greater danger to the master than this, owing to concurrency of friends, it behoves him to keep the greater guard about him. He is not empty-handed to those that acquaint him with matters of importance. All which things, compared with the master's own estate, causes me to think the gentleman could be glad to be supported by your honour, though himself forbears to desire it.

Besides, the money now come from the bishop of Glasgow to Arran, *etc.*, makes me wish for an antidote against so dangerous a person.

I pray your honour to think thereof and let me know your pleasure. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

Postscript.—This afternoon the Master of Gray prayed me to write to you about Barnaby the Irishman, which I have done in the other general letter, and I pray your honour to be mindful of it.

Here is also one Norton. I would have your honour's opinion of him, for he says you know him.

[*Written beneath, in a different hand*]. "9 June, from Mr. Wotton. Lesley sent from the Bishop of Ross, and John Tully and James Bodyn from the Bishop of Glasgow—these two with money are arrived in Scotland."

3½ *pp.*

June 10. **635. Sir Amias Powlett to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XV. The occasion of my writing from hence is always so slender, as besides that I ought to "make conscience" to trouble the posts without just cause, I fear also to be troublesome to you, and from hence it comes that you hear not more often from me, and now I write rather for fashion's sake than for any matter of substance.

On Sunday the 6th instant, after dinner, this Queen sent Nau to my wife and me to come to her; which we did, and found her in her bed, but had left her diet that day, and intended to leave her bed the next, and the end of the week to take the air abroad.

After long speech of matters of nothing, she told me that she took it unkindly that in all this time of her diet she had not been visited from the Queen's majesty either by her letters, or at least by some message, a thing which she knew her highness had vouchsafed to do often to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and to many others of baser quality, whereby she might perceive the little care was had of her, which appeared also in that she could have no answer to so many letters which she had sent to her majesty. Wherein, for her part, she would have labour hereafter, and would forbear to say or write any more, finding that

Elizabeth.
1585. she was kept to no other use than to serve a turn, when upon some new accident need might require it, and therefore was resolved to shake off all opinion of hope, and to refer herself and her causes to God's providence, concluding that she would be glad her majesty knew how unkindly she took it that she had not been visited from her in all this time of her diet.

I told her I would not do her so much wrong as to be the messenger of so unkind a message, because I could not see that there was any good ground for this hard conceit, being assured that her majesty had not received any information at all of her sickness, but rather that she had been hunting and hawking at sundry times, and the day next before the departure of Sir Ralph Sadleir, had been walking in the garden, this manner of her diet being not esteemed in this country as a sickness, but rather a mean to prevent sickness that might come hereafter. She answered that she had advertised her majesty by her letters of her sickness and lameness, and had signified by the same that no receipt of physic could so much further her health as the assurance of her highness' favour. I prayed her to believe constantly that her majesty had great care of her health and of her good estate, affirming that I could speak it of my own knowledge, as a thing which I had heard at her highness's own mouth.

Then, glancing at her unhappiness, in that she was encountered every day with new occasions to the hindrance of her desires, which she understood by the French ambassador's letters to have had the slower passage by reason of the French troubles, she asked what I had heard of them. I said I had heard no more than that I had read in the French ambassador's letters directed to her, which I had perused, as she knew.

She asked if I thought that the Queen mother's mediation would prevail. I answered that although I did concur in opinion with the French ambassador, that the French King might not endure with his honour that arms should be taken in his country without his permission, and would never condescend to the outrageous demands of his controllers, yet I thought that this war would be ended by composition of some preferments in honours and dignities to be bestowed in some good measure upon her kinsmen; which I doubted not they would gladly accept, and the rather because they were abandoned—which I said the French Ambassador's letters imported—by a great number of the French nobility whose assistance they expected.

"You are deceived," quoth she; "these wars will be drawn into great length;" and then whispering in my ear, said that France would be cautioned after the German fashion, and that Champagne, Burgundy, Picardy, Lyonnois, and some other parts adjoining to the Duke of Savoy's would take that course, and that the project hereof was laid long since.

I was very willing to sound her further upon this subject, and thereupon told her that I remembered, when I was ambassador in France, her kinsman the Duke of Guise was the head and principal party in many lines and associations which were made at that time in many parts of France; and although the same was pretended to be done with the King's good favour and assent, yet many of good judgment were of opinion that it carried a meaning of cautioning.

"Yea," said she, "this matter has not slept, but has been much

Elizabeth.
1585. laboured since that time, and when Monsieur went first to Cambray, Normandy had taken arms if her kinsmen had not stayed it."

She seemed unwilling to discourse further of this matter, excusing her kinsmen so coldly, that it might appear she was nothing glad of their enterprise.

It is now long since this Queen was restrained from giving her alms, as I have heretofore written to you, yet in all this time I had heard nothing therein from her own mouth until this day, that betraying with many words her discontented mind, she said she might easily see that no account was made of her, if any seemed willing to further her causes or could be content to hear well of her, he was greatly misliked; if any spake ill of her, as some had spoken so ill that they could not speak worse, they were rather allowed than blamed, yea, it was not thought meet that any should think there were virtue or goodness in her. "Or else," said she, "why did you restrain me to give my alms to the poor folk, who would perchance have prayed for my better health, which is all the hurt that could have ensued of my alms giving." And then she recited that during her being at Buxton she was moved in pity to give a smock to a poor naked woman, who was carried to her majesty with great disadvantage, as if she had a purpose to win the hearts of the people by indirect means.

"But shall I tell you," quoth she, "what will ensue thereof: you fear lest by giving alms I should win the favour of the people, but you ought rather to fear lest the restraining of my alms may animate the poor against you." I prayed her to give me leave to deliver my simple opinion to her in all plainness; which was, that giving of alms was a thing convenient in all estates and degrees, but not expedient in all times and in all seasons, neither meet to be distributed by all kinds of people to all sorts of people without difference. If her giving of alms had no other meaning than to do the office of a Christian conscience, she might bestow her liberality by her ministers in other countries, which would be no less acceptable before God than if she had given the same here with her own hands. The laws of this realm had provided so carefully for the relief of the poor that none could want but either through their own lewdness or by the negligence of the officers of the several parishes, so that it was to be trusted that the people here had no need of her alms; yet it could not be denied but that—by what means I know not—she had gotten the hearts of some bad subjects in this realm, when in her favour they were content to take arms against their prince and country.

"They were two earls," said she, "which were discontented upon private ocasions." "But these two," quoth I, "carried great multitudes with them;" wishing her to carry this constant opinion, that as no alms whatsoever could procure her any favour that might stand her in stead, so I feared nothing the danger that might come to me by restraining her alms.

"But," said she, "when I am sick in body or troubled in mind, and would be glad to be assisted with the prayers of the poor people, I must say it is hard—or rather barbarous—to restrain me."

Nau having before that time declared to me that his mistress would complain to her majesty of this rigour, as he termed it, I concluded that I doubted not but that she had or would give information of my doings herein, and by the answer she should know what opinion was

Elizabeth.
1585. conceived hereof in other places. Indeed, Mr. Sommer has written to me that he has seen this Queen's letters to the French ambassador to this effect, terming the restraint as rigour.

If I might hear sometimes from you of the French proceedings I might deal the better with this Queen in many respects, and therefore I am bold to renew this suit again to you.

Although, as I have before written in the first part of this letter, I told this Queen that I would not do her so much wrong [as] to be her messenger of that unkind message to her majesty, because she should not expect the answer thereof: yet I have thought agreeable with my duty to advertise the same.

Request was made yesterday to me to permit Sharpe to ride five miles hence to see certain horses; which I refused. Whereupon Nau came to me this last evening, and after a long and tedious discourse of the great promises of favour towards his mistress, which he had received from her majesty at his last being at the Court, finding by late experience that she is more straitly used than in time past, and here "rippeth up" all the old rigours as they called them, as also that she had heard nothing from her highness in answer to her several letters, would needs draw it into a peremptory consequence, that there was no meaning to treat further with her, concluding that he spake it as of himself, not commanded by his mistress.

Surely you would have been merry to have heard the talk that followed between him and me, wherein I think I was more plain with him than his mistress durst to have been, and advising him to peruse with leisure and judgment the French ambassador's late letters to his mistress, wherein he sets down at good length the just and necessary causes of the stay of this treaty, and it gives great hope that as time and occasion shall change the same may go forward with effect.

I told him he should do well to follow the same course, and, considering his great credit with his mistress, to beware to abuse it to her hurt by his distemper and violent counsels, wherein his haste might make more waste in one hour than he could recompense in all his life after.

It was easy to see that his necessary inferences in princes' causes were uttered by direction, and proceeded from his mistress's own mouth, and so I took it, and therefore would forbear to answer him any further therein; concluding that I was expressly commanded by her majesty to entreat this Queen honourably, and to have singular and especial care of her health, and of her safety against all dangers, and therefore if I had done anything that deserved the name of a rigour or straitness, I must submit myself to the censure of the Queen, my mistress.

He would needs persuade me that I was wise and discreet, and that I had done nothing herein but by direction from above. I "reported me" therein to his own judgment, who know very well that all my innovations had been very sudden, so that the fault being found in one day was redressed the next morrow, which could not be done by order from above. But it sufficed me that my conscience told me I had done nothing herein frowardly or maliciously, and that I had no other respect than her majesty's service, from which I could never be diverted for any other respect whatsoever.

Elizabeth.
1585.

Although all these alterations seemed to have been buried, and, as I think, had not been renewed but upon the occasion before recited touching Sharpe, yet no doubt they are grieved, amongst the rest, with these things, especially, that they are removed from walking on the walls; that Sharpe may not ride abroad, as in times past, alone at his pleasure; that he has his lodging within the house, which he had heretofore without the gate; that they cannot take their walks into the town; that none of my servants from the highest to the lowest eat, drink, talk or confer with them; and finally that this lady's alms are restrained. Wherein I will say no more but that if you were here in my place, I am much deceived if you would not say with me that the least of all these abuses might breed great and dangerous inconveniences. When flesh and blood has done what it can, yet, as things are composed here, all their treacherous means can never be avoided, yet reason commands to redress all open and known faults.

I know Nau better than I may make known by writing, and I know him so well that I would be glad with all my heart he were removed, and his place supplied with any two others whatsoever, I care not out of what country or from whence they came.

Nau in this long discourse told me, amongst other things, that Sir Ralph Sadleir, as also Mr. Sommer, were known to have said that no honest Englishman would serve this Queen, and that they could not think them honest that would serve her, whereof he inferred that there was a meaning to make his mistress a mere stranger to all English subjects. This argues their unthankfulness, which I can prove many ways in the case of my predecessors, and therefore "a yard and an ynche" is good measure for them, and it may be given with such temperance that it will be as thankworthy as if they had larger measure. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

7 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 11. **636.** WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

The Queen of England is unable to increase the sum which he is authorised to offer to his majesty, owing to the loss of merchant ships in Spain, which is likely to put her to excessive expense abroad. Therefore advises that the Master of Gray be procured to induce the King to accept the sum which is offered, giving him hope that when circumstances shall improve, the Queen will have further regard for him. It being thought inadvisable to send Mr. Rogers with the articles of the league, as was first intended, advises that he be not mentioned to the King, who shall be given to understand that a parcel of the league shall be sent shortly.

Sends her majesty's letters to the four councillors named by him [Wotton], leaving it to his discretion whether he will deliver them or not, considering that they come so late, and that there being none for Arran may cause offense.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "3000 onely as to Master of Gray was offryd. Arrest in Spayne."

Elizabeth.
1585.
June 11.

637. WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

Requests that he should inform the King of her majesty's thankful acceptance of his willingness to join with her for their mutual defence and for the maintenance of their common religion. She considers it testifies his goodwill to her, which his ministers have always so vehemently professed. Afterwards he should acquaint him with the danger in which those of their religion stand in France, as may be perceived by the inclosed book, and of the recent arrest in Spain of her majesty's ships, and the ships of others well affected in religion. She considers the exception of French ships points to a secret intelligence between the French and Spanish for the overthrow of those who profess the Gospel.

Advises him then to seize the opportunity of enforcing on the King the necessity of a speedy resolution for the welfare of the two countries, and to inform him that her majesty meant to despatch Beale with the articles of the league, but his [Beale's] indisposition was the cause of the delay, and she therefore intends to send Daniel Rogers.

Her majesty, considering the friendship existing between herself and the King of Denmark, desires him to call upon the Danish ambassador, and do him all the honour and courtesy in his power.

1½ *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed.*

June 11.

638. WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

Among other articles of the intended league, there is to be a special one that the league be both offensive and defensive, and since opposition is likely to come from some who have received benefits in France, and others who fear for the hindrance of their traffic, you will do well to confer with the Justice Clerk as to how that impediment may be removed, putting him in mind that since there can be no other matter of breach between France and us, than religion, it would be strange that those who profess religion should allow private matters to stand in the way of its maintenance, especially at this time, when our adversaries have conspired together for the overthrow of all the churches.

In your general letters it were best to write nothing of discredit to Arran.

Her majesty desires you to inform the Danish ambassador how well affected she is to the match between his master's daughter and the Scottish king, and to recommend the same to the latter, in her name.

It were well that you should show him also the book I sent, witnessing the danger in which the King of Navarre and they of the religion stand in France. It is to be feared that they will in the end suffer, if the King is not sound, and there are many things which lead me to think he is not, namely the refusal of the aid offered by her majesty and the King of Navarre, his use of unsound ministers in the present action, his not proclaiming the Leaguers rebels, and the hollowness of all his councillors.

Acquaint him also with the particulars of the arrest of foreign ships in Spain, and the suspicious exception of French ships. If you find the gentleman well affected, inform him her majesty has sent

Elizabeth.
1585. Bodley into Germany to the King of Denmark and other Protestant princes there to arrange a meeting of their ministers, for common defence, and the relief of the King of Navarre and those of the religion in France. You may then inquire of him whether Bodley arrived in Denmark before his departure, what success his negotiations had, and how he was despatched.

2¼ *pp. Indorsed.*

June 13. **639.** EDWARD WOTTON TO ELIZABETH.

Informs her of the arrival of Mr. Alexander on the day before, with the horses for the King, who, after he had tried them, both to the contentment of himself and his courtiers, pronounced them the best he had seen, both on account of their condition and on account of the giver, whom he so highly esteemed.

Was told by the King that he had endeavoured to trace the author of the letter written in her majesty's name to the Lord Maxwell, and on the return of Mr. Alexander he would write himself to the Queen on the matter, since he did not wish to reveal it to any living creature but her.

The King has kept Mr. Alexander ten or twelve days, to teach him to ride the two great horses sent by her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "From the K. of Scotts unto her majestie."

Calig., C. VIII., fol. 281 b. Abstracts of the same.

June 14. **640.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Acknowledges his letter of the 1st of June, received on the 11th, together with others from Mr. Archibald Douglas to the Master of Gray. Was glad his advice concurred with his own desire.

Is to accompany his majesty to Dunfermline next Monday. An abstinence has been agreed upon, and every man is eager to advance the amity. Is asked to write thus by the Master of Gray, who added that nothing for himself should ever be so dear to him as her majesty's service.

The Danish ambassadors arrived on Saturday at Leith, and the ship is to be presented to the King. Colonel Stewart, Mr. James Melvill, and others were sent to entertain him. He did not come to this town owing to the plague, which is increasing, and has hastened the King's departure. There are 40 persons, two in commission only, and a secretary. It is thought they come through her majesty to offer a wife to the King.

Is advised by the Master of Gray not to deal yet with Lady Gowrie. Returns the old letter of her majesty concerning her, to be written with a later date, so that on receiving it he may show it to the King as a recent advice. Was visited last Saturday by Arran and Montrose, at the King's command, and dined himself at the Castle by his majesty's pleasure yesterday. Is so far in good repute, and now awaits an answer to his first despatch, being quite ready to leave on horseback. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth. 1585. June 14. Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 284.

641. FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO [THE MASTER OF GRAY].

I have received a letter from his majesty desiring me to write what passed between Sir William Stewart and me yesterday. So after this manner I said to him, "within ten days I should have presence, to the hurt of some man, about which, if I would declare the truth, I should have his highness' favour and presence sooner than I believed."

I have written at length the whole circumstances of that matter to his majesty, to the reports shown, as shall be manifest, praying you to get the sight of my said letter, that you may be assured of my honest part in that, as becomes me of my honour.

Truly I am glad within my heart that their evil will towards me manifests by such form of dealing.

To be short, where I am obliged to be in goodwill I shall be true and constant; if my lord of Arran or Sir William will allege anything in my name that is reported to them, I shall cause them to eat their words in their throat.

Therefore be of good courage, I care not [for] their wicked inventions; do what they can, providing we have the King our master's good favour, albeit they are known to be such men as they are. Yet let not the Secretary nor the Justice Clerk doubt of my honesty, unto whom I profess friendship, nor your lordship, whom I so greatly esteem, as your brother James and Thomas Tyrie will show you at more length. Leith. *Signed:* Bothuell.

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

June 14. **642.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Has been informed secretly that the Bishop of Ross is shortly expected.

Colonel Stewart has despatched Captain Patten into Flanders about his wife's lands. It is supposed that he will address himself to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, and under colour of that, have something else to do there. Suggests that Sir Edward Stafford might decipher his doings.

Has set one to find out the whereabouts of two who landed at Dundee with letters and money. Will hear the result at Falkland or elsewhere across the water. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

June 14. **643.** FRANCIS STEWART, EARL OF BOTHWELL, TO JAMES VI.

"I haif heir set doun unto your majestie the trew discors of ye haill purpos passit betuix us at byt our metingis, quhilk endit on ane promes on his parte that I suld haif presens yis day if I wald entir in frendship with ye erle of Arran. Quhairfor seing it is offerit to me condisionalie be uther hands and yat I haif your hienes promes boyth be my servand and your majesteis last letter yat I sal haif it in Dunfermeling, I man insist yat so sone as it may seme convenient to your

Elizabeth.
1585. majestie I may be behaldin in it to your majesteis awin guid will and favour." Leith.

½ *p.* *Indorsed:* " the copy of Bothwell's letter to the King."

Calig., C. VIII., fol. 283 b. Another copy of the same.

June 15. **644. Laird of Johnstone to Lord Scrope.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 285.' Returned from Court to Loughmabon on Tuesday morning, and heard of Lord Maxwell's proceedings, " to will the rendring of the house of the Lowham's, and likewise the seighing of the Bonshawes."

For this cause he takes the commodity to " visit " him, that he may understand what concerns both their " commonings."

Has spoken with his majesty, who assured him his ambassador had told him of her majesty's letter to the same effect.

Requests his support in the relief of the Bonshawes, who are in such extremity. Loughmabon.

½ *p.* *Copy.*

June 15. **645. Sir Amias Powlet to Walsingham.**

C.P., vol. XV. May it please you to pardon me that I have given no better credit to your word, especially in a matter no less known to you than altogether unknown to myself, and if I have felt the smart of my hard belief, I may not desire to be pitied by you of all others. I thought your speech had tended for some other end, for some friendly respect towards me, but I find by experience that you spake in good earnest, and that I played the fool in that I did not believe you.

I had never seen your servant Pope but once—at which time I only saluted him—when I prayed your goodwill to make him gentleman porter of this castle, whereunto you answered that he was not meet for it. And although I urged it with some reasons, yet you would not assent to it.

Notwithstanding, persisting in my purpose, and being willing to give him all the credit I could, much the rather because he came from you, I placed him in the said room. But now upon due proof, I am ready to subscribe to your saying. And although I take him surely to be an honest man, and would not fear to commit my credit and life into his hands, yet I know him to be utterly unfit for this office, and that neither his nature, judgments, nor experience are any way capable thereof.

I have borne with many infirmities, with many simple and weak chalenges—I will give them no worse term—and was willing for your sake, and for respect to you, to bear with much more, but having prayed my goodwill more than once to depart, I have now at last dismissed him, having given him 10*l.* in his purse to bear the charges of his return to London. I will say no more of him, because I wish him well, and indeed will continue his well-willing friend in all that I may.

One thing I may not hide from you, that your servant, being informed by one of my servants, a gentleman and an honest and discreet man, in the presence of one of the soldiers, that some of the Scottish train had done something not meet to be allowed, he said that he had received commandment from you to use the Scottish train with all

Elizabeth.
1585. favour, and that you told him, if he did otherwise, upon complaint made thereof, he might, perchance, look that you should defend him, but it would not lie in your power.

He denied this firmly to me in the presence of my wife, thinking that I would not have urged it further, and complaining that I believed tales against him. But the party being called before me, and avowing it to his face, his conscience would not permit him to deny it; and surely if he has exceeded his commission in anything, it has been in his courtesy towards this people.

He conceived so well of himself that he thought in conferring with Nau and others his companions he might draw somewhat from them, wherein if he were deceived, I leave to your judgment. Once I dare not be so bold as to trust his wisdom therein. And surely, for my part, I mistrust myself so much that I forbear to have any conference at all with Nau or any others of his company, unless some urgent occasion on their part or mine requires it.

I shall take it for a great favour, and shall most heartily pray you to continue your good opinion of this man, and to let him know that you conceive not the worse of him for his departure from me. Surely he is an honest man, but every man is not fit for all things.

Sir John Zouche could not come to me until the 11th instant, with whom I have conferred touching the matter mentioned in your last letters, wherein both he and I will do our best endeavours. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 17. **646.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Acknowledges the receipt of his last letter, dated the 11th, and received by him on the 15th of June. Has acquainted the King with the glad acceptance by her majesty of his offer of concurrency in the cause of religion. He was very pleased, and was eager that the league should go forward quickly and be soon put into effect. Is assured thereby of his majesty's goodwill and affection towards the Queen.

Forbore to acquaint him with the doings of the French and Spanish kings and the state of foreign affairs, lest the knowledge in others about him did more harm than good.

Has endeavoured to assure himself of the King that he may so win others. All seem to like the amity, in words at least, but he will see their true feelings when he discloses the details, and trusts that he has in the meantime prevented all hindrance to the same.

Regrets that her majesty could not enlarge the pension to be offered, as the King was put in hope of 20,000 crowns by the Justice Clerk, and also because it gives the ill affected an advantage to work upon. Fears that thereby the King may be moved to disdain the sum as not fitting to the protestations of affection of her majesty, or his own reputation.

Considers the league so necessary, and is so fearful of acting in such a way as to break it up, that he has forborne so far to mention the matter of the pension until he hears the full answer of the Queen in the matter, which he trusts will be speedily procured. Weighing the

Elizabeth.
1585. matter of the heavy expense her majesty has been put to in Scotland, he considers that this may be the easiest way of preventing future unknown charges and mischiefs.

Incloses a copy of a letter from the Jesuit Parsons, to Holt, now in the country, which the Master of Gray obtained through the Irishman Burnaby, and gave to him to send. The Master requests him to again speak on behalf of that man [Burnaby], as one who might reveal momentous things to them, if he only might receive her majesty's grace.

The factions at Court become more heated every day.

Arran has made his peace with Bothwell by the mediations of his brother Sir William, who informed the King of a plot by 12 noblemen to kill the Earl [his brother].

Has written the above despatch at the request of the Master of Gray, and prays for a speedy reply to the same. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 17. **647.** WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

By reason of her majesty's repair to Theobalds for recreation, the articles of the league, which he promised to send, have been delayed. Informs him of this lest he should think some weightier reason was the cause.

The lords in exile having inquired the result of their petition to the King, has informed them that he [Wotton] was awaiting a fitting occasion to present it, at the advice of the Master of Gray. The Queen seems unwilling to pardon M'Geoghegan, but considering the Master of Gray's mediation, promises to approach her again on the subject when his health will permit him to follow the Court.

The Queen refuses to make further resolution regarding the pension, than what he has already communicated to him.

Has heard that David Chambers has been sent by Arran and others to the Duke of Guise, and advises him to find the reason.

Monsieur Segur has arrived from the King of Navarre, to lay before her majesty the dangerous state he is in, and to move for a loan of money and some contribution for the levying of forces in Germany. She refuses the loan, and offers only a small contribution, to his grief and that of others at home, who see how important it is to maintain so necessary an instrument against the Duke of Guise.

Desires him to arrange for Norton's return and giving him money for his expenses, which shall be repaid. His pardon shall be obtained afterwards, for though he has committed offences, he has lately shown a dutiful disposition towards her majesty, which demands some favour from her. The book set forth by the Guises, which he meant to inclose with his last letter, was not sent, as he had none left.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 19. **648.** EARL OF MORTON TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

" Having understand be ye just report of certen gude freyndis of your lordship's favorable courtesie towardis me, quhen as I may not speik in my awin defense aganis ye calumpneis of my adversaries, I do accounpt my self sa far bond to pleasor your lordship, yat quhen it sall please hes majestie to receave me in favoris as to wis your honor

Elizabeth.
1585. and weilfair with all ye help I can, and yairfor being assurit of your freyndship I thocht gude to communicate to your lordship a mater laitlie fallen oute by my expectaincie, and to demand your lordship's advise and assistance to ye fortherance yairoff, for that ye erlls of Arrane and Montrose hev offrit yair gude will and freyndship to me by ye mouth of Sir Williame Stewart of Monktoun and to move his majestie to owerpas thingis bygane on my part. Neveryeless I will not forget my dewtie in freyndship to yow, bot requyre your lordship's fortherance in ye same." Dumfries. *Signed:* Mortoune.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 19. **649.** LORD HERRIES TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

" The purpois of your last letter I haif causit it be assayit, quhilk is hard to tak effect schortlie as I will caus yow understand at meting. In ye menetyme yair is nothing yat is in ye power of ony heir bot it salbe at your commandiment, as ye sall haif occasione to put in pruiff. Thair is ane mater fallin furth unlukit for, and greit gude will offerrit, bot we knaw quaroff it proceidis. Alwayis my lord we will desyr yow hartlie to schaw your gude will, yat his majesties favour may be had, at quhilk tyme als greit help or greit care salbe maid, and yat onlie to your contentment, quhairoff Godwilling ye sall haif gude tryale as occasione sall neid. And giff ye releiff for ye present be suittit, as is promesit be thame, we dowte not bot ye will apply your gude will heirunto, althocht ye will mak yow to misknaw of thir proceidingis." Terreglis. *Signed:* Herys.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 22. **650.** SIR AMIAS POWLET TO WALSINGHAM.

C.P., vol. XV. I think myself greatly beholden to you for your liberal and friendly advertisements of your foreign and home proceedings by your letters of the 15th instant, some part whereof may serve me to good purpose in my conferences with this Queen, and I thank you the more for them, because I cannot be ignorant of your little leisure in this busy and dangerous time, which threatens so imminent perils as I trust will suffice to awake us, and will move us to shake off all security.

When our old and capital enemies of France are ruled and directed by our malicious adversaries of Lorraine, and they both assisted by our dissembling friend the Spaniard, it behoves us to provide for our own security by liberal support of Protestant princes abroad, and especially by the good amity of Scotland, the assurance whereof makes all things sure, and without which nothing can be assured, and therefore God forbid it should be refused for any reasonable price.

This Queen took the air in the garden here on the 18th instant, and the next morrow went abroad in her coach, so that now I think I shall be driven from henceforth to forget the gout, and to stand to my limbs.

I return to you inclosed herein Sir Edward Stafford's letters. *Signed:* A. Poulet.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Elizabeth.
1585.
June 22.

651. ROBERT CARVELL TO SIR JOHN FOSTER.

I thought it good to certify your lordship with such "courrance" as we have here. The Earl of Arran and the Master of Gray cannot agree, "but great disdaynynge betwexe them," yet notwithstanding my lord "enbassenger" finds the King and the Master of Gray and his friends to be addicted to the Queen in all demands. There are here two "enbassengers" in commission and a doctor of laws from the King of Denmark, who had an audience of the King on Sunday. The doctor made "a noreitione" in Latin of their demands before the King and his council. It was, that they might have again the "ellands of Horknae and Shetland," which were delivered to Scotland in payment of three score thousand ducats by reason of a marriage between James III. and a daughter of Denmark. Of that sum ten thousand ducats are paid, and the rest are to be paid presently, on receiving the islands. It is not known what answer the King will give. I will inclose the names of the "enbassengers" and all their train. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Robart Carvevill.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 286 b.

Extracts from the same.

June 23.

652. WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.

Sends him a report of the unnatural suicide of the Earl of Northumberland in the Tower, in case he should hear false bruits concerning it. The articles of the treaty, which he may be expecting, are not ready, owing to the lords not meeting, and some argument about the same. Promises he shall receive them in his next despatch.

The pardon of M'Geoghegan, requested by the Master of Gray, shall also be sent by special letter of her majesty. The Court. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

Postscript.—He will see what a treacherous and wicked issue the treaty between the French King and the leaguers has taken from the inclosed extract from a letter from Sir Edward Stafford.

½ *p. Partly in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed. No flyleaf.*

June 26.

653. EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Received a visit yesterday from the Secretary and Justice Clerk, who consider that when the articles of the league come they will be well received by his majesty. They will first see the articles themselves, and then prepare the King to like the same.

They consider that the conclusion of the league will necessitate the meeting of commissioners of account on the Borders, as also for the redress of the Border causes, and have decided that Arran shall be one, so as to [draw him from the King].

In the meantime the [Master] will endeavour to gain over the King [in his absence]. The Secretary will be a second. They themselves suggested that her majesty should appoint the Earl of Derby as a man of equal rank with Arran to answer him. They especially desired that Lord Hunsdon or any from the Border country should

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1585. not be chosen, but wished that Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Walter Mildmay might be the other two. [*In the margin.*] The Secretary greatly wished that he [Walsingham] might be one, if possible.

The place of meeting was desired to be in the East Marches to avoid the Maxwell troubles in the west, and they will undertake the ratification of the league by the States in Scotland, at the conclusion, by the commissioners. The Master of Gray will then repair to her majesty for her confirmation.

Was also informed by them that an ambassador from France was expected, but they hoped that the amity would be past danger when he arrived.

His [Walsingham's] last letter to the Secretary had won him over to be his friend, and he therefore advises he should be made use of, since he is both wise and honest. Dunfermline.

Since the finishing of the letter has had a further talk with the Secretary, who informs him that the King seems to conform to her majesty's choice of commissioners, "as quod the King 'if she name my lord of Derby I will appoint the Earl of Rothose, if she name my lord of Hunsdon then shall I name such a one,' whereby Arran may fortune be kept at home to do more harm," and men unfitted for the task be appointed.

To prevent that inconvenience he was desired to write that her majesty might require the King to appoint first, when they would urge him to name such persons best suited for the purpose —and she next appoint her commissioners. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

Postscript.—(1) Mr. Alexander has been at Dunfermline two days, and is to carry despatches from the King to her majesty, and also a despatch from himself [Wotton] with all occurrences since his letter of the 17th inst. His departure being uncertain, however, he thought it prudent to send him this private letter beforehand.

[Arran] seems eager to be one of the commissioners of the league now he cannot hinder it.

(2) The King is to depart for Falkland next Monday, and after a few days goes to St. Andrews.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. The words in brackets have been crossed through.*

June 26. **654.** ELIZABETH TO EDWARD WOTTON.

Sends to him certain articles, which, after consideration, she thinks good reason for a league between the King and herself in such perilous days, so full of danger. Therefore desires that he will impart them to the King and receive his opinion upon the same. If the King should wish to add anything more particularly touching himself or her side, then he should send notice of it to her without delay: likewise of anything he may not like in the clauses which they have set down.

1 *p. Draft. Partly in Walsingham's hand. Indorsed:* "From her majesty. Minute to Mr. Edward Wotton, esquire, ambassador with the King of Scotland."

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1585.
June 26.
Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 289.

655. SIR JOHN MAITLAND, SECRETARY OF SCOTLAND, TO [WALSINGHAM].

By your letter of the 17th inst. I received no small contentment, having thereby the assurance of intelligence between you and me, by the intercourse of letters till there fall out a good occasion for our meeting.

Although I have been to blame for my silence till I have been "interpelled," you shall find such correspondence and sincere good will in me as shall give effectual proof of how I have always been, and do continue affected to the continuance of the amity between the two crowns, and with what respect and reverence I do esteem you.

The anti-Christian confederacy and accursed covenant does now so manifestly "wter itself," that it is evident what has been long projected, and to what end such dissimulate treachery has tended, wherewith credulous princes have been long abused.

It were convenient—if it were possible—that by the means of the Queen your sovereign a general diet might be called of the commissioners of Christian princes professing God's truth, that some good resolution might be taken for obviating the dangerous designs of the common enemies; also, in the meantime, that this microcosm of Brittany may be fully united by the indissoluble amity of the two princes. To this I can bear record of a sincere disposition on the part of the King, my master, without all doubt of the like inclination in the Queen, your sovereign, whose mutual conformity must be entertained by our good offices.

Time should be gained and good occasions taken, lest by incidents which may fall out so happy a work may be retarded.

The Queen's ambassador, Mr. Edward Wotton, will impart to you more particularly my conceptions in this behalf, the issue of whose negotiations will declare how wisely and discreetly he has always carried himself since his arrival here.

I hope the progress in the amity between our two sovereigns may before long bring me the good fortune to see you in person. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Jo. Maitland.

1¼ *pp.*

June 27. **656. WALSINGHAM TO EDWARD WOTTON.**

The letter you receive herewith directs you to communicate to the King the articles of the treaty. If he or his Councillors should wish for a reform on any point, you shall show yourself willing to take their advice, having, as the importance of the cause demands, an open mind on the subject, though you shall conclude no matter without having her majesty's further opinion of the same. Her majesty desires you will sound the King's mind, and how he is disposed towards marriage, and recommend to him, as the most suitable choice both on account of his sincerity in religion and his amity to her majesty, the King of Denmark's daughter.

Her majesty desires to know whether you have had any conference with the Danish ambassador on that subject.

Since the Queen is desirous to draw into the league other princes professing their religion, for mutual defence against the common

Elizabeth.
1585. enemy, you shall work so that when ambassadors are to be sent for that purpose by her majesty to the princes, the King will send an ambassador also, or give full power to the Queen to authorise those sent by her to act in his name as well as hers. In this matter, however, you shall so proceed that the motion seem to come only from him. Greenwich.

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 27. **657.** THE MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

I have writtin at sutche lenthe to our freind, to you knoune, that I wil tuitche heir no thing of estat, only wil pray your honour that ye articles of ye league be sent hither withe the best expedition yat is possible, for tym is preciouse, the king is young, and many thair be to croie good proposis.

The Secretary wes mervelously contente with your laste lettre. You wil find him a verie honest gentleman.

I pray you for ansuer of ye requyst I maid for the poor erishe man Burnabe: if hir majestie be not as yit resolvit, it wil please your honour assist my requyst; for I have writtin presently sume thing in that purpose unto hir majestie and hoypis to speid.

Becaus I hard of sume evil reportis that came to court frome the borders I have writtin to my lord Hunsdoun, as I hoype you shall see, and lokis yat his honour wil prefer no man to me in theis pairtiss, seing I wil give place to no man in wisching the weil of the quene his souveraine hir estet.

I tak leve and committis your honour and my deir freind Sir Philip Sidney to God his holy protection. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Master of Gray.

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

June 27. **658.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Since my last despatch there has been a complaint of the spoiling of merchants of Edinburgh by English pirates at Lynn, and the sustaining thereby of grievous loss. The matter is taken especially ill at this time of pretended amity by the English. The bailiffs and officers of Edinburgh went to the King with the parties interested, desiring leave to seek their own amends by way of "mart." I consider that their loss is not so great as they make it—a thousand marks—but advise you of the point at the King's desire. Understanding that two of the pirates have been taken at Scarborough and sent to York, I have despatched one of the merchants thence to assist in the examination of them.

The Danish ambassadors, Mandrepus a Parsberg, Henricus Billon and Doctor Nicholaus Theophilus the secretary and speaker for the rest, had audience of the King on Sunday. The message was that James III. of Scotland received on his marriage with Margaret, daughter of the King of Denmark, 60,000 florins, of which 10,000 were paid, and the Isles of Orkney and Shetland were engaged as surety for payment of the remainder. These islands the Kings of Denmark have often sought to redeem from the Queen of Scots when she was in France by letters sent to Henry II. the French King, afterwards by other letters sent to

Elizabeth.
1585. the Duke of Chastelherault her regent, and since demanded from the Earl of Murray during the King's minority. The King now having taken the government into his own hands, the same demand was made by their master, the money to redeem the islands being ready.

The Secretary answered in the King's name that he thanked them for their words of kindness, and would consider with his council, whom they should convene for that purpose. St. Andrews is the place appointed, and I suppose that they will receive their answer there. It was thought that England was concerned with their coming, but I hear that they were six weeks on the sea coming hither, and had heard nothing of Mr. Bodley before their departure. The King has lately heard that the distressed lords in England are at liberty, and gain intelligence of matters which should be kept from them. I informed him that what her majesty promised would assuredly be done, and showed him that it was impossible to keep from them, although they were so straitly kept, all manner of intelligence, his mother being another example of the same. Besides, her majesty did not consider that they were guilty of the crime of which they were accused. The King answered that although he did not think them guilty of the crime against his own person, yet if it were intended against one near to or favoured by him, he considered it in a manner against himself. I replied that I thought that a hard construction in this country, where the people were so accustomed to private feuds. He still has a hard opinion of them however.

The letter from the King to her majesty, and Mr. Alexander's report, will express the gratitude of the King for the present of horses from her to himself.

I daily await the articles of the league, lest their delay should breed suspicion here. The King is still constant. He is offended that the English Grahams are still with Lord Maxwell, and urges me to write to her majesty that they may be revoked. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 27. **659. EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.**

The factions at this Court still doubt each other, and I think, if I were once out of the country, the one side would soon get a hit or a miss, as they term it. Montrose and Colonel Stewart still stand with Arran, who is about the King, sometimes breathing out his malice against the other, sometimes practising to discover them by private conference, and other times dealing with the King to take up the matter between them.

Arran fears the return of the lords above everything. I know not whether the King anticipates that I am to deal for them, but he said that her majesty might command him in any way, except on that point. I have written more fully in the general letter of the speech I had with him about them. He thought they and he were born under contrary planets, and could never live together in the same country.

The lords however must have patience, and means will be found to remove their distress when the league is concluded. If I were not here it would not be long in doing. Fair offers have been made

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1585. by Arran to Lord Maxwell through his brother Sir William Stewart. The Secretary thinks it is to prevent his attempting anything with the lords, but the Master of Gray thinks it is to win him, that he may discover something against himself, and place him in disgrace. The master says that Maxwell is on his side however.

I have put down by itself the other matter in the inclosed paper, that you may acquaint her majesty with the same, or dispose of it otherwise.

Sir William Stewart has lately apprehended Hector Douglas, commonly called "Red Ecky" Douglas, supposed to be one of those who should have attempted against the King. He is to be examined here, and it is thought he may divulge matters to their advantage.

Mr. Alexander's expenses have far exceeded his allowance, and I think he is extraordinarily bound to you. I mean by Sir Thomas Heneage's means to give him some allowance. Dunfermline. *Signed:* Edward Wotton.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. **660.** COPY OF THE ACT SUBSCRIBED BY THE LORDS AND ESTATES OF SCOTLAND.

Understanding the course of present proceedings in foreign parts, and that divers princes terming themselves Catholics have joined under the Pope's authority against the true religion and the professors thereof, they think it expedient and necessary for their common safety and peaceable enjoyment of the blessings vouchsafed to them that all princes professing the same true religion should band themselves together, especially the two states of Scotland and England.

They therefore grant to their King James VI. and his council their full assent to treat and conclude the said league with the Queen of England, and to nominate commissioners to meet commissioners from her majesty at a time and place to be appointed, for the arranging of the same; provided always that the said league be made without prejudice to any other former league or alliance between the realm of Scotland and any other, except in matters of religion. On this they agree, that the league shall be both offensive and defensive. St. Andrews.

1 *p. Broadsheet. No indorsement.* [*With S. P. Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. xxxvii. No. 111.*]

June 30. **661.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Since your honour desires to know the cause on which Arran grounds his quarrel, the case is as follows. After my first audience of his majesty Lady Arran sent one Eustace to visit me, with a message that if I wished my negotiations to turn out well I should send for her husband, and address myself to him first. Otherwise I should be deceived. I replied that I was beholden to her for her advice, but that I could not send for one of the councillors without sending for all, as such a course is not usual among ambassadors at their first visit. If Arran would come to visit me as others of the King's council had done, he should be very welcome however.

After the departure of Eustace I considered that he might misrepresent my meaning, or that Lady Arran might give out that I had

Elizabeth.
1585. sent for her husband, and so cause me to be accused of double dealing. I therefore sent to inform the Master of Gray of my reply, and he told it to the King, thinking thereby to disgrace her. The King examined Arran as to whether he was privy to such a foolish message, but he denied all knowledge of it. His [Arran's] credit with the King is not so good as it was, but not as small as I would wish. The Master of Gray is in great favour, and lately has obtained leave for the constable of Dundee, banished into Denmark, one of Arran's greatest enemies, to return, and enjoy his lands. He has obtained a like favour for the Laird of Wemyss. If the King run a "bycourse" with France I cannot "skill" of it, but will then think him the greatest perjurer and dissembler and veriest fool in the world.

Arran hates the Justice Clerk, and I think he loves the Secretary little better. The Master of Gray and I think the latter is sound, and the wisest man in Scotland, well affected in religion and worth winning. I am sorry credit is given to Cuddye's [Armourer] speeches: he is for Arran, and I think not to be trusted. Falkland. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 30. **662.** EDWARD WOTTON TO WALSINGHAM.

From your letters of the 28th of this month you seem to marvel that the nobles do not combine, and through their common dislike, seek to remove Arran from the King by way of justice, to which I have thought good to answer. It was at the first intended, as you know, to take him away by violence, but that being thought dangerous, it was resolved, to comfort each other, to have an eye to Arran's proceedings, for the purpose of effectuating the league. I have observed the Master of Gray, the Secretary and the Justice Clerk acquit themselves therein very honestly. After the ratification of the league it is thought fittest to deal for the distressed lords, and to remove Arran, by the course of which you write, or, if that fail, then by force. To deal for the lords beforehand, seeing the King is so much against them, would be advantageous to Arran, dangerous to the league, besides, preposterous. I hold it expedient that all moderate ways be first tried, and myself retired, and that the King be not forced.

I think the league the most important thing, at present, and wish it were concluded. They think here that the attempting of what I am here for would breed an evil impression of her majesty on the King, who as yet has a very good opinion of her and myself.

I still think the King is soundly inclined to the league and the amity with the Queen before all other princes. The secretary is also of like mind with me. If her majesty, for more assurance of him, should hereafter like to embark the King by any action against the Guises, or against France or Spain, I know that this man with the Master of Gray will be ready to bring it to pass.

I have already written of the Maxwell matter, in which the King took no part. When Sir William Stewart told his majesty of the dealings with him, he replied that he would capitulate with none of his subjects. The Master's letter sent herewith will further inform you. As for Farnihurst and Manderston, the first has joined the Master of Gray against Arran, and the other is of little account.

I cannot think Chesholm or Patin had command to say anything

Elizabeth.
1585. from the King, who told me that when Chesholm departed he requested his majesty's letter to the Duke of Guise, but he refused it to him. Thereby I give less credit to the Bishop of Glasgow's speeches.

Nothing is known of the man David Chambers, nor the matters he handles.

The Master [of Gray] has lately obtained the recall of the constable of Dundee from Denmark, and the like for the Laird of Wemyss out of France, against Arran's will. Falkland. *Signed:* Edwarde Wotton.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Partly in cipher.*

ADDENDA.

Elizabeth. 1584–5. Jan. 12.

663. MONSIEUR NAU TO MONSIEUR FONTENAY.

Her majesty has received divers despatches from you, whereof I have not leisure to separate the dates. The two last were, one of the 15th of August, which came by way of France and was received during my sojourn in London, not yet deciphered; the other of the 25th of November, which was delivered to me since my return hither and all of which I have seen, having had very great pleasure to hear by your said last letter that you have borne yourself so prudently and modestly over there, amid the troubles and thorny difficulties through which it has behoved you to pass: whereof I assure you that her majesty rests infinitely satisfied and content, esteeming your duty and service in this respect so much the more because it has been so laborious and difficult to you.

And foreseeing that on the return of Gray—the history whereof I will tell you another time—the King may resume his former vacillations, I thought it would be best for you to solicit leave to depart, if you have not already obtained it before the reception of the present, you being only charged to procure the resolution of the King on those two points whereof the Queen writes to you, without otherwise taking upon you to press or urge it upon him too instantly. The rest is remitted to those whom you have named, and the whole especially addressed to the Secretary Maitland, to whom a commission is sent for all of them, as well to treat of the association as to provide in general for the affairs of the Queen there; and thus you will rest honestly discharged thereof. But if you see a certain appearance that the King be for yielding to the intentions of the Queen, especially for carrying out the association, do not deprive yourself by your departure of the honour which is due to you for having prosecuted it so vigorously all this time. The Queen is writing you a letter with her own hand, expressly that you may show it to the King; and another to himself, whereof you shall keep the copy, confirming and ratifying as well your articles as all your negotiations there: which is sufficient for your discharge; for to have sent back the said articles out of cipher would be dangerous, and in cipher it would authorise you to nothing more, and it is a thing which you might do yourself. If you have need of a ratification on parchment I will send it you forthwith.

Tell Fentrey that by a letter which Gray has written to the Queen he threatens strongly to have him driven out of Scotland and sent back to the Jesuits, by whom he says that he was sent, and upon whom he depends entirely; calling him a babbler and false tattler, with divers other like indignities, as well of him as of Glasgow and the Jesuits. But let Fentrey beware of taking notice of it under your name, but under that of the Queen, as if she had informed him; as she would do if she had leisure to write to him. I think that the said Gray has also brought little result from his negotiation in any thing whereof he has

Elizabeth.
1584–5. treated but the money remaining in his purse, having been constrained to leave his jewels behind him in pawn. And I assure you in one word that he has brought back nothing but wind. I am allowed to go to Scotland if the King does not reply resolutely to the letters which the two Queens lately wrote to him touching the association and his conjunction with the Queen his mother in a treaty. But as affairs are at present handled there, I have no wish to engage myself therein much, to bring back, peradventure, a shameful reply at this time if things are too much urged, and therefore I have found it more fitting to wait till time bring us some change in the present humour of the King, rather than by urging him too much to make him declare that which he will not be able hereafter to revoke or undo, being on the foundation of the common affairs between the Queen and him. The note here inclosed will satisfy the requests which you have made for many things concerning your private affairs. Her majesty sends you an order for 500 crowns for the surplus of your journey, for which you will not forget to thank her by the first opportunity; for if ever a poor servitor was obliged to his queen and mistress you are infinitely so to her. For the confidence that she has in you she wishes to have you near her, and has made request therefor; but do not let any one know until it be granted; also I would like to know whether you will be content therewith before pursuing it more urgently. I hope in good sooth more than ever for the liberty of her majesty: for of all the articles which I have negotiated to this effect with the Queen of England and the Lords of her council there remain but two in doubt, the which I think at last to accommodate. Meanwhile her majesty goes to-morrow to Tutbury, a house of the Queen her good sister, where all things are in readiness to treat her very honourably, not only in furniture worthy of her, and ordinary treatment corresponding with the household she now holds, an increase whereof has been granted to me; but also to take henceforward all the exercise requisite for the preservation of her health, as well on foot as on horseback: and thus from this happy commencement, proceeding little by little from good to better, I hope in the month of May to see some end to our ills, which, having taken root for sixteen years and more, cannot be effaced and uprooted in the six weeks that I have been with the Queen of England, who has written to her majesty with her own hand, breaking the vow and oath which she had made fourteen years ago and observed ever since, not to write to her with her hand. I have obtained right from the Countess of Shrewsbury, in the presence of the said Queen, for the false rumours which she had caused to be sown against the honour of her majesty, which she has publicly retracted. Wingfield. *Signed:* Nau.

2¾ *pp. French. Indorsed:* "A Albert xij^me^ Janvier 1585. Nau to Fontenay. Subscribed by Nau 25 September 1586."

Jan. 13. **664. Angus, Mar and the Master of Glamis to Elizabeth.**

Cott. Calig., C. VIII., fol. 227. "May it pleis your majeste, we haif resavit by Mr. Colvile your majestes gratius letter and credeit committit to him concerning our remoif and comfort send wnto ws. Of the comfort we most humblie thank your majeste. Bot concerning our remoif we mervell muche

Elizabeth.
1584–5. yat your majeste wald assent tharunto befor we wer acquentit tharwyth. Notwythstanding we are noct to refuse ony suche matter proponit wnto ws by your highnes, bot in all humilite we ar to lay befor your majeste suche impedimentis as vald be considderit befor our remoif, humblie craving of your highnes considder tharupon as apertenethe. For first our freindis at home quho hes sufferit muche for our caus and in resone aucht to be acquentit wyth our proceedingis will tak it in evill part gif wythout thair privauty we sall remoif. Nixt the necessite of our freindis heir is suche, and we so evill provydit to releif thame, that except it may pleis your majeste ether considder moir bountifully upon ws, orellis grant ws sum respett of tyme to provyd for thame by other meanis our remoif can noct be bot to our schame, quhiche we wald avoyd so far as we mycht. Also sum of our awin personis ar noct at this tyme in werey good disposition to travell. And gif thair wer no other resone bot the gravite of this matter—quhiche semis to ws the moir obscuir because it is fallin out by our expectation—we trust that resone allone suld be sufficient to move your majeste grant ws sum laser to advyse tharupon."

"Morover we are credibilly informit that ane monethe ago our unfreindis in Scotland and sum passing by this way spak in derision that thai suld put ws lyik childring to the scoolis at Oxfurd: quhiche is no small grief to ws in respect by theis spechis the devyise semis to haif procedit from thame that can noct stand wythout our destruction."

"Theis impedimentis in all humilite we lay befor your majeste, noct mynding to use thame for refusall of our [your] majestes request, bot all anerly to inform your highnes of our present estait; hoping assurilly to find suche favour as that the petitions of our enemies, abusaris of our soverane in ony matter or centention, sall noct be assentit wnto by your majeste befor we—or sum [in] our name—be hard to resone for our awin part."

"We most humlie pray your majeste considder that none hes bein imployit from the Kingis majeste our soverane to deill wyth your highnes concerning ws, bot suche as hes possessit thair selvis wyth our heritage, thristis our blood and seikis our destruction, quhatsoever thai pretend, and gif thai had puissance your majeste myct be assured to drink of the same coop. Thai may weill promise largly to your majeste, bot heirtofor thai haif never bein so fayetfull* to this estait as we haif bein, nor heirefter—by Goddis grace—salbe habill to go befor ws in that behalf—our allegeance reservit to our soverane. In most humle craving your majestes favorabill anser to the premissis in all humilite we tak our leif." Newcastle. *Signed:* Angus J. Mar. Tho. Mr. Gl[ammis].

1½ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.*

1585.
May 15. **665.** LAIRD OF JOHNSTON TO [ ].

"Ryct traist freind efter hertlie commendation, I am advertissit that ye Lord Maxwell thinkis to be within our countrey schortly, for ye quhich causs I will desyre zow to meit me at ye kirk of Appilgarthe ye Mownday nixt at ten houris beffoire noone, and bring witt zow all yat ze may maike bayth on fute and horse witt 48 houris provisionis, that we may be able to deffend our selffis fra his invasion. Lat yis

Elizabeth.
1585. letter serve, for Will of Reidhull quhome ze sall warne, and for all yame of Gretnoy hill lyckwise yat will do for zow. The rest to meiting, and God preserve zow." Lochmaben Castle. *Signed:* Johnestone.

Postscript.—" I pray zow be nott furgetffull of the poudir and do delegence for getting off the sam."

⅓ *p. Postscript holograph. No address or indorsement.*

May 18. C. P., vol. XV. **666. Monsieur la Rue to Mary.**

I do not doubt that your majesty has occasion to complain that I have been so long time without writing to your majesty, seeing indeed the rumour which is current in France, and you will think that I have been so remiss as to forget your majesty although you have done me the honour to write me so nobly to my very great contentment, and to send me a new alphabet very secure as a testimony of the assurance your majesty had of my fidelity; which I received the third of———.

It so happened that being at Pont a Mousson the first day of——— I left on the fourth. However, madam, I hope that on hearing my very just and humble excuses and the faithful duty I have used towards your majesty you will take all in good part.

I left Paris to go to Rome as I wrote to your majesty. From Rome moreover I wrote to your majesty the holy admonitions that the Pope made your majesty to keep you from having any confederacy with the Queen of England.

I left Rome the 18th of———, and since I have never stayed in one place but always perpetually travelling, for the most part in post.

I returned from Rome by the Swiss [les Suisses] where I have been twice, both to treat of the league and to be assured of the number of footmen that they desired at Pont a Mousson at the day abovesaid.

From there I went to see the Duke of Guise at Joinville, who sent me in post to see the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise and to Mons. de Nevers, to make them partakers of the news that I had brought. Who immediately sent me again in post to Rome, passing by Joinville to take instructions from the Duke of Guise with the despatch for Rome. Who made all into one journey to go to the Duke of Savoy before he went into Spain, to the Duke of Nemours and his wife, who was very glad to hear somewhat at length of your affairs, &c.: another to return by Germany to the Emperor and to all the Catholic Princes Electors.

Having arrived at Rome the Pope despatched me in two days, giving me letters in invisible ink of recommendation into Germany.

After which recommendations returning to Chalons, where the Duke of Guise was, in a day and a half he despatched me again into Germany to the same abovesaid Princes, from whom I have brought back so trustworthy a negotiation that all are content therewith, and for that reason they press me again to return to the same Princes and especially to the Emperor and all the house of Austria who are five or six princes, and all the Catholic Princes and Bishops of Germany. By this, madam, your majesty can consider that it has been impossible for me to be able to write, having no alphabet with me for fear of being surprised. These were the reasons, madam, why I often said to your majesty that if I

Elizabeth.
1585. were here I could do more service to your majesty and more profit to the church than by staying there uselessly shut up which was breaking my heart, that I could do more service to your majesty in a matter the most misunderstood that could be for your service and consolation.

But, madam, think you that I write these things to your majesty to glorify myself? No, no, madam, to God be the glory for it, but in order that you might know the reputation that I have acquired towards the Princes for the honour of God, how they thought seriously that I am faithful and reliable and that I handle sincerely the affairs of the church, of God, and yours as much as is possible to me: assuring you of the faithful witness I have borne to all the Princes of your majesty, and to repel the calumnies of the malevolent and the defamatory books which come daily out of England against your majesty from those who have betrayed you,—and to make your majesty partaker of that negotiation to which I have always joined yours, and that it was the special means to aid you, for which respect I have the more willingly undertaken labours and travails. So long as I shall live I will hazard my life for your help and consolation, having too vehement an apprehension of your miseries imprinted on my understanding. However, madam, I require secrecy and silence from your majesty.

The negotiation then, madam, is such that the Cardinal de Bourbon united with the house of Guise, seeing Monsieur dead and that the King of Navarre aspired to the crown, and that the mignons were overthrowing the state, they have resolved to purge France again of heresy and to reestablish the state in its integrity, and not daring to undertake it if they had not assurance of aid from without and even the authority of the Pope, on account of its not being agreeable to their King, we have obtained the consent of the Pope and the approbation of all the abovesaid Princes, and above all of the King of Spain, of the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara and of the Swiss Catholics.

The Duke of Bavaria and the Archbishop of Cologne shew themselves true Catholic Princes; and now we are on the point of making a league among all the Catholic Princes for the universal extirpation of all heresies; which is the reason that they wish to send me back into Germany.

But because through these great labours I feel myself very weak, I am endeavouring to excuse myself and to retire into Spain to recover my health a little, and there are already ten or twelve days that we delay whilst they are treating with the Queen Mother who is nine leagues off near Chalons, having before that stayed five weeks at Espernay.

Matters are in these terms at present. The Duke of Guise has in his hands the town of Lyons with the citadel and all the Lyonnais, Dauphiné, Vivarais, Provence, Burgoyne, Champagne except Troze which is burnt, Picardy, the half of Normandy, Angiers, Nevers, Montargis, and Chartres taken twelve days since; Orleans, which has made a league offensive and defensive with the Duke of Guise.

He has also Bourges, all Brittany, which Mons. de Mercure holds, Bordeaux and many other places which are burning. Thoul and Verdun have been taken by the Duke of Guise, as Meziers and Peronne by Mons. d'Aumale and Rouen by Mons. d'Elbeuf. Sansac and St. Luc do marvels on their side. The Queen of Navarre has taken three

Elizabeth.
1585. towns from her husband and fortifies herself against him. Brissac demonstrates that it is truly Catholic. Madam de Montpensier is invincible in the expenditure she makes.

The Duke of Guise has eleven thousand ritters, 8000 lance knights. 8000 Swiss, ten regiments of French, and as many as he will, a good number of French horse, of Italians, Flemings, Walloons, Ardenois.

The Duke of Savoy returned into Savoy has promised to besiege Geneva.

The Prince of the Genevois will come to the Duke of Guise with a great company. The total of footmen and horsemen of the Duke of Guise will be more than 36,000 men led by three of the bravest and oldest captains of France. As it were all the nobility of Lorraine is mingled therein.

The mignons are in despair. Espernon strangled some worms that the King could not cure, and before two months if there is no change he will die.

Joyeuse is thought to have been maimed by a horse; he is dead and gone like the horse of the Apocalypse. I will send you willingly a printed declaration of the causes which have moved the Catholic Princes to take up arms; but I will not venture [to describe] a matter so well set out in writing, that all the Catholics are content therewith, and the King, who can only repeat how he has been marvellously troubled from the commencement, and has seemed to wish to work wonders to hinder all; but he has not been able to find any one to serve him. He wanted to send Chomberg into Germany to levy troops, but he was taken with 17 horse. Finally he has sent to the Queen Mother the *carte blanche* to be presented to the Catholic Princes approving all that they have done, praising God that he has had councillors, kinsmen and servants who have been so well advised as to deliver him at so great travail.

However, we are not without fear of deception, although he offers all that is desired. One has to conclude as follows,—that all the heretics will be extirpated, and that no Prince suspected of heresy will have access to the Crown. Then the Catholic Princes will have safety in knowing that with the government of Champagne the Duke of Guise will have Metz, Thoul, and Verdun; the Duke of Mayne with Burgundy Lyon and the citadel; the Duke d'Aumale Picardy, the Duke d'Elbeuf Normandy, the Duke de Mercure Brittany; which will be good to assist your majesty. The King will declare himself the head. He will not be able to make peace without the consent of the Catholic Princes, who have sworn never to make it until all the heretics are exterminated. The house of Guise will have charge of the army. The King will approve all edicts concerning the Catholic religion. The Council of Trent will be admitted. All leagues with heretics, English, Flemish, Turks will be broken. Will your majesty say, what profit shall I have therefrom? I tell you, madam, that besides that the Duke of Guise is better affectioned than ever to your cause, Mons. de Menville who is the sole and principal agent for Cardinal de Bourbon and the Duke of Guise with the King of Spain and the Queen Mother and who signs all agreements, &c. I persist, that in any agreement with the King of France it be inserted that he will not hinder but help that your majesty may be delivered, and England and Scotland be at your profit, as the Pope

Elizabeth.
1585. willed, on condition that the King of Scotland your son become Catholic. We are also after that the Duke of Guise send some one to the King of Scotland your son to communicate matters to him, to offer him to be a partaker in the league and to take its side for his assurance.

The letters that your majesty has written, that they only hoped for love and good affection with the Queen of England, have much scandalised the Pope and all the Catholics Princes, who are becoming very cold towards your majesty; as has also a league which has been divulged between the Queen of England, the King of Scotland, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, made at Heidelberg. However, I have always advised that it was opportune dissimulation and falsehood. This has not passed without producing suspicion of some here that they were not sufficiently circumspect in handling your affairs.

They have failed to help you; but those to whom you entrust your affairs have not been sufficiently faithful, as the Catholic Princes have recognised, who have great regret that your affairs go so ill for want of good intelligence; and that this has been added to the rest of your afflictions, to lean too much upon those who have deceived you. I was advertising your majesty faithfully, but my reasons were suppressed and judged null, saying that I was deceiving myself, your majesty knowing that I proceed straightforwardly.

Will your majesty ask the remedy? Madam, I give it you as one of the most zealous and affectionate whom you could desire for your honour, greatness, and welfare. It is that first your majesty should demand as one of the chief Princes of Europe to be admitted and incorporated into this holy league, and that you should cause it to be intimated to the new Pope, Sixtus the Fifth, Cardinal de Montalto, an honest and virtuous man. That above everything you write of it to the Duke of Guise. Lean entirely upon him and seek no other than the house of Lorraine, maintaining however with all goodwill underhand. Practise as usual with the good Catholics of England. Take pains that in Scotland your son is well informed and send him good ministers,—for all those you have sent in the past have caused much discontent.

People are very sorry that the good intelligence between you and the King your son is cooled even by those to whom you most entrust your affairs. One knows well the reason why Gray has played false.

They are very sorry for the taking of the Earl of Arundel and that in everything everywhere your affairs are discovered.

They have wished it to be believed that the priests and ecclesiastics were not sufficiently secret and competent; by the grace of God no fault has yet come through them. But, madam, above all things unite yourself to God and the Catholic Princes, and with the grace of God all shall be remedied. I entreat you, madam, to take this little advertisement in good part as from him who is very well affectioned to you in God.

I have heard what has happened to poor Mr. Morgan; if he would have believed me he would have absented himself long ago.

At this very instant it is fallen into suspicion that the Queen Mother is only abusing the world to hinder or retard affairs, and that the King will scarcelv agree to what he had promised and what is demanded,

Elizabeth.
1585. that is to say the town of Metz, the government of Normandy and Picardy.

All the rest is assured. The mignons waste all. It will be great misery to the King of France if he does not do his duty. They are always after putting to death the Duke of Guise, as he has had certain advertisement from many Chalons.

5 *pp. French. In Thomas Phelippes's hand. Indorsed by him.*

Copy of the same. (*No. 67.*)

Extract from the same. (*No. 64.*)

June. THE BISHOP OF GLASGOW TO MARY.

C.P., vol. XVIII.

All the finances of France are not sufficient to satisfy two persons. Moreover, in order to please them all the rest of France is of no repute. This evil is so great, and the ulcer so ready to burst, that a very dangerous revolution is to be feared.

$\frac{1}{8}$ *p. French. Intercepted July 1586.*

June 14. **667.** SPEECHES BETWEEN BOTHWELL AND SIR WILLIAM STEWART.

"Sir William Stewart demandit quhat suld be ye occasioun of ye drynes betuix my lord of Arrane and me, quhome to I ansserit, 'Ye innumerable brekis of his freindship nevir desservit be me.' He replyes, 'quhat gif all thais may be tane awey, are ye no willing to entir in freindship as of befor?' I ansserit, 'be quhat maner?'"

"He ansserit, 'I sall caus him oblise himself to get yow ye Kingis Majesteis presens, ye, or his majestie go ovir ye wattir. In doing yat I suld acquyt my lord of Arrane as it apertenit. Alweyis ar ye noct willing to entir in ane suir band of freindship with him?' I ansserit yat I culd noct nor wuld noct entir with him quha had sa shamefullie broken his feyth and promes, till first he obtenit me your majesteis presens, at quhilk tyme I suld entir with him as he had dessirit at my handis. 'Weill I knaw quhat makis yow sa hard to entir in frendship with him.' 'Quhat is that?' 'I knaw yer is ten or tuelf of yow bandit and confedderat to ye slauchter of ye erle of Arrane.' 'Gif ye will say that I am bandit, or yat I knaw ony utheris to be bandit in his contrar, in yat I will say ye leid, and gif I had knawin I suld nevir haif bene participent of na Stewartis skayth or bluid.'"

"Alweyis I knaw yow to be enterit of new with sum quha hettis him derelie.' 'Quha ar theis?' 'Ye knaw better yan I.'

"'It becummis me noct to mak ony acquittance bot of my awin free will.' 'Alweyis ar ye noct in freindship with ye Maister of Gray?' 'I am.' 'And ye Secretar?' 'I haif na uyer occasioun.' 'Yit I knaw ye favour yam best of ony man.'

"'Trewlie it is of treuth, and sall fortefie and assist yam in all yair honest caussis aganis all men, his majestie onelie exceptit.' 'Weill ar ye noct in freindship with my lord of Montrois?' 'Hout,' 'hout' 'quha devill I haif to do with my lord of Montrois bot in ane commosion maner.'

Elizabeth.
1585. " ' Alweyis to returne to our purpois, knaw ye na thing of yair pretenses in my broyeris contrar ? I pray yow tell me and gif me your advise and counsals.' ' As to knaw ony thing to be done in his contrar, be God I am noct participent in no wayis, bot yis fer I knaw him to haif ane small mislyking of ye haill nobilitie and barronis of yis realme, sua yat all ye haill cuntre war it devydit in tuenteis, I am assurit yair wald noct be skarslie ane of ilk tuentie yat wald wishe him weill.'

" ' Than gif me your counsale how it may be mendit.' ' Be yis onelie ane moyen—*Prestat sero sapere quam nunquam*,—wait ye quhat yat is bettir lait theyf nor nevir.'

" ' Thairfor my counsale is yat gif he be willing to conques ye hartis of thois quhilk is losit, he may be of ane new conversacion, he may leif brybere and extraordiner extorsioun boyth of riche and puir, and cast him to win noble mennis hartis, or ellis he will noct faill to lycht in ye myre.'

" ' My lord I will noct truble your lordship ony langer, bot I will go to my lord of Arrane and sall caus him satisfie yow for all his bigane offenssis quhilk gif he faill to do I sall yan quyt my self of him and bind me to youris aganis all quhatsumevir.'

" ' Sir, I thank yow hartfullie.' " So we endet on Sonday at thrie efter none or yerby.

" On Monday in ye morning, movit be quhat motioun I knaw noct quher to sie his luif or movit be sum extraordiner occasion, he addressit himself to Cretoun quher noct having commoditie we delayit our haill conferrance quhill we wer on horsbak cuming to Edinburgh quher begenthe to entir in respective of our former purpose and begenthe sua—' My lord gif your lordship wald tell ye treuth to ye Kingis majestie of all thingis ye wald yet his presens.' I ansserit ' Be God, sa far as I knaw.' "

" ' Than may I say to ye Kingis majestie yat ye will declair to his majestie yon tuelf noblemen quha ar confedderat and bandit to tak my lord of Arrane's lyff, or at leist to debar him his majesteis chois, or may I say it in your name ? '

" ' In my name ? ' I ansserit, befor Mr. Robert Hepburne, quha hard ye haill purpois, ' this I will say it to ye Kingis majestie in your name.' ' Na, and ye say it, be Goddis body I will say yat ye leid lyk ane knaif in saying of it.' ' Zit I may say yat ye ar bandit wit ye Master of Gray and ye Secreter ? ' ' Na, nather, fer and ye say that yit ye lie, bot say that I esteme of ye Master of Gray and ye Secreter as my maist speciale freindis and that say.' "

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Vol. I.—1306—1424.	Vol. V.—1580—1593.	Vol. IX.—1634—1651.
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