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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION

THIS volume covers the period from 14 March, 1588–9 to 3 January, 1592–3. The 'Affair of the Brig of Dee,' the marriage of King James VI., his plan to secure peace in western Europe, the exploits of the 'Madcap' Earl of Bothwell and the failure of administration at home, the Catholic plottings which culminated in the 'Spanish Blanks' —these are the chief events with which it deals. Their main outline has already been traced, and many of the documents printed herein used, by Tytler and later general historians of the reign of James VI.; but there is now presented to the student a wealth of detail for one of the most complicated periods of Scottish history. 1588–89.

The defeat of the Armada did not free Scotland from the danger of Spanish intrigues. Towards the end of February, 1589, the English Privy Council forwarded to William Asheby, the English ambassador in Scotland, for the information of King James, certain intercepted letters from the Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Errol, and other Catholics to the King of Spain and the Duke of Parma.[1] In these letters the Earls and their fellow conspirators lamented the defeat of the Armada and promised to share in another attempt against England if 6,000 Spaniards were landed in Scotland. 'Good Lord,' wrote Queen Elizabeth to James, 'methinks I do dream: no king a week could bear this.'

Personal and political reasons, however, precluded James from taking the drastic action for which she looked. He had 'a strange extraordinary affection to Huntly,'[2] and was loth to believe that his own convert to Protestantism had gone so soon astray. 'Ar thir the fruictis of zour new conversioun?' he wrote to his erring proselyte.[3] Surrounded by high and mighty subjects, closely intermarried, whose 'wickedness' and 'evil natures,' he declared, rendered

[1] *Ante*, vol. ix., pp. 682 *et seq.* [2] P. 3. [3] *Ante*, vol. ix., p. 700.

1589. him 'weary of his life among them,'[1] the King was afraid lest stern measures should lead to 'everlasting feuds.' Huntly was the leader of a strong faction opposed to Chancellor Maitland who, though enjoying the King's confidence, was weak in influence among the nobles. Nor could the King of Scotland count or rely too openly upon English help. The relations of James and Maitland, his minister, with England were suspect, and provided many of the Scottish nobility with a reason or an excuse for opposition or neutrality. Astuteness rather than force must be the guiding principle of the royal policy.

Accordingly, while Errol and other conspirators fled, Huntly was committed to Edinburgh Castle where the King paid him a daily visit and treated him as an intimate friend. When, however, he was restored to the command of the royal guard, Maitland, who had agreed to 'spare the prosecutynge of the matter agaynst Huntley for treason,' declared that he would no longer serve His Majesty.[2] After much discussion in the Council, it was resolved that Huntly should be deprived of his command and retire within three or four days to his own territory in the north.[3] On the following day, while hunting with the King, he united with the Earl of Errol and the Earl of Bothwell in attempting to persuade James to accompany them to 'some newtour place' by false reports of a tumult in Edinburgh. 'We thatt were the beholderes,' wrote Roger Aston, 'were in doutt a long tyme whatt waye we should take. . . It came to this extremety thatt the Kinge offred rather to dye there then to goe with them.' Huntly retired northwards, whither he was followed by Errol, Crawford, Montrose, Bothwell, and other conspirators.[4] The King still hesitated to strike. Even the evidence of Pringle who had intercepted the incriminating letters failed to convince him of Huntly's guilt.[5]

It was the plotting of the Earl of Bothwell that stirred the King to action. The nephew of Queen Mary's third husband, he had already an evil reputation which was to increase with the years. 'Bothwell is a man that doeth

[1] P. 11. [2] P. 4. [3] P. 5. [4] Pp. 5-10. [5] Pp. 17-18.

great hurt,' Asheby reported, 'a maintainer of all disordered persons both by sea and land. . . The King and all good men are weary of him.'[1] Described as of 'no religion,' though posing as a Protestant, he now sided with the Catholic confederates.[2] Making his way south, he gathered his Borderers at Kelso, and made them a long harangue in which he pictured the King as a prisoner, forced to pursue an English policy by Chancellor Maitland who had been bought by English gold.[3] On 6 April, as part of a concerted plan with his confederates in the north, he attempted to surprise the King while hunting near Edinburgh and to capture Maitland and his supporters.[4] James, whose antipathy to Bothwell seems to have been as strong as his liking for Huntly, vowed vengeance on the man who had attempted to do 'a myscheffe apon the soddeyn.'[5] As for the other confederates, Asheby wrote to Walsingham that 'there presumptuous dealing haith so sturred the Kinge as he shewes himself "felon crabbed," as the Scots terme him, and is resolved to persecute them to the uttermost.'[6] The rebels were denounced, and an army was collected at the head of which the King, accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, Lord John Hamilton, the Chancellor, and the leading nobles, set out for the north. 1589. —

The details of the expedition may be followed in the letters of Thomas Fowler, an English agent who accompanied it,[7] or in the diary which Burghley characteristically compiled with his own hand.[8] The King, displaying unwonted military ardour,[9] found the confederates disposed to fight at the Brig of Dee in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. The royal presence gave the lie to their propaganda that the King was 'a prisoner' in the hands of an English faction.[10] 'Thaire came a faintness amange them;'[11] many of their followers surrendered; and when the King entered the city, Huntly betook himself to the hills. There he might have long eluded capture, as the King's situation became increasingly difficult owing to the rigours of the weather and the necessity of maintaining in a barren country both the hired troops and the feudal

1 P. 9. 2 Pp. 10, 13, 15, 16. 3 Pp. 20, 24, 25. 4 Pp. 25-7; 34.
5 P. 25. 6 P. 34. 7 Pp. 36 *et seq.* 8 P. 60.
9 Pp. 42, 45-6. 10 P. 28. 11 P. 42.

1589. array.[1] In these circumstances, the Master of Glamis, who had been taken prisoner by the confederates on their way north, proved an acceptable mediator when he escaped by the connivance of his captors. On the understanding that the members of the King's Council would 'use all their credit to persuade the King to grant his requests,' Huntly surrendered to the King's mercy.[2]

On the successful issue of his expedition, the King marched south, and on 3 May entered Edinburgh in triumph. He was now ready to proceed against Bothwell who had turned south during the King's progress north. Bothwell, however, 'had dissolved his forces when he heard that Huntly was taken;' and on 11 May he made an abject surrender to the King. Crawford had submitted on the previous day.[3] Huntly, Crawford and Bothwell were tried by their peers, found guilty, and warded.[4] But in spite of the demands of the Kirk and of the English ambassador,[5] their restraint became merely nominal. The King, now that victory had been secured, was inclined to lenity; and the rebels had obtained too many promises of support from councillors and courtiers to permit of their being severely punished.[6] It was averred, indeed, that Glamis had been a willing prisoner, intent on his own ambitious scheme to supplant the Chancellor;[7] and the embittered relations now engendered between these two servants of the King boded ill for the future.

Meanwhile the King, accompanied by Glamis and other Councillors, made a second expedition to the north.[8] From 4 July to 8 August he made Aberdeen his headquarters, visiting for the first time Ross and Cromarty. His main object was to receive further submissions—Errol surrendered on 4 July—and to settle the compositions for fines with which the confederates' more important followers made their peace. This accomplished, the King returned to Falkland Palace on 8 August, and the 'Affair of the Brig of Dee,' as it came to be termed, was over.

Among the many reasons which induced the King thus to come to terms with the faction of the Brig of Dee, the

1 P. 53. 2 Pp. 51, 53. 3 Pp. 38, 62-3, 69-70. 4 Pp. 83, 84, 98.
5 Pp. 72, 81. 6 Pp. 92, 98, 106, 110. 7 Pp. 102, 351. 8 Pp. 114 *et seq.*

more immediate was his proposed marriage with Anne, the sister of the King of Denmark.[1] For some time, Catherine of Bourbon, sister of Henry of Navarre, had been the likelier choice; and even after the decision in favour of Anne at the beginning of February, 1589,[2] the King and his advisers hesitated. The Chancellor, Maitland, was known to be opposed to the match; many of the nobility favoured Navarre; and in April Queen Elizabeth, from whom James expected substantial tokens of approval, returned a characteristically equivocal answer to his request for advice.[3] On 14 May it was reported that the Danish match was going forward;[4] but on the 23rd the advantages of a French marriage were still being debated.[5] Four days later, the Earl Marischal discharged the ships which were to carry him to Denmark to complete the negotiations. This brought matters to a crisis. A tumult arose in Edinburgh, fomented, it was averred, by Peter Young and Colonel Stewart, who had conducted earlier negotiations in Denmark and were opposed to the marriage with the Lady of Navarre, 'old and croked and sumthing worse.'[6] The provost, bailies, and many of the burgesses, dreading the loss of trade with Denmark, threatened the lives of Maitland and the English faction 'if the marriage with Denmark went not forward, being crossed by England to keep the King unmarried altogether.' As a result of a convention held that afternoon, James declared himself 'most affecyonat to the matche with Denmarke, and prowd to goo thorowghe with it.'[7] It was resolved to despatch the Earl Marischal to Denmark, and, much to Elizabeth's annoyance, part of her recent gift to James was spent in defraying the expenses of the Earl and his retinue.[8] 1589.

The original instructions for these envoys included clauses relating to the dowry, to Danish aid for enabling James to recover 'the possession of foreyne titles dewe unto us by juste inheritaunce,' and to a proposed league of Protestant princes against the Pope and his adherents.[9] The negotiations proceeded slowly. There was difficulty about the 'tocher.'[10]

1 Pp. 131, 362. 2 *Ante*, vol. ix., p. 677. 3 P. 51. 4 P. 73.
5 P. 82. 6 Pp. 95, 97. 7 Pp. 88, 94. 8 Pp. 87, 88, 94, 95.
9 P. 104. 10 P. 126.

1589. — But the King's 'lykinge by imaginacyon'[1] grew ever stronger. In August he was reported to be 'far in conceit with the lady;' and instructions were sent to Denmark not to respect 'the article of the dowre . . for he would not be thought a marchant for his wife.'[2]

On 28 August, 1589, James was married by proxy to Anne at Oslo, and his Queen set sail for Scotland. It was as well, perhaps, that she was storm-stayed in Norway: nothing was ready for her reception and no provision had been made for her maintenance.[3] The King, now reported to be 'wholly passionate,' awaited her arrival in feverish anxiety.[4] At last he resolved 'Leanderlike to commit himself to the waves of the ocean and all for his beloved Eroe's sake,' and sailed for Norway accompanied by the Chancellor. On 20 October, the eve of his departure, he issued the well-known proclamation to his subjects, giving the reasons for his decision and the arrangements for the government of the kingdom.[5]

In his absence, which was unexpectedly prolonged for over six months, the government was entrusted to a Council in which the various factions were carefully balanced, Lennox and Hamilton having as colleagues such recent offenders against the royal authority as Bothwell and Maxwell. The Chancellor being with the King, one cause of discord was removed, and with the cordial co-operation of the Kirk, the Council appeared to have secured peace and order. It was recognised that much depended on Bothwell. 'Without him,' Asheby, the English ambassador reported, 'the malcontentes dare attempt nothing.'[6] For a time Bothwell was on his best behaviour.[7] He was reconciled to the Kirk and openly professed a 'new birth.'[8]

In these circumstances, Scotland was comparatively free from disorder; but it was a more uneasy peace than modern historians have recognised. There was constant dread that the Spanish faction would 'putt owt theire heades.'[9] The movements of noted Jesuits, and circumstantial rumours

1 P. 95. 2 P. 137. 3 Pp. 137, 150.
4 Pp. 157, 163. 5 Pp. 174-9, 181. 6 P. 193; *cf.* p. 203.
7 Pp. 187, 196, 201. 8 P. 192. 9 P. 182.

of Catholic plots backed by Spanish support, thoroughly alarmed the Scottish Council. Advantage of the situation was taken by the Queen of England,[1] only too anxious to have an excuse to interfere in Scottish affairs. Asheby was replaced by the more experienced Robert Bowes as English ambassador, and the forces on the English border and in the north of England were kept in readiness to support the 'Kinge's party' in Scotland.[2] Under the influence of the Kirk, former Acts against Jesuits and seminary priests were re-issued, and commissioners appointed to co-operate with the clergy in enforcing them.[3] Efforts were made to detach Bothwell from his former confederates; and it is significant of his potential power for mischief that his intrigues were the main pre-occupation of Bowes until the King's return. Twice, at least, during this period, Bothwell received letters from Elizabeth herself.[4] As a means of serving her, he proposed that he should maintain a secret correspondence with the Duke of Parma in order to discover the designs of Spain.[5] Robert Bruce, the well-known Edinburgh divine, to whom this precious scheme was disclosed, was not unnaturally 'doubtfull of the happie event,' though he was willing to keep the matter quiet 'for the benefitt of religion and quietnes in this realme.'[6] The plan, so favourable to double dealing on Bothwell's part, was dropped; and though Bothwell professed to have ceased all intelligence with Spain, he was careful not to commit himself until he should receive some substantial token of Elizabeth's favour.[7] He was thus still 'playing the Suysser, *ibi fas ubi maxima merces*,'[8] when King James and his bride landed in Scotland on 1 May, 1590.[9] A fortnight later, Bothwell was reported to be in favour with the King,[10] to whom he had promised to give up all communication with Parma.[11] 1589-90.

The King had returned from Denmark full of renewed enthusiasm for his own scheme for dealing with the European situation. The possibility of a league consisting of Scotland, England, France, Denmark, and the Protestant princes

1 Pp. 199-209. 2 P. 209-11. 3 P. 247. *cf. Privy Council Register*, iv. pp. li to lii.
4 Pp. 201, 239. 5 Pp. 248, 855. 6 P. 856. 7 Pp. 282-3.
8 P. 204. 9 P. 288. 10 P. 295. 11 P. 297.

1589-90. of Germany had been one of the factors in his Danish marriage.[1] It had formed part of the instructions for the negotiators of the match in June, 1589,[2] and it had been used as an argument—*argumentum longe petitum*[3]—to secure Elizabeth's favour. It had been the subject of discussion between the King of Scots and the Council of Denmark;[4] and Colonel Stewart had been authorised by Elizabeth to convey her approval to James, although later Burghley made it plain that his royal mistress was not to appear as a suppliant for peace.[5]

At the beginning of June, 1590, Colonel Stewart and John Skene set out as the Scottish envoys,[6] and were received by Elizabeth on their way through London and supplied with funds for their expenses.[7] According to their instructions —the subject of a careful analysis by Burghley—they were to place before the Danish and German Protestant rulers the necessity for peace in Christendom and make arrangements for a 'joynt legation' to induce England, France, and Spain to come to terms. In the event of a refusal from England and France, the Protestant princes would withdraw their friendship and deprive them of material aid. If the King of Spain rejected 'so godlie a mocion' then a league, offensive if possible, was to be formed against his pernicious designs.[8] Replies to these overtures were eventually received from Denmark, Hesse, Saxony, and others,[9] but little came of them. The Danes, indeed, had independently despatched an envoy to Spain: but meanwhile James had appealed to the German princes to aid the King of France against his rebels, and it was assumed that the King of Scotland 'intended no further treaty for peace.'[10] Abortive as James's plan for universal peace proved to be, it is noteworthy as his earliest attempt to win the title of the 'Peacemaker of Europe.'

Whatever course these negotiations might have taken, the King of Scots would have been precluded from playing an active part in continental affairs by the state of his kingdom

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1 *Ante*, vol. ix. p. 667. 2 P. 105. 3 P. 143. 4 P. 291.
5 Pp. 212-5, 302-4. 6 P. 314. 7 P. 334. 8 Pp. 337-343.
9 Pp. 366, 384, 388, 408. 10 Pp. 441, 546, 549.

at home. He returned from Denmark full of zeal for good government in church and state. A week after the coronation of the Queen, he informed the congregation at the close of the sermon in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, that he would reform 'th'abuses in his realme to the comfort and benefitt of his good subjectes and for the chastisement of the disobedient.'[1] Accordingly, the ministers were promised favourable consideration for their proposals concerning discipline, stipends, Jesuits, and papists.[2] Economies in the royal household were effected.[3] An attempt was made to enhance the dignity of the court;[4] and information regarding Elizabeth's tact in such delicate matters was communicated by Burghley.[5] The Lords of Session were to be examined for bribery and corruption. The Privy Council was to consist of persons of 'good religion, wisdom, experience, and good behaviour' and approved by the Queen of England.[6] Disorders in the Borders were to be put down. Bothwell, the worst offender, was warned by James that 'as he had resolved to be a reformed King so he wold have him to be a reformed lord.'[7] A comprehensive list of 'heids' for discussion by the Council was drawn up.[8] When the Earl of Worcester arrived in Edinburgh with the Garter for the King, he found a convention discussing many of these proposals.[9] But his report of the proceedings foreshadowed failure. 'The King,' he wrote, 'is mightily withstood.' Little was done for the Kirk.[10] The Privy Council appointed in 1587 was continued.[11] Bothwell evaded giving satisfaction for a Liddesdale foray which retarded the settlement of Border disputes. 'Many things intended since the King's return have had little success,' Bowes reported in August, 1590.[12] 1590.

It was among his own councillors that James found the greatest opposition to reform. The King, wrote Bowes in June, 1590, complained of discords among his Council, saying, 'they spring from the devill that seeke the defeat of all his reformacions.'[13] The proposed reforms affected both the

[1] P. 305. [2] P. 295. [3] P. 306. [4] P. 298. [5] P. 303.
[6] Pp. 307, 330. [7] P. 311. [8] P. 308. [9] P. 325. [10] P. 336.
[11] P. 387. [12] P. 371. [13] P. 315.

1590. material and the political interests of the nobility and officials, and gave fresh vigour to their jealousy of Maitland, the King's trusted minister, with whom the new policy was associated. The intrigues at court, therefore, once more centred round the policy to be pursued towards Huntly, Errol, and their associates of the Brig of Dee, whose complete restoration to favour might bring about Maitland's downfall. Maitland was naturally opposed to the re-instatement of his enemies; but, unconnected by ties of kinship with the noble families, he had to depend solely on the King's support. As James wrote to him on one occasion: 'Your felicitie, wardlie man, depend onlie upon ane, and consist onlie by and in him.'[1] Accordingly the Chancellor had to adjust his own ideas to those of his royal master.

On the departure of his wedding guests, James, according to Bowes, had contemplated placing Huntly, Errol, Bothwell, and Montrose in ward to prevent future mischief. But he changed his mind. He will 'rather seeke to kepe two faccions,' wrote Bowes, 'or els by faire meanes to unite all togither.'[2] This policy the King consistently pursued, despite the advice of Elizabeth that he should suppress the northern Earls. 'It will make him to be the better obeied whilest he reigneth,' wrote Burghley, 'and thearein *facies hominis* is *facies leonis*.'[3] The Earl of Worcester, as English envoy with the Garter, appears to have extracted a promise from James that he would take stern measures—a promise of which the King was repeatedly reminded.[4]

James was naturally anxious to keep on good terms with the Queen of England. For this reason, in spite of the opposition of the ministers, he banished Penry the Marprelate, who had sought refuge in Scotland.[5] For the sake of peace he accepted a half-hearted and private apology from Bancroft, who in his famous sermon at St. Paul's Cross had launched his novel theory of the divine right of episcopacy and questioned the King of Scotland's sincerity in his ecclesiastical policy.[6] He had incurred the odium of some of his subjects by handing over to English justice

1 P. 509. 2 Pp. 300, 370. 3 Pp. 303, 445.
4 Pp. 334 *et seq.* 5 Index., *s.v.* Penry. 6 Pp. 409, 428, 432.

O'Rourke who had fomented rebellion in Ireland.[1] But he was not to be moved in his determination to deal with the 'northern faction' in his own way. 'If our lenitye be misconstrued,' he instructed his ambassador, Sir John Carmichael, to inform Elizabeth, 'ye sall ansuear it is trew we ar naturallye enclyned to clemencye . . . and that in our state and pepill both we and our progenitours have tryed be experience a rigoreus proceadeur hes often rather moved nor repressed rebellions; 'and,' he added with no small justification, 'having no full and firme assurance of our sayd darrest sister . . . we are moved the more to abstean from hard proceadeur. . . . '[2] 1590.

The Kirk was opposed to this policy; but at a meeting of the Council, at which ministers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh were present, it was generally agreed that the confederates of the Brig of Dee should be received, under certain conditions, into the King's grace.[3] As a result, Errol was detached from his associates and reconciled to the King and the Chancellor.[4] From another confederate, the Laird of Auchendoun, James received the original 'bond of the rode of the Brig of Dee'[5] and thus secured a hold over the others. Another six months passed, and Huntly, despite Maitland's protests, received a full remission for all his offences.[6] Circumstances had proved too strong for the Chancellor. He had resisted the offers of the Catholic party,[7] and the plots of the notorious Master of Gray.[8] But his position had been weakened by the discords among his Protestant fellow-councillors, the main cause being the jealousy and ambition of the Master of Glamis. Glamis had been the mediator for Errol, and had been supported by Morton and Mar.[9] The Chancellor confessed to Bowes that he had been compelled to agree with Huntly by the King's express commands; 'and he acknowledgeth that by the sight of Glamys secrett curtyng of these noblemen, for his owne strengthe he was dryven to show the more favour to them [the Spanish faction].' He could not bear alone the burden and wrath of all malcontents.[10]

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1 Pp. 505, 739. 2 P. 317. 3 P. 347. 4 P. 357. 5 P. 362.
6 Pp. 428, 429, 431, 435-440. 7 Pp. 400-1. 8 P. 423. 9 Pp. 347, 351. 10 P. 443.

1590–91. These incessant intrigues at court had increased the enmity against Maitland, and the plans for reform and vigorous administration were undermined. The hereditary feud between Huntly and Moray, for example, flared up into a series of quarrels which 'set the whole north in twoe partes.'[1] In the south, a similar state of affairs resulted from the misdeeds of Bothwell who, in the course of his long-drawn-out quarrel with the King and the Chancellor, by a strange paradox came to be regarded as voicing the general discontent engendered by the state of anarchy to which the kingdom was being reduced.

The friendship between Bothwell and the King, reported in May, 1590, had been of short duration. Turbulent and reckless himself, Bothwell was unable, or rather unwilling, to maintain order among his unruly followers in Liddesdale, and was the chief obstacle to the general settlement of Border disputes.[2] In July the King had ordered him to remove from his company 'the evill rable of murtherers, theives, and wicked persons that onelie found refuge under him and to reforme his unchristian life.'[3] The complaints continued;[4] and in January, 1591, the King loaded him with reproaches in his house at Kelso, and 'vowed to God' that if he did not reform he would call to memory all his faults and punish him as far as the law allowed.[5] This rebuke effected some amendment;[6] but a fresh discovery of Bothwell's misdeeds brought down upon him the pent-up wrath of the King.

The discovery was made in the course of the King's energetic measures against witchcraft, an activity in which unfortunately he achieved success.[7] Richie Graham, accused of being a wizard, charged Bothwell with 'evil device against the King's life.' Bothwell denied all and was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. A convention was summoned to consider the case.[8] In the meantime, Barbara Napier, a witch accused by Graham of aiding Bothwell, was acquitted, much to the indignation of the King. Such a verdict, if allowed to stand, would have invalidated the charge against Bothwell. A new trial was ordered by 'the great novelty'

1 Pp. 428, 431, 452, 462, 469. 2 P. 399. 3 P. 359. 4 Pp. 399, 420, 429, 477.
5 P. 453. 6 Pp. 486-7. 7 Pp. 430, 457, 463-7. 8 Pp. 501-2, 504-5, 513.

of an assize of error; and the King took the unprecedented step of sitting in person as a judge and delivering an interesting oration in which the reality of witchcraft and the effects of another acquittal were duly emphasised.[1] The witch was found guilty, a verdict which was 'thought to touch Bothwell narrowly.'[2] Bothwell himself fully apprehended the danger, and, repudiating terms of banishment, made his escape.[3] Denounced as a traitor and outlawed, he was to prove during the next four years a constant source of danger to the state. 1591.

The King could find little support in his determination to capture the rebel. Bothwell had friends everywhere.[4] No reliable persons would take over his numerous offices. Buccleuch, his stepson, replaced him as Keeper of Liddesdale; but after a formal break with Bothwell, he eluded the dilemma between kinship and loyalty by going abroad.[5] Lord Hume promised to keep Bothwell out of the East March; but Bowes reported that 'he and the other noblemen have little will to do anything against him.'[6] The Duke of Lennox, dreading to offend Bothwell and the other Stewarts, 'staggered much' to take a part of the forfeited estates; and he and Hume made no effort to apprehend the rebel when he spoke to them in the fields near Leith.[7] When the King proposed to take arms against him, the nobles, in the usual Scottish fashion, subscribed a band to support the royal authority, but nothing came of it.[8] On 31 December, 1591, Bothwell surprised the King in Holyrood Palace, and many of the courtiers, including the Duke of Lennox, were suspected of complicity.[9]

Meanwhile Huntly was in great favour with the King and used his influence to further his own interests. In September, 1591, it was reported that 'blood was drawn daily in the north between Huntly's friends and the followers of Atholl, Moray, and Grant.'[10] At court the quarrels between Glamis and the Chancellor continued in spite of repeated efforts to bring about an understanding.[11] The Chancellor's administration was undermined. There was a general

[1] Pp. 513-525. [2] Pp. 530-1. [3] P. 534. [4] Pp. 538, 543. [5] Pp. 546-7, 554, 572. [6] P. 543. [7] P. 550. [8] Pp. 554, 558. [9] Pp. 609, 616, 618, 623, 627-8. [10] Pp. 552, 557, 572. [11] Pp. 520, 547, 556, 560, 592, 598, 600.

1591-92. 'disliking of the King for his careless guiding and government.' His Chancellor was 'evell thowght and openly spoken of;'[1] and he was suspected of drawing towards Huntly and the Catholic party for support.[2] When on the night of 8 February, 1592, the Earl of Moray was done to death by Huntly and his followers, the Chancellor shared with his royal master the general odium which the cruel deed evoked. Maitland and the King, it was alleged, were both 'blemished with the grant of the blank commission—by colour whereof Huntly attempted this fact [deed]—and with privity and assent to the execution.'[3] Their subsequent actions were held to justify these suspicions. Preparations for an expedition against Huntly were postponed;[4] and the King, accompanied by the Chancellor, set off for the west, ostensibly to pursue Bothwell but in reality to avoid 'the fury of the people.'[5] Such was the general discontent that Bothwell could go where he pleased. At one time he was reported to be 'plainly resett' in the north of England, much to the indignation of the King, who declared that he was so bent on revenge against Bothwell that 'if he should seek revenge out of all the world he will give his life but he will have it.'[6] Huntly, on the other hand, was allowed to ward himself under easy conditions in Blackness Castle, and to abide a trial which legal technicalities and court intrigues were bound to render abortive.[7]

The glaring contrast in the treatment of Huntly and Bothwell increased 'the murmur and rage of the people;' and the Chancellor sought to regain the good opinion of the 'well affected' and of Moray's friends, the Stewarts, by inducing the King to return to Edinburgh to hold a convention for the purpose of reforming the government and punishing offenders.[8] Pending the meeting of Parliament, the Chancellor remained at Lethington preparing schemes to 'content the best sort;' while the King was drawn north in a fruitless effort to seize Bothwell and his abettors, including the Master of Gray. Gray disobeyed a summons to court, and an assize

1 Pp. 573-4. 2 Pp. 622, 625. 3 Pp. 635, 639-40. 4 P. 637.
5 P. 648. 6 Pp. 652-3. 7 Pp. 654, 655, 658, 663. 8 Pp. 653, 660, 663.

refused to condemn one of his servants who had received Bothwell into his master's castle at Broughty Ferry.[1] 1592. —

On 24 May the convention duly met and was continued as a Parliament, Bowes returning from a visit to England in time to convey Elizabeth's advice regarding the execution of justice against Huntly, whereby the King 'should greatly honour himself and comfort his subjects.'[2] A new council and the repeal of the Black Acts of 1584 against the Kirk were among the concessions whereby Maitland hoped to conciliate public opinion. But although the ecclesiastical legislation constituted 'the first thorough legal establishment of the Presbyterian system' in Scotland,[3] the ministers failed to secure representation in the Estates,[4] and the retention of Lord Spynie and Sir George Hume on the new council indicated that the 'enemies of the Chamber' would still be able to exert their influence as the King's favourites.[5]

Maitland's schemes, in fact, proved fruitless. In spite of forfeiture, Bothwell and his friends still roamed at large and Huntly went unpunished. The Chancellor's 'good disposition' failed to renew the old fellowship with his political friends, and he had 'slydden a piece out of the King's favour' by setting himself against Huntly.[6] 'The grudge of Moray's slaughter so works in the hearts of most men and in the well affected,' wrote Bowes on 12 June, 1592, 'that they will not give their endeavours to touch Bothwell . . . in regard they think that by the welter of the state the evil counsellors and instruments in the King's chamber shall be defeated and removed.'[7]

In these circumstances Bothwell's daring raid on Falkland Palace in the same month had every chance of success. But the King made a stout defence, and after a seven hours' struggle, his enemies fled to their Border fastnesses[8]. The raid revealed the treachery which surrounded the King. The Earl of Errol and Colonel Stewart were warded on suspicion before it took place; proceedings were instituted against Angus who subsequently gave himself up to the King. The captured papers of John Colville showed how

[1] Pp. 668, 669. [2] P. 681. [3] Masson, *Register of the Privy Council*, vol. iv. p. lxvii. [4] P. 685. [5] Pp. 668, 685. [6] P. 697. [7] P. 695. [8] Pp. 707-713, 716-720.

1592. far these measures were justified.[1] The chief conspirators, Bothwell, Angus, the Master of Gray, and Colville hastened to request 'oversight' in England in case of need; and Bowes and Burleigh were placed in a quandary by such requests made at the very time when the Queen of England was congratulating James on his escape and urging him to banish the suspected and execute traitors.[2] Yet the 'welter' of the court encouraged Bothwell to continue his attempts. Twice Bowes gave James timely warning of 'great enterprises;' while circumstantial rumours of another raid on Falkland were discovered to be false and intended to lure the King from his stronghold.[3]

Meanwhile the King's efforts to capture the raiders during a progress through the West Borders had effected little[4]. His energies on his return were dissipated in unravelling further intrigues among his familiars. Colonel Stewart, himself involved in the Falkland Raid, accused Wemyss of Logie and Balfour of Burley, 'gentlemen of the King's Chamber and in especial favour and trust with the King,' of intelligence with Bothwell, a charge to which they both pleaded guilty.[5] Little wonder that James declared that it was his destiny 'to dye in himself,' and 'accounted his fortune to be worse than any prince living.'[6] In turn, they accused two other royal favourites, the Laird of Spynie and Sir George Hume.[7] The investigations into Spynie's misdeeds proved long and troublesome, Colonel Stewart being even commissioned by the King to secure evidence from Bothwell.[8] But as Bowes had surmised, too 'many persons of quality were blotted with the late fault at Falkland' to permit of due punishment being exacted.[9] Logie made a romantic escape and was pardoned.[10] Burley was set free.[11] Errol and Angus were taken into favour.[12] Their return boded ill for Colonel Stewart. Accused by Errol of being the main contriver of the Falkland Raid, he was ordered to leave the country, but this arch-plotter secured his peace.[13] Only the antagonism of Lennox prevented Spynie from recovering his

1 P. 728. 2 Pp. 713, 723, 725, 726, 739, 744. 3 Pp. 730-2, 735-7, 740.
4 P. 721. 5 P. 750. 6 Pp. 753-4. 7 P. 751.
8 Pp. 758, 763, 764, 771, 774-6, 779, 780,801. 9 Pp. 722, 729. 10 Pp. 752, 818.
11 Pp. 771-2, 784, 818. 12 P. 779. 13 Pp. 781, 789.

old place at court ;[1] and the Master of Gray, of whom the King had most justifiably 'a very hard opinion,' and against whose maintenance in the north of England he had frequently protested,[2] found grace like the others by means of friendly courtiers.[3] 1592. —

These bewildering pardons and reconciliations were the result of intrigues directed against Maitland and in favour of Bothwell. The Chancellor was 'in great disgrace' with the Queen ; and the hatred of the Duke of Lennox and the Master of Glamis so threatened 'his life and estate'[4] that the King was forced to acknowledge that he could not 'use his service and government without the Chancellor's wrack.'[5] Maitland withdrew from court in August, 1592, and a year was to pass before he took his place again at the Council board. During that period the efforts of his enemies were directed to depriving him of his office and to weakening the King's goodwill which he still enjoyed in retreat. For a time they hoped that Colonel Stewart's disclosures would involve the Chancellor in Bothwell's disgrace ; but nothing was laid to his charge.[6] In order to provide for his safety, he was appointed ambassador first to France and then to England.[7] The Queen of England, however, refused to countenance the scheme. Fresh efforts were therefore made to reconcile Maitland and Lennox, but the Duke proved inexorable. In the end Maitland decided to run the risk of remaining at home and to take refuge in England only in case of necessity.[8]

Owing to these feuds it was impossible to secure a stable administration. At the beginning of August, 1592, it was proposed to strengthen the Council appointed in June by adding representatives of the burghs and of the Kirk whose presence might help to bring order to the distracted realm. An association of the 'well-affected' of every class was to be organised, united by a 'band' pledging the King's adherents to carry out the necessary reforms.[9] Nothing came of the scheme. Rivalries for the Chancellorship and

1 P. 820. 2 Pp. 739, 756, 774, 791. 3 Pp. 784-6, 818.
4 Pp. 753-7, 764. 5 P. 768. 6 Pp. 759, 762.
7 Pp. 769, 773-5, 781. 8 Pp. 783, 803, 811, 814, 819. 9 Pp. 746-7, 756, 759, 762, 774.

1592. opposing views regarding Huntly and Bothwell rendered it abortive. In November, Bowes reported a rumour that Sir James Stewart, formerly Earl of Arran, the notorious enemy of the Kirk, was likely to be recalled to 'wracke' Lord Hamilton and the Chancellor, and 'knocke the pates' of the ministers.[1] After a few days' residence in Edinburgh, he was introduced at court. Some, it was averred, 'commanded to make way for the Chancellor' [Arran] and he was 'caried' to the Queen and kissed her hand. But the instant outcry of the ministers baulked his ambition and he was forced to retire.[2] Until Maitland's return in the following year, the 'new court' consisted of the Duke of Lennox, Mar, Morton, Argyll, Hume and Glamis, and such favourites as maintained their position in spite of treachery, the Duke being the leading councillor.[3]

During these 'welterings' the King's devious policy was dictated by the desire to protect Huntly and secure Bothwell. His lenity towards proved intriguers with Bothwell was based on the hope that they would reveal the Earl's secrets and enable him to be caught.[4] Those pardoned, however, merely added to the number of his secret sympathisers in and about the court, and the 'Madcap Earl' had little difficulty in procuring fresh adherents. In September these included the Border lairds of Fernieherst and Hunthill.[5] After the usual delays, due in part to distrust of his own supporters,[6] the King made a progress through the Borders 'to chastise the offenders.'[7] He found that many had taken refuge in England, and he received little satisfaction when he protested to Bowes against the 'partying' of his rebels by English officials.[8] Bowes was almost convinced, in spite of denials, that the King himself, in his extremity, was in negotiation with Bothwell;[9] and it was believed that the same favour would eventually be extended to him as had been granted to so many of his principal followers.[10]

As the future was to show, the King would never willingly receive Bothwell. In the meantime, however, James had

1 Pp. 801, 809, 819. 2 P. 821. 3 Pp. 755-6, 774, 776, 781, 794.
4 P. 810. 5 P. 776. 6 P. 780.
7 P. 787. 8 P. 791. 9 Pp. 774, 786, 793, 803, 810.
10 Pp. 787, 810, 818.

to bide his time. Less than a third of the realm, so he was informed, would peril their lives for his sake in such a feud.[1] The majority of the 'new court' favoured Bothwell.[2] The Kirk was half-hearted in its denunciations of the traitor. As long as Huntly remained unpunished, Bothwell would find popular support. James still cherished his fondness for Huntly and was reluctant to push measures against the Catholic faction to extremes. Huntly, indeed, professed from time to time, to be willing to go into exile;[3] but such a course displeased all parties—his outlawed followers, the avengers of Moray's slaughter, and even Bothwell's friends; because if Huntly was allowed to depart, 'Elizabeth would give Bothwell no aid.'[4] 1592.

Hitherto such help had been limited to unofficial 'oversight' by the English wardens when Bothwell and his adherents sought or contemplated safety by flight. But during the second half of 1592, the rumours of Catholic and Spanish plots, current since the 'association of the Brig of Dee,' multiplied and were substantiated. In these circumstances, the appeals from Bothwell for encouragement as a supporter of English and Protestant interests received fresh consideration from Elizabeth and her advisers.

In July and August, 1592, Bowes reported renewed activity of Catholic emissaries from Flanders and Spain who were in touch with Father James Gordon, Huntly's uncle, and the northern Earls.[5] He was informed that little money had been sent and that no preparations had been made for a Spanish expedition to Scotland that summer.[6] But it was significant that Mr. Robert Bruce, the instigator of the troubles in 1589, had written from Flanders offering to reveal to the King 'the names of all the practisers and the secrets of their practice wrought in Spain or Flanders' against Scotland and England.[7] Mischief was brewing and its uncertain nature and extent added to the general uneasiness. In October, Bowes discovered that three well-known Jesuits, Gordon, M'Quirrie [MacWherry] and Abercromby, were endeavouring to persuade certain noblemen to send hostages 'or other good assurances'

[1] P. 768. [2] P. 805. [3] Pp. 741, 742. [4] Pp. 732, 741, 748.
[5] Pp. 728, 733, 735, 740, 747-8. [6] P. 760. [7] P. 766.

1592. to the King of Spain who would then be prepared to send men and treasure to Scotland.[1] But Bowes was unable to secure a copy of the 'band' which, he was convinced, was being circulated for signature.[2] The King, to whom Bowes revealed his suspicions, treated them lightly.[3] He himself had had offers of help against England from Parma, in which Bothwell was to play the leading part.[4] The ministers (to whom James later made similar disclosures)[5] were naturally alarmed, especially as it was rumoured that a general massacre of themselves and the burgesses was a part of the plan.[6] The apprehensions of the Kirk were increased by the reluctance of the King and his Council to enforce the law against such noblemen as harboured Jesuits and 'trafficking' priests,[7] and they took elaborate precautions against the emergency.[8] The ample terms of the pardon for Bruce, the agent of the Jesuits, which the King endeavoured to disavow, only deepened their suspicions.[9]

As in 1589, Bothwell was the uncertain factor. There was a constant dread that in spite of his pose as Protestant champion he would ally himself, as he eventually did, with Huntly and his Catholic confederates.[10] On the other hand, Bothwell made repeated offers of service to Elizabeth. The appeals of Bowes to the Queen and her advisers for instructions in this matter remained unanswered. At length Bothwell, through Colville, informed Bowes that unless he received a speedy and favourable reply, he 'must otherwise provide his relief and for his company.'[11] The means of doing so was obvious, and it was decided, presumably in view of the critical threat to Protestantism, that even such an uncertain traitor as Bothwell must be supported. Bowes was now directed to deal with him,[12] and before the end of 1592, Mr. Locke, a relative of Colville, was sent north to work for Bothwell's restoration.[13] The discovery of the well-known 'Spanish Blanks' precluded any immediate enterprise.[14] They opened a fresh chapter in the history of the Scottish Catholic Earls.

1 Pp. 787, 789. 2 Pp. 813, 818. 3 Pp. 792-3. 4 Pp. 806-8.
5 Pp. 816-17. 6 Pp. 787, 812. 7 Pp. 784, 812. 8 Pp. 808, 816.
9 Pp. 824-5. 10 Pp. 716, 732, 752. 11 P. 805. 12 P. 818.
13 P. 822; Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland* (1877 edn.) iv. 189. 14 Pp. 823, 828-833.

1592.

This volume was prepared by Mr. William K. Boyd, but owing to ill-health he was compelled to resign an editorship in the course of which he had added seven volumes (III.–IX.) to the series. The present writer is responsible for the collation and revision of the page-proofs, for adding references to material already in print, and for the Introduction. To his wife he is indebted for the laborious work of compiling the Index, on the somewhat exhaustive principles of the previous volumes, and to Mr. Henry M. Paton for revising it and preparing it for the press. His thanks are also due to Mr. F. D. Ward, M.A. (Oxon.) for help in collating the MSS. in the Public Record Office, London. During the progress of the volume, Mr. Angus, Curator of Historical Records, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, and Mr. Henry M. Paton and Mr. MacInnes of the same Department, have given unstinted help. Mr. Angus, as General Editor of the Series, has patiently borne with the delay in publication, due to the pressure of successive changes in the official duties of the present writer.

Dr. G. F. Black, New York Public Library, kindly granted permission to reprint in the Appendix to this volume the correspondence of Robert Bowes which he had published in the *Bulletin* of that Library (Vol. VII., Sept., 1903). Following the MS., an eighteenth century transcript, Dr. Black attributed the letters to John Bowes. No person of that name has been traced as having any connexion with Scotland at the time; and the fact that many of the letters are duplicates of letters of Robert Bowes printed in this *Calendar* from the originals renders it certain that they should all be assigned to Robert. In the Appendix to this volume such duplicates have been omitted. From a linguistic point of view these transcripts are, of course, of no value.

It should be added that the second volume of *The Warrender Papers*, edited by Dr. Annie Cameron for the Scottish History Society since this *Calendar* was prepared, is an indispensable source for the period. It replaces and supplements the references to Tytler's *History of Scotland* in the footnotes to this *Calendar*.

HENRY W. MEIKLE.

EDINBURGH, *November*, 1934.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 240. 7 lines from foot: *for* Walsongham *read* Walsingham.
,, 247. Line 19: *delete* stop after 'requirit.'
,, 461. Line 12: *for* atisfied *read* satisfied.
,, 620. Line 5 from foot: *for* coursh *read* course.
,, 621. Line 8: *for* [If hir] *read* [If his].
,, 776. Line 7: *for* Ferniher stand *read* Ferniherst and.
,, 815. No. 776: the date should be Nov. 20.
Pages 853, 854. Rubric, *for* 1591 *read* 1589-90.

SOURCES.

The documents without marginal references relating to provenance are "State Papers, Scotland (Elizabeth)," Public Record Office. Those printed in the Appendix are from eighteenth century transcripts in New York Public Library.

All others are preserved in the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

JAMES VI.

1588-9. Mar. 14. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 325.

1. JAMES VI. TO [WALSINGHAM].

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit we greit zow hertlie weill. This beirair, James Bannatyne, sone to our trusty counsellour, Maister Thomas Bannatyne of Newtyld, one of the sen[ators] of oure College of Justice, being directed be his said father to the scholis in France for his further promotioun in vertew and guid lettres, and taking journey throcht that realme, we haif thocht meit to addres him to zour guid meane for his dispeche and furtherance in . . . way, requyring zow effecteouslie to lett him be weill usit induring his remanyng, furtherit to his depairture, and favourit with sic lettres as may be neidfull for his indempnitie within that realme and the commoditie of his transport, as he sall finde [occa]sioun to imbarque. Thus we commit zow, richt trusty and weilbelovit, to Goddis gude protectioun. Frome Halyruidhous this xiiiith of Marche, 1588." *Signed:* "Youre loving freind, James R."

¼ *p. No address or indorsement.*

Mar. 14. 2. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [BURGHLEY].

It is hard to judge to-day, right honourable, what will be to-morrow, especially in this court suffering such alteration and "waltering" as is incredible. The committing of the Earl Huntly was well liked of very many; the setting him at liberty displeased almost all men, chiefly those of the religion. The eighth day of his imprisonment he was set at liberty, and the same night lodged in the King's chamber; the next day received the guard, and the 9th March the King dined at his house, and so from day to day ceased not to shew what favour he could devise. The 13th Huntly again invited the King to dinner in Edinburgh. That morning, being in the fields hunting the hare, about eleven [?] word was brought to the King that the city was putting itself in arms, which was but a rumour; "yet Huntley durst not retorne with the King, having prepared a dinner for his heighnes, but retyred over the water to Domeferling in the Fyffe." The guard is taken from him and he absent from the King's presence, but his affection towards Huntley is such as most fear he will hardly be drawn from affecting him. But if her majesty back the Lord Chancellor and the protestants, the contrary faction must needs quail if the King should favour them. But I judge there is no such cause to suspect him of favouring papists, "for that he sheweth himself both in wourd and deed an enimye mortall to poporie."

The managing of this matter in this sort displeaseth many, which proceedeth of the lenity of the King and his fond affection towards Huntly.

James VI. 1588–9

The protestants seeing this mild kind of handling this matter stand upon their guard, and have taken up an hundred horse by the King's appointment, and fain would take up another if they were able for their better strength to prevent a sudden mischief; and if her majesty countenance them they will go through with that they have begun. That which is spent now will save her many pounds hereafter.

The 13th day, as the King was hunting, the Earl of Erroll met him and had secret conference with him, but the rumour that the city was going into arms caused Huntly and Erroll to retire over the Frith. The King hastened to the city, dining at Huntly's house, where the Lord Chancellor met him.

This much I had written on the 13th in the night; but your letter of the 9th came, for answer whereof your lordship shall understand as follows:—

The Lord Chancellor thought it best that the King should be at the Town-house to have the forces of the city in readiness to assist, if required, in apprehending Huntly, for it was feared, having the guard, he would not have come to the castle from Holyrood house. As Huntly was going to the castle, word was brought that he made some stay in the street till Bothwell returned from the King. The Lord Chancellor went down, and presently warned the town to arms and said,—"seing the King haith commanded, he shall be caried, or cutt in peces," and willed the captain to make no stay.

At the Council with the King in committing Huntly were these:—the Lord Chancellor, the Laird of Lochleven now Earl Morton, the Earl of Mar, the Master of Glamis, the Lord Treasurer, Sir W. Stewart, Prior of Blantyre, Sir James Hume, captain of the castle, and Mr. Alexander Hay, Clerk Register.

The names of those zealous in religion and faithful to the King in affecting the cause of England I sent your honour in my last, with the names of the contrary faction and papists. The King did lie that night at the Lord Chancellor's house, and there continued till the 10th of March.

Touching the Spaniards and Desmond I have written in my two last letters of the 8th and 10th of March to you. Touching the objection made that the letters were devised in England, the King affirms there is no device in it, but a matter of truth, for Tyrie confesses his hand and letter, but the contrary faction must needs invent somewhat to blind the eyes of the simple. Bruce and Chisholme are not as yet apprehended.

The names of those gentlemen which fled upon the committing of Huntly were these:—the Laird of Cluny, a Gordon, counsellor to Huntly, Mr. Walter Lindsay, a counsellor of Earl Crawford, the laird of Ackon Cloighe, a Graham, counsellor to the Earl of Montrose, and the Bailie of Erroll, counsellor to the Earl of Erroll. These conveyed themselves away from Edinburgh the same night but none are yet apprehended. Huntly was taken alone, being chief of the faction and a man of greatest command in Scotland, except Argyle, but he is a child; the taking of him would daunt the rest. The Duke was sent with the prior of Blantyre to Lord Leviston's house to search for the 4000 crowns but none could be found, nor Bruce yet heard of "but layd for." Lord Levistoun came with the Duke to the King and here remains at liberty, finding himself grieved that his house should be searched.

James VI. 1588–9. The Master of Gray is here holden for a papist, and therefore there is small hope he will do good at this court. He may do better service to the King abroad; this is the Chancellor's opinion but he would not have it known. Lord Wemyss' stay was a long time for lack of money, and of late the stir here, and lastly the coming of Monseigneur Civill, who arrived here the 10th March; this day is his first audience. Lord Wemyss will set forward within four or five days for England.

The Chancellor yet lies in the town, but now that Huntly has gone within a day or two will lie again at the court in Holyrood house.

The party taken with the letters whom you mention as being on the way had not come to Berwick the 13th of this present; upon his coming thither there shall be a hundred horse to convey him to Edinburgh.

The fourth letter I named was a copy of the second to your honour which I directed to Mr. Secretary "and sent it a part haulfe a daie after by a footeman to Barwicke." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

4 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 14. 3. THOMAS FOWLER TO [BURGHLEY].

I received your lordship's letter this 14th March so much to my comfort as never anything was more; first, to understand thereby that my most gracious sovereign hath some good opinion of me, and next to find a good conceit of your lordship towards me. I most humbly beseech your lordship to assure her highness that "if I had as many heddes and wittes as I have heares I wold employ them all to serve hir majesty." And though the ambassador resident be able to do such service as I cannot, yet by more frequenting company of the best than he conveniently may, I shall do my best to be well thought of, first by her gracious majesty and next by your honour, "the auncient cowncelour, pryncypall piller, and upholder of that commonwelthe." Edinburgh.

—"The laird of Wymes is an honest affecter of England and will come shortly."—*Signed:* T. Fowler.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Postscript to the same letter:—

This King hath a strange, extraordinary affection to Huntly, such as is yet unremoveable, and thereby could persuade his majesty to any matters to serve his own particular or friends. The King, desiring to have him his familiar in court, persuaded him from papistry, and, as he thought, prevailed. Since I came hither he subscribed to the church, whereat the King rejoiced exceedingly, and thereupon Huntly had the guards delivered, was lodged in the King's chamber, and had place in the King's favour above all others, but he never meddled in matters of state; he followed him in all pastime and would flatter and feed his humour in whatsoever exceedingly, and yet but shallow witted. But he hath shrewd counsellors about him whose advice he follows.

The Chancellor is beloved of the King in another sort, for he manages the whole affairs of this country. He sees he cannot be without him; he finds his whole care for his well-doing, and yet hath flattered the King too much. The King hath had a special care to make and keep these, his two well-beloved servants, friends, but it never lasted forty days without some suspicion or jar.

James VI. 1588–9. Lately the Chancellor hath left both to dissemble or flatter, for he hath dealt most plainly and stoutly with the King. The sterling faction durst not say much lest he should remember the old, "and the two old new erles, who are stowt and wyese men, is lothe so sone to take muche apon them in his contrary." So the whole lies upon the Chancellor to speak, though the others will back him in deed. I heard the Chancellor tell the King that if he would maintain Huntly in that sort he would not have a protestant in Scotland to follow or acknowledge him; they would leave him to the papists and would provide securely for themselves. "Yet when the Chancellor consydders that they must have the King eyther with his will or agaynst it, he thynkes it dangerows to have him perforce, therefore uses to yeld to sum part as to spare the prosecutynge of the matter agaynst Huntley for treason so they may kepe him from the Kinge and the gard." Yet if the man that comes confesses anything to touch him, they will take hold thereof; and I find that they had rather the noblemen in this conspiracy would fly, that they might put them to the horn and banish them, than to try them and shed their blood, whereon will grow everlasting feuds. The example of Arran and others make them doubt that dealing.

I know that if the King can bring his purpose to pass he will have Huntly in court again within a month. If I do but tell him how much he will make her majesty, yea, and all the well-affected in religion in this whole isle, in doubt of him, he will yield and promise much; but when Huntly or his solicitors come in place he forgets all, and many say they doubt him bewitched. He shews himself loath to offend her majesty and no doubt is perfect in religion. The gentleman that comes must deal roundly with him if occasion serve. It should be no young man.

The Master of Gray's advertisements of late to the King tend all to the greatness of the King of Spain, the weakness of the King of France and Navarre, and the prosperity of the Leaguers.

1 *p.* *Addressed.*

Mar. 14. 4. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I wrote to you before that Huntly had the guard again and the Chancellor had taken up a hundred horse. The King had made the Chancellor and Huntly friends and also the Earl Marshal; notwithstanding on Tuesday last Huntly complained to the King that the Chancellor had taken up horsemen and would know the cause, for if it were for any guard to his person it appertained to him. The King answered they were to apprehend men conspiring against the true religion, his own person and the realm, of which he was accused and not yet cleared, and therefore not meet to have the charge. The Chancellor was called, and taking advantage of the matter told the King before Huntly that he might see all his doings but dissimulation; and vowed no more to serve his majesty nor come to court as long as Huntly had charge of the guard.

The two new earls, grave men, the Master of Glamis, the captain of the castle, and divers others took the Chancellor's part and vowed the same, and they all lodged that night in the town and stood upon their guard.

James VI. 1588–9.

On Wednesday the King called his council in the Town-house where they sat long and with much ado brought the King to grant that Huntly be discharged of the guard, and go to his own country within three or four days. Thursday morning the King rode out hunting and Huntly with him, "myselffe beinge in company, for I follow him at that pastyme and hathe quietest speche in his home cominge." Huntly had bidden him to dinner in the town at a house prepared, at which dinner the King desired the Chancellor to be, for before Huntly's departure he would make them both friends again. This was agreed on, the Chancellor granted the King's request, as content to do anything to set him going. "Great chere was prepared and many cookes at worke." When it was past noon and the King drawing homeward, there came post after post of Huntly's friends and servants, bringing news that all Edinburgh was in arms, which amazed the King and made him turn back a little to confer with Huntly and Bothwell.

Presently Erroll came with a dozen horse, who had ridden hard. He was never seen in these parts since he fled that night that Huntly was committed. Huntly met him and brought him to the King, who talked with him an hour, after which Huntly went to "Dumferling" with forty horse, and after a while Erroll followed him.

The King came to this town with Bothwell, to the house appointed for his dinner, "where the yonge duke was the interteyner, though we left the master of the feast behynde." After dinner examination was made for the taking arms. It was substantially proved to the King by the Provost and others that there was no such matter that day, which many thought strange. That night Huntly's guards were discharged; the King notwithstanding wrote to him very friendly, and in council did what he could to excuse him, and would fain have agreed the Chancellor and him, but it will not be. Many doubt what will become of this matter. The papists are strong, yet if the others be supported in time they will do well; they hope for help from England with speed. All the King does is from fear more than anything else, though he has an overgood affection to Huntly. He is persuaded by an old rule "that his strengthe and standinge saffe is by preservinge his owne subjectes in quiet and amyte to gethers."

If her majesty please to be at some charge she may command all here; the matter will not be great, for seven or eight thousand pounds a year will bind King and country, with some title of honour, which they stand much upon, to avoid the name of a pensioner.

"I have byn very bussy in thes trobles in playinge my part and have byn thretened for my labour." Some hath written me out of England that a nobleman there is very angry and has vowed to discredit me here, and has knowledge "that I shold be the stay that not any was sent from hence to our parlament, and thinkes I hinder his awonted intelligence." Therefore I beseech you whatever I do let it be used as secretly as may be. Edinburgh.

Postscript—Lord Wemyss, your honour's well-wisher, will come to England shortly and will return hither again ere he goes to France. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1588–9.

5. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Mar. 15. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 299.

. . . . . *sent away my last letter of the 13th. to your honour I received a letter from my Lord Treasurer which he says was by the Queen's majesty's commandment, both to shew me of her good allowance of my advertisements and to thank me for it.

I find by proof daily more and more how much I am bound to you. It had been sufficient to have had your own good acceptance and friendship for any service I could do, but I see you have so used the matter for my good in her majesty's hands as hath been cause of this comfort now come to me.

I wrote an answer to his lordship, and set him down some reason of the King's affection to Huntly, and the difference between his love to him and to the Chancellor; as also the causes why the managing of all these matters here fallen out of late rests altogether in the said Chancellor, who handles it very stoutly.

There is nothing happened since my last. Huntly's wife is gone to Dunfermline to him, and they go north within a day or two for a while as is yet intended, though I trust they will be deceived. Here is but expectation for what her majesty will do for them, and horsemen are taken up, but no money to pay them. Wemyss sets forward on Tuesday next. Edinburgh. *Signature decayed.*

¾ *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

Mar. 15.

6. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [WALSINGHAM].

This fire here kindled upon discovery of this dangerous practice will hardly be quenched without her majesty's aid, for the adverse party is strong, and the King's fond affection towards Huntly emboldens the papists and puts the well-affected in fear. The first committing was well liked of the good subjects, but the setting him at liberty displeased almost all sorts, especially those of the religion. The eighth day of his imprisonment, upon Claud Hamilton's coming, he was set at liberty, as I writ you before, and the same night lodged in the King's chamber; the next day received the guard again. The 9th of this month the King dined with him in the city and made friendship betwixt him and Earl Marishal, who have been long at feud, and so renewed his accustomed favour towards him—"as the wourld thinkes he is bewitched with him." But suddenly there comes a new "waltering" in this sort. The 13th of this present Huntly invites the King to dinner within Edinburgh. That morning he accompanied the King in hunting the hare. About eleven a rumour rose in the city that the citizens were putting themselves into arms; this rumour was carried with speed to the King hunting, who returned presently to the town; but Huntly durst not approach the city to accompany the King to the dinner which he had prepared for him. The guard is taken from him and he retired that night over the Firth to his house in Fife, called Dunfermline, and from thence it is thought he will go north. They are here the better content that he has gone from the court.

If the Chancellor and the party zealous in religion and favourers of the course of England be backed by her majesty, the papists will quail

* Decayed.

James VI. 1588–9. and be wrecked if the King should favour them. But I think there is no such suspicion to be had of him, for he sheweth himself both in word and deed a mortal enemy to popery, "making proclamacion upon great penaltie for the banishing of all suspected parsons in papistrie." The King hath raised a hundred horse for his better strength to prevent a sudden mischief, and would take up another hundred if he were able. The protestants here and the well-affected stand upon their guard, and if her majesty countenance them they will go through with that which is begun, and now a penny spent will save her many a pound hereafter.

The Earl of Erroll met the King hunting and had some secret conference with him, but upon this rumour that the town was in arms both he and Huntly retired over the Firth, leaving the King with a small train returning towards Edinburgh to dine at Huntly's house, but his host durst not enter to entertain him.

There is none yet apprehended but Claud Hamilton, who is prisoner in the castle, but everyone has access to him. Bruce is not yet apprehended, nor Chisholme.

The party taken with the letters is greatly desired; the long delay makes them doubt his coming. Baron Fentrie, upon this discovery, "went to shipbord to go towardes France, but the wind would not suffer him to passe awaie." The King hath sent for him; if he be wisely handled he is able to discover much, for he is thought to be a chief counsellor in these practices.

Lord Livingston's house was searched for Bruce and the 10,000 ducats, "but the partie cannot be hard of, nor no part of the gould there found."

The 10th of March here arrived Monsieur Seville, of whom I received a letter from your honour. He shall find me ready to afford him such service as lieth in me. Lord Wemyss has stayed his coming a long time for lack of money, and now of late the "broyles" here, and lastly the arrival of Monsieur Seville; yet I think, as he telleth me, he will set forward about the 20th.

I am to request you touching Mr. Dratch, whose penalty for recusancy, by your procurement, her majesty bestowed on me. I compounded with the gentleman before coming hither. I understand he is in prison in Shrewsbury and his land extended. I beseech your honour as by your good means I first obtained the benefit of his penalty, so now it may still continue to my use according to her majesty's grant, and that the party may have such favour as law and equity will permit. I would crave that the gentleman might be delivered out of prison and committed to the custody of my cousin Ashby in Leicestershire, of whose zeal in religion I refer you to the report of Mr. Lysle Cave. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

3½ *pp. Holograph. Indorsed.*

Mar. 15. 7. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Because I know you will be desirous to know how matters go here in this time of trouble, since my last letter of the 13th we have been in danger of a present change of court. After Huntly's coming out of the castle he pressed the King to be restored to the captainship of the guard, which was granted, and the King returned to his own house in the abbey. But the Chancellor finding himself nowise in surety while

James VI. 1588–9. these guards were there, refused to come to the abbey but upon his own guard. This bred jealousy among them, and the Chancellor got a commission to levy 100 horse, which Huntly misliked, "so that every one mesliked and stod in fere of otheres." This continued three days, the King daily going to the town, where he met the Chancellor and such as advance the good cause. In the end, the Chancellor, seeing the daily danger they were in, dealt with the King either to remove Huntly and discharge his guards, or else he and such as favour the religion would retire. "This putt the Kinge in a grett brangle,[1] for he had grett love to Hontle," yet he agreed to discharge his guard, and Huntly to go home. It was then devised that Huntly should ask the King to dinner in the town, the Chancellor to be there. So they persuaded the King to hunt in the forenoon, and he went forth about 9. From 10 to 12 sundry "post" came to Huntly that the town was in arms; whereupon they informed the King that it would be dangerous to return, and would have persuaded him to have gone with them. "We thatt were the beholderes were in doutt a long tyme whatt waye we should take. Som tyme we rod west, and som tyme est." There were few or none there but of Huntly's faction. Erroll came and spake the King, which put us in greater fear than before; Bothwell and the master of Livingston, who would have gone all one way. "It came to this extremety, thatt the Kinge offred rather to dye there then to goe with them." Huntly took his leave and is now going north; his guards are discharged. Erroll hath promised to enter on Wednesday next.

I hope her majesty will stand to this Chancellor, "for he it is thatt doth all; if he be well backed he will be able to doble it outt; if he perres, farewell Skotland and all good men here." He hath vowed to end in this action; God grant her majesty may consider of him as he deserves.

Letters have come this day that one is coming from her majesty, which puts the Chancellor in good courage. If this cause do not well, I shall leave Scotland; I am hated of that faction for my country's sake and for that I love the Chancellor. You may acquaint his honour with this letter; I know Mr. Fowler writes to him at length.

"Gloud" [Claud Hamilton] remains still in the castle, and so is like to do. Monsieur Sevell gets audience this afternoon, and I hope shall be satisfied. We long for the man that should come. Thomas Tyerry is to be here this night, and thereafter we shall haste his despatch. I cannot see that Wemyss will come so soon as was looked for, yet he thinks after this gentleman's speech with his majesty he shall be dispatched. Presently after he will come thither, and return here again for the convoy of his men. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 18. 8. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [BURGHLEY].

I received your honour's letter of the 7th March on the 16th, and understand thereby that Pringle, the Scotchman, was brought to Berwick on the 15th. Upon receipt of your letters I sent to the court to have audience to acquaint the King of this man's coming to Berwick, and to understand what order should be taken for his convoy to Edinburgh.

[1] Confusion.

James VI. 1588–9.

That day the King kept his bed, being troubled with a pain in his side, which he had taken the day before in hunting, so I could not have access to him. The next day I sent again; then he was busy, and retired to write to her majesty for the despatch of Wemyss; so I had not access the second day. I then acquainted the Chancellor with Pringle's being at Berwick. He answered, the King would not seem to take knowledge of his arrival at Berwick till Erroll had rendered himself, which should be the 19th of March, upon whose coming they would lay hands on the rest that could be gotten.

Erroll met the King in the field the 13th, as I writ in my last, and had conference, but there was no staying of him then, for none was with the King but Huntly and his faction. The King carrieth such a fond affection to Huntly as is incredible, and seeketh to make friendship betwixt the Chancellor and the Earl. The Chancellor telleth the King that "he haith no particular with Huntley," but seeing he is suspected in religion and his honour touched in this traitorous practice, he will have no dealing with him before he hath purged himself in these points.

"The Kinges yong yeres is greatlie abused by the flatterie and false othes of the adverse partie and papistes in this land," and his lenity emboldens that faction very much; but if the Chancellor be countenanced by her majesty he will be able, with his party, to wreck the papists and root out popery in this realm. He is wise and stout and hath the King's care above the rest; he is zealous in religion and affects greatly the course of England. The King's well-disposed mind in religion, and in affecting her majesty's amity, is nourished by this man; "and the protestantes of Scotland do like so well of his dealing as thei are readie to rune that course that he shall lay downe."

The papists seek either to cut him off from the King, or by gifts and fair promises to divert him from the course he hath begun, hoping that if this man were either taken away or wrought to their side, the greatest part would run against England.

The Chancellor would not come to court before Huntly's guard was broken, which was done the 13th, and Huntly retired the same day to Dunfermline, and now towards the north.

The King hath written to her majesty accounting himself most bound to her, and I judge will follow what course she shall set down; but his ability is such as he can do nothing, and it makes him fearful, and suffers great indignities of some of his unruly subjects. Bothwell is a man that doeth great hurt, a maintainer of all disordered persons both by sea and land, "and he lyeth most subject to be anoyd by England." The King and all good men are weary of him, for he troubles almost all men and therefore they would "the willinger see his wrake."

Here are some few pirates, especially one Peterson and Haggerston. One of them has taken of late an English ship and carried it to Montrose, and there hath sold her lading, and keeps the vessel. The matter is so bolstered out by Bothwell as the commandment of the King will bear no sway. It would be very well liked of here that her majesty would send a man-of-war upon these coasts to keep these mates in order, and to hang this Peterson and his fellow Haggerston, for Bothwell so countenances them as no man dare lay hand on these parties.

Lord Wemyss is to depart to-morrow, or the 20th at the furthest. This man is right well affected towards her majesty, and a furtherer of

James VI. 1588–9. all good courses betwixt these two crowns, and one that you may account of to be zealous in religion and a furtherer of the good amity of these two princes, willing and ready to perform any good office tending to her majesty's good pleasure as anyone in these parts.

Your letter of the 13th I received the 17th at ten in the night. This morning the King went out a-hunting by five; upon his return this evening I will acquaint him with the coming of Sir George Carey, and so procure his passport to be ready against his coming to Berwick. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

4 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 18. 9. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I wrote before of Huntly's manner of going away from the field, the King being a-hunting, when Erroll came in, and Bothwell, who were never hunters before. "It is discovered sence that theyre purpose was to have browght the Kinge in a fray by the brute that the towne of Edenbrowghe was in armes, and take the advantage of that to perswade him to have gon with them to some newtour place, and have left the towne and his diner therein: but the Kinge dispised theyre cowncell and sent the erlls of Huntley and Erroll from him."

On Sunday, the 17th, the Earls of Erroll, Montrose, Crawford and Bothwell, with divers lords, convened at Dunfermline at Huntly's house, and Bothwell came to this court at night, using very hot speeches from Huntly in the name of the rest. The King put him to silence, and within an hour came letters from Huntly—doubting lest Bothwell would go beyond his commission—setting forth the cause of their meeting, to devise how to satisfy the King and clear themselves, with fair promises, and desiring that anything further writ or spoken in their names might not be believed. "This I take to be a cunnynge dealinge to brynge in Huntley agayne to cowrt; yet he must northeward out of hand."

That day of the hunting they might have carried off the King by force if they listed, for saving myself all were of Huntly's faction: "and suer my there beinge offended them muche." Even now I understand that Huntly went northward from Dunfermline yesterday in the afternoon, and goes to Strabogie. The King is melancholy, but it is hoped he will forget Huntly and follow the cause against the rest: but there lacks another Arran.

"Huntley and Gloyd Hamelton makes great meanes to wyn the chauncelour bothe by money and frendes, and there is no comfort comes to him frome Ingland."

Colonel Stewart would fain be accounted English, and offers service to her majesty. He presented of late these lines enclosed to the King. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

2⅛ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 20. 10. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

I would write oftener to your lordship but for offending the ambassador. I entered in a course of writing to Mr. Secretary, and have a convoy appointed. Sure I help the ambassador besides, and this day have delivered him a discourse that passed betwixt this King and me

James VI. 1588–9. coming from the hunting on 19th instant, which I have written to your lordship in form of a letter. The ambassador is honest, yet I would not have all my service hidden.

"This Kinge is not able to comawnd his subjectes by force as others; they obey him—at least the most of them—in sleyght matters not tochinge lyffe. And the rather they suffer him to lyve all this while in hoope by him to have dealinge with Ingland, which withowt him theyre hoope is voyde. Yet when it comes to execusyon of justyce, I see they feare him not, and rather he feares to deale, at least with many of them at once, by the example of his forbeares that were the best and severest justyces were allwayes cut off vntymely." He hath often told me the wickedness of his nobility and their evil natures, declaring himself weary of his life among them; commending the obedience of the English, the agreement of our counsellors in service of their prince and country, and esteems you the first and gravest counsellor of Europe this day. He says all his ministers have found your lordship a hard man, "but he consydders your syncere dealinge for the quene your mistress," and cannot think evil of you for it, wishing he had such another. He desires nothing more, next her majesty's good liking of him, than that your lordship will think well of him, and in his honest course toward her will favour his requests. Though his giddy subjects urge him, yet reason will content him, whatever they demand. "He is perswaded to ask his gooddames land, but if he have to maynteyn a gard to comawnd the vnruly, and sume tytell of honour, it will suffyce, and tey him by leage, and it cuttes of all hoope that now the evell disposed ar in." If the Chancellor had somewhat, it would make all sure.

The Earl Marshal goes next month to Denmark with others about the marriage. I see not how a queen can be here maintained, for there is not enough to maintain the King. Erroll refuses to come in as yet. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

1¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 20. 11. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

I have had conference with this King since he knew of Sir George Cary's coming. He began to make reckoning that before the ambassador's coming from court her majesty was advertised of Huntly's restitution to favour; "'But,' quoth he, 'they have not hard yet what I have done sence, how that he is gon northe and discharged of gard and cowrte.'" He asked me if I thought the Queen should not hear thereof before the ambassador came to Berwick; and if she did, whether it would not alter his commission. I answered, I thought both. He told me that though he had sent Huntly away, he thought he was no more guilty than I was. And for proof, first he considered the nature of the man, young, merry, no dealer in matters of state, married to a young gentlewoman near of his blood, whom he loved dearly. Then for his religion, he came out of France a papist, and so professed himself a long time without dissembling, "'But,' saythe he, 'I was allwayes perswadinge him, and browght him to conference with divers mynisters sundry tymes; and not rashely, but by good delyberacyon, he conceaved of the truthe.'" and subscribed: since which he hath run a religious course. He told me that Bruce coming to this town two months since would have spoken with Huntly,

James VI. 1588–9. but he refused, and told the King of Bruce's being here, "saying he was a man evell suffered in the cowntry"; and told the Chancellor, whereupon they laid wait for him, but he got word and escaped.

A month afore these letters Huntly persuaded the King that this summer, when hunting, he needed no guard: "'I myght spare that charge tyll the wynter, and geve him leave to goo in to his country where he had busynes'—and this aunswers not to the letters—'then,' quoth he, 'if you hard what veyment speches and solemne othes he uses in may[n]teyninge his religion and his fydellite to me, who can thinke that a yonge noble man of his nature and disposycyon as I have told you, can be so very a devell in decemblynge his religion,'" or so ungrateful.

The King said that he knew so much of the practices of the papists, even touching himself, as to be persuaded they would do this of Huntly, who had forsaken them, to salve their sore by cunning dealing; because if the King of Spain knew that he had left them, it might alter all. And Bruce in his letter saith that though Huntly had subscribed they doubt not to have him on their side ere long, for they have good counsel about him. His majesty also told me that since the earl was committed to the castle there was no man that advised him to any course but he had bewrayed it and told him the truth. Then he set forth his obedience; first in going to the castle, then from the hunting field to Dunfermline, then going north, "not brekinge day nor hower."

I told his majesty it was not impossible to be as he had said, but appearance was otherwise, for those papists that would assure noblemen to be of their party that were not should in the end deceive themselves and the general cause. They had dispensation to do or say anything to advance the pope's liberties, and Huntly being of a gentle nature might the sooner by cunning men be persuaded to dissemble if he took it to be for his soul's health, and might gain Spanish pistoles too thereby

I persuaded him to make a yet more severe proof, especially of Huntly, lest he were deceived. He yielded, and vowed that if he found that man guilty he would prosecute him above all other. Edinburgh.

Postscript—There is come with the Laird of Wemyss a nephew of the Chancellor called Mr. Richard Colborne. The Chancellor loves and trusts him much: it will do no harm to use him well. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 20. 12. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your honour's letter of the 16th the 20th of March. Touching the King's favours to Huntly I have already written, and have sent here enclosed a discourse his majesty had with Mr. Fowler lately, which he hath set down himself. For the rest, as Erroll, who came not in at his day, and Claud Hamilton with Maxwell already in prison, there is hope the King will see well to them.

Search is made for Bruce, Creichton, and Chisholme, but such is the number of their followers as they cannot be gotten as yet. The Chancellor hopes to get them in time, but if comfort be not given to him and his party from her majesty, and money for horsemen and charges, I see not how they can proceed. The 10,000 crowns sought for cannot be found. It is true that Huntly supped and dined with the Chancellor after coming out of the castle, where, when he could not keep him out

James VI. 1588–9. of credit with the King, he thought to work a better effect by showing a favourable countenance than by longer opposing him; for then whatever should follow, the King would take it to proceed of malice for his own particular. Huntly, both in the castle and after, professed to the King to love the Chancellor next his highness, of which the King was glad: but within three or four days Huntly, seeing the Chancellor taking up 100 horsemen armed, could hold no longer, but even before the King would know what he meant by it, claiming to himself that charge, being captain of the guard. The Chancellor forbore to answer, but the King said these were levied to apprehend offenders to religion, himself, and the realm: "and you, my lord, are blotted with the same, and not yet clered thereof nor mete to have this charge."

The Chancellor took advantage hereof to remind the King of Huntly's great dissembling with him, and informed him of some practice of late, vowing that one of them would be "both discourted and disgarded." And so fell out his going away of the day after.

The Laird of Wemyss hath his full despatch, and setteth forward tomorrow[1] early to be at Berwick that night, returning hither again before going to the King of Navarre. His commission tends to these points: firstly, to see how her majesty will consider of him, urging the offers made by me at my first coming hither, upon the entry of the Spanish fleet into the narrow seas; "he will not sticke to aske largelie, remembring that '*in[i]qua petenda sunt ut equa habeant*,' but I judge the King wilbe content with reason, althoughe he demaund great matters at the first;" secondly, to demand the lands descended to him by his grandmother; thirdly, to acquaint her majesty with his match with the second sister of the young King of Denmark, and to urge her bounty in augmentation of his charge; fourthly, for the uniting together for defence of religion, and security of these two kingdoms against invasion of strangers; some other demands touching the spoil of merchants by English pirates.

The enclosed is from Mr. Fowler, who is ready to perform any good office that lieth in him for her majesty's service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 20. 13. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I am most sorry that your honour is by your sickness restrained from court, "and so is moo then I, here." This bearer can tell you of this state. But little appearance of quietness; Earl Bothwell threatens the Chancellor, but the latter cares not much for him. It is thought Erroll will not enter, for yesterday was his day and he comes not. I am sorry there is no more speedy comfort given to the Chancellor and his party; they are in danger greatly. The King continues his affection to Huntly, and excuses him as not guilty of these matters intercepted, giving many reasons for proof; yet he will try him. Surely his majesty means well, and will deal so far as he can to the Queen's liking, but he can do no more than he may. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

Postscript—The Chancellor has a nephew, one Richard Colborne, come this voyage with Wemyss. It will do no harm if he is well used.

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

1 Marginal note by Burghley: "21 Mart Fryday."

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Mar. 21. 14. BURGHLEY TO THOMAS FOWLER.

I most heartily thank you for your letters, the last dated the 14th, and so fully written as I need move no questions as I do to our ambassador, because he writeth more strictly than I wish. The Queen accepted your diligence and your fidelity in very gracious part, and so she counselleth me to write to you. You shall do well not to appear too much affectionated to us, lest you be there precluded from inward causes. I know the manner of that nation. The Queen hath conceived a great misliking of the contrarious proceedings of the King, but yet I do require her to hope better of the end, considering the King's devotion in religion, and the diversity of government there, that he hath not so absolute authority as she hath, "and the nobilliti ther ar not acqueynted with absolut government of ther King but rather ar them selves in a sort absolut." And thus I end, lacking leisure by Mr. Secretary's long absence, and a busy parliament, though very quiet. *Signed: W.* Burghley.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 23. 15. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

The 21st early in the morning I received a letter from your honour with the enclosed of her majesty to the King,[1] which I presented to him that day, informing him of the stay of Sir G. Carie, and that her majesty knew not what to judge or how to counsel him, seeing his proceeding tendeth against his own safety and the quietness of his realm. He read the letter and considered it with the Chancellor all that afternoon. The next morning I went to court again. Her majesty's letter he liked well of, acknowledging her careful mind for him; "and if the wourdes of a prince of the religion are to beare credit, this King will prosequute the matter most severelie, so farr as is possible; onlie some favour to Huntley, till he be found guiltie, I se he meanes to shew, and for the order of proceading for severitie of close imprisonment and otherwise he allegeth it haith not ben the manner of this countrie."

Erroll was proclaimed to the horn the 21st of March, his goods and lands confiscated, and his body pursued as a traitor; "his not comming in doth more good to the proufe of the cause then if he had entred at his daie. Pringle is sent for this 22 of March by Mr. W. Hume to the 100 horse now taken up lieutenant under the Lord Chancellour."

The King's young years and mild nature will be abused by the papists and malcontents if he be not strengthened from her majesty. The adverse faction, "sithence the discourting of Huntley," have had consultations at Dunfermline and St. Johnstone's; it is feared that they being many some dangerous attempt will be made to cut off the chief about the King, and so to possess him and draw him to their course, seeing them backed with foreign forces of men and money, whereof they have some, and expect more daily from Spain and the Duke of Parma, as also their arrival shortly.

It were not amiss, to stir up the King and encourage the well affected here, to send some man of credit and experience in these parts from her majesty, for without her assistance the King and this party will not be

1 Printed from the Warrender MSS. in Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.* (1877 edn.) IV. 339-40; *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI*, Camden Soc., 1849 pp. 161-3; *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Hatfield MSS.*, Pt. 13 pp. 407-8.

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able to withstand the attempts that the papists will essay now they are discovered; "the fier kinled will not be quenched without her majesties healping hand, which will prevent an eminent danger, and save her majestie manie a pound hereafter."

Touching the Spaniards, as I wrote before, order is taken to be sent away in ships of this country, and for their transporting to give 10*s*. a man; but I see not how it will be performed without her majesty be at charge. There are 1000 or more in this country, which is dangerous among these turbulent spirits; the soldiers may be sent away, the captains stayed for ransom.

The King hath promised to stay Desmond and further examine him, suspecting he hath been acquainted with this late practice. Touching the noblemen named in the letters, the Chancellor thinks they are all guilty, and Huntly as far as the rest, but dare not say so to the King. They are resolved to go forward with the mariage in Denmark, as you shall see by the instructions of the lord Wemyss. The ministers daily solicit the sending away of the Spaniards, "but all restes upon this point wherewith." Edinburgh. 23 March, 1588.

Postscript—"Here attends continuallie at there great charges in respect of theise matters, to countenance the cause and the chancellor, the Erles of Angus, Mar, Morton, Marishal, and the Master of Glamis." *Signed:* W. Asheby.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 23.

16. Thomas Fowler to Burghley.

How well this King saith he will do, my lord ambassador knoweth, and I think he means as he speaks, but how he can perform it there is a doubt. The papists are in their countries, except the two in prison, who have intelligence with the rest. Bothwell, who is of no religion, is gone home malcontent, and professed on their side. A knight of that party yesterday assured me that within a month I should see Huntly in place and credit in court more than ever, and such an alteration in Scotland as was not this forty years. I made an impossibility of it; he bade me challenge him if I saw it not fall out true. He rejoiced much at Bothwell's being theirs, and assured me they had 20,000 pistoles in hand, and should have 40,000 more in a fortnight.

I telling the ambassador, it was thought good, since I may not avouch my author, that the Chancellor rather than the King should be made acquainted therewith by me. Which done, this made him more than ever assured that they intended some great matter shortly, and he desired that her majesty would send hither with speed "an ambassadour, a man of credyt, stowt and wyese, able to deale with the Kinge"; who, if he found not the King so forward as were requisite, should lay down to his council, now here, all these dangers; he should be well heard. This the Chancellor thinks better to be done by one that shall not stay here but for this negotiation only than by the ambassador "leger," that must hereafter have the King's ear for many other matters. Such an ambassador's coming will make them stand together. They look for support from her majesty if need require, and for the present charge of their horsemen, and transport of the Spaniards. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

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

James VI. 1588–9. [March]

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 37.

17. Discourse concerning the Sentence on the Queen of Scots.

"[A di]scourse plainlie prooveinge that as well the sentence of death latelie given against that unfortunate Ladie Marie, late Queen of Scotts, as also the execution of the same sentence were honourable, just, necessarie and lawfull."

16$\frac{1}{2}$ *pp.*

1589. Mar. 26.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 418.

18. Thomas Fowler to Walsingham.

What money will work among this [nation] I doubt not but your honour knows; the Spanish faction [and the] Treasurer amongst them having store of pistoles to serve when the King and his side have nothing to make any force with. There are but the Chancellor and four or five of the better sort that like the English nation; to the King many speak fair because they hear him so much for England, but if it come to a matter of proof they are gone. Bothwell has gone already to the Spanish side. Claud Hamilton seeks the Chancellor's friendship with offers of money or land, for he is rich. No comfort is given from England; the ambassador dare promise nothing. I have at a venture put them in hope that her majesty will support them, but they hear nothing thence. They say her majesty will have the King do things to her liking, but he must do all of himself in suppressing the Spanish faction, and sending away the Spaniards, without consideration how he can do it.

A wise councillor said to me this morning, "I dowt in thes matters what cowncell to geve tyll I see whether y[our] Quene will confyrme a leage with our Kinge, in what sort, [and] what she will doo for him."

"For we fynde that your cow[ncell] in all pollecy seekes the standinge and securyte of the [Quene (?)] withowt respect of your neyghbors farder then tendes to . . .* turne; and for theyre more assurance do they not dea[le] with Papist, Turke, Barbar or who so ever? Then may n[ot] we lerne by your government to consydder of our Kinge, . . . is of him selffe poore and not able to defend him selffe . . . cowntry agaynst Ingland, havinge his frendes of Fraunce trobled by present warres, of which the tyme and end is . . . And if he cut of the facey-on of Spayne and frustrate a[ll] hoope of succour and ayde that way too, is he not th[en] in the marcy of Ingland to be used as you lyst, and who knowes how that wilbe? At least we ar bownd [by] the example of your Cowncell to foresee and provyde for the worst—as we may—and experyence techethe us to dowt m[uch]. Yet if we may see in tyme that the Quenes majeste w[ill join] in leage with the Kinge, support him, and repayre that . . . have impayred in his credit and righte, then will we cowncell him unfeynedly to forsake all prynces and . . . ayde, and cast him selffe onely in to the handes of . . . Ingland and to doo what ever is best . . ." I answered as well as my wit would serve me, but he would [not] leave his opinion.

I doubt not the King will rule well so long as no foreign forces arrive, but if there came a few thousands of Spaniards and many thousands of pistoles, I doubt there will not be . . . to withstand them, and

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. that this well-affected King would have no power to reject persuasions to [join ?] with them. If he should yield to any attempt against [England], papist and protestant would run with him in that fortune; he is now far off that purpose, but many discommends him for it.

There are few in this country of his own opinion, and he dares not deal with so many of his nobility as were requisite to avoid danger, unless backed by England. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

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

Mar. 28. 19. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 395.

I received your letter on 21st instant. I will endeavour to merit her majesty's goodness and your favour. On the 25th instant Pringle was brought to the King in the young Duke's chamber. The Chancellor thought it best the King should be present at the first examination, and the King would have the Duke—whose sister Huntly hath married—present with him, and Alexander Lyndsey, a younger brother to the Earl of Crawford. The Duke, who was fourteen years old last Candlemas, is "so proper a youthe, so wy[se], stayde, actyve on horse and fote, cowrteows, of suche intertey[nment] and carryage of him selffe, so pleasynge to all men, so good a . . . *and grace, beinge resonable highe and well made, as tr[uly] he is a parragon. The Kinge loves this Duke as him selffe; the Duke loves Huntley owt of mesure, frome whome he ne[ver] was so longe as he used cowrt or nere it. When I ca[me] hether fyrst, all the Kinges care was how he myght procuer the L[ady] Arbell for wyffe to the sayd Duke, and wolde have sent to the [Quenes] majeste therein: but askinge my opinyon I discowraged him the[rein]. Then he thowght to desyer in generall termes to have the bestowinge of hir. I aunswered that yet he was lyker to . . . by dealinge in specyall, for no dowte but hir majeste wold know how she sholde be bestowed. I gave him comfort in neyther, yet he sayd then he wold prove it: and for more proffe of love to the sayde Duke hys majeste dealt secretly I know, which was to disprove the tytell of the Hameltons to the crowne of Scotland and to aprove the Duke's. But he was advised what a da[nger] it wold brynge apon him; allso that he shold marry him [selffe] and by Goddes grace have isshue to cut of all other. The Duke hathe a yonger sister of [10 ?] yeres old that is thowght shalbe Cowntes of Argile. They . . . bothe toge'her and ar papistes."

Alexander Lindsey is the King's best beloved minion; a proper man, and Huntly's wholly. There is not one in the chamber or of the stable, "which two sortes of people ar nerest attendinge on the Kinges person," but are Huntly's, except Roger Aston and Richard Colborne, both gone to London. These men have the King's ear, and work great effect for Huntly, and the Chancellor cannot mend it, for the King will not change his servants, he loves them so well.

To the examination of Pringle before the King came the Duke, Lindsey, the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvin and the Clerk of the Register. "He sayd the letters were . . . him by Bruce; and attendinge Bruce at the Erll H[untley's] howse Domfermlyng, where he saw the famyly

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. . . . betwen the Erll, Bruce and . . . xiiij day, which they accompted to be a iiij or v [dayes] . . . Erll subscrybed to the churche, but longe after he had . . . and sworne to the Kinge to forsake papistry and all . . . companyes."

"Pryngell tellinge the maner of theyre me[eting], the place, day, and hower, the Kinge soddenly axed him [what] aparell the Erll ware that day. He reddely began at [his] hat, and to his showes told it so as the Kinge alowed it [that] he had sene him were the lyke. He told allso that a [day or] ij. before the Erll was cum over the water and scaped . . . hardly, which was a token, of the tyme, well knowne. Th . . . Pryngell charged one Forster to be present at thes matters [as w]ell as he, and this Forster hathe byn in the Towleboth here ever sence Don John de Medena went hence in [a] barke of Coronell Stewerd, and was goinge with Medena to Spayne as was thowght to brynge sum aunswer frome him. But the Chauncelour beinge advertysed that a man was shipped amongest the Spanierdes, know[ing] him to be a papist and a suspicyows fellow, sent [to] take him owt of the ship that mornynge they were . . ., and comytted him then to prysson, where tyll now [he] hathe byn, but never any thinge gotten owt of him. This Forster was sumtymes in Ingland with Movisher [Mauvissière]."

"[On] Pryngells accusynge him the Kinge presently sent for [him]; there Pryngell charged him selffe, but he craftely de[nyed] eyther to know him or to have sene him before, or th[at] he was aquaynted with any suche metynge or ma . . ."

"Pryngell affyrmed it stowtly, and desyred the commba . . . him. Then Pryngell was syfted how he bewrayed [him self]: he sayd he wold fayne have discovered the matter [to the] Kinge before his goinge, but for feare of the great men whome it concerned. And beinge at sea his consyence [was] trobled, and then landinge in Ingland he thowght [to] have bewrayed it fyrst to Mr. Secretory him selffe, but makinge an Inglishe man pryvey of the matter superfycy[ally], he betrayed him, and made him be taken as he was up to London."

Huntly's friends take advantage of this voluntary dealing of his, and would persuade that . . . was suborned to do it: but the King thinks he is deceived in the opinion he had of Huntly, and that he hath dealt untruly with him; yet he sees no proof against him, for "Pryngell sayes not that Huntley . . . send him to Bruce with eyther letters or m . . . all with him, onely that . . . ynge with Bruce and Chesholme attendinge his depeche . . . eyne metynges and conferences: which the Kinge takes hold [of] as a matter that Huntley denayed to him, and therefore suspectes him in the rest."

As for Erroll and Claud Hamilton, this man says nothing of them, but only the letters in cipher which they deny to be privy to. Bruce went long ere the letters came hither, being pursued by the Chancellor.

The Jesuits Creichton and . . . cannot be found: Bothwell protects Creichton. Chesholme is fled also; therefore what proof can be made, for these noblemen have had leisure to learn their lesson to agree in a tale with other traitors. "Mr. Mony wo[uld] fynde them owt, but he is not in thes partes; they say here he must cum owt of Ingland." Without more bountiful dealing there will be little care here to satisfy her majesty. I will answer for the King himself being "as lothe to offend hir as any th[e most] obediente childe cane be to the mother;" but he is

James VI. 1589. subject to his Council and they may abuse him. He is not able to live like a King. He borrows often of his towns and never pays; he takes taxes *alias* subsidies every year for three or four past, which they repine at, "and hathe aunswered this now collected shalbe the last, and had not graunted it. . . . to brynge home a wyffe and furnishe his maryage, and . . . it be all payde as never is; the whole is but . . . sterlyng, a *c* thousand *li.* Scotes. He hathe neyther plate nor stuffe to furnishe one of his lytell halfe bult howses, which ar in great decay and ruen." His plate is not worth 100*l.*; he has only two or three rich jewells, and his guards are unpaid. Now he hath made the Chancellor . . . hundred horsemen, whose entertainment will be . . . . miserable poverty of a good king. His saddles are of plain cloth; he has six or seven dishes of meat but eats but of two; no bread but of oats, and cares not what apparel. "He never thinkes of mony nor how [it] shold be gotten, so he have to play the crownes a se . . . when the wether is fowle." If any escheat or ward fall, the first that bags it hath it; his Council will not be against it for purchasing themselves feed, and take on with him to take where he may have it. Some praise the liberality of Spain, and speak of the niggardly dealing of England; he answers them more like an English subject than a Scots King. Her majesty should know that he is neither ambitious, malicious nor covetous.

"Sum stay in his gevinge b[efore] all, in effect, was gon had byn meete, but that is p . . . onles he make a generall revocacyon, which the kinges [of] this cowntry hathe had a law they myght doo tyll they were xxv yeres of age: but this man dare not doo [it] onlesse he were otherwayes backed then he is. It is . . . what he hathe geven away within vj yeres."

The Chancellor guides the helm in all matters of state and is the best affected of all towards England, but he is covetous. He is poor, and driven to keep a great train to save his life from his enemies. He spends much more than his living, and need makes men do that they would not; —"and what is it that a Scot will not do for mony?" If he were bound to her majesty, as I know how he might be, what could be desired for her but he would perform it? . . . traitors and ill pretenders to England that now I do . . . kes to gain more by than by England. Let [him] not be tempted above his strength; he hath many of evil counsel against England, and few good. Such is the hatred of this nation to us that many of them even hate their King for being well affected.

"I have sent your lordship a pece of worke herewith that was ment to have byn us[ed] to a purpose here. It is kept very secret, yet I gat a copy of it; and thowghe it be now layde bye in this part, it may serve sum turne hereafter." Edinburgh.

Postscript—I thank you for your advice, which I will follow.

4⅓ *pp. Holograph, signature decayed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 31. 20. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

May it please your honour to receive enclosed a letter from Robert Scot, which I make bold to send as a confirmation of his other, and not to inform you in that which you do know. If it seem good to you to hear of more particulars touching Medina, Mr. Fowler by your honour's

James VI. 1589. letter will enquire of his cousins' two brothers of that name in Scotland, "with whoam he is great." The one you know and his humour; he was with you four years ago. York. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

Mar. 31 21. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Right excellent, right highe and mightie princes, our dearest sister and cosen; in our hartiest manner we recommend us unto you. We are informed by the bearer hereof, Mr. Patrick Blare, howe that he by the space of manie yeares hath founde your gratious favour extended towardes him, but especially about a seaven yeares paste, in graunting him your presentatioun to a benefice in Devonsheire called Stockingham, att the request of Sir Frauncis Drake, knight, and at this presente in peaceable possession thereof: till that sithence his cominge to visite us att our commande, one Evans, a promoter, as we are informed, uppon sinister informacioun, hath indirectely procured a new presentacioun from you of the same, thereby intendinge to make voyde your former graunte and put the saide Mr. Patricke from his lyvinge without some specyall remedye. We have therefore yelded him this present, to request you verie earnestlie that his repayringe unto us att this tyme be no waies prejudicall nor hurtfull to him in that case, but that he may finde the contynewaunce of your good countenaunce and gratious favour as well in that as in other his adois. And that eyther by callinge back of the newe, or confirminge the olde and former presentacion, he may be put in suirtie of the tytle of his saide benefice, and still possesse the same under your favour and protectioun." "Holirudehouse." *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 2. 22. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 424.

There hath been a meeting of discontented noblemen and papists; to what end none can tell. Bothwell returned thence on March 29th, and met the King with 50 horse, coming from hunting. Mr. Fowler was with the King, and beheld that he would neither speak to Bothwell nor look at him; whereupon Bothwell rode straight to Crichton, where he is taking up [100 ?] horsemen, and hath sent for his friends to confer with. He [Fowler] telleth me that both Bruce and . . .* are with Huntly at Strathbogie, and that faction expect news from the Prince of Pa[rma] and the coming of men and money; but this may be given out in policy.

"The Counsell sendes abrode dailie, and appre[hends] divers that lodged Bruice, that helped . . . Symple, and on that served him . . . but litle effect groweth of this to touche [the] great ons, for of none is yet handes layd, [but] of the Lord Claud Hamelton, from whom no com[pany] is restrained, but resorted to and visited [by] suche as pleaseth him: but this thei saie [is] the manner of this countrey, which is here . . . without considering the dangerous tyme."

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589.

The King is willing to send the Spaniards away, but the charge of transport stays it, which will not be found without her majesty's liberality. The longer they stay, the more they . . . this country. They still come daily out of Ireland as they get passage, and 300 soldiers which were in Norway have arrived in Scotland.

"I have ben earnest for Desmond; the Kinge . . . comaunded that he be committed. This daie [the] Chancellour haith promised me that the . . . shalbe charged with to take him presentlie, [so] as I looke hourelie when he shalbe . . . and committed." Edinburgh.

Postscript—Bothwell went yesterday from Crichton to Kelso, where the borderers come to him. He is very busy; to what end we know not. Lord John Hamilton hath sent Mr. Colvin to me to tell me that his honour means to invite me to be his gossip, as we term it in England. I would have your lordship's advice; the charge will be her majesty's, I being invited to the christening in respect of the place I hold. The solemnity will be at Hamilton, where the King will be about the end of April, a godfather to the Lord Hamilton's son. *Signature decayed.*

2¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 2. 23. Sir Richard Cockburn to Maitland.

Add. MSS., 23, 241, fol. 19.

"According as wes luiked for, I fand the Master of Gray heir, quhair he had remained eght dayes of before. As I delyverit to him zour lordships letter, together with that zour lordship gave me in command to speke be tonge, I could conceave na thing of the speaches he utterit, bot that he wes altogether to continew that intermitted freyndship for a quhyle betuixt zour lordship and him, taking zour lordshipes advyse concerning his cumming hame to Scotland in gud pairt; and wald have followed the same yf he had understand thairof before his parting out of France. Bot because he wes arryved heir, where he could not stay without suspitioun having na erand, he wald tak the hazarde in returning hame; quhair yf he might find his majestie indifferent, or yf not, no hinderer in staying justice to procede, he doubtit not to effectuat that against the Erle of Huntlie quhilk he had in intention to do, and that the occasioun of his stay heir was onlye to kisse her majesties hand, quhilk he did on Mondday last, with great conference."

"Her majestie luiking the Laird of Weymis should have desyrit presence the day after his cumming to this toun, quhilk wes on Thrusday the xxvij of Marche, whilk he could not conveniently do at that tyme, differrit to give him audience till Tuisday last, the first of this instant. After the delyverie of his majesties letter he fand that rencounter zour lordship will understande be his awin letter. Her majestie appearis to be offendit with the sclender prosecuting of that matter against the Erle of Huntlie, being so weightie and of sa great consequence, quhilk hes fallin unhappelye out be apperance to cast off sic thingis as ar desyred in his hienes name here."

"After I had resaved that honour as to kisse her majesties hand, she enterit in discourse to tell how far she wes behoulden to zour lordship, and how gud a counsalour ze were to his majestie in advysing him to run so gud a course; wherein she had to thanke zour lordship besyde the gud will she knew zour lordship bure to her, reserving the dewtye

James VI. 1589. to zour awin king, quhilk she wald be glade to acquyte as zour awin hart wald desyre: wishing that zour lordship were transported heir for two houris, that she might have conference with zow in some poyntis, and thair after caryed hame besyde the King; repeting that wishe twyse, and that your lordship had to rejose of zour being in the right syde. Whereby I collact hir majestie to be weill informed of your lordship, that movis her to utter the same, quhilk wilbe augmentit in quhatsumever the Laird of Weymis can do in that or otherwayes as may best stand zour lordship in steid heir: to quhome as I am greatlie addettit in using me so courteslye in all respectis, I will acquyte it be my gud attendance on him, trusting that zour lordship will thank him for me, as the same is done for zour lordships onlye respect."

"Sa farre as I can perceave or learne of others quhom zour lordship will credit, I find the Master of Gray farre changit in his fassionis, and to beare that gud will towardis zour lordship in deid as he professis in wordes; whereof he wald be glade to give pruif in quhatsumever may encresse zour lordships credit here, as he hes elles reported vearye weill of zour lordship to her majestie, and is myndit to do forder at nixt occasioun baith to her and sic others quha hes the credit heir, luiking that zour lordship will wryte to him as zour lasir may serve in onye thing your lordship wald have done be him heir, or elles that zour lordship wald lat him understand of the same be me. I heare he hes changit his first resolution, and is myndit noct to remove from this till he understand forder from that place."

"I am as the rest with the Laird of Weymis in Mr. Archbald Douglas his house, with whome I am noct myndit to have dealing in anye sort, nather hes onye thing past betuixt ws as zit bot generall conference, and not vearye oft." London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address.*

April 3. 24. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.

"Right trusty and weilbelovit we greit zow hartlie weill. We have hard be Johane Robertsoun, merchand, of our burgh of Edinburgh, the favour and gude will quhilk ze did utter to him and his partineris in furtherance of the recovery of thair guidis intrometted with be Roger Wendame, and how be ordinance of counsale the said Wendame was found comptable to the parties of thair haill losse and dampnage, albeit that, as we are informit, the said ordinance be now alterit at the instance and procurement of some favouraris of the said Wendame, and our saidis subjectes likelie thairby to be remitted to the countrey men, of plane intentioun in the procurer, ather to force the saidis complenaris to deserte thair sute, or to involve thame in ane endles proces and expenss to thair furthere inconvenient and undoing; the remedy quherof resting in the prosecutioun of that ordour quhilk first was granted, for the obteyning quherof we can addresse thame to no better meanes nor zour gude furtherance and credite. We thairfore will effectueusly requeist zow to travell with the remanent of the counsale that sic ordour may be set doun to the complenaris satisfactioun in that behalff as the said Wendame may still be comptable to thame according to his intromissioun and the said ordinance, respecting baith his better meane

James VI. 1589. to refound him of the countray men, and how he may attend thairon with farre les travell and expenss nor it will drawe to the complenaris. Quherin as ze have weill begun sa man we earnistlie requyre zow to continew, as ze will do us richt acceptable and thankfull pleasure." Holyrood. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 5. 25. SIR THOMAS HENEAGE TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 398.

"Her majesty sawe this forenoone the dely . . .* your letters to me, with the inclosed from S. . . . which cawsed her highness to call for them before I . . . reade them. So for that I can say no more . . . but they be in her own handes, and she h[ath] redde them, but what she thinketh of th[em I] can not yet lette you knowe. Her highness had longe speeche with me yester[day] after my return to her of the matters [of] Scotland, all tending to the expressyon of [her] highness mynd to be fully perswaded of the we[akness] of that King and of the uncertenty of that allya[nce]. Whereupon I shewed her majesty at large . . . that you herd of the Lord of Weimes conceyte . . . his dealyng with her, and what you thought . . . needfull preventyng of the danger immi[nent] and in wurkyng to make an enterans i . . . kyngdome by that perilous posterne, w . . . lykewyse I delt very plainly, but coold . . . her have smalle tayst of the sharpenes . . . this occasyon: yet she sheweth to me th[at she] careth not for her purse in this cawse, and . . . to deale more sweetly with the Lord of We[imes]. But a far greater opinyon I fynd her m . . . in the Lord of Graes, that is now by her appoyntment hear with her, in whome . . . thought their wear as moch syncerety . . . I shold think ther myght growe good . . ."

"If I fynd anything before I goe to Coptha[ll I] will wryte to you. The whilst I must tell [you] that yesterday her majesty gave order to [Mr.] Attorney—after my coommyng to her—to have [the] Earl indyted upon Monday next, and told . . . he shold be arreigned the Monday follow[ing], at what tyme her majessy wold be abrode, [I] think at Hampton Court."

"How this will . . . or allter I can not assure you: the weth[er is] so changeable in Aprile. I can heare yet of no letters from Sir John C . . . , but I fynd from you that he hath doone ly[ke a] gentleman, and a good soldyer and servant. Her majesty was ons mynded to have seen . . . this afternoone, but yt is now most lyke [she] will not." Chelsea. *Signed:* T. Heneage.

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

April 5. 26. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

All the nobility here have gone home to their houses, and the King is eight miles from hence, a-hunting for nine or ten days. The Chancellor only "keeps" this town. Of the provision of the papists' faction I have written so much as there needs no more: the Chancellor and his party fear them not "so longe as they have no Spanyerdes aryved, which

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. noo dowt they looke for." There is great expectation of Wemyss's return and that he shall bring satisfaction to the King and good men.

The Master of Gray is not desired here either by the King or Chancellor, for "they accompt him of evell religion, worsse concyence, noo honesty or credyt, extreme prowde and ambycyowse, yet poore." There was two months since a proclamation whereby he and other papists were forbidden to come here unless the church here were so satisfied as the ministers should be mediators for them. He was my friend, yet I think good to let you know the truth, for I hear very few account of him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed.*

April 7. 27. [THOMAS FOWLER] TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 349.

The King being at Hawton, six miles from Edinburgh, where he meant to stay ten days hunting, I waiting upon him yesterday about 2 o'clock, came Carmichael in haste, saying that Bothwell had gathered his forces at Kelso and made an oration to them, saying that the King was led away by force to an English course, to his and the country's shame; that the Chancellor was bought by English money and was chief dealer, who had taken up horsemen to wait upon the King to keep him as he listed; that there was 3000(?) men to come to the Borders out of England, by which and an English faction the nobility should be overthrown and Scotland brought into bondage; that he knew the King's mind, and desired all their aids to deliver him, to remove the English faction and deliver this realm from the tyranny of those who murdered the King's mother and have done him all the wrong they can.

"To this s[peech] John Carr, the Lard of Grenehed, Phernihirst, the . . of the Trombells, Elliotes, Armstronges and others, broken men, borderers, all vowed to take his part and to dye and lyve in the quarrell; but Buckclowghe, Sesford, and the Lard of Jonston refused him of the playn feld, and onles they saw the Kinges warrant they wold enter into no band nor service; and sent presently to the Chauncelour to know how the world went. They are answered and satysfyed, so as they be suer at the Kinges cawle. Allso on Satterday Bodwell rood to the Lord . . .* howse becawse he wold not cum to his assembly and b . . . meanes perswaded him to be of that party and to reyse his forces owt of hand to joyne with him. The Lo. H . . . partly graunted, but made sum dowt tyll he had ad[vised] with his frendes; which he presently sent for. Bodwell being . . . but Cowdenknowes, the good man of Huton Hawle and gave him suche advice as he sent this morninge to the [Kinge] and the Chauncelour to know what he shold doe w[ith] him selffe as the others. The good man of Huton . . . who at his partynge assured . . . frome the newse at Hawton, whether after ra . . . another jentellman, and browght advertysment that . . . Bodwell wold come to the Kinges howse, Hollirode . . . sone as his majeste and Chauncelour was there in. He . . . by what way Bodwell wold enter, take the Kinge . . . , sley whome he thowght good, and this wold not be l[ong] a doinge."

"At mydnight came yonge Carmihell . . . that Bodwell was cum forward and myght be at Edenbrowghe by the morninge. Another

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. cumes owt of Dondee frome the Master of Glames at that hower, and brynges word that Arolls, Huntleyes, and Crawfordes with others forces were comynge hetherwardes, whereof a great p[art] cam to Byrghen; and vj[e] horse beinge sent to take [the] sayd Master of Glames in his howse, by good happ he h[ad] advertysment, and toke horse with but one with him [and] fled to Dondee; but he was followed so nere that if [he] had byn but halffe a myle frome the towne he h[ad] byn taken. Apon this newse the Kinge roose, presently tooke horse, and by three aclok was in the Chauncelors ho[wse] in Edenbrowghe towne, I meane within the wawles; wh[ence] presently he sent letters to the Lord Hamelton, the [Earls] of Morton, Angusse, Marshall; Mar is with him, and D . . . Others sent to Atholl, whome they thowght to have h[ad], but ar deceaved by his wyffe, for he is made suer the . . . that he shold kepe the passage at St. Johnstons of the . . . and the towne to be in armes reddy. He sent lyke w[yse] to the towne of Sterlynge, to kepe that brydge; he se[nt] to all the ferryes of Forthe to brynge all the bootes ov[er] to this syde, and theyre sayles taken frome them; a[nd] charges to all the good townes to arme and be reddy at an howers warninge; and proclemacyon this day for all men to come hether withowt delay between sixty and sixten. Another proclemacyon that all men shall forsake and leave the service and companyes of the Erlles Bodwell, Huntley . . . apon payne of tresòn withowt delay, and that they shall not geve credit nor care to any theyre procklemacyons, wrytinges or speches."

"The Kinge is excedinge angry . . . avowed revenge, specyally on Bodwell, who ride . . . do a myscheffe apon the soddeyn. So that . . . wantes mony for to take up shot, which they of the other syde hathe." Edinburgh. *Signature decayed.*

Postscript—"Your lordship looses the Chauncelour if the Master of Gray cum home, aye, and all his partakers. It is knowne he wilbe agaynst Huntley for his owne partyculer of Donfermlynge, but . . . all the good men, and will soner joyne with the pap[ists] then with them in all other respectes. And the King ac[counteth] him a very evell man as lyves, bothe in religion, concyence or honest dealinge any way. The Kinge will prove him selffe honest I warrant." *Signature decayed.*

2⅓ *pp. In Thomas Fowler's hand. Addressed by Asheby. Indorsed:* "From Mr. Henrie [*sic*] . . . out of Scotlande."

April 7. 28. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 359.

Huntly and his confederates in the north would have taken the Master of Glamis in his house sixteen miles beyond Dundee, but he fled with one man. They chased him to the walls of the town, but he got into it. Bothwell has gathered his whole p[ower], but it is not so much as he hoped. Hume, Johnston, Buccleuch and Cesford have forsaken him for the King. "Bodwell made oracyon to his frendes that the King was as a pryssoner, for the Chauncelour and the faccyon for Ingland kept him agaynst his will; that the Chauncelour was bowght by Ingland; that men iij thousand were cominge owt of Ingland to joyne with the faccyon to over throughe this nobyllite and state, and to make them bonde."

"The Kinge beinge in a huntyng howse cawled Hawton vj myles hence, yesternight after one a cloke these newse cominge to him roose and to[ok] horse, and was at Edenbrowghe by three a clok [at] the Chaun-

James VI. 1589. celors howse, where he and suche cowncell [as] he hathe gave orders for cuttynge of the proceding [of] the rebells by all meanes, and made procklemacyon that all men shold leave them apon payne of treson presently, and that all betwen sixty and xvj shold repayre to this towne in armes without delay. The King is extreme angry and vowes rev[enge], but he lackes mony to doo that he wold." Edinburgh. *Signature decayed.*

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

April 7. 29. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

This enclosed will inform you of the state here at this present set down by Mr. Fowler. "The smoke is now turned into flame; the King fraid from his hunting, and seeth himself abused, especiallie by Huntley: he begins now to be moved, and voweing to persequute it to the uttermost, if he may be backed from her majestie he will not desist till he have wracked the papistes in his countrie." Every day will give new matter to write. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 8. 30. [THOMAS FOWLER] TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 308.

. . .* so dangerous as there was no tarrying till . . . again out of England; and Bothwell coming yesternight [to] Dalkeith with 600 horse, Huntley on the other side come to Dunfermline with Montrose, Erroll, Crawford and others; and their messengers of all sides coming to the King, who grew fearful, having small forces about this town, I thought good to quicken his majesty, so writ these lines enclosed, and persuaded the ambassador to write them over and send them sealed to the King. I refer the rest to the said ambassador's letters, beseeching you not to let him understand that I wrote thus much to you. *Signature decayed.*

Postscript—"I am playinge my part as I may to kepe my credyt with the Kinge, but truly I may say inowghe to him for Ingland or he will mislyke it. And for thes broyles, I encorrace him all I can [s]everally dealing with no one more than others of the rebells."

½ *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

April 8. 31. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

The King going from Holyrood House to Hawghton, and the Chancellor lying in the city in his absence, disappointed "their" first purpose to have taken them both together in Holyrood house. The second intent was to take the King at Hawghton, and possessing him, to deal with the Chancellor and the rest well enough; but the King coming suddenly from Hawghton to this town disappointed that also, and the provision that hath here been suddenly made I hope is like to prevent the forces of their enemies.

Huntly and divers of the principal confederates have come to Dunfermline; their forces follow after them, but yet not many come. Bothwell, who should have done the sudden exploit of this side, was yesternight with 300 horse within a mile of this town. "Sending spiall to the walls,

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. and finding all places wel garded " he retired to Dalkeith, where he is now with 600 horse and other followers. They of the other side have taken divers going over the water into Fife, among others a servant of the King sent with letters to the Earl of Morton and the Master of Glamis ; and there is divers taken coming from the other side, and sent to prison in this city. Early this morning Lord Hamilton arrived, whose coming was comfortable to the King and the well affected. These confederates finding themselves frustrate begin to excuse the matter, Huntly alleging that he came to visit his lady, Montrose that he came to compound a matter betwixt his cousin Lord Graham and John Sandilands, Bothwell that being in debate with his neighbours he brought some friends for self-defence. Nevertheless it is resolved to pursue Bothwell to-morrow, to apprehend him, or chase him from the country, and thereafter to invade the residue of the faction. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 8. 32. ROBERT CARVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

This day I received from the Laird of Restalrig the letters here enclosed, directed to the Master of Gray, and by a little dark note received from the laird to myself, I perceive there is " gret sturr and hurley-burley in Scotland," but I cannot get any advertisements to write for certain until you answer my last letter, and thereupon you shall hear of great matters. For other common bruits your honour hath daily knowledge by Mr. Ashby better than I can certify.

This day Bothwell is at Kelso taking up a great number of men, as yet not certainly known, saving four hundred, which he payeth monthly after the rate of 50*s.* a month. And it is reported that he is presently to meet at Peebles with Lord Herries, the Laird of Buccleugh, and the Laird of Johnstone, and pretend to go towards Edinburgh to meet Huntly ; but Lord Hume and " Lesterick " are revolted and are at Douglas. They came from Bothwell upon Sunday last, and mean to go to the King forthwith. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Carvill.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 9. 33. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

The common " occurrantes " of the rebels' proceedings are known to so many that I will not trouble your honour therewith, save that the lords of the far side of the water, so soon as they perceived the King to have taken Edinburgh in the night, whereby Bothwell was disappointed of intercepting him, and therefore could not bring his majesty to Dunfermline, where Huntly and others awaited him, withdrew to St. Johnstone's, and there assembled their forces. Bothwell hath lain at Dalkeith till this day, " and sent many stowt messengers and messages to the Kinge, offrynge at last upon sum condissyons to yeld to him selffe, but the Kinge refused all condicyons." At last, though a while it was doubted he would show too much favour, he determined this day to march in person with the forces he had ready to set upon Bothwell, but the horsemen were too weak, and he persuaded to stay till the morning, when he means to march.

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This day came a messenger from the Prince of Parma. The colour is to yield courteous thanks in his master's name for the charitable treatment of his distressed soldiers, and promising "answerable" friendly dealing. Withal, they make a show of care to have these transported from hence, but first they will have a safe-conduct from her majesty that if they be driven upon the coast of England they shall not be molested but relieved for their money with victuals. If this they may obtain, they will go back and fetch money to transport them.

Colonel Stewart has been with me to know if I think the like passport will be obtained, for he gives most entertainment here to the man that has come. I like not his coming nor manner of dealing. My friends "of their side" are all now in arms against the King and not here, but I will know the secrets shortly.

"The discomfortable aunswer her majestie made to Wymes will doo no good here as the tyme is, and if there be not other regard had this way then yet is, I feare all wilbe nowght. I refer it to the wisdome of your honour and the rest of the lordes." Late this afternoon Bothwell fled towards Stirling and St. Johnstone's to the other lords, but his borderers left him, save 30 horses. The King to-morrow marches after to Stirling and St. Johnstone, and farther as occasion serveth, to chase them or take them, and is bent to prosecute the matter against them all severely. I go with him, both for that he likes that I should, and that I shall perchance do some service thereby, though it will be somewhat costly to me, more than lying here. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 10. 34. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 346.

"The 9 daie, right honorable, the King determined to pursue Bothwell lying at Dawketh w[ith] 6 or 700 horse, and coming the daie before w[ithin] a myle of Edenbrowghe with 300 horse; but finding [his] forces not sufficient staid that daie till the Lords Hume and Sesford were comed to him."

"Bothwell hearing of the Kings resolucion removed that daie from Dawketh, marching, as it is thought, towardes the other earls in Fiffe. This daie the King setteth foreward, accompanied with the Duke of Lenoux, the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Hamelton, the Earl of Marr, with the forces of Lord Hume, the Lord Sesford and the Lord of Carrmichell, [and] three Wardens of the Marches, with full resolucion to pursue them to the uttmerost."

"The Earls Morton, Anguse, Marshall, Atho[ll] and the Master of Glamis are beyond the F[orth], gathering forces to joyne with the King, who marches this daie to Lithko, the next daie to Sterling, and so foreward to prosequute the erls confederated; who make pretence t[hat] thei have taken armes to deliver the King, keapt, as thei saie, against his will by th[e En]glishe faccion, which with the forces . . .* seek to suppresse and roote out the ancient [no]bilitie of Scotland."

Fowler tells Asheby that Colonel Stewart asked him if he thought her majesty would grant a safe [conduct], that if the Spaniards should be transported to the Low Countries, and driven on the coast of England, they should not be molested. This motion was made upon one coming

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. hither the 8th instant from the Duke of Parma; if they may have this safe-conduct they will make away with speed.

"The King haith sent to me to request in his n[ame] that Mr. George Carr, brother to the Laird of [New]bottle, and Captain Patricke Seaton, which gentlemen are stayd in England coming out of France, maie be dismissed and suffred to passe into [this] countrie, and his heighnes wilbe answerable for them."

Sends names and particulars of the nobility of Scotland, that Walsingham may judge of their strength. The "lards and barons" are like the knights and squires of England, and are the wealthiest and strongest part of Scotland, such as the Douglases, Hamiltons, Humes, Carrs, etc. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"Manie of Bothwells forces have forsaken him upon his parting from Dawketh."

"If your honour haith written sithence the 2 of Aprill, I feare in this troublesome tyme that [it] is intercepted. Your last was of the 2, of W . . . and the Master Greis being with her majestie."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 10. 35. STATE OF THE NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND.

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, Ban. Club, pp. 321-331; *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, Grampian Club, pp. 53-62.

"A note of the especiall particularities concerning the present estate of the Nobility here in Scotland. 1589."

EARLS.

Charles James Stewart, king of Scotland, born in Edinburgh Castle, 19 June, 1566. His father Henry, Lord Darnley, Duke of Albany, Earl of Ross, son and heir to the Earl of Lennox. His mother Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots, daughter of King James V. by his second wife, Mary of Lorraine.

Duke of Lennox, Lodovicus Stewart, aged 15. His father first Lord "Obony" [Aubigny] by marriage in France, and after created Duke of Lennox by James VI. His grandfather was second brother to Matthew, Earl of Lennox; so this Duke to this King cousin once removed. His majesty hath given him, besides his father's dukedom, the barony of Methven, since the decease of the late Lord "Meffan" [Methven]. His chief domains belonging to the duchy are in Lennox, to the barony in Perthshire. His younger brother brought up in France to enjoy the barony of Aubigny. His eldest sister lately married by the King to Earl Huntly, with the abbacy of Dunfermline for dowry.

Earl of Orkney and Lord of Shetland, Robert Stewart, "*vulgo* the Lord Robert," of 60 years, bastard son to James V. His wife a Kennedy, sister to the Earl of Cassillis: his son and heir aged 20: his second son Commendator of Whithorn. His 3 daughters married: (1) the Master of Gray; (2) the Master of Caithness, the Earl's brother; (3) the Abbot of Lindores, the Earl of Rothes's second son. His living in the isles of Orkney and Shetland.

Earl Bothwell, Lord Admiral of Scotland, Master of the Horse, Sheriff of Lothian, Provost of Haddington, Abbot of Kelso, Prior of Coldingham, Lord of Liddisdale, etc., Francis Stewart, of 26 years. His father John, Lord of Coldingham, bastard son to James V. His mother a Hepburn, sister and heir to James late Earl of Bothwell. His wife a Douglas,

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sister to the late Earl of Angus, widow of the laird of "Bocklughe" [Buccleuch], and mother to this laird now living. His son and heir aged 5. "His landes lie answerable to his stiles."

Earl of Murray, George Stewart, aged 21. His father Lord of Downe, Abbot of St. Colme's; his mother a Campbell, sister to the old Earl of Argyle, and this earl's aunt. His wife a Stewart, daughter and heir to the Earl of Murray (late regent, bastard son to James V.), and sister by the mother's side to this Earl of Argyle, her mother being first Countess of Murray and after of Argyle: so himself cousin-german and his wife half-sister to this Earl of Argyle. His son and heir aged 2. Lands in Murray.

Earl of Atholl, John Stewart, aged 26. His father, John Earl of Atholl, sometime regent. His mother daughter to Lord Fleming by a base sister of James V., before Countess of Montrose and mother to this Earl of Montrose. His wife daughter to the late Earl of Gowrie and sister to this young earl. His children young and many. Lands in Atholl, Perthshire and Strathearne.

Earl of Angus, William Douglas, late Laird of Glenbarvie, aged 60. His mother a Keith, his wife a Graham of the Laird of Morphie's house. His eldest son, the young Laird of Glenbarvie, a catholic, married to Lord Oliphant's daughter. Lands in Angus and Mar.

Earl of Morton, Robert Douglas, late Laird of Lochleven, aged 58. His mother a "Haskin" [Erskine], sister to the Earl of Mar, sometime regent; his wife a "Lasly" [Leslie], sister to the Earl of Rothes. His eldest son, first husband to the late Countess of Angus, died in the hands of the Dunkirkers: his heir now living, the Laird of Mewri, . . .* married the late Lord of Glamis his sister. His daughters married: (1) the Master of Glamis; (2) first the Master of Oliphant and now Lord Hume; (3) the Laird of Findlater; (4) unmarried. His living in Fife, Tweed-dale, Niddisdale, Dalkeith.

Earl of Buchan, named Douglas, aged 15. His father younger brother to this Earl Morton: his mother a Stewart, heir to N. Stewart late Earl of Buchan. Lands in Buchan and Mearns.

Earl Huntly, lieutenant to his majesty in the north, Abbot of Dunfermline, and lately captain of the guard, George Gordon, aged 28. His mother daughter to the Duke of Hamilton, and sister to Lords John and Claud; she deceased distraught. His wife sister to the Duke of Lennox, presently great with child. His brother aged 23; his sister married to the Earl of Caithness. Lands in Lochaber, Badenoch, Strathbogie, Boggiegicht, Ainya, Murray, Fife and Argyle.

Earl of Sutherland, named Gordon, aged 32. His mother sister to the Earl of Lennox, his wife a Gordon, sister to the old Earl Huntly, this man's aunt, before divorced from the old Earl Bothwell. His children many. Lands in Sutherland and Murray.

Earl of Montrose, John Graham, aged 40. His mother sister to Lord Fleming, this Lord Fleming's grandfather, and after Countess of Atholl, mother to this Earl Atholl. His wife sister to Lord Drummond. His heir under age; his daughter married to Lord Fleming. Lands in Stirlingshire, Strathearn and Perthshire.

Earl of Menteith, named Graham, aged 14. His mother a Douglas, daughter to the Laird of Dumblanerike [Drumlanrig] first married to

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. Lord Sanquhar, by whom she had this young Lord Sanquhar now living, and afterwards Countess of Menteith. His living in Menteith.

Earl Marishal, John Keith, aged 34. His mother a Hay of the Earl Erroll's house; his wife half-sister to Lord Hume, now living, daughter to old Lord Hume by his second wife the Laird of Cesford's daughter. Two children, very young. Lands in Angus, Mearns and Buchan.

Earl of Argyle, Colin Campbell, aged 14. His mother a Keith, aunt to this Earl Marishal, Countess of Murray and after of Argyle. He is by inheritance Lord Chief Justice and Lord High Steward of Scotland, Commander of Lorne and all the West Isles. Lands in Argyle, Stirlingshire, Lothian, etc.

Earl of Arran, James Hamilton, aged 57. His father Duke Hamilton, his mother a Douglas, daughter to the old Earl Morton. Himself lunatic, and therefore his living disposed by his next brother, Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, Third brother, Claud, Abbot of Paisley; fourth brother, Davy, lunatic. His sister, mother to this Earl Huntly, died in the like case. His living in Clydesdale and the isle of Arran.

Earl of Erroll, Francis Hay, aged 26, widower, third son of the late earl, but preferred before his brethren, they being deaf and dumb. His first wife younger daughter to Regent Murray; the second a Stewart, sister to the Earl of Atholl. He is by inheritance Constable of Scotland. His living in Mearns and Gowrie.

Earl of Mar, John Erskine, aged 26, widower. His wife was sister to Lord Drummond. His heir aged 5 or 6. Lands in Stirlingshire, Tiffedale, Tweed-dale, March, Mearns and Mar.

Earl of Crawford, named Lindsay, aged 31. His mother a Beton, bastard daughter to the cardinal; his first wife sister to Lord Drummond, his second sister to the Earl of Atholl. Two legitimate children. His next brother, Master of Crawford and Lord of Kinfauns married Sir John Chisholme's sister. Lands in Angus and Fife.

Earl of Gowrie, named Ruthven, aged 10. His father beheaded; his elder brother, late earl, deceased in September last, aged 13. His mother a Stewart, daughter to Lord Methuen. His living in Perthshire, Strathearn and Gowrie.

Earl of Rothes, Andrew Leslie, aged 60. His first wife a Hamilton, his second a Ruthven, aunt to this Earl Gowrie. His second son Abbot of Lindores, married to one of the Earl of Orkney's daughters. Lands in Fife.

Earl of Glencairn, John Cunningham, aged 36. His mother a Campbell of the Earl of Argyle's house; his wife a Campbell of the Laird of Glenurquhart's house. His living in Cunningham, Lennox and the West.

Earl of Eglinton, Alexander Montgomery, aged 6 or 7. His father slain by the Cunninghams of Glencairn, aged 22 or 23, about 3 years since. His mother daughter to Lord Boyd. Lands in Carrick.

Earl of Cassillis, Davy Kennedy, aged 14. His mother a Lyon, sister to the late Lord of Glamis, aunt to the young lord: she was the first Countess of Cassillis, now married to Lord John Hamilton, to whom she lately hath borne a son and heir. His living in Coyle and Carrick.

Earl of Caithness, named Sinclair, aged 23. His mother a Hepburn, sister to the late Earl Bothwell, mother to this Earl Bothwell: so Bothwell and Caithness brothers by the mother's side. His wife sister to Earl Huntly. The Master of Caithness, his brother, aged 21. Son and heir aged 3 or 4. Lands in Caithness.

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LORDS BARONS.

Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Arbroath, aged 54. His wife a Lyon, sister to the late Lord Glamis, first married to the Earl of Cassillis, mother of the young Earl of Cassillis; hath lately borne a son to Lord John Hamilton. Lands in Clydesdale and Angus.

Lord Claud Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, aged 52. His wife sister to this Lord Seton. Many children. His living in Clydesdale.

Lord of Avondale, Sir James Hamilton, aged 64. His wife a Cunningham of the Laird of Caprington's house. His son and heir, Sir James Hamilton, aged 27, married a Campbell, daughter to the sheriff of Ayr.

Lord of Doune, John Stuart, aged 60, Abbot of St. Colme. His wife sister to the late Earl of Argyle, this Earl's aunt. The same Earl having married the Countess of Murray, caused her to bestow her daughter—heir to her first husband—upon his nephew the Lord of Doune's eldest son, who in her right is now Earl of Murray. His daughter married to the Laird of "Wester Wimes." Lands in Stirlingshire.

Lord Innermeath, named Stewart, aged 31. His mother a Beton, daughter to the Laird of Creiche. His wife a Lindsay, sister to the knight of "Egall": 3 or 4 children. Lands in Angus, Perthshire and Strathearn.

Lord Okletre [Ochiltree], named Stuart, aged 68, father to Captain James Stewart, sometime usurper of the earldom of Arran.

Lord Maxwell, John Maxwell, aged 34; claims the earldom of Morton in right of his mother, eldest daughter to the old Earl Morton by a base sister of James V. His wife sister to the late Earl of Angus. Son and heir aged 3. Lands in Niddisdale, Annandale, Galloway, etc.

Lord Herries and Lord "Terikles," named Maxwell, aged 26. His father was brother to the old Earl Maxwell, so he is cousin to the now Lord Maxwell. His mother heiress to the old Lord Herries, in whose right he holdeth that barony. His living in Niddisdale and Galloway.

Lord Hume, Alexander Hume, aged 25; Lord Warden of the East Marches. His mother sister to Lord Grey; his wife daughter to Earl Morton, before Mistress of Oliphant. His living in the March and Lothian.

Lord Lovat, named "Frizell," aged 21, chief of the clan "Kimhies" in Ross and Sutherland. His mother a Stewart, sister to the Earl of Athoil, after married to the Earl of March, and now to Captain James Stuart.

Lord "Forbose of that ilke," aged 65. His wife a Keith, one of the heirs of Endengie. The Master of Forbes, his heir, aged 50, married first a Gordon, aunt to Earl Huntly; and after her divorcement he took for second wife a Seton, wife to old Justice Clerk, this Justice Clerk's stepdame. The younger Master, this man's son, aged 26, servitor to the Duke of Parma.

Lord of Glamis, named Lyon, aged 11. His father slain by the followers of the Earl of Crawford. His tutor the Master of Glamis, his father's brother. His mother an Abernethy, daughter to Lord Saltoun. His living in Angus and Mearns.

Lord Drummond, aged about 40. His mother sister to Lord Ruthven, Earl Gowrie's grandfather. His first wife a Lindsay, daughter to the Knight of Egall; "she bare him the Master and all his barns." His

James VI. 1589. second wife formerly Countess of Eglinton, mother to the late Earl Eglinton and to Lady Seton and Lady Sempill now living. Lands in Perthshire and Strathearn.

Lord Oliphant, aged 60. His mother sister to the Earl of Lennox, afterwards Countess of Sutherland, mother to this Earl of Sutherland. His wife a Hay, aunt to the Earl of Erroll. His eldest son, the Master of Oliphant, perished in the hands of the Dunkirkers, leaving his lady, daughter to this Earl of Morton and now Lady Hume, and a son to inherit the barony of Oliphant after the lord's decease. His daughter married the young Laird of Glenbarvie. His living in Perthshire and Strathearn.

Lord Lindsay, aged 68. His mother a Stewart, aunt to Earl Atholl. His wife a Douglas, sister to this Earl of Morton, bare him before her death the Master of Lindsay and 2 or 3 other children. Lands in Fife.

Lord Sinclair, aged 61. His mother a Keith, great-aunt to this Earl Marishal. She was Lady Drummond, and bare this Lord Drummond's father. His first wife, that bare him 3 sons, was sister to Lord Lindsay. His second was daughter to Lord Forbes; by her he had many children. His living in Fife.

Lord Sempill, aged 18. His wife sister to the late Earl Eglinton and to Lady Seton. His father's base brother Colonel Sempill. His living far west.

Lord Livingston, aged 59. His wife a Fleming; his children many. The Master of Livingston, married to a sister of the Earl of Atholl, hath by her many bairns. His living in Stirlingshire and about Linlithgow.

Lord Ogilvie, aged 48. His wife daughter to Lord Forbes; his children many. The Master of Ogilvie, his son, married Earl Gowrie's sister. Lands in Angus.

Lord Sanquhar and Creichton, named Creichton, aged 20. His mother a Douglas, daughter to the Laird of Dumblanerike [Drumlanrig], afterwards Countess of Menteith, mother to this Earl Menteith: so he is half-brother to that Earl. Lands in Niddisdale and Galloway.

Lord Saltoun, named Abernethy, aged 28. His mother a Keith, aunt to this Earl Marishal; his wife a Stewart, half-sister to the Earl of Atholl. His son and heir aged 12. His living in Strathbogie, Buchan and elsewhere.

Lord Elphinstone depends of the Earl of Mar. His mother an Erskine. His years about 29. His living in Stirlingshire.

Lord Grey, aged 49. His wife sister to the old Earl Gowrie. The Master of Grey, his son, aged 29, married the Earl of Orkney's daughter. He is by inheritance sheriff of Angus.

Lord Boyd, of 60 odd years. His second son Laird of "Banneith" [Badinheath]. His daughters married, one to the late Earl of Eglinton, this Earl's mother, another to the Laird of Lusse. Lands in Cunningham.

Lord Somerville, aged 50. The Master of Somerville his son, 26. His living in Clydesdale.

Lord Cathcart, aged 52; the Master his son, 27. Lands in Clydesdale.

Lord Ross, named Hauket, aged 22. His mother a Sempill, sister to Lord Sempill; his wife a Hamilton. Lands in Clydesdale.

Lord Carlisle, named Douglas, aged 30. His mother a Douglas of the house of Parkhead in Clydesdale. His wife a Carlisle, "heretrix to the late Lord Carlile of that ilke." His living in Annandale.

James VI. 1589.

Lord Seton, aged 30. His mother a Cunningham of the Laird of Caprington's house. His wife a Montgomery, sister to the late Lord Eglinton and Lady Sempill. His son and heir aged 4. His living in Lothian and Linlithgow.

Lord Fleming, aged 22. His wife a Graham, daughter to this Earl of Montrose. His living in Tuedale and on the Clyde. He is by inheritance Lord Chamberlain of Scotland.

Lord Yester, named Hay, aged 30. His mother a Carr, sister to the old Laird of Farnihurst; his wife a Maxwell, sister to Lord Herries. His son and heir aged 10. His living in Lothian and Tiffedale.

Lord Borthwick, aged 21. His mother a Scot, aunt to the Laird of Buccleuch; his wife sister to Lord Yester. His living in Lothian.

Lord Altrey and Lord [Abbot] of Dere, named Keith, aged 60, uncle to the Earl Marishal. His wife, a Lundy "farre north." His eldest daughter married a Hay of great power in the north. Lands in Buchan.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 53

$7\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Marginal notes of pedigrees and indorsement by Burghley.*
Another copy of the same.

April 10. 36. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

On the 8th instant Lord Hamilton arrived, well accompanied, very early in the morning, whose coming was comfortable to the King and the well affected. On the 6th of April the Earl of Huntly came to Dunfermline with the Earls Crawford and Erroll; Montrose came to "Hazers beside Nydry," Bothwell to Dalkeith, all of purpose to have found the King at Haton on the 8th instant. These confederates finding themselves frustrate [*etc., as in No.* 31]. And thus they think to cloak their traitorous attempts, and to abuse the King's lenity; "but this there presumtuous dealing haith so sturred the Kinge as he shewes himself felon crabbed, as the Scots terme him, and is resolved to persecute them to the uttermost."

This day the King was ready in person to have gone to Dalkeith, where Bothwell hath been these two days with 600 or 700 horse of borderers and broken men his followers; but, understanding the King's mind to pursue him, he retired, so the King is stayed this night, meaning the next day to set forward against Bothwell and the rest.

The King is here, with the young Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mar, and the Lord Wardens Hume, Cesford, and Carmichael. The Earls Morton, Angus, Marishal, and Atholl and the Master of Glamis are on the far side of the Firth, gathering forces to set upon the confederate earls, who are retired towards St. Johnstone's.

The King this day marches toward Stirling, and so into Fife, to join with the earls to prosecute Huntly and his party with fire and sword. His mild nature is now stirred, and if he be backed of her majesty before aid come from the Spaniard "he will wracke and ruine his papistes and disobedient subjectes, and keap his countrie from being a receptacle to forein forces."

I received your honour's last letter with a packet from the Lord of Wemyss; "*iniqua petit* at the first *ut equa accipiat.*" I hope her majesty shall find the King content in the end with reason for he is loth to offend her. "And trulie his state is such as it is to be pitied, for everie insolent

James VI. 1589. earl is readie to beard him, and his want such as he cannot suppresse there insolencie, nor se justice exequuted in his countrie." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 11. 37. J. GRAY TO [THE MASTER OF GRAY].

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 360.

Printed in *Letters and Papers relating to Patrick, Master of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 151.

"My gude lord Hamiltone hes heme haertlie komendit to zour lordship. He cane nocht merue[l] aneuch of zour lang stay; trewlie ze hewe heme als fare to do zow freindschip as ze hewe eny mane in the vorld. His majeste hes takin deliberatione to ryd upone thir folkis, the grytest grace is ordenit for theme is extirpatione. This day his majestie begeinnis and wowis to God noct to lye ane nycht quhair he is ane uthere till they be all baniscit Scotland, or takin, and gif you ver to mak speid I think zeit ze sall cum and in tyme to rein ther rak as dois the slouth hound. Ordure first is to be pute to the south. In tyme vill overpass I think als mikill as sall serfe for zowr returne, befor forra be med in the north. I veis ze vere heir agane, thene in caece ze vere vereit ze myght tak repos in zour awin hous of Dunfermling. Bring all the hors with zow ze cane purches, for they ar mervelus skant heir. His majestie is mervelus weill plaesit vith my lord Hewme. I hewe no regret bot of my lord Bothuell. I trust ze salbe the first mane to procure his paece; albeit in trewth he hes done zow sume vrange at this tyme, zeit vithin thire fowre dayis he hes gifin me assurans be his letter that his doing vith the erle of Huntlie is rather for zour veill nore ony vther respek in the vorld, in so fare that my Lord Huntlie vilbe als glaed to gif zow zowr awin as ze vold be to rasawe it. Quhen ewir my Lord Huntlie think I knaw it to be trew that my Lord Bothuell hes this promiss of heme; he hes at sundrie tymis spokin verie fauorablie to myself in this same mater, bot thankis to God ve sall nocht now be so fare in his pouer."

"As for me I protest before God he mycht a gifin faere vordis to heme: he mycht a persuadit more esselie to beleif theme nor me, for he hes commit to his litill bok no litill falsate. For God saek mak speid in zour cuming." *Signed:* J. Gray.

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

April 11. 38. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday I certified your honour of the King's setting forward out of Edinburgh, and that night to Linlithgow; this day he goeth to Stirling. I am forced to stay here "being in phisicke to shorten a tercian ague." Mr. Fowler waits on the King this journey, with whom I have sent horse and man to bring his advertisements of their proceedings to me to Edinburgh, as you may see by the enclosed, which I received from him this day.

There hath been with me this day a shipper of Wismar, an Easterling, who was laden by an English merchant from those parts to come into England; but upon these coasts he was taken by two pirates of Dunkirk, and his freight taken from him for that it was Englishmen's goods.

James VI. 1589. Both Scottish and Dunkirk pirates are busy in these seas. As I wrote in my last, a couple of her majesty's ships would do great good here, for besides these pirates, which do great hurt to our nation, they would intercept the Spanish succours which are looked for here daily to come out of the Low Countries. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same :—

[Thomas Fowler to William Asheby.]

My lord, there is "serteyn newese" come this morning to this town of Linlithgow that the Master of Glamis, being gotten into his country to gather his forces to join with Morton, Angus, Atholl, and Marishal, the enemy beset him "and drave him to take a howse of his owne in Anguse," which house being of no strength, they have won it; but whether they have taken him or slain him this messenger cannot tell, but all opinions of the wisest here are that they will never keep him alive if it were but Crawford's feud with him.

The King is exceedingly grieved, and so are all good men here, for he was a principal pillar of this faction, both for his valour of manhood, his wisdom, and good affection to England.

My Lord Chancellor desires that with all expedition possible the Queen and Council "wyll take order for lettyng of the Spaniardes coming hether," if it be not too late, for it is expected vehemently that they are to come very shortly. The intelligence of our council will better discover it. The King is bent to follow out this cause effectually, but it is true that for lack of ability "it must of force quayle;" for if they have not to wage shot with, and that 500 at least, I see no assurance of the King's strength, because I know a number that even march with him are better affected to the other party than to this, and they have money plenty. Here is not any to pay. Twenty men come in slackly.

If this matter be not so diligently handled as that the faction here be suppressed before the foreign forces come, it will cost her majesty dearly where now less will serve. Lord Hume is now come hither with his forces, but who knows what part he will take, for he is a professed papist. Linlithgow. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"This day we goo to Sterling, and so on. There is yet of nobellmen with the King but the Erll of Mar, the lord Hamelton, and the Duke, whose hart is with Huntley and his forces most, and now Hume."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed* [*by Burghley*].

April 11. 39. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

May it please your honour to receive a letter enclosed from Mr. Fowler; I think it be of ane old date, but I have seen one from Mr. John Colville of the 7th of April, wherein he writes that the northern lords were at Brechin with 500 tried horsemen to have surprised the King; but upon advertisement the King came to Edinburgh and to the Chancellor's house, and presently commanded the "browchs" and noblemen to attend upon him for the suppressing of the rebels. "The convencyon holds upon the 18th or 20th of this instant," at which there shall be no

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one but well-affected men, and the King will declare what Pringle has discovered; and then all men, as they are found guilty, to be punished. The matter for the present is in no danger, nor will be hereafter if order be taken to keep a guard in pay about the court for a time.

Monsieur de Lisle is come from Rochell and Bowness to Scotland with speech. He may come yet in time, if all things be as agreeable as the princes, for Earl Marshall, the ambassador, to end the matter. But [it is] certain one or other goeth presently forward. I see them that may do most with the King think best of Navarre.

The Chancellor writes me that he will write to my Lord Treasurer as I required him to do. London.

Postscript—"Mr. Aston wil waet upon your honor to morow." *Signed:* J. Hudson.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 13. 40. J. GRAY TO THE MASTER OF GRAY.

Gott. Calig., D. I., fol. 405.

Printed in *Letters of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 152.

"I resawit zowr lordships lettirs being vith my Lord Hewme in Dungl[as] . . .* [in]tentione to hewe stayit his resolutione tuiching his present parting of the cun[trie] to the tyme ve hed hard farder frome zowr lordship, quhairin his lordship, as in all the offers conserning zowr veill, hes shawin heme self most lowing and kyn[d]. He veill zeit stay wppone zowr returne twentie dayis, and at that tyme as ze sall think meit. No mane is abill to retard his deliberatione [but] ze onlie. I veill maist ernistlie requyst zow to mak haest in zowr cuming . . . zowr linggeringe doing hes done zow harme, zeit zowr presens veill help all th[at] . . . hes bein and is sic as necessarilie mene mane knaw quhair to find theme se[lfis]."

"Trowlie ze hewe sic freindis as I may say in constant loyall behavore, no . . . in this cuntrie hes better. I ame nocht ignorant quhow fare sindrie of zowr . . . hath bein intysit be faere conditionis and offeris to hewe bein drawin by z[ow], bot the hope they hewe of zowr future presens incuragis theme agains assaltis of zowr enemeis present. For Godis saek taempt theme no more; be queik in zowr returne, that ve may tak a cours agriabill to . . . serwice and meit for our awin standing."

"The tyme in my appeirans is ve[rie pro]per for this purpos; mene hath so fare imburkit theme selfis directlie again[st his] majestie that the lowd sound of there retraet sall nocht be hard. My Lor[d Hun]tlie expreslie agains his majesties command, and agains his awin promiss be vord . . . befor his parting and sins hes cum[ing] to Dumfermling, as is thocht, to hewe res[cuit] his majestie there frome sic as vos appoyntit to hewe takin his majestie bein[g at] his hunting and pastyme in Haltone, quhair his majeste vos disposit to hewe s[tayit] aucht or tene dayis, bot upone the aduertisment of this suddenlie in t[he] . . . this last Sunday come to this towne, quhilk hes disapoyntit all ther interprys [at] this tyme, so that ewerie one suspectit to be upone this attempt hes thi . . . send there excusis to his majestie, bot there partis restis to be tryit, and his [majestie] veill nocht pass theme ower in silens."

"My Lord Bothuell in this mater o[f] how zowr absens hes bein sum-quhat abusit and hes bein upone the ser[vice] of thire materis, nocht so

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. mikill fore veill of the causs nor leufe of [those] he is in fallowchip with as fore deidlie inwy he baeris the Chancl[er]. Bot ze knaw ze may laed heme be the noss, and trewlie I vald [have] zow the sonner heir for his causs."

"I think ze salbe the first to mak . . . paece. Zour longe stay cane nocht aneuch be admirid of all this cun[trie]. Gif ze suld cum post, I hope ze sall nocht cum so souner to rasawe zowr . . . is my Lord salbe redie to delyver it, and that fore his gud be . . . the divisione is the same ves at Striueling raed, except in my Lord Bo[thuell's] persone and my Lord Glomeis quha is detenit vardoure, bot there i[s] diuinauris gif my Lord Chancler and he be nocht in sound daelling. Certene the Chancler and Justic Clark ar agreiit, and that be Sir . . . Melueilis mediatione."

"The Chancler renders zow haertlie thank[s for] zowr frens occurrantis. He vrettis none to zow for that eu[rie day] he loukis aftir zowr self. Vord vos heir certenlie tene da[yis] . . . in . . . casell or Dunglos a[nd] . . . The causs quhy I hawe bein so lange a vretting . . an . . is his majesties bein[g at] pystyme, quhair the Chancler culd nocht be hed, bot maer becaus . . . vald hewe hed sowme sewre intelligens of thire thingis qu[hilk] hes bein ow[er] . . . sins the reset of zowr last letters in brewing."

"I ame of the Chanclers mynd in that; I knaw nocht quhat to vret to zow till zowr cuming, saef vne thing, that it is meitest ze cum in resp[ect] ze salbe velcum bothe to the estaet spirituall and temporall. I assure zow the keirk hes gud opinone of zow, quhilk I k[naw] in particulare be money of theme selfis."

"The causs I vret so su[dden]lie vith Mr Richard Douglas vos for that I thocht assuridlie my le[tter] suld hewe cum to zowr handis at Beruik, or at laest betuixt that and Londone. I praye forget nocht that gentil-manis curtes[ie]; trewlie ze ar mikill oblist to heme."

"I hewe send for my Lo[rd and] zowr vyfe according to the directione of zowr letter. She sall da[ell] with my Lord hir father in the mater ze vret of, bot I f[ear] his recidens be verie schorte heir." . . . From Court. *Signed:* J. Gray.

Postscript—"Sundrie zowr frendis auatis zowr cuming in this towne and veill all meit zow at Beruik. . . . "

2 *pp. Holograph, also addressed.*

April 14. 41. THOMAS FOWLER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 404.

There is nothing worth advertisement but the proceedings of our journey . . .* to-morrow to Dundee, the next day to . . . , and so to Aberdeen: thence to the principal places of Huntly and Erroll, who are farthest off. Wherever they be we shall find them, for they, hearing of the King's coming, fled to their countries, Bothwell back again south, Montrose to his house, Crawford to his, and the northern earls carried away the Master of Glamis with them. Crawford would have sl[ain] him, but Erroll and Huntly would not suffer it, whereupon Crawford retired in discontentment. Huntly and Erroll with their Jesuits demanded of the Master,—1st, that he should enter in band with them

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. to revenge their Queen's death ; 2nd, to subscribe to the Catholic religion. He desired respite for fourteen or twenty days, and would answer then : and they reminded him that his life was in their hands. Yesterday a herald went to charge them to deliver the Master of Glamis upon pain of high treason, "with which he is to discover theyre abydinge [and] company and other which here is no knowlege of, th[ey] ar so far hence." Those that spake with them in this town say that they expected to hear from the Low Countries, and were not yet ready to meet with the King, and meant to have taken his person. In this town was with them Creichton and Hay, Jesuits, Bruce, Ch . . . , and other priests. It is thought strange that there is no word from England in this dangerous time. "I dowt the Erll Bodwell hathe intercepted sum of . . . . [Ther]e is here now a fyve thowsand men to . . . my frend William Hume of . . . Satterday met with the Erll Bodwell on . . . . More, a myle frome Edenbrowghe, and but viij . . . him, and William was as many well apoynted. Of the viij was Sir John Care, my frend, and the Lard of . . . The Erll used prowd wordes, and bosted that if thes . . . went on this jornay northe he wold make such a doo in the sowth as they shold be glad to . . . bak agayn. The other answered him stowtly . . . Bodwell was going to Chryghton."

1¼ *pp. No date or signature.*

April 14. 42. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

In what sort the King, to his ability, pursueth the malcontents, the enclosed will inform your lordship, which I received on the 13th instant. By reason of a tertian ague I could not follow the King on his voyage, but Mr. Fowler writes diligently, from whom I am advertised as occasion falleth out. I have sent you Mr. Colvile's letter to me, who is well-affected to us and makes oft mention of your honourable dealing with him in England. He is very careful to advertise me from time to time. This letter is the last "occurrences" from those parts. Bothwell made towards the confederate lords on Thursday, but, understanding they were gone far northward, he returned, and on the 12th instant came to Edinburgh and lighted in the Canongate at the Countess of Orkney's house and stayed there one hour, and that night to Creichton to his house. He gives out he will be as busy in the south as the King is in the north. He is gone to the Borders and gathers all his followers and loose fellows together. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Ashby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Inclosure with the same :—

[John Colvile to William Asheby.]

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 90.

"This Satterday we sett fordvart to Sanctihonstoun. The malcontentit ar fled to Abirden and ar not habill to make ony force ; thei ar togidder bot 240 hors, all landit men and of mark. Thai tuik the Master of Glammis out of the hous of Kirkhill in the Cars of Gowry the tent of this instant at nine in the morning, and hes careit him with thame, and for contempt, after he wes takin, thei careit him in triumphe by his awin castell of Glammis, his lady and servandes behalding the same."

James VI. 1589. "The indignitie done to him hes irritat his majesty werry muche, so that I think we sall nocht return till ether thai be expellit the realme or apprehendit."

"I beleif hir majesty and hir honorabill estate, in respecd the owerthraw of theis persenis tendis no les to thair benefit nor to ouris, will considder of hes majesties as apertenethe and comfort and incourage him to go fordvart in so holy ane work."

"Whar Bothwell is we knaw not, bot yisternyght Mar and Home, wyth thre hundrethe hors, ried to Dumblan and Doun to serche him bot fand him not. It wille be now hard to find beraris to advertis your lordship bot I sall do so much as I can for supple tharof; for I am so bound to that gratius princess and to my Lord Secretary that when I haif giffen my lyef for thair service I will think it les nor thair benefites hes meritit. Stirling." *Signed:* Jo: Colvile.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 15. 43. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Trustie and wellbelovit cousin, I will use at this tyme no other argumentis of rethorike for recomending unto you my affaires comitted to my ambassadoure, the bearare heirof, then to remitt to the consideration of so olde and uyse a counseloure as ye are, quho, as nearest in bloode and neichbourheade and most conforme in langage and religion, hath gevin, and in all tymes hearafter most appearandlie shall give best proofe of his earnist and cairfull zeale to the standing and preservation of that cuntry and estait, and quho is ablest to effectuat this caire by standing you in best steade. And last I leave it to youre most indifferent judgement to considder how suche a man deserves to be used, intertained, and esteamed of by youre prince, and quhat is meitest to be done heirin for the uellfaire of her and her estate. I trust ye will not deceave the goode expectation of him quho is and shall remaine youre most loving and assured freind." *Signed:* James R.

Postscript—"I must hairtly pray you to further the cumming of the commissioneris of the Lou Cuntreys for thaise maitteris complained upon by sum of my subjectis, to one quhome, [the] coronell Steuart, ye are on my honoure farr beholden for the contineuall good rapport he makis of you unto me."

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley:* "From the King of Scottes by the laird of Weymes his ambassador."

April 15. 44. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

My Lord Treasurer in his last letter of the 10th of April, dated at Theobald's, willed me to direct my letters to your honour, he having occasion to be absent from court upon the death of his lady. Whereupon for sureness I thought good to acquaint you both with the proceedings here, as I have done hitherto. I wrote in my last that being in physic I could not follow the King, but Mr. Fowler goes this journey, to whom I have lent my own gelding, and a man to bring me advertisements from him daily, as you shall see by the enclosed copy of his letter to me from St. Johnstone's of the 14th instant, telling how the King proceedeth,

James VI. 1589.

" and if he maie be comforted from her majestie he will not ceasse till he have wracked the confederates."

The Jesuits and priests are with Huntly and Erroll, which makes the King pursue them more earnestly, " hoping to surprisse those caterpillers." Bothwell is at his house at Creichton, his forces in readiness on the borders. " This morning I hard that he had sent a gentleman to the King ; it is thought if he maie be in hope of grace at his majesties hand, he will submit himself." He beginneth to see his folly ; all good men forsake him, except Sir John Carr and the Laird of Grenehead, and broken men living by spoil on the Borders.

Your honour may judge of the King's mind by his proceeding in this action since the confederates took arms : he is willing to follow out this course, but it is thought strange that no encouragement comes out of England from her majesty in this dangerous time. He is not able to keep 100 in pay, and if he be not succoured cannot perform that he desires, to suppress these rebels before their expected succours from Parma arrive on which they are relying. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 18. 45. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Printed in *Letters of . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 246.

By the enclosed* you may see what diligence and expedition the King has hitherto used in prosecuting the confederates, meaning not to desist till they are taken or chased out of the country. His forces daily increase, but the poverty of Scotland will not keep them together : if he could pay 400 or 500 shot and 200 horse " but three months he would roote out the pillers of poperie in this countrey," and his discontented nobility should not be able to take up arms and make his country a receptacle for strangers.

Her majesty's help were most requisite to encourage the King and the well affected ; *mora trahit periculum* in this troublesome time, and the adversaries expect daily foreign succours. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph, also addressed. Indorsed by Burghley :* " Mr. Ashby with a letter of Mr. Jn. Colvile."

April 18. 46. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

By the enclosed* sent to me from Mr. Colvile your honour may see what diligence and expedition the King has hitherto used in prosecuting the confederates, meaning not to desist till he has either apprehended them or chased them out of his country. His forces daily increase, but the poverty of Scotland will not keep them together ; if he were able to keep in pay 400 or 500 shot and 100 or 200 of horse " but three months, he would roote out the pillers of papistrie in this countrie " and bridle his discontented nobility that they should neither be able to take against him nor make his country a receptacle for strangers.

If he be not now strengthened by her majesty in this action he is not able to go through with it, " for here will not be found to paie on hundred

* *See* No. 42.

James VI. 1589. a moneth." Her majesty's help were now most requisite and necessary; if it be delayed it is to be feared that the confederates shall have foreign succour, which they daily expect out of Flanders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

April 18. 47. MR. JOHN COLVILE TO BURGHLEY.

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 91.

"From our departinge out of Dundie unto this daie the appearance of matters was sa doubtfull, and the event sa difficile to judge upon, that I abstenit to write lest I had committit errour; and yet I was confirmit in the opinion that all soulde turne to the best, like as, blessed be God, it is fallen out presently. As we came fra Dundie on the waie we were advertisit that the malecontentis were assemblit in Aberdine with great forcis after the fasson of that contrey; and cominge that night to Brichen our frendis dwellinge about Aberdeine sent privaly and advisit us to be on our gardis, for we wald be assailit. All that night we watchit; on the nixt day we came to Dunnottiris perteininge to the Earl Merschall, quhaire we wes for truthe advertisit that they wald invade us airlie in the morne, for they were but xij short mile distant. That night also we watchit in armes, and his majestie wald not sa much as lie downe on his bedd that night, but went about lyike a gud capitane encouragin us. They on the other part set fordwart and came maire nor tway myile to haife focht us, bot on the waie thaire came a faintness amange them, in sa much that Crawfurd privaly lefte them; Huntley was discouragit, and the haill barons reterit and tuike purpose to come and render their selfe in his majestis will."

"Sa the xviijth of this instant we came to Aberdein, and fande the towne voyde. His majestis mind is not to returne till this contry be peacible and thay maid unhabil to attempt any sicklike werke. I wishe with all my harte he may be incoragite to prosequute this holy werke by your estate as apperteinith, and by us his subiectis by our faithfull obedience."

"As occasion fallis out your lordschip salbe fra time to time advertisit. In this cause my Lord Hammilton hes declarit himselve vary like to himsel, that is, honest and zealous; and if it were your lordschipis pleasure ane lettre to him of your hande schawinge that ye heare how worthily he hes behavit himselve wald muche encourage him." Aberdeen. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

Postscript—"Huntley send a lettre yesternight to his majestie which wes not resavit. He hes offerit to my Lord Hammilton by a mediate person to reveile all his laite conspiracie upon promise of favour. Whidder this wilbe acceptit or not yet I knaw not: allway it is kept varey secreite."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

April 19. 48. THOMAS FOWLER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 403.

*. . . "service and withowt it the . . . shall take them, and so sone as his . . . is turned they will be gon agayn . . . and this way if he take not the reb[els] he shall so impoveryshe and weken

* Decayed: first leaf appears to be wanting.

James VI. 1589. t[hem] that they shall be dryven to yeld t[hem]selves or fly the cowntry. Yet nede . . . not to contynew longe in charge. Th[ere] is but ij hundrethe of them. The good . . . thinkes they deserve well, and that the Kinge is worthy to be well dealt with f[rom] thence, and styll they hoope of Wymes re[turn]; if it fawle not owt well I dowt they [will be] even all mall content."

I hear no more of the Spaniards' coming. These men meant not to have risen so soon, but for the King's forwardness after they missed the taking of his person. If they can [keep] themselves out of hands they will be as [free] for their purpose as ever they were, and more desperate, "therefore it must be foll[owed] thorowghe, and if the Kinge have not wherewith, how will it be?" *Signed:* T. Fouller.

Postscript—"I wishe one of your men here in this towne, but if nede be, becawse it is far of, I will fynde meanes to send."

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

April 19. 49. WALSINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 21. "Your lordship shall understand by this bearer, my good frend Mr. Hudson, how carefull her majestie is that some good course may bee taken for your lordships saffetie, being now exposed, as her majestie is crediblie informed, to sundrie daungerous practises and complottes, the same proceading chieflie in regarde of the great good will you have of late shewed in both the advauncement and continuance of good ametie and frendship betwen the two crownes, the same being greatlie impugned by diverse evill affected instrumentes that desyer no thing more then the dissolving and breach therof. And for that this bearer is one who I knowe standeth greatlie devoted towardes your lordship, and one also in whom I repose truste, I have thought good to committ some particulareties to bee comunicated unto your lordship by him, whereunto I praie your lordship to give creditt." Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

½ *p. Addressed.*

April 20. 50. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"I caused speik my Lord Chancellar according to the prescrybed order. He sayde he culd haif beyn contented wyth the offir if hir majeste had not wythin these thre dayis sayde to him that sche wold haif none to meddle in that mater bot Sir Francis Walsinghame, whom sche volde haif to bring that mater to ane finalle poyncte; if he shuld ather deale, meddle, or accept as was offered, it mycht turne to ane harde construction against him; and that he vold be most glayde to assist to the furtherance, and when the mater was performid he volde declayr most of his mynd: whearvyth I haif thocht expedient to make your honour acquayntid, and most effectually to pray your honouris favour and gud adwis in this mater. I ressawid letteris from the larde of Powrye vhich I do send onto you." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589.
April 20.

51. [ROBERT CARVILL] TO WALSINGHAM.

I have received the full purpose of Bothwell's intent, and Huntly's and their associates. On Tuesday night next ensuing Bothwell minds to be at Dalkeith with his full force, and to pay 300 horse and foot of them that cannot bear their own charges, and expects Lord Seton and his force to meet him at Dalkeith, with the Earl of Montrose, "the Master Lemingstoune" and others. Huntly's force is to meet them at Dunkeld, and "they mynd to stoppe the Kinges cominge back."

I pray God the King's company be true, for they believe that they have many friends about him. The captains of their horsemen are Robert Maxwell, Hercules Stewart, and Walter Lindsay. This I think I have from one that knows their full purpose. "I thought once to have sent some Englishe man to have taken pay with them as thoughe he had bene banished, but yett did otherwyse alter my course." *Berwick. Signature torn off.*

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "20 Aprill 1589. From A 23 from Barwicke."

April 21.

52. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 402.

Your honour may see by the enclosed what pains Mr. Fowler takes to advertise me of the King's proceedings, who flieth neither labour nor danger to prosecute his rebels, who now fly to the mountains. The King will not desist till want drive him back, which is to be feared without speedy help from her majesty.

Bothwell is at his house 7 miles from Edinburgh, gathering what forces he can to join the rebels, for the [hatred] he beareth towards the Chancellor. All the confederates envy the Chancellor and seek his ruin, charging him with high treason.

One Mr. Lyndsey offers to prove these articles against him. "First, that he was a great practiser f[or the] late Quenes death. Secondlie, that he . . . to deliver the Kinge into her majestes . . . Thirdlie, tha[t] he is a pensioner of England, [and] draweth the Kinge wholie to that course to wrake his nobilitie. That he haith imbased the quoyne and t[urned] the Inglishe angels into George nobles, enr[iching] himself thereby and impoverishing the s[tate]. That he seekes to sett the crowne of Scotland . . . the Hameltons." These are sent to the King from Bothwell; Lyndsey offering proofs the King will hear him with indifference: there is no probability of proof.

Where the King is, and with what diligence he pursueth his confederate earls Mr. Fowler's letter to me,* which I send, will inform you. I received it late this night by one of my men, having always some with him for that purpose, being not able to follow in this northern voyage so soon after my physic. *Signature decayed.*

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

April 22.

53. THOMAS FOWLER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 401.

On Sunday last the King and Council gave order to send charges by officers at arms well accompanied to all the houses of Huntly and

* *See* No. 48.

James VI. 1589. Erroll to be rendered upon pain of treason, and that by proclamation the earls and their [followers] should enter themselves prisoners in this town within 5 days.

Yesterday the keys of two castles were brought to the [King]: Strathbogie and others further off it is thought will yield. "This morninge at iiij a c[lock] cam in to this towne the Master of Glam[is], sent from Huntley, with one Capteyn Car . . .* a valliant and wyese man aperteynin[g to] Huntley, and iij brothers of the sayd Ca . . . , and a iij or iiij jentellmen more, being lefte in trust with the sayd Master in a . . . cawled Hawen Downe apon the Kinges procklemacyons. And the Masters wyese . . . cyons agreed to leave theyre great . . . and goo all to the Kinge. They have . . . treson inowghe to hange twenty."

It will be Thursday ere the King goes forward; the pro . . . could be no sooner ready, for there are picks and other devices to overthrow their houses; whether rendered or not they shall be burnt and rased. "The Chauncelour goes stowtly forward in thes matters, and [the] Lord Hamelton is so forward as no man more for the nerenes of blud betwen Huntley and him. He . . . now that be very suer men. The sayd L . . . the erlls of Angusse, m . . . Glamis, Cowdenknowes . . . the nobyllitie to those that be in this realme . . . strengthe inowghe to over rune all the rebells . . . were as many moo: this device to raysse the howses . . . cut of a charge for garryson men." It is marvelled that your lordship hath no letters from England to comfort the King in his well doing. I pray you if you receive any send them hither.

The King hath 5[00 ?] hired men, good shot, that shall march through the I . . . , but how they will be paid at the month's end, as they expect, God knows. They are mustered this day. Aberdeen. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

Postscript—Thursday we go to Strathbogie and other houses near. Then to Elgin in Murray and to Inverness, 74 miles from here.

Sir John Car is undone by following Bothwell. The King hath given his escheat to Lord Hume his neighbour, who is here, but hath sent to enter upon the lands. So is he bound to this side. So one papist will take advantage of another. Lord Hume may renounce his papistry, as he doth that faction. He is youngest of them all, not past 23 years. Sir John is a man of great living for this country. The Spanish faction looks for the arrival of Spaniards; it should be looked to in time. "The Kynge is so evell horsed as it . . . I assuer you ij or iij of his best ar lamed . . ."

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

April 23. 54. THOMAS FOWLER TO [WALSINGHAM].

Pardon me that I have not for so long time written to your honour. I could not send any but to the ambassador, who I trust hath advertised you what I wrote to him since I came forth, for so I desired him.

The King hath marched already almost six score miles, and means to go forward three or four score miles further. It hath been "very painful" to him already, but not as it will be. Never was prince more willing than

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589.

he in this journey " agaynst thes fawlse ingratefull traytors " who have deceived him.

This people must have free access to the King's presence : if there were no more but the continual disquiet of such a throng from morning to night, and their entertainment, it were too much toil for any prince, " but he must visset theyre watches nightly, he must comfort them, be plesant with them passynge frome place to place, that in effect day nor nyght the good Kinge hathe lyttell quiet and lesse rest." He hath watched two nights and never put off his clothes, and is preparing to rase to the ground the houses of Huntly, Erroll, and Crawford, which are four or five within 30 miles of this town. Some of them are already rendered to his majesty's pursuivant-at-arms, but they shall all be rased that there may be no need of garrison. It will go hard " but " he will take them in person ; otherwise he will take severe order with them.

The Master of Glamis came yesterday morning with six or seven gentlemen, whom he won to consent to his escape, for Huntly meant to send him to the Prince of Parma, as a special heretic, favourer of the English and detestor of the Spanish. He declares they make all their quarrel (in show) to the Chancellor, and persuade people that he hath altered the King from seeking revenge upon England for the murder of his mother, which touched his honour. " They have in this towne many frendes, and suche as to serve theyre turne castes abrode slawnderowse lybells of the sayde Lord Chauncelour, and of Mr. Patryke Galloway a good precher that goes alonge in this army, and in dede toches them home." Here are not many noblemen with the King, but such as there are be very sure, and none more than Lord Hamilton, whom some doubted, for his nearness of blood to Huntly ; he honours you much.

" The most strengthe of this army is of the lardes. It aperes now there be many erlls and lordes that favours the Spanishe faccyon, that yet were not joyned with the rest in it, for they neyther cum nor send to the Kinge, notwithstondinge all his procklemacyons." Sutherland and Caithness, both papists, fell out not long before this conspiracy, which prevented them from being with Huntly, who had almost agreed them before the King came. There was at least 300 slain on a day between them.

To-morrow the King goes to Strathbogie, then to Elgin in Moray, then to " Endernesse " [Inverness], and further as occasion serves. When he returns he shall have occasion southward upon Bothwell and his partakers : if he go not in person there will be nothing executed, for they have given out that they mean all good to the King and common wealth, but desire revenge of England, to maintain the honour of the King and the nobility.

These are matters pleasing enough to all but those that see into their purpose, especially as " the rebells hetherto vastely professes the religion allso, and makes noo shew of alteracyon, thowghe they have Jesuites and other prestes in theyre company."

The King being returned I doubt he shall not keep all quiet ; but if he could maintain 200 horse and 300 or 400 shot this summer they would do more than his voluntary army, for the enemy knows all our purposes through their friends among us. It is hard for the King to send noblemen and lairds out with their own companies—for they will not sever—for they are afraid of a feud hereafter if they touch any great man ; but they will fight in battle with the King. He can send his hired men out day

James VI. 1589. or night; they will intercept the enemy, and will go through the force of the greatest earl in Scotland.

If the Spanish faction is to be thoroughly rooted out, I wish a maintenance for so many to this King for a time. He is willing, but wants wealth. "He deserves well if a good mynde to hir majeste and hir quiet estate may meryt." Aberdeen.

Postscript—This other faction hopes still of the coming of Spaniards, "and it is bewrayed by the men that ar taken of theres."

The King is informed that Bothwell has gathered his forces and returned to Dalkeith; what he will do is not yet known. He has sent a letter to the King, who delivered it to the Chancellor and would not receive it, "in which he acuses him [the Chancellor] of hyghe treason, that shalbe proved by a gentellman, one Lyndsey. Fyrst, he was the cheffe procurer of his mothers deathe; then that he had trafyqued by letters with the cowncellours of Ingland, and taken mony to restrayn the Kinge frome sekinge revenge; and last had leyd a plot with Ingland that if he cold not rule his majeste he wold of a soddeyn brynge in thre thowsand Inglyshe men to his ayde."

Licence is given at the Chancellor's request for the gentleman to come in under safe conduct that should prove these things; "but we trowe he will not cum hastely."

The Chancellor keeps his watch nightly in turn, is daily in his armour, marches in the vanguard, and none more forward; "in truthe caryes all as he lykes." *Signed:* T. Fowler.

4 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed.*

April 23. 55. WILLIAM FOWNDE TO WALSINGHAM.

"Whereas I offered to your honour the [?]* of those traytors now in Scotland, I still find such incoradgment by the forsaid Scotchman † that I think me able to performe my dewty herin. And wheras your honour hath had the service alredy offered and yet unperformd, I perswad my self it will remayne as uncerteyn as now at this instant, except the partie whome I deal with sall undertak the thinge, which he will not do to anie but my self, to whome he hath sworne that if anie English man in these partes whatsoever attayne the premisses he will yeld him self to lose his hed. He knowes who hath undertaken the matter—choyse of one or two—the sequell your honour shall behold."

"This Scot demaundes for performaunce for him self and Scotch consort 200 *li.*, viz., one be for the thinge done, for which he will put in bond if he performe not the premisses sufficient English men for repayment; the other to be paid when the thinge is perfitted."

I am willing to serve your honour so far as in me lieth. Mr. Davison, Mr. Randolphe, Captain Errington and Captain Selby can certify of me.

Whereas I proffered the service of daily occurrences from these parts, the party is ready to tender his service herein: if I have means for conveyance he will undertake there shall not be anything worth the writing but you shall have the first intelligence from me, by his means, before anything be put in execution. He says he is the only man that gives intelligence out of these parts, which I beseech you to consider. If

* The MS. reads 'dd' or possibly 'de' without any mark of abbreviation, which otherwise the writer is generally careful to make.

† No Scotsman previously mentioned.

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your honour accepts his offer he doubts not but all others here will be dumb.

Bothwell will transport his new forces into Fife this 23rd of April, which are 300 foot and 200 horse. Huntly draws to the north, to weary the King's company, who decrease. When Bothwell is come over he minds to retire, and cut between the King and the water, and so have the King and the rest at his pleasure. This is thought to be wrought before the 27th next, being Sunday.

"The Lynnies wer ernest with the King to have beged Bodwells forfeytur, who the King answerd, he wold not yet deale so hardly with his freind Frauncis." All is thought by their own friends to be cunning dealing between the King and Bothwell to serve their own purpose.

Whereas I moved your honour concerning a poor suit of a gunner's room, granted me by my Lord of Warwick in the Tower, of 8*d* per diem, and found you willing to further me, the suit being ordinary, I beseech you have me, a poor gunner of Berwick, in good memory. Mr. Mylles your servant hath my bill, which was proffered to him by Mr. Davison in my behalf more than 20 months ago yet rests unfinished. Berwick. *Signed:* William Fownde.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 24. 56. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 399.

I received your honour's letters of the 17th instant on the 22nd, having that morning despatched letters to you of the King being at Aberdeen, where the E[arl] stayed till he came within 12 miles of it. Archibald Douglas, making this rebellion of less danger than your honour doth truly judge it to be, appeareth not so careful of the quiet of the whole isle as he ought to be: "the wourld here haith this opinion of him, that he thinkes it best fish[ing] when the water is troubled," and therefore the quiet and amity of these countries would not be so profitable to him as to have the King discontented, and this country a recept[acle] for foreign enemies. The neglecting of the King, who is so well disposed to prevent the danger if these confederates be not speedily suppressed, will discourage him and the well affected, and force them to a desperate course; a trifle now would succour him in this action; the quiet of this isle will [grow] when they find they cannot win that prince by force or fair promises.

The Master of Gray is not well liked in this court; most think that his coming will rather do hurt than good; they judge him of a turbulent spirit, and he will not forget his dishonour published by proclamation at his departure from Scotland. He and Mr. Archibald are so against the Chancellor as they can hardly be brought to run one course, unless they mean to undermine him and hereafter to take the advantage; "for in this country thei oft shake handes when thei are inclined to reveng: suche good effectes br[ing] forth there democraticall discipline in [the] church."

There is good hope of the King's constancy towards the Chancellor, whose virtues merit his favour, and the King is not "flexable to foresake."

The King's presence in the north should do great good, and cause many lords to forsake the confederate earls; many have surrendered; he offers pardon to all except such as laid the plot for the taking of the Master of

James VI. 1589. Glamis. Bothwell remains at his house at Crichton, and sometimes comes to Leith and to his company at Dalkeith. He hath gathered what borderers he can, men without credit or honesty, and ready for any mischief. Edinburgh is in arms day and night: no councillors here, but the provost and burgesses stand on their guard, seeing the Earl so nigh, "so accompanied with rackeles and lewd pars[ons]." Now is the time for her majesty to continue her motherly care towards this young prince, in delivering his country from the thraldom of strangers and defending religion. She shall find him most grateful and pliant. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

3½ *pp. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 24. 57. JOHN COLVILE TO THE LAIRD OF WEMYSS.

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 93.

"As I writ befor, we came heir the xviij. We haif ay remanit to this day upon hoip of the incumming of the erllis and of thair frendis. The most part of the barronis ar interit, and mony of thair frendis, and hes fund caution for keping of good ordour under gret sowmes, and ar contentit to give plegis also. Bot the lords thair selfis, Baquhan, Baillye, [of] Arroll, Cluny, Achindoun and sum otheris ar obstinat and nocht lyck to inter. Tharfor this day we sett fordvart for demolising of thair houses. We mynd all nycht to be in Kintore, and fra that to Strabogy, Slains, Achindoun and sa furd."

"This journey is bayth costly and panfull to his majeste, bot the profeit wilbe common to boyth the realmes. I pray God his majeste may be sa respectit thair that he may be incouragit to go forvart in his holy intentioun. I think it salbe Witsunday befor we can cum southe. We heir that th' erll Bothvell hes amassit sum tuay or thre hundrethe brokin men, bot how sone he heris of the distres of his collegis heir I think he sall abstein. I pray God with my hart he may tak a courss to his awin honour and weill. His majeste is marvelusly sollicitit in the matter of Denmark, and except Monsieur de Lisle hest, I think thair salbe na recovery in the matter."

"His majeste langis for your lordschip's return."

Postscript—"I pray your lordschip despesthe Georg Wilsone, for we think long for him." *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 26. 58. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I hear the King prevails without impediment, and that the Master of Glamis is sent to him and all other factious lords dispersed. Only Bothwell keeps his company, and that rather to "keip ther harts for anie other tyme then for anny great purpose he can doe now, unless he mean sum pryvat revenge of ane injure resavid of Leith at ther dischargeinge ther, wiche they shott when upon the steiple. Hear gave the tokin and the bell ronge, so that the alarm was hoatt awhyll, but provid falls." I "attend" your letters in this town, where I arrived on Thursday before noon. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

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April 26.

Printed in *A Collection of State Papers . . . 1571 to 1596*, ed. W. Murdin, 1759, p. 635.

59. ANSWERS TO THE LAIRD OF WEMYSS' PROPOSITIONS.

"A summarie of that maie be awnswered to the propositions presented by the Lard of Weymes, Ambassadour for the King of Scotland, to hir majesty."

"Hir majestie hath soe small dowbt of the Kingis sinceritie towardes hir, as she findeth yt sumwhat strange that anie such question showld be made whether she doubteth of him or noe, spetiallie considering howe she hath in all times shewed hir self carefull of his estate."

"Answeare hath been made verie often that hir majestie hath suffred noe person to deale to preferre anie to the title nowe mentioned directlie or indirectlye, as yt hath appeared by hir severe dealinge against some that have presumed to deale thearein; and in like sort awnsweare hath been made to his Ambassadours that nothing was done nor meant to be done by hir majestie, or by anie that had authoritie to heare and judge his mothers cawse, to prejudice anie right that the King might claime as heire to his mother; which thinge hir majestie hath testefied under hir hand and seale to the Kinge. And yet for the Kinges better satisfaccion he maie have an instrument in writinge subscribed with the handes of such as weare commissioners both of hir Counsell and judges of the realme to verefie the same."

"It hath also been awnsweared hearetofore that such overtures as Mr. Ashbye the last sommer made unto the King weare onelie matters of his private conceite and not directed nor warranted theareto from hir majestie nor from anie of hir Counsell. Soe as uppoun the first knowledge theareof to some of hir Counsell before hir majestie was theareof informed, to avoide hir high displeisur, the knowledge of his doinge was kept from hir majestie for a good time, and he reprehended for the same, untill by his owne letters to hir majestie he confessed his offence and craved pardon, alledging that he had noe evill meaning thearein, but thowght to showe his goodwill to the Kinge in seekinge to please him with such overtures. And for proof that he had noe authoritye to use such speeches, hir majestie is sure he will take his oathe if yt be offred unto him."

"This also hath been often aunsweared to, particulerlie, that hir majesty hath thowght yt meete to forbeare the inquisicion of the title of thos landes of the Erle of Lennox, as a matter that might breade more offence even to the Kinge himself than hir majestie would like of. For howe theie that pretend title theareto for the Ladie Arbell, as sole dawghter to the Lord Charles the last erle, would temper themselves in stirringe questions for theire purpose that might prejudice sum greater matters, hir majestie hath great cawse to dowbt of, yea, she is verie certaine that such as favour the title of the Lady Arbell [Stuart] have offred to show hir title to be verie good by the lawes of the realme."

"Hir majestie is so carefull for justice to be done to all persons as nothinge can be required of hir for the satisfaccion of anie of the Kinges subjectes that doe or shall complaine of anie piracies, but in favour of the Kinge hir judge shall be straightlie charged to showe as much favour to any Scottisheman, being the Kinges good subject, as to anie of hir owne. And if anie dowbt shall be of the sinceritie of the ordinarie judge, the complainantes shall be allowed to have anie other competent judge to determine theire cawses."

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"Towching the reprisalles demanded by Colonell Steward against the Hollanders, hir majestie thinketh yet a verie untimelie matter to enter into that cowrse nowe, least yt might be thowght he showld in that accion favour to much the Kinge of Spaine, and soe perhaps procure himself more hurt than good thearebie."

"Hir majestie can devise noe better meanes then by hir owne example she hath and will showe to the Kinge what cowrse is meetest, that is, she doth provide to putt hir good subjectes in strength by land and by sea to withstand the common ennemie, and she doth bridle and suppresse all attemptes of evell subjectes. And if the Kinge shall in his owne realme followe hir example, as verie latelie—and almost to late—he hath begonne against certaine conspiratours, being of great countenaunce and connived ennemies with the Pope and the Spaniardes, she dowbteth not but both she and he shall keape theire crownes and kingdomes in peace, to the honour of God and glorie of themselves."

"For the last, concerning a request for hir majesties advise in the Kinges marriage. Truelie hir majestie hath, by hir own example in forbearinge marriage, showed thearebie how unmete she is to geve advise in matter of mariadge. But yet if the Kinge shall sincerelie in secrett sort lett hir majestie understand to what state and person he standes of himself most inclined, hir majestie will make him acquainted, also in secrett manner, what opinion she hath theareof."

2¼ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

April 27 and 28.

60. THOMAS FOWLER TO [WALSINGHAM.]

The King came to this house of Strathbogie on the 26th, "for he was dryven to lye by the way at a poore village cawled Kintour." Huntly had caused all the country to be disfurnished of whatsoever might serve for victual or prey, and this his own house nothing left in it but woodwork and some feather beds, without furniture. Yet so soon as he knew the King was near with 100 pioneers to rase it, he sent messenger after messenger to offer himself to yield to the King's mercy, under condition to save his life and lands unattainted. The King would not listen unless he would yield himself without condition, so we proceeded to the house, where no company was able long to continue, for it is a barren country, "yet in the myddest of his strengthe that the Kinge must hold his army together."

The Council considered that Huntly might keep himself in the mountains longer than they were able to pursue him, for there was no following with an army; "and therefore thowght best to wyle him in by any way, kepinge the Kinge free." So it was given out to some about the King who would send Huntly word—for he was in the hills not four miles off—that the whole lords there would use all their credit to persuade the King to grant his requests, if he would enter to the King's mercy without condition, which the King of his honour could not yield to any beforehand. Then one he trusted much and followed the counsel of was promised favour for his own offence if he wrought his coming in. By this means, that night late, the captain traitor, like a good goose, came in, thinking to have come straight to his own house where the King was, and to have had his old entertainment; but he was met half a mile off with the Master of Glammis and Carmichael with 200 horse, and conveyed to a

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James VI. 1589. stout house hard by, of one of his servants, and there guarded strongly that night. Next day, being Sunday, he was sent away early to Aberdeen strongly accompanied. The King is exceeding glad at his taking, and will neither speak nor deal with him but as these lords and counsellors now about him shall advise. For the rest of his followers there are warrants, and companies sent out to apprehend them as they can be gotten.

Erroll is nobody of power, and the attempts of Bothwell, the want of victual, with evil weather here—for it is frost and snow as at Christmas—makes the King retire this night to Aberdeen, and so forward upon Bothwell with all his forces; and having put him to a point will call in question others that lies lurking by and hath been as far in the matter as the best. This will not be done hastily, and the hired men must be kept together till it be ended or he shall not be able to go through with it. They cry already for pay; but where is it?

I think it time that some should come with aid to this King and to get these traitors executed, without which I doubt they scant dare do it, or at least they will not agree together to do it, for some would have him die, some but banished, others, kept in prison. If he should be banished, he is ready to bring in the Spaniards as he meant to receive them. If kept in prison, he will ere long "be labored owt" by some or other. The Lord Hamilton is his uncle and is a noble gentleman, and none more forward in this service than he, and is of good religion. He speaks most honourably of the Queen's majesty, yet he takes unkindly that he never received any remembrance from her. Since his coming thence he assured me that a token worth a crown would have been esteemed by him more than a jewel of a thousand pound from any other prince. This man will not willingly consent to Huntly's death, and he bears a great sway in this country. If he stand with the rest it will be hard to get him executed, though the King consent, as I think he would if this Council wholly agree. Therefore all this circumstance tends that the said Lord Hamilton should be first a little kindly handled by some slight remembrance from her majesty, and then wrought by the ambassador that should come hither, who would be able to handle matters substancially, that he be not against this execution. Your honour's own credit is such with him that you may do much.

I trust Bothwell and others be brought to the same pass. Therefore is to be considered that the nobility here are so linked by blood or allied one with another, that if half of them were fast, unless in open show it appear that her majesty do back and maintain the King in his proceedings, there is no possibility that he dare deal with his nobility as he would and should. As it falls out it is better that Huntly was let slip before, for he has now made himself guilty of that which by anything passed before they here would never have found him, and the King is taught how to trust and finds himself exceedingly abused.

The Master of Gray's coming home is exceedingly misliked both by the King and Chancellor, and for that I know he cannot do her majesty nor this state any service here, all things going so well forward as they do, I wish he had not been suffered to come at this time; it will do no good, but hurt. The Chancellor hath heard of the credit the Master hath with the Queen, and he is not ignorant also of the inward greatness between Mr. Archibald and the Master. He finds little account made of

James VI. 1589. him by her majesty. Indeed he knows the Master's state to be such as if he serve the Queen she must be at cost with him deeply and then what need to bring anew in credit and be at cost for an uncertainty, and will be at none for a certainty so proved and hath so well deserved as the other neither can nor will do; and a man debauched and of no good religion. It is written hither that the said Master hath brought the Queen to grant to the maintenance of the King's guard more than his former pension, which is taken in scorn that he should bring to pass that which no other yet could do. Indeed it were better to be granted to the King's ambassador, who comes for that purpose, than that the King should be made beholden to one that he loves not for any liberality of the Queen's.

Lord Gray, father to the Master, met the King in this journey, but being known to be a notorious papist his majesty would none of his company, therefore dismissed him and his. Part at Strathbogie and part at Aberdeen. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

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

April 28. 61. THOMAS FOWLER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 393.

The King came to this house of Strathbogie the 26th: he lay by the way at a poor village, the army not being able to march through. The whole country is void of victuals and goods, all carried to the hills. The King's coming with his pioneers and their tools and powder was known to Huntly, for he had enough in our company that sent to him daily, he hovering on the hills where we might see him and he us, but no pursuit could prevail if 20,000 men had been sent. He sent to the King one, and then another, to desire assurance for his life and lands, and he would come in and yield to the King's mercy; but his majesty threatened all destruction to him and his unless he would yield unconditionally. Yet the Council considered the barren country they were in, in the midst of his strength, and that it was impossible for the King to hold his army together for 3 days for want of victual; and when the houses were down and the King gone, the rebels would be as great as ever, Huntly being head, and the rest of no force except Bothwell "nor he neyther for nomber"; therefore it was resolved by any means to get him in hold, keeping the King free of any promise.

"The lordes promesed that if he wold cum in frely they wold there after be a meane al . . .* to the Kinge that he might be as good to him as his desy[re] was; and withall made a frend of his that was in daunger him selffe to worke his comminge in, and to trust to the Kinges marcy. So that by thes meanes the great capteyn of all this conspiracy and rebellion came in the same nyght sum what late, thinking to have come strayt to his owne house where the Kinge was, but he was met by the way with ij hundred horse [under] the conduct of the Master of Glames and Carmihell, [who] convoyed him to a towre of a servant of his owne: [and] there was strongly garded all the night, and the next [day] sent away with at least a thowsand horse to Haberd[ene]." The King went back thither that day; a great journey, but at Strathbogie we could get no food, and the vilest cold I ever came in. Many were glad that Huntly was taken, for the King's wilfulness was such to pursue

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. them that half the company would have perished. That one night perished above 30 fair geldings, of frost.

I began my letter at Strathbogie, but now write from Aberdeen. "[The] Kinge wold neyther see Huntley nor speke with him, and he waxes sory at his hart that ever he cam in hand. If he had knowne that now he fyndes he wold . . . have combred us all or he had byn gotten." His majesty hath promised his Council to do nothing but by their advice. He will now pursue Bothwell with all his force; and good order is taken for Erroll and [other] counsellors of Huntly and him; and the like will be done for others. If one of some countenance would come, and bring with him pay for these poor soldiers, and give comfort to the [King] from her majesty, that both good and bad nobility might see she would stick to him and aid him against the undutiful, he may work good effects. You cannot believe what pain the King takes to proceed against them. "He hathe vowed to hunt [them] as well as ever his howndes hunted a hare," and [told] me yesterday that ere he had done with the matter none should think him of the Spanish faction or a papist. There is news here that Bothwell has 1200 horse, and has made sc[aling] ladders and other provision to besiege the Black Ness and take Maxwell: when he hears Huntly is prisoner, he will abate his pride.

The King was never so well affected to the Queen and England as now; he delights to do anything to please her. "When he doethe any thinge agaynst thes traytors, and when Huntley was taken he sayes to one, 'Thinke you not that this will be pleasynge to the Queene?' 'And,' saythe he, 'she shall see I will do my part so far as I may by any traveyll or moyen.'" He is ill content at the Master of Gray's coming. If he come here his countenance will be nothing. Would God they had sent the Chancellor half as much as the Master hath cost the Queen! He is a stout man and behaves himself wisely, so as the whole nobility bands with him in prosecuting this matter. If the Chancellor had not handled matters well this whole cause had been overthrown by division among ourselves. There have been three great quarrels between the principal noblemen since we marched: one between Hamilton and Angus, and the lie given: another between Sir William Keith and the bishop of Moray, [when] the Earl Marischal, Lord of Dingwall, Lord Awt . . . and their friends banded against the Douglases: another between the Earl of Mar and the Lord Hamilton.

The Chancellor stayed all extremity, so as they willingly run all one course. "The Lord Hamelton is a great stay and strengthe in this service, yet he wilbe lothe his nephue shold dye of this disseas." I hope to see your lordship shortly. Strathbogie and Aberdeen. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"[It] is wrytten to me that if Sir George Cary cum [he] is perswaded to deface and discredit me with this Kinge; at least if he can."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 30. 62. THOMAS FOWLER TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 392.

I must visit you with my lines as often as I can get convoy. "Yesterday cam in before the Kyng and Cowncell divers great men of

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power that lye rownd abowt Huntleyes landes and Arroles, as Malco[m]-tosshe, the Lard of Graunt, all the Forbosses and Dromondes, Frendrathe and others; and geven in theyre bandes and ostages—that be caryed with the Kinge—that they shall procecute and aprehend all traytors in this jornay confederat with Huntley; and hathe speci[all] names of pryncypall men set downe."

"The pryncypall howse of Arroll, cawled Slanes, a xvj myles from this towne, is furnished with a garryson and kept for the Kinge. Huntley is straytly kept, and therefore discontent, and makes meanes to be banyshed, and offers cawsyon of iiij noble men in great somes that he shall neyther deall with straunger to molest this cowntry nor religion in it, nor shall ever returne withowt lycence obteyned of the Kinge. He wold fayn be gon, and sum great ones of thes noble men wold have it graunted, as the Lord Hamelton for one, but it is now set down that he shalbe arayned and fownd gilty of treson. Thereafter they will take farder order, but if he get lowse by banishment I lyke it not, and dothe what I can to perswade the contrary."

"I pray your Lordship to hasten the comminge of suche a one hether as I hafe wrytten of before, and all shalbe well, for this nobyllite is afrayde to toche him in blud. For owght that I see th[ey] meane to arayne him and fynd him gilty, but to stay judgment: what that shold meane I know not well. I perceave sum of this party hathe assured him absol[utely] for his lyffe and landes, which they say they dyd to get him in. All wayes the Kinge is free of any condisyon with him."

"Yesterday allso was a petycyon presented [to the] Kinge and Cowncell to lysence the Master of Gray to cum in. The Kinge aunswered it, that at Edenbrowghe at a Generall Convencyon it was decreed that all pa[pists] shold avoyd the country, and that frome thence forthe not any Scotes man that was abrode in other cowntrey and knowne to be infected with papistry shold . . .* home nor enter this realme, before the Kirke . . . satysfyed of theyre sowndnes in religion and . . . . . intersessors for them: and the Master of Gray specyally named in this decre, which was proclaymed in all cittyes and burrowes of Scotland. Therefore he . . . not graunt the sayd Master his entraunce before th[at] order were performed, for he wold not breke so gr[eat] a purpose. So I perceave theyre wilbe sum stay [of] his cominge in."

Here is arrived Mr. James Hudson, who spoke with the King and Chancellor about the Master of Gray. The Chancellor being persuaded of her Majesty's liking of his coming, obtained licence for it, provided he satisfy the [Kirk] within 40 days. The Chancellor is resolved that if the Master keep a good course he will use co . . . densy. This day we remove to Dunottar, the Earl's house, and so to Stirling and Edinburgh. Aberdeen. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"It is geven owt here secretly by Bodwells frendes that notwithstondinge all this rule he makes, his hatred to Ingland in his unreverent speches of hir majeste, that there is an intercowrce of dealinge by letters betwen the Lord Chamberleyn and him: which the Chauncelour and others marvells at if it shold be true, but can hardly beleve it; and I perswade to scorne it as a device to shew his credit."

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

* Decayed.

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63. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

I received your last letter of the 25th April on the 29th. I am sorry your honour, through indisposition, is absent from court, but I am glad to understand of her majesty's gracious meaning to this prince, and your care in procuring the same with speed, for the better encouraging of his highness to suppress the insolent dealing of the confederate earls and papists of this nation. By my letters of the 22nd, 24th, and 27th you are informed what success the King hath hitherto had in his voyage and with what diligence he doth prosecute his northern rebels. Bothwell still continues with his lewd company about 5 or 6 miles from this city, expecting what success his confederates hath in the north. He half repents him of that he hath taken in hand, seeing the King prosecute this action so roundly, and being not a little moved especially against him, having been always so gracious a prince towards him, yet finds his dealing most dishonourable and ungrateful for the great favours received at his hands.

Such money as it shall please her majesty to send to the King at this present would be surest at Newcastle, for there is some danger betwixt Morpeth and Berwick to surprise it now that Bothwell is thus accompanied here in the south. It is suspected he watches for some such "cheet," having loose borderers for the purpose.

I look every hour for news from Fowler what the King hath done since his departure from Aberdeen towards Strathbogie and Slains, two chief houses of Huntly and Erroll which are rendered to the King; but whether they be rased I cannot hear as yet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

[April]

64. RESTORATION OF THE MASTER OF GRAY.

A Memorial for Mr. James Hudson.

To let the Lord Chancellor and others of that realm of quality—known to be well affected to the amity of this crown—understand how well her majesty resteth satisfied with the Master of Gray's answer alleged in his defence, touching such informations as were given out against him, as one that sought the change of religion in that realm by bringing in strangers, and the dissolving of the amity between her majesty and the King his master: that he hath with great protestation answered her majesty that as he, by the late experience had in foreign parts, findeth nothing more dangerous for the King than to give ear to such overtures as have been and will be made unto him by the enemies of the Evangel, who seek but to use him as an instrument of their particular intended revenge against this crown, with intent also to work his ruin as a Christian King, so is he resolved to employ all the credit he hath with the King and the nobility of that realm in persuading them to keep good friendship with this crown, as the only thing that is to work the King's good, both for the present and the time to come: that her majesty, finding the said Gray to stand so well affected, doth greatly desire a good friendship between the Lord Chancellor and him, to the end they may the better concur in furtherance of the advancement of religion and good intelligence between both their majesties: that because her majesty is not ignorant that there are some within that realm that will labour by all means to

James VI. 1589. nourish jealousy between them, a matter that cannot but endanger both the public and their particulars, therefore her majesty, for the preventing thereof, commanded me expressly to send you into Scotland to assure the Chancellor in her name that he shall find the Master most ready to join with him in all good friendship, whatsoever information either hath or shall be given to him to the contrary: that as the said Master hath protested unto her majesty that his meaning is to embrace effectually the said Chancellor's friendship, so hath he given like assurance unto me. And therefore being persuaded as I am that he will perform sincerely the same as he protesteth, I cannot but advise the said Chancellor to make proof thereof. And further you are to let the Lord Chancellor understand that it hath been advertised hither out of Scotland that his lordship should seek to make his peace with Lord Claud Hamilton, and should also procure unto him the King's favour; who, being known to be a deadly enemy to religion, and one that seeketh to draw foreign forces into that realm, not without vehement suspicion by their assistance to attain to the possession of that crown, "a matter that the wyser and better sorte here, that have seene of late his honorable and Crystyan coorse, held ther in furtheraunce of all good causes can in no sorte beleve," —the said Lord Claud . . . *Unfinished.*

3½ *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

May 1. 65. MASTER OF GRAY TO WALSINGHAM.

"Yisterday I ves vithe her majestie, and moveit her, efter reasoning of the veil it sould be for her auin surtie, for to give command to my Lord Chambellane that a fyve or sex hundrethe harqubusieres sould be provydit to lye at the bourdours in redines, in caice the King my master sould have to do, for that foot men in Scotland be not ever in redie equipage and armed vhen the men be redy. For I see vithout sume vaged men the King vill hardly pervein to the overthrow of theis factious lords. And Robert Carie shalbe send down for that effect, vitche to exped I pray your honour. For albeit the King craveis it not as yit, yet I am assured his necessitie in this present shall crave it: and yerfore I shall signifie to his majestie to desyr of her majestie that the men may be send in, if so he shall find it meit. Becaus it ver good the Laird of Veimis ver gone, it vill please your honour to cause him in all his maiters to be exped, for he is at great chairges heir. To morou I shall see your honour, God willing." London. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 1. 66. INTELLIGENCE FROM EDINBURGH.

Cott. Julius, F. VI., fol. 90.

This day I received the enclosed from Mr. Fowler, who has taken great pains in this journey attending the King, and advertised me of the King's proceedings; the rest I have sent you as they came to my hands. "The King—Huntley rendring himself prisoner—is retorning with sped [into] theise parts to suppresse Bodwell, who, as I suspect, is seking to flie to the Prince of Parma by sea. Yestir night at Lythe, as it was tould me, he caused a Dutchman to make readie his ship to carrie ten or twelve persons and to land them ether at Brichem or et [*sic*] Emden,

James VI. 1589. promissing a good reward; he hath with him Bruice the Jesuite, and as I heare some Englishe outlawes and fugitives, but I cannot as yet get the names."

"On of her majesties barke lying upon thise coste would do great good, and oftymes intrecept such as come and go from hence with intelligence betwine the Duke of Parma and the confederate, besides the cheasing awaie of pyrates that do great hurt to our marchants and fishermen passing theise partes."

"The King haith made proclamation that on Mundaie the 5 of Maye his northern forces to be in a redines at Sterling, meaning to sett upon Bodwell with all such, and ether to take him, or to chase him out of the countrie, but I feare he will escape by sea. Mr. Towlr [*sic*: Fowler] would in no case that the Scotishe embassador or Ro[ger] Aston should know that he writheth anie intelligence from hence. This daye I here that some of Bodwells conpuanne begines to leave him."

Her majesty may be assured that the King carries a faithful mind to follow her advice in all his actions, and wholly devoted to run that good course that she shall think best for the advancement of religion and security of this Isle. Edinburgh.

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

May 2. 67. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

How the King hath proceeded, and with what success, your honour shall understand by the enclosed from Mr. Fowler, who hath taken great pains and advertised me with diligence, and been in no way forgetful of her majesty's service. He would not have it known to any Scotsman or to Roger Aston that he writeth from hence except to his private friends.

Now that Huntly hath rendered himself prisoner and is sent to Lochleven the King is returning hither to suppress Bothwell's pride; but upon Huntly's taking his company begins to leave him and he will fly by sea to the Duke of Parma. His dealing hath offended the King, and his life made him odious to all men, so he seeks to escape before the King's return.

Proclamation was yesterday in Edinburgh that the south and west of Scotland should be in readiness and meet the King at Stirling the 8th of May to prosecute Bothwell, but this morning I heard that a ship was ready for him at Preston, 7 miles from Edinburgh, to carry him to Emden; "the same eand is thought here will befall to him that came to his predecessour, whose stepes he foloweth in all lewdnes": both King and subjects will be glad to be rid of him.

I have just received your letter of the 27th, wherein is mentioned a warrant signed by her majesty for 3000*l.* to be sent to the King for his strength against the rebels: it will encourage him and the well affected to go through with this action, and save her majesty many a thousand. "For if thei might have had tyme and receaved forrein succor, thei would have mainteined a continuell warre, and put her majestie to infinite charges before thei could have bene suppressed: but now there chefe taken, and seing her majestie so readie to assist this prince, the rest will quaile and vanishe awaie, some rendring themselves to the Kings mercie, and the rest by fliing there countrey." I received this day letters from the Lord Treasurer mentioning her majesty's liberality

James VI. 1589. towards this King, to come from London the 28th of April and remain at Berwick till sent for. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 3. 68. ROBERT CARVILL TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your honour's letter of April 29th on the 2nd instant, with a packet from the Master of Gray, which I sent away according to the direction.

To-day at 8 p.m. I received these letters from the "Larde of Lesterick" to send with speed to the Master of Gray. The laird is often in hands with me, but I can learn nothing from him but what I certified in my last letter, "neither have I any fyrme confidence in hym for all his fayer speaches." If I can learn anything of him, for that he frequents the company of Earl Bothwell, your honour shall be advertised. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Carvill.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 4. 69. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour, the derectionis send to me be the Kinge my soverayn to crawe justice in matteris of piracye ar so manye that I can not tell whearat to begyn. Bot be ressone the mater whearat I lest wryte you when it vas your pleasur to be in cholere vas, at ane derectione, sett downe be Maister Beile and Doctor Ceasar approwed be your honour and the honourable off the consale to hawe beyn performed be Sir Jhone Woggan, I haif thocht it expedient to send to you be this bearar the copye of the sayde ordour togethir wythe suche letteris and dealinge as the sayde Sir Jhon hath returned, whearbye appearis rather ane mocking off justice than ony lyklye hede of performance. Be resson that be such vrytis as ar send be him your honour may persawe he hath nevir medled in ony part of his derection gevin be him bot hath takin ane new derection to him self wncertayn to me upon what grownd he can do it, I take this mater to proceid from som in that cuntrey that hath no moa myn that justice shuld have ane ressonable course: whearupon I can proceid no forthar bot insist in complaynte according to my derection. And be ressone this mater is best knauin to your honour, I must begyn at your self, most hartlye prayand that it may be your pleasur to move that some ressonable ordour may be takin heiranint, in causing the sayde Sir Jhon to oppeir befor your lordships of the consale, whear his assertionis mentionated in his letteris that he promised not to compeir vill prowe contrarye to the treuthe. So far as may concerne the appearing of Manvile, Cam, Jenkyn, Dawyes or ony uther responsable man contaned in the derection gevin to him, he hathe not medled wyth thaym, whearbye may appeir what is his meaning. The remanent I reffar to the bearar." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 4. 70. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Pleis your honour, the berar heirof, George Padye in Leyth, who hath also ressawed injurye be Sir Jhon Vgghan in Mylforde Heavin,

James VI. 1589. hath presented ane supplication to hir majeste for recovery of his lossis against him. I was myndit to have cowered his disordour in that mater, and to haif gevin ane part of this contribution to haif beyn gathered be him to the sayde George for satisfaction of his lossis, and so to haif passed ower the mater wyth such quietnes as I culd for his weilfayr. Bot seing he hath takin so harde ane course for his awin veile, I most also request your honour that he may be caused to appeir befor the lords of her majesteis consale, to anser at the instant of the sayde George and make satisfaction according to ressone. The nearest way to the doing heirof I must leawe to your honouris consideration." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 4. 71. JOURNAL OF THE KING OF SCOTS' PROCEEDINGS.

"10 Aprill." The King of Scots marched from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, accompanied by Duke of Lennox, the Lord Chancellor, Lord John Hamilton, and the Earl of Mar, "and forcis of the Lord Hume, Lord Sessford, Lord Carmychill, three lordes. Erls Morton, Angus, Marshall, Atholl, Master of Glamis, gather forces in Fiff."

"14 Aprill. The King was at St. Jhonstons. The Master of Glamis taken by the rebelles. Erl Bodwell retorned the iij of Aprill to the rebelles erles over yat Fryth; and cam by the Caningat of Edenburgh."

"At St. Jhons town whan the rebelles war ther afor the Kings cuming, Creyton and Hay, 2 Jesuittes, Bruce and Chesholm war with the erles."

"Tuesday 16. The King was at Dunde."

"The Lord Seton, Leviston, Sir Jhon Chesholm, as suspected, ar commanded by the Kyng to retorn to ther houses."

"The Kyng hath taken the houses of the bally of Arroll and of George Drummond of Blair."

"Fennevyn and Montross perteaning to the Erl Craford and Montross ar to be also tak."

"17 Aprill. The Kyng was at Brycken and sent a herold to Aberden to proclaim the Erl of Huntley and Arroll traytors. But the Erles took hym and his cote, &c., and made proclamation ageynst the Lord Chancellor by the name of Jhon Maytland."

"17. The Kyng at a villag called Cowey within xij myles of Aberden, neare a houss of the Erl Marshall, wher he and his whole army watched all night lookyng for the ennemis."

"Thursday 17. The rebel erles cam from Aberden sowthward to have mett the Kyng lying at Cowey. But the barons, the lardes, went from them. Montross also departed awey."

"Fryday 18. The rebells severed a-sondre; Huntley and Arroll to Straboggy, wher the Master of Glamis is prisoner. The Kyng with his power of Vm. cam to Abyrden."

"19, 20. The Kyng contynueth at Abyrden."

"20 Aprill. Sir Walter Lyndsay, a captain, is sent from Erl Bothwell, with offer to prove a number of articles of treason against the Chancellor."

"23 Aprill. The Kyng was at Aberden. The Kyng was purposed to ryde the next day to Strabogy to demolish it and Slayns belongyng to Arroll: and afterward to Elgyn in Murray and Enderness."

James VI. 1589.

"Ther ar with the Kyng that do stand sure to hym: the Lord Jhon Hammilton, Lord Chancellor, Erls Angus, Mar, Morton, Atholl, Marshall, Lord Flemmyng, Sankar, Hume, Master of Glamis, Coldenknowes."

"The Kyng hath gyven Sir Thomas Carrs landes to the Lord Hume."

"Ther is with the Kyng these: Erle of [Yourq ?], Lord Sommervile, Lord Yester, Lord Endermeth, Lord Dingwell, a Keth, Lord Ogilby, Lord Olyphant, Master of Lyndsay, Master of Elphynston."

"With the light horse in vantgard, Lord Hume, Carmychell, Alexander Hume of North Birwyk, Lord Jhon Hamylton."

"In the reregard. Erls Anguss, Marshall, Morton, Gowry, Lord Sommervile, Yestar, Salkar, Ogelby, Endermeth, Olyphant, Master of Lyndsay, Master of Elphynston."

"In ye battell with the Kyng, the Duk, Erl Marr, Atholl."

"Ther ar with the Erle Bothwell, Robert Maxwell."

"26 Aprill. Answer was gyven in wrytyng to the Laird of Wymes for such propositions as he had presented to hir majesty from the Kyng of Scottes."

"26. The Kyng cam to Strabogy."

"26. Huntley is brought to Aberden as a prisoner by the Master of Glamis. The same day the Kyng returned to Aberden."

"30 April. They cam to the Kyng submittyng them selves; Malcolmtosh, the Laird of Grant, the Forbosses, the Drommondes, Fendrathe and others. Slains, the principal houss of the Erl Arroll, is taken and warded with a garrison."

"4 Maij. The Kyng retorned to Edenburgh. Huntley prisonor in a houss at Edenburgh."

2 *pp.* *In Burghley's hand, and indorsed by him.*

May 4. 72. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 351.

The 3rd of May there came to my hands your honour's letters of April 29th, wherein you rehearse the Master of Gray's news touching the Earl of Bothwell's passing the Fir[th] with 500 horse and 600 foot to join the confederate earls and apprehend the Chancellor. This news was belike some discourse at Bothwell's table or brag of his followers written to the Master of Gray: but I writ always to you what Bothwell did and where he kept. "He made greate shewes at the first, but now he repentes of that he haith done, his companie broken, [and] he hiding himself; and would gladlie acc[ept] anie condicions of the King, who will rule e[mon]gest his subjectes, having her majestie thuse willing and readie to backe him; and will not suffer nether papist nor Spannishe faccionarie to live quietlie in his countrie, nor accept anie rebell upon condicion." His news of the Master of Glamis and the hatred of the nobility towards the Chancellor, you may judge of what humour it proceeds. What promises soever the Master of Gray makes, his coming hither will do hurt rather than good: neither he nor subject in Scotland draweth the King to the course of England, but this prince's zeal for religion and desire for her majesty's friendship. Seeing it good for the advancement of religion and security of his state, he is willing to suit his actions to her Majesty's liking; wherein the Chancellor and others nourish his good mind. Had it been possible to draw him by the Spanish factionaries he had been alienated from this course, but the Chancellor has his ear; which hath gotten

James VI. 1589. great envy of the contrary faction. The credit he hath with the King will perform better offices than the Master of Gray can bring to pass; and her majesty may make more sure account of the Chancellor than of any other. He will deal the more faithfully with her, this being the only means to maintain him in honour and withstand the envy of his enemies, having their chiefest quarrel against him that he affects the course of England. "I leave to your honour's wisdome to considre the inconvenience that maie faul out divers waies by [the] coming of the Master [of] Graye, whose credit will [not] be here as it haith ben, etce.: and I find it will displease both the King and the well affected." Proclamation was made here the 1st of Ma[y] that all should be in readiness to join the King at Stirling on the 8th for the suppression of Bothwell; but hearing that the Earl's companies were broken, the King came from Dundee yesternight to Edinburgh, sending Huntly prisoner two hours before him and will not see him. What they intend to do with him this enclosed of Mr. Fo[wler] will inform you, written to me from Aberdeen, but through the slowness of the messenger and the King's sudden coming Mr. Fowler was here within an hour of his letter.

I acquainted the King of that you wrote in your last letter touching the money sent, which he accepts in good part, and desires her majesty to continue her favour, as he will deserve to his power and shall appear to the world.

"Your honour did mencion in on of your late letters [that] your lordship moved her majestie to send some ma[n at] this tyme of credit; at this present it . . .* good, and make the King proceade with sev[erity] which is requisite in this accion; and I find [him] willing to performe that which he thinkes [will] please her majestie."

"It was here geven out [by] a Frenche gentleman caulled Monsieur Li . . . that the Lord Graye was named to be s[ent] hither; which did not a litle content the King, understanding of the zeale of that noble mans religion, and his honorable vertus."

Now that Huntly is taken, the other confederates disperse and seek to fly the country: a ship or two of her majesty's would do great good, to intercept them by sea, and search any Scottish ships that pass the narrow seas. "S[uch] is the Kings desire, thinking that the Earl, [if he] be not taken, will flie towardes Flanders and Spaigne."

"Greate search is mad for Bruice, who haith escaped this last night out of Lythe, but there is hope he wilbe taken if he take [not] shipping presentlie." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

May 4. 73. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 389.

I have returned from a troublesome northern journey with the King. His majesty came to this town yesternight, sending Huntly prisoner two hours before him, who is kept in a strong house in the town. Bothwell dissolved his forces when he heard that Huntly was taken, railing at the northern lords that stood no better by it. The Chancellor, Hamilton, Angus, Marischal, Mar, and Morton, with Atholl's assistance, which was many men, and others have in this journey been forward and faithful to prosecute the rebels that would endanger religion, the realm, and the

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. King's person. They made all their quarrel to the Chancellor for his affecting the amity with England and persuading the King thereto: they blame not the Chancellor wrongfully in that point, and he hath better credit with the King than ever. I have wished heretofore that he might be remembered from thence: it would stand her majesty's service in good stead. There can be found no course so good as by him, yet no regard is had to him. "But now is come hether one with a specyall recomendacyon from hir majeste of the Master of Gray, to procuer his alowance to cum home, and to perswade the Chauncelour to accept of his kindnes and to joyn with him to run a cowrce together, for the better procedinge in matters to the weale of bothe thes cowntryes."

"With pardon, if your lordship thinke that this Chauncelour, and other the aforesayd that joynes with him fyrmly, have any judgment, they cannot but take it—or at leaste they doo—that eyther hir majeste and Cowncell mystrustes them, or estemes them insuffic[ient] to governe as they doo, that is so desyrowse to set home a mongest them a man notoryowsly knowne, neyther so good in religion as they nor so honest as they; in degre infe[rior]; yonge, yet banyshed his cowntry for infamowse offences [that] deserved deathe: and now, his credit with his natyve prynce not servinge him, sekes bothe his cominge home and credit by procu[rement] of hir majeste."

If her majesty's request be granted there will grow no small inconvenience hereafter. It comes in an evil time, when the best sort have merited well and deserve encouragement; they are in "discomfortable conceytes" by this dealing for a man of small account here.

I have nothing to do with the Master. He professes to be my friend and I have deserved it. He shall never be able to do her majesty service worth a button by any credit he shall have here, for the King will never love or trust him, and thinks him one of the worst men of the world. "The King geves order presently for aprehen[ding] of Bodwell and all his cowncelours and capteynes." Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

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

May 5. 74. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

I have received your letter by Mr. James Hudson, by which I was disburdened of great trouble of mind, which I had, before your letter came, imparted to him, knowing him to love and honour you. I am glad of his coming, yet would have wished it for another cause, "set hir majesties plesure a syde, which thowghe the Kinge and Chauncellour yelde unto for the present, yet is displesynge to them bothe."

Some think the Master of Gray deceives himself if he hope to win credit here by a commendation from England, having lost all he had with his King and country by his own deserts. The King will never trust him, and it is as impossible to make the Master and Chancellor friendly as to friend Mr. Archibald and him, whom I have done my best to agree. Some of the best affected to the English amity and religion conceive by her majesty's dealing for his coming home and to join him with the Chancellor, that either she trusts them not or thinks them insufficient, and that she makes more account of the Master than of them to serve her and these realms; "which is a coolynge of the good myndes they have made proffe of lately," since the best affected are not remembered,

James VI. 1589. "and it is knowne here that Mr. Archibald and the Master of Graye goes to the Quene together, deales and runes all one cowrse, howses, eates and kepes company and conference together," which makes jealousy and bodes ill to the Chancellor, who deserves well at her majesty's hands, if a good course for the amity and quiet of both realms, upholding religion and suppressing the Spanish faction merit anything. "If he wold have byn wone or currupted by the other syde, he hathe byn largly offred. He is worthe the holdinge if hir majeste meane to have good service here, and I am sory to perceave that he fyndes hir majeste to accompt more, as he conceaves, of the Master of Grayes service, being owt of place, then his beinge wheare he may hold him owt bothe of place and credit." I know more in this matter than Mr. Hudson. They are loth to deny his persuasions in respect from whence they come, but the evil will grow in her majesty's service, which makes me write thus; else would I that both Mr. Archibald and the Master of Gray were in credit here, for they both love me and I have deserved well at their hands. But two worse beloved men in their own country I never knew.

The Chancellor's credit is better than ever, and divers noblemen of the best religion and sort join with him, as Lord Hamilton, Angus, Morton, Marshall, Atholl, and others; they all mislike of Gray's coming home.

I am sorry your honour is not yet at court, and that I should have occasion to write to any but yourself, whose friendly dealing saved me from spoil and evil conceit of my sovereign. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 6. 75. MAITLAND TO WALSINGHAM.

"Be zour letter quhilk I resavit be James Hudsoun I understand her majesteis regaird and cair for my indempnitie, be thir domestique practises, foundat—as she conceavis aright—upon the amitie quhairof I have bene in this difficill tyme nocht obscurelie cairfull, movit be the great suretie depending thairupoun to the religioun, my soverains greatnes, and the quietnes of this haill ile. Quhilk as they alwayis have directed my credite and counsale in this place, to preserve the same unshakin be quhatsumever foreyne or intestine assaultes it hes bene heir oppugnit with, sa sall the same respectis resolve me at this tyme to hazard quhatsumever I have dearest to the withstanding of thair desseings quha dois or sall attempt the dissolution thairof, as be my actions from tyme to tyme sall, God willing, appeare."

"Twiching the beareris credites, I may asseure zow that na particuler sall ever be appendit be me with any thing may further the incres of the said amitie, or the advancement of any cause or persoun that may do any gude that way. And for that gentilman in quhais particuler ze are earnest, zour mediatioun sall wyn of me qhuat I can do to his behove, sa being I finde with him effectuell correspondence. Quhat credite merites sic reportis as are gevin out of me be mercinaires quha levis thair at zour charges, and sellis zow their intelligence deare aneuch, I leve it to the progres and event of this haill actioun, and to the said James Hudsonis mair ample informatioun." Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Your luffing freind to command, Jo. Maitland."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. May 6.

76. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I enclose the Lord Chancellor's letter. I find him in mind to try the Master well before he credit him, but I will not write the worst to him, for this may mend upon his good behaviour. Wise men say "the Quens majeste wold have the King asurid to hir in firm frendship, and it is fitt for boath the Crowns that so bei; but why then doeth yat wise prince and yat grave Cownsell seik him by suche as have noct the credit to performe it, and givith them largely for that effect. Sum you usse that neyer can nor could keip them sellves in ther owin cuntrei, neyer can cum in it when they are furth but by hir majestes medyacyon, and then how wold yow have them to serve your turne hear. Lykwysse they are power [poor] and have noct wherwith but be the overthrow of other, and yit suche men onlly yow usse. 'But,' saeth one, 'why doe yow noct only seik and deall and keip frendship and intelygence with him whome yow sei relegeous and able to live of him self, and haeth credit and frends and will noct be a marchand as other have bein: for them yat offer yow service or pleassuer for gaen eyer seace when gaens seace or ells ar as redy to be bowcht by other.'"

Never man deserved so much nor could do more than the Chancellor, yet he never had nor will have of your money; yet you never seek him in any kind sort, and never cease to seek them that can do you no good but by his assistance. You buy men dear that can do you no good, and will not seek them that can do all you require, whom you cannot have for money but for friendly usage, "who is determenid to end his lyf in the coursse he haeth begun." You can consider who is meant, and how it grieveth a man to do all the good that is done and other to reap the thanks.

"If hir majeste send with speid sume wysse man things hear wilbe the beter and sharplyer handlid; other viaes it is dowtfull. It wer fit he should deal earnestly for the purginge of the Kings owin howsse and the punishment of them that merit chastisment." *Unsigned.*

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 6.

77. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I fynd things hear in a strange estaet, for great neklegence and erroris ar daely committid by ocasyon of men yat bear credid abowt the King's person and perswaed untrewths. For exemple, that nycht the King came over to Leith 40 good horsses mycht have takin the Earl of Huntle and dangerid the King's person allso. And now ther is great deallinge for Huntle to be releacid, and the Chanseler is nothinge contentid yat his gretist enemei haeth plaece stil to speak and be herd agaenst hime. He haeth doen muche hear, and all in efect that is good; and yit I fynd all his sosyetei in nyce poynts and tearms oftin tyms. He wil noct ask in no kynd, and yit a man mae sei that he knowes that her majeste gave Mr. Archebald 4000 *li.* at oan gift, and many other have had and that largely of hir majestes bownte, and never yit he; and he thinks, and so must all confess that knowith the staet hear, that never anny deservid so well. And I know hir majeste can noct be so disgyssid hir bownte* hear but it wil apeare if they once have it."

* "Her bownte" inserted above the line.

James VI. 1589. "We hear now hir majestes good remembrance of the King is now near Barweik, but if hir hichnes doe noct wil the saem to be imployd for the peace of the cuntrei, it wilbe but a hynderance rayer then a benefit. For til the Kings challmer be purgid at hir hichnes request, no suerte is to be lukid for."

"The King haeth dellt vallyantly and with paen and caer hiyerto, and yit all mae perish. By good deallinge and folowinge this matter wil doe moar good then anny other thinge haeth doen hiyerto. The King is glad of the order of the Garter, and men hear generally haet Mr. Archebald and fear the Master for ambisyon. The yonge Duek haeth bein movid to request the gard, and Carmichell haeth gotin promiss therof. Every oan wil fycht to have it so longe as hir majeste is the muster mistress. Ther is great disagreiment amongest them, and smal serteynte as it mendith or parith." Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

Postscript—"The longe stae of your honors letters and ower jorney was the caws of my long delae of wrytinge, whiche I humble prae your honor to pardon."

"Sir William Keith and Mr. Colvill ar beath from the court for V. daes. The Master is muche dowtid for ambisyon hear."

$3\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 6. 78. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your letters on May 2nd, at Dundee, on our return from Aberdeen, for there the bearer fell sick and awaited our coming. I then delivered your honour's letter to the Chancellor, and acquainted him with my instructions, "which I had allso doen befoar I resavid them att Aberdein." He said he never had particular quarrel with the Master of Gray, but found him to be in a dangerous course for the religion, and amity between the crowns. For these respects he became his enemy, but now, understanding that her majesty and you rest satisfied with him, and answerable for his good behaviour, he can be content to bury all unkindness and embrace his friendship, as you will perceive by his letter.

"Tuchinge my Lord Clawd ther is no suche frendship betwixt my Lord Chanceler and him as was saed to be, neyer is ther apeirance thereof."

I received your other letter the 3rd of May at Edinburgh. The same day I spoke to his majesty and the Chancellor at Aberdeen; the King, by the Chancellor's means, granted the request in the Master's favour for his return. "But since this my lord is informid yat the Master of Grae haeth shewid serteyne advertisments from this cuntrei, wherin it was saed that all the good caws was overthrowen by the Yearll Bothwell and his forssis, whiche durst never be sein since the Yearll of Huntley was yeilldid. As allso that it should be reporttid ther that my lord chanceler was privie to all this tresonable devyssis that theas evill effecttid men had in hand."

These things have moved the Chancellor very much, yet he saith that since her majesty and you think good that he enter in friendship with the Master, he will let time try things, as he feareth not to be hurt thereby, neither doubts of a remedy if need be. Other things here are as Mr. Fowler writeth. "He was a glad man of your honors kynd letter, for it ressollvid him of a great dowtt." Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

James VI. 1589. "Robert Bruce haeth bein narowly mist now twyss, and yit I hoap my lord Chanceler wil maek the third tym hit."

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 8. 79. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I send you a letter from the Master of Gray's brother. All his friends think him unwise in staying so long. Your honour will see the opinions of the King and Chancellor confirmed by this letter from Mr. Fowler, touching the hard opinion conceived of two there: neither will this be removed except by desert, yet it will not hinder his reasonable suits in his private affairs, for that favour which is promised will be kept; "but they rest dowttffull. If your honour knew the lawless doings and trewthless hartts of the greattist number of this unbrydlid peiple you wold pittei anny Cristyan prince that governid the staett hear. The power King commplanith piteffully when he trustith and lovith, and owtwardly bearith a good cowntenance, but in efect he can noct amend things but by hir majestes good hellp in mayntaninge a good gaerd abowt him til the stiff nekkid sort be humblid." They lack a man of valour to take things upon him as Arran did, for every one feareth to offend lords more than the King. "But I hoap to sei Weims taek this matter in hand, as the onlly mane of coragge and caerlessness to displeas any man, to pleas the King and advance the cawsse in hands. When the gaerd is stronge, and Wems entrid to work, then havinge hir majestes good cowntenance ther is sumwhat to be lookid for hear, and noct befoar."

The Chancellor is the very substance of all good effects to be looked for; only he and the young Earl of Mar assist the King in matters of honour and equity. The Master of Gray writes that it is your pleasure that I stay till his coming, which I will do. I wrote to you on the 12th and 17th instant (*sic*), which I sent by the ambassador here. I wrote to the Master on the 7th. Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

May 10. 80. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 390.

This day I [received] from Sir John Selbey a letter from your lordship dated the . . .* of April, he writing with it that he had charge to [keep] it till my return. The effect of matters proves that the King was never privy to any foreign course whatsoever, for if he had been I should have known it; and also the principal parties, being pursued and charged and finding no hope of favour at the King's hands, would charge his majesty and disburden themselves. At my first coming I would easily have been persuaded that the Chancellor was not unlikely to set on such a course, for his own speeches to me brought that conceit; but the hatred between the actors in this rebellion and him is such, and he has so followed out the matter against them, that if he were but confe-[derate] they would lay it against him, which they do not. They all pretend a particular misl[iking] of the Chancellor, and ground their

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. proceedings upon that revenge; yet many of the principals can allege no reason for quarrel, and those who show most cause of grief, which are Bothwell and Huntly, prove nothing.

It is "the accustomable fassyon of this contry, [and] specyally emonge the best sort, to styk or sh[oot] with a pece or pistoll such one as the Chaunce[lour] if he gave them cawse of offence, and not to r[aise] an army to charge and molest the whole r[ealm], and to brynge in forrayn forces to the ayde . . . practyce with Jesuites, to receave Spanyshe . . to pay theym . . . poore Chauncelour, for if they sowght . . . and wold, if God wold geve leave, no dowt . . . him quietly, and might have done longe sence: [in] truthe they have sundry tymes determyned." Rebels pretend some cause, to deceive people who would not follow them against the King otherwise.

Some here are very malicious, and all would fain get credit to relieve their necessities, who have no means to know any secret dealing. Huntly two days past desired to write to the King and speak with the Chancellor. The latter would not speak with him but with Coldenknowes and two ministers present. He was allowed to write, and wrote many flattering words, asking how he could satisfy his majesty for offence done and receive favour, and earnestly desiring to speak with the King privately. "The King makes an aunswer be wry[ting] by the secretory, to which he put his hand, that to speke [with] him he wold not. How shamfully ingratefully h[e had] dealt with him his majesty bad remember, and that [he] deserved at his handes no favour: but the only w[ay to] hoope for it were to declare to his Cowncell the . . . plot and secretes of all the practyce betwen the S . . . and them, and allso emongst them selves at home."

"[He] aunswers that to the Kinge in secret he will do mu[ch], but nothinge otherwayes: which conference wyll not [be] suffred."

. . . would come in to the King, but upon such conditions as will not be granted.

There is a Convention here on the . . . instant, after which they will pursue him and the rest.

Here are two come from Holland from the States.

A wise man of credit would do great good here; if none come, our own faction will fall out, for some will have favour shewed to these offenders . . . have Huntly banished.

"The Master of Glames is very franke for him now, [which] makes sum dowt that Huntley and he agreed too [well] when they were together, and that he cam not aw[ay] withowt leave, apon purpose to stand him in st[ead] if he neded."

If one be sent hither it may do good, and the King will not refuse any reasonable thing: but he must deal plainly with his majesty, that if he follow her majesty's advice she will help him, otherwise why should she? He dare not offend her.

If you think not good that any should come, we shall do the best we can. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley:* "Sent by Sir Jh. Selby."

James VI. 1589. May 11. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 387.

81. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Yesternight came the Earl of Crawford, ere he was looked for, who submitted himself to trial by law, standing upon terms, yet humbly; that he had not offended in deed, word nor thought toward his majesty, religion or law, except that he went to those that were offenders with his ordinary train of 30 or 40, and conferred with them. When he knew their pretence he left them: he bare no arms in their company: they were then neither proclaimed traitors nor charged with treason. He desires trial, and offers secretly to bewray all he knows of their doings.

This man is not to be suspected in religion, but for frequenting these men's company. "He is a decayed man of his lyvinge, in effect all sowld, yet . . .* and a proper man, and well spoken. He is comytted to [a] marchantes howse to be kept tyll farder."

Bothwell hath sent daily for four or five days to the King and Chancellor, and last employed 2 ministers, Mr. David Lyndsey and Mr. Robert Heyborne, a servant of his own, to seek his admission to the King's presence, warranted for his life, lands and friends. The King despised his requests, threatening that if he yielded not himself before Sunday next—which is this day—he would enter to all his livings, and pursue him and his to the uttermost parts of his kingdom: and that he would pardon any that should kill him and bring him his head; and this not in jest. Bothwell sent to the Chancellor to speak for him to the King. "He aunswered, 'No,' he had bownd him selffe to the noblemen unyted for the ser[vice] of the Kinge and cowntry; withowt them he wold a . . . nothinge; besydes that the Kinge had geven his wo[rd] to do nothinge in thes matters withowt them, nor they [with]owt his pryvety: therefore he myght not deale with [him] in any sort. At last he yelded to come to the Kinge and put him selffe in his marcy withowt condissyon, but [he] made meanes that his fyrst entrance myght be . . . . that none but his favorers or servantes . . . present. The Chauncelour wold not be at . . . for nothinge cowld be don, and the rest were gone . . . lodginges of any accompt, others were dismist being . . . of the chamber frendes to Bodwell secretly." So that at 10 o'clock he should have come in this sort; which I perceiving, went to the Chancellor and told him if they proceeded in that sort it would confirm a bruit in England that the King and he dealt doubly. I prayed him to reform it, and presently he sent to the King to put off the matter till the morning, and then to let him come in on his knees openly before his Council.

I debated with him why at all he should be admitted to the King's presence. He answered, that otherwise he would not come in, and they should be driven to a new journey, to the trouble and charge of all the country, and yet perchance not get him. "Therefore they wold not styke [to] graunt that to brynge him in handes quietly, so lo[ng] as he was suer Bodwell shold fayle of his hoo[pe], which is that the Kinge seinge him and his humble s[ubmi]ssyon cowld not deale after hardly with him."

"Well, this mornynge at ix a cloke, all the Cowncell and the towne and noble men beinge sent for, the Kinge went in to a great garden on the backsyde of the howse wheare he lyes in this towne, within the

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. p . . . , and a garde made reddy under the charge of one . . . Hume remayninge quiet. Bodwell came in to the garden meanely apareled, a long old blak clo[ke], and in a wet alley fell on his kneese to the Kinge, spekinge a lowde, that in what so ever he had offended him he craved pardon, but protestynge that he had [no] intent to do evell to his majeste nor to the religion. The Kinge wold not stand longer, but cawled for William [Hume] and bad him do his commawnd: so was he tak[en aw]ay and caryed to a stronge tower in the abbey tyll . . . be made, and there shalbe kept . . ."

". . . [ch]effe cowncelour of his in this accyon and never frome . . . is comitted to a dongion in the castell, and who ever [may] scape hanginge he will not." Yet I still wish a wise man of account sent hither: and let the Chancellor find by letter or token from her majesty that he is well thought of, though you give him nothing. I warrant if money were offered he would refuse it, yet resolve him of the doubt that his enemies' malice prevails. "He lyves not of a straunger that bears him selffe better for the amyte of the two contryes, the maynteynance of the religion, and rejectynge the Spa[niard] then hee." Edinburgh. *Signature decayed.*

Postscript—All this matter that I deal in with King or Chancellor I find for their weal. The King desires to do that which might be liked in England, and I tell him that I will write any good thing of him to the best friends I have, which he is glad I should.

The Chancellor desires to deserve the Queen's favour, and thinks he hath deserved better than he hath found: "not for any gayne, for he protestes he wilbe no hirelynge."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley:* "Tho. Foulars letter sent by Sir Jhon Selbi."

May 11. 82. JAMES VI. TO WALSINGHAM.

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit we greit zow hartlie weill. Amangis the nomber of oure subjectis depending at zour hand for confort and redres of havy losses incurrit be English pirattis meanis, we mon for gude respectis particularlie recommende unto zour favour James Rannald, burges of our burgh of Edinburgh, quhais brother being in actuell service with ws, and resting greitlie interessit be that losse quhilk the said James hes gevin zow in, as being conjunct pertiner with him in that hazard, movis ws to be mair earnist that some guid consideratioun may be had of it to baith thair helpis. Quhairof praying zow that for the said respect ze wilbe cairfull and gif to the said James effectuall pruif that his said brotheris service hes availlit him with zow as we perswade ourselff it sall, we commit zow, richt trusty and weillbelovit, to Goddis gude protectioun." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 11. 83. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calg., D. I., fol. 446.

Received Burghley's of the 6th instant on the 10th. Has acquainted his majesty with the arrival of the money at Berwick, but no order yet appointed who shall receive and convey it hither. The Laird of Wemyss is not to bring it, for that the Chancellor would have it better bestowed

James VI. 1589. than the last; "for manie gatt fleses out of [it], and litle imployed as was most requisite." Great slackness of the post that his letters of the 1st came not to Burghley till the 6th: "from Aber[deen] the letters came slowlie to me by reason of . . . feris."

Huntly and other papists dissemble with the King and will abuse his mild nature; he will hardly be drawn to the severity now requisite, except her majesty send some one of credit. "How Huntley beginns to dissemble your ho[nor may] judge by the inclosed, which on of the min[isters] sent to me that had conference with him [si]thence his committing this last tyme." The King made proclamation for his nobility to be ready by the 10th instant, meaning to hunt Bothwell, and divers came hither, but it is said that Bothwell will yield this day. On the 6th instant two deputies from the States arrived at Leith, and are to have audience this day; they sent to Asheby, excusing their absence till they had been with the King: he encloses their names. "The Convencion is apointed to begin the . . .* of Maie at Edenbrowghe. Whensoever anie of her majesties shipes shall approche theise costes, theie shall w[in] favour that here maie be shewed, for [such] is the Kings pleasure." *Signature decayed.*

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

May 12. 84. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Your letters of May 6th arrived on the 10th, with advertisements from Brussels enclosed. The King, on his return from the north, made proclamation that his nobility should repair to him to Edinburgh on May 10th, determining speedily to prosecute Bothwell; who repenting, seeing no escape and hoping for mercy, surrendered yesterday morning, falling on his knees before the King in the Chancellor's garden in Edinburgh, who commanded Mr. Hume, lieutenant of the guard, to take him to Holyrood, there to be kept prisoner in a tower.

Crawford came in on Saturday the 10th, Erroll and Montrose yet keep out. They will all surrender rather than fly the country, hoping of the King's lenity, which I fear they will abuse. On 6th instant two deputies from the States arrived at Leith, "Monsieur de Vrecht, pensionarie de la ville de Delft, and Monsieur Van den Ubdercke, jadis pensionarie de la ville d'Anvers." Sunday the 11th they had audience: how their negotiation proceeds you shall hear; they have received good words of the King. Wemyss arrived late yesterday. Huntly is kept in Gourley's house: "his lady is with him, and thre servantes; this is counted a straite imprisonment here, for that no other be suffred to come to him." Bothwell hath two men allowed him at Holyrood, in charge of the lieutenant of the guard. On the 15th instant the Convention begins, where resolution will be taken for these rebellious earls. The King will hardly be drawn to use severity, yet the Church calls for justice and to root out the papists with the sword as they deserve. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. May 12.

85. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I have sein the answers to the Laerd of Wems instrucsyons, whiche are thowcht generall and somwhatt cold; but I ame glad ther of, for the Laerd very honestly reportith of hir majestes better mynd to the King from hir owin princly mowth, wher in hir majeste showeth hir self as at all tymes most wysse in joyning condisyons with hir bownte. For I am only afraed of to muche clemenssy towards theas fallss lords." For this cause I have procured a copy of the King's letter to Huntly, where I find mercy, a place for his acceptance to favour, and grant of presence to recount his own tale; what danger this may breed I leave you to judge. Wemyss will urge the King to severity, but unless her majesty send a man of judgment to spur the King and countenance the good, all may be bad enough again.

The Chancellor hath not withstood the King much, even when his own life was sought: maybe he follows the King too much through the slack fellowship of them that should assist him. I wish her majesty would use him kindly, for he hath vowed never to cost her a groat: there is no man could be put in the balance with him; he may do most here, and that of free cost, and hath ever holden an honest course.

"The Master of Grae haeth doen him sellf great harm boath with the King and Chanceler for showinge ane unwyess letter of the Laerd of Lestanik his newes, whiche I have praed him to redress ether by his pressence or a letter."

I understand her highness gave order for a chain of 300 crowns to be given to Mr. Cokburn. I wish it might be sent by the Master of Gray, for the Chancellor will think her majesty's favour good to himself when she so kindly useth his friend and servant.

The ministers continually exhort the King to severity in this matter; but it must come from thence or it will not be handled as it should be. The purging of the King's chamber of these flatterers is a speciall point.

I mean to return shortly, for I find Mr. Fowler very sufficient to do all service here. Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

Postscript—"There is no coppei of this but oan in the Chancelers owin hands, whiche is kept to be regesterd in Cow[n]sell, for so the [*sic*] told mei he wold doe when he was yit in wrytinge this letter; and told mei he had resavid a letter from Huntle, and pressently after diner wroat this answer as your honor mae sei."

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

May 14.

86. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 416.

The Laird of Wemyss's negotiation is thought to have wrought little good. The answers to his instructions are hard, and her majesty's sla . . .* towards the King's marriage very evil liked, most of the nobility having had a conceit before that England meant to keep him unmarried altogether. The King is persuaded to accept in good part what the Queen will bestow upon him; "but the better it is the more he will thi[nke] him selffe beholdinge and bownd." The Chancellor assured me yesterday that so long as he had credit the King should not be of another mind, "sayinge he w[old] do the Quene as good service as

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. all the hone[st] Scotes men she hathe." He trusted her majesty would relieve the King's necessity; he should not else be able to live like a king. They mean to proceed in the marriage with Denmark, if her majesty will like better of it. The King of Navarre's own ministers here have spoken plainly that theirs is no marriage for him, and would be evil for the King of Navarre too: "for his porcyon is and must be spent in the mayntenance of the common cawse." Till then the Chancellor was all for Navarre, but the King was persuaded before that she was not for him.

Many of the Council are ill content that the King should receive money from England, unless it were in another sort, and not such petty sums, saying that Archibald Douglas and the Master of Gray have had as much as this at once from her majesty; and two days ago blamed the Chancellor for it. There is not any one of account except the Chancellor, Lord Hamilton, Sir Robert Melville, Wemyss and Carmichael well affected to the English course, unless they might see great matters performed. The Master of Glamis says little. The King is English in despite of all. On Monday last the Laird of Nethery, a murderer long at the horn, yet so harboured by Bothwell as he could never be gotten, and with him all this . . . . , was discovered in a stone house within a mile of this town, and six companions with him. "The Kinge beinge on huntynge, the Chauncelour sent the [Lord] Hume to besege the howse, but they kept it tyll the Kinge comynge home at viij howers, left h[is] supper and rood to it; and so sone as they saw the Kinge they yelded it." This day they are arraigned. They have many intercessors, but the King will hear none of them.

Yesterday Bothwell was examined, and a bond laid to his charge into which he had entered with Huntly and his complices for joining with Spanish forces for reforming wrongs done to the King by England. "He . . . lyke a mad man that he cared not for Spanyerd [or] other straunger, but to worke mischeffe to Ingland [he] wolde joyn with divells. They wold turne all th[eyr] intent to Ingland, and the Scotes affectyng the In[glish] cowse, and nothinge agaynst the Kinge, his rea[lm or] religion."

I cannot do the service I would because I cannot utter myself against the nobility here, but am in the King's ear and the Chancellor's. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Foull . . .

2¼ *pp. Holograph, also addressed. Indorsed.*

[May] 87. MEMORANDA BY THE LAIRD OF WEMYSS.

"The tyme is verie propre at his majesties returne for performing of the ligue. The hail nomber of noble men quha ar presentlie in action vithe him vil be desyrus of the sam. It is in dout gif in ane long tyme ze shal find so gret a number of noble men joynt for ane caus; considering hou chengable ther myndis ar, it apperris necessar baithe for to obviat forran enemeis as also to suppres thi intestine that sum cair be takin. The presenting of the Garter and the taking of his majesties aithe vil gif mair assurans nor ony thing can be devysit."

"Zour lordships advys, quherin it vil pleis zou particularlie I shal insist vithe his majestie for the ferm unioun of the realmes. I desyr to knaw quhither the monie send in Scotland shuld be deliverit to me or

James VI. 1589. no, asueil for suir transporting as that his majestie may think it cummis be my procurment. To remember on his majesties horses and our al his bukis and fyve cuppil of bukhundis; thi smal thingis vil content him mair nor ane gret soum of monie. Quhither it shal be to zour honor or my lord Thesaurer to have intelligence vithe my lord Chanchelier."

⅔ *p. Indorsed.*

May 15. 88. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"I spak wyth my lorde Tresorier; I fynd him freyndlye yneuff. He did dessire that I shulde gewe in the nature off my sutis in vryten, which I did performe, as be these notis your honour may persawe. His lordship mislikis not off the first in ordour, so that he mycht onderstand the quantite crawed and speciale landis that ar dessirid. The secunde he altogethir mislikis, be ressone that tymbre must be keped in hir majesteis handis, uthiruyse it vilbe cryed out upon and spokin hardlye of. The third he dessired to knaw the nombre of akerris that wer dessired. The ressonis that I culde come to no moyr specialite at this tyme anent the quantite vas be ressone I do not as zit onderstand whethir that whiche is destinate for the Master of Gray shuld be takin owt of this grant or no. If that be not so ordeyned the less vill serve, for as to me I dessire no moyre bot to paye my debtis, and to make me able to go one jorney in Scotland whear I dessire to do hir majeste service."

"My informaris in this mater vill offir no moyre bot threttye zearis purchase for the feaferme, and fourtye for the wthir, deducting heirin the price of the land that shuld be gevin in exchange, which they do estimate to tuentye yearis purchasse; and heirin thay do alledge that hir majeste shalbe ane greit gaynar, in respect of the nature of the sute that is of hir hyenes vorst kynd of landis whiche I am forced to make choise of, be ressone the grant doethe proceid from hir majesteis liberalite; and necessite pressis me to sute that which I beleaue shalbe best accepted and best lyked of."

"As to the offir for the akere off wodde, thay do not estimat it abowe x nobillis the akerre. The Maister of Graye sayis to me that he spak to hir majeste in my faworis, and that hir hyenes hathe villinglye yealdit thayronto in generalite that sche vill do it. As to the specialite, I wold not wysche it war towched, quhill it mycht proceid from your self. My lord Tresoreir villed me to cause hir majeste to be moved in this mater, and he wold yeald his faworable consent in anything that hir hyenes shuld be pleased to grant; bot did affirme that he culd not do it of himself in respect of his office. Whearwyth I haif thocht expedient to mak your honour acquaynted, and to crawe your opinion what I shall fordar do in this mater, whiche I mynd onelye to follow."

Postscript—"So far as may concern the Maister of Gray or Larde of Weamis I haife committed to the sufficiencye of the bearar, to whom it may pleis your honour to geve credite." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 16. 89. WALSINGHAM TO MAITLAND.

"Your lordship's of the 6th of this present I have receaved, where-with her majestie being made acquainted and resting greatly satisfied

James VI. 1589. with your aunsweare to the creditt delivered unto your lordship by Mr. James Hudson, willed me to signefie unto your lordship that unlesse the gentleman, whose frendship she desyreth you should embrace, as well for the publick as your particuler, shall keep good correspondencie with you, she wilbe no lesse readie then to seeke his disgrace then nowe she desyreth the repaire of his creditt by your good meanes."

"No man can professe greater sinceritie then he: yf he shall fayle in performance what he promiseth, that cannot but woorke his ruyne, the King your soveraigne running so princely a course as he doth in favoring and countenancing such as are noted to be religiously affected. I fynd the gentleman besydes disposed to live a retyred lyfe for a time in yat realm, untill he shall make yt apeare unto such as carie a jealouse opinion of him, as though his return into that realm tended to worke some alteration there, that he hath no other end in his seid returne then with the Kings good favour to enjoy the fruition of his naturall soyle. And if he shall have anie other disposition yt wilbe easely discovered and as easely prevented. And for my selve I doe assure your lordship, yf I thought that the tryall thereof might in anie sort woorke your perill, I would be loth to bee an instrument in procuring anie correspondencie between you. Some tast he hathe already geven of his dysposytyon to deserve your love: for upon some informations sent out of that realm that tended to your discreditt and disadvantages, he did lett both her majestie and some other great personages here see, by sundrye reason by him produced, howe greatly you were wronged by such malitious imputations as were given out against you. Which frendly and honest maner of dealing towards your lordship hath wrought a far better conceipt here of the gentleman than before was had of him."

1¾ *p. Draft, corrected by Walsingham. Indorsed.*

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 25. Original of the same. *Signed by Walsingham.*

May 17. 90. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

There is no matter of importance fallen out since the taking of Bothwell and Crawford, save a convention that Erroll and Huntly's friends have been at in the north, whereupon some feared a new rebellion. Earl Marischal is made the King's lieutenant of those parts; yet would not undertake to apprehend the traitors and keep their houses and lands for the King without 50 horse and 100 shot in the King's pay, which is furnished, and must continue all this summer. "The Master of Graye hathe wrytten a letter to his brother James of the Kinges chamber, to be shewed to his majeste. The contentes ar wholy tochinge Mr. Archebald Dowglas, as fyrst acknowleginge that the Kinges affares toke not so good effect as was reson they shold, and as they wold, noo dowt, if they were not crost and hindered extremly, and only by Mr. Archebald, who, he sayes, can abyde noo man that the Kinge shall or hathe sent in his negocyacions, but hinders theme becawse, as he immagins, he will dryve the Kinge to nede his service above all others, that he may doo muche harme and no good; that he kepes a credit by avowchinge a comissyon frome the Kinge by the lard of Wymmes, and sekes to wyn credit there under couller of that commissyon; and yet for that he hathe not as he desyers, he imployes his whole industry to devide thes ij cowntryes. He geves advyce to reforme this, that the Kinge wryghte his letters to hir

James VI. 1589. majeste or cowncell to disavowe and disgrace him." The King was doubtful how to take this writing from the Master, for he hears in other ways of extraordinary kindness between them. He asked my opinion: I could only think that the Master meant the overthrow of Mr. Archibald. After much talk the King willed me to give Mr. Archibald knowledge of this letter as from myself, to see what he would say, and to charge him not to let it be known. His majesty charged me not to bewray that he was privy to my writing, and I beseech your honour so to use it that I hear not of it again. If the Master know it, I shall find it; he is accounted perilous to deal with.

The Laird of Wemyss with much ado procured the King to write to the Master on Wednesday last; the laird was very earnest for him, and the King loth to oppose her majesty's liking and other good friends about her.

The convention here is deferred till the 24th. Wemyss's negotiation is thought to have wrought little good for the King, and much murmuring at it. I have advertised my lord Treasurer so; and most of all that her majesty is not forward in advancing the King's marriage, which no doubt will go forward with Denmark. At the Convention it will be known what will become of these traitors.

I must presume in my own causes. My wife's father entered into band to Barker of 160*l.* for the forthcoming of my stuff in my house at Spittal: and as he saith it is for house and all, for upon that band—which I forbade him to enter into—he commands house and stuff. Where I might have 30*l.* a year for my house, I have nothing; and he will not suffer my wife—his own daughter—to dispose of house or stuff, but means to carry so much as he likes to a house of his own westward about Kew. "The howse cannot start," and it is sufficient to answer Mr. Barker for as much as the bond is; therefore if it would please you to procure my father-in-law's bond to be delivered in or cancelled before you, or sent to my wife, it would stand me in great stead, and I will send my account shortly by my servant. I had sent it sooner but for my northern voyage; and I have little leisure, because I follow the King at hunting and pastimes, for purpose rather than pleasure.

My wife is desirous to come to me hither, seeing I will not come to her—as she writes—and I know not how to refuse her, lest she and her friends say I have forsaken her. I hear she hath used herself very well in my absence. If I thought my abode here should be long, and your honour thought well, I would yield to her coming. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

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

May 17. 91. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I sei the Master contenewith his hard opinyon agaenst Mr. Archebald; and yit as I wrott to your honor I sei no suche frank credit givin to him sellf as apearith to me he demerits. Yit for hir majestes request, as allso that your honnor haeth delt for him, he lakith nothinge to maek his affaers goe to his contentment but his owin presence, as he wil fynd at his cuminge."

We hear her majesty means to send Mr. Robert Cary, and after him one of good countenance; both which are most welcome, for the King

James VI. 1589. can do nothing without her majesty make him able by a guard to command, and by her countenance to correct, his factious people. His majesty hath heavily taken this last contempt touching the laird of Niddry, saying that he could never yet get his council or people to assist him to minister justice against him that the world abhorred for his vicious and bloody life; and swore that howsoever God should afflict him or his country they should be the cause thereof. I have looked into his secret behaviour, and find him blameless. His nobles one after another have betrayed him when it came to an extreme point against any of their faction; so that without he have a guard the vile sort will prevail. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

May 18. 92. ROBERT WIGMORE TO WALSINGHAM.

Returning from the northern road, wherein I had followed the King, I received your honour's letters, sent, as I take it, by James Hudson; which favour I am ready to acknowledge with my service, and account myself happy that you conceive so well of my behaviour. As for those ill-affected towards me, I seek no revenge but by virtuous actions.

The King hath very kindly played both his parts. First, with sovereign skill he covered his knowledge of the lords' conspiracy, whereof he had been assured before his going to Hawton; secondly, he pursued the matter with courage and resolution. And "*quale principium, talis finis,*" for whatsoever is reported of Huntly's simple rendering himself to the King's will, I know the same admitteth a scholastical distinction, such as will save his head and whatsoever he hath.

The marriage for Denmark in all outward appearance goes forward with all those furtherances it may receive here. If so, the Earl Marischal is to visit five princes of the Empire from the King, who hath persuaded me to undertake that journey, if not displeasing to her majesty. But I am persuaded that this summer will bring forth no such fruit, for the King is cold about the marriage, and the Chancellor is opposed to it; also the King would drive the country into some settled order.

"In January last I sent a letter to your honour, and therin summ discovery of that which laetly is proved trwe in the Erls Huntley and Bothwell: but in the conveyance therof I received summ harde measure, which is the cawse I dare not wryte to your honour in that language I gladly wowld. I have means to understande as mutche as summ other, and that as certeynly." Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. Wygmor.

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

May 20. 93. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

My stay has been longer here than I looked for, which troubles me greatly: I enjoy here "*otium cum dignitate,*" but am not able to sustain the charges. Your honour will remember that shortly before her majesty appointed me for this journey I imparted to you my poor state and want, which is such "as fleshe and bloud is not able to comport: yet better could I beare it at home, then in this rome I now hould of honor and credit." I then acquainted you with her majesty's gift to me of a lease

James VI. 1589. out of the bishopric of Ely of the manors of Donington and Thriplow and the parsonage of Hinxton: your lordship did not suffer that lease to pass, but promised me your help to procure her majesty's liberality some other way. I therefore pray you, if I shall continue in this place, to enable me to perform its duties. "I have nether land nor lease to sell or pawne, and sithence my coming hither my house in London robbed and my apparell and household stufe taken awaie to the valew of 200*li.*" My allowance here less by 10*s.* a day than all others have had, and they gentlemen of wealth; everything grown to an excessive price, and I without any support but from her majesty. I know not which way to turn; without present help I shall hazard my credit, dishonour the place I hold, and be unable to perform any service. Thus want forceth me to pass the bounds of modesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—I am ready to stay or to return as shall please her majesty; but without that which she granted me out of Ely, or such allowance as others in this place have had, I shall not be able to remain.

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

May 20. 94. MR. JOHN COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 94.

"I haif resavit mair comfort by your last send wythe Mr. Hoodsone nor ever I did sen my return home, understanding your honour not to haif cast of your good opinion of me, notwythstanding this ingrat and barbarus deling of sum personis againis me, compelling me be thair rigor, for safty of my lyif, to find out and follow suspitius personis far contrar my hart and meaning; wyth quhom I joynit upon necessite wythout partaking or knawleg of thair practesis againis religion and the amite, ewin as we wes all forcit at our home cumming to seik the assistance of Maxvell."

"Upon your last send to Wemess he hes interit werey far in this levee, in-so-muche that we ar constranit to hald him sumquhat lest he shuld altogidder wnddoo him self, for except ye money cum it is above his reache to furniss suche trowpes. Bot the captans and principallis salbe collectit and avancit; the multitud will sone be gatherit, the captans anis maid suir. What ordour wilbe takin wyth thir lordis alredy interit, and be quhat meanis Arroll and Montross, who yit lyis out, sall be socht, is continwit to th' end of this Convention, quhilk beginnis to-morrow."

"His majeste incressis dayly in the good courss quhairwnto he is most happely reducit by the meanis of my Lord Chancellour, in quhom cheiflie consistis the weilfar of this caus; for if he were put out of the way I see noct how the factioniris culd be kepit bak from his majeste."

"If the Lord Hammiltonis man be unfurnisit, I mun recommend him to your honour in my lordis name, and upon his returne your money salbe renbursit to James Hoodsone wyth sic gratfulnes as lyit in my lord to use." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

Postscript—"In the purpos committit to James Hoodsone for your honorabell freind I will concur sa far as I haif credeit, for he is a worthy personage and ane whom I haif ever honorit, and albeit these respettis wer nocht, your honouris request is wnto me the gretest commandment erthly, that only exceptit that procedis from the King my soveraine."

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. May 22.

95. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM,

"I fynd the ocasyon of this bearers cuming only to bee to procuer of my Lord Theassurer that his unkle mae ether have his alowance agmentid x.*s.* by the dae as other have had, or ells that hir majeste grantt him sum good suet, or thirdly to revoak him from this chargeable burdin that he saeth he susteanith. I prae your honor pardone me that I wryt the trewth that I have sein and tryd since my cuming; for since he is nocht ashamd to leave your honor to folow hoally ane other, I can noct but wryt it to your honor and leave it to your great wisdome to juge upon."

First, the King and Chancellor have declared to me his insufficiency for the place. Next, when he hath requested presence, the King and Chancellor have desired that Mr. Fowler might come with his mind or letters; and but for help rendered for your sake and our country's many gross errors had been committed. He is grieved that you rebated 6*li.* in the allowance for the packets, and that you employed me in this last service, although before your letters came I acquainted him with the cause of my coming and showed him my instructions. You told me he was a suitor to you to call him home before. "It wer nocht amiss to grant his suett, for his intelygence hear is nothinge at all, for no man of acownt or credit cumith to him. If your honor send ane other leager hear, he must have moar wit and liberallite. What fallts I comit in this letter your honor must lae upon the Laerd of Wems, who maed a scoll go rownd to your honors heallth at Mr. Fowlers banquett whiche he maed to my Lords of Home and Lendoars, with dyvers laerds and al the princepall servants of the Kings howsse, above 20; and the King honorid this super with a commisyon from him sellf by a gentleman to wil us to be merie."

Mr. Fowler so follows the King in his wars and pastimes—whatsoever it cost him—that he has special credit with the King, Chancellor, and the rest, and does all the service here. What comes from the ambassador gets small credit till Mr. Fowler be enquired of. He will not let any of them pass a syllable that touches her majesty's credit, or any councillor, or our country. "If Mr. Fowller had a prive commisyon granttid him to show if neid reqyrid for the strenchtninge of the service, I think he wer able to doe moar service then fower suche as Mr. Ashbei is." He honours and loves you, and would gladly do what he could to please your honour and profit the state. He could save intelligence by his acquaintance, and do more with 20*s.* a day than the other with 40*s.* I would know your good pleasure with speed, and thereafter address myself back again. Edinburgh.

The good news of France and our fleet had never been known here but for Mr. Fowler, for the ambassador neither credited nor published it. "Lak of jugement is his want rather then lak of good will." *Signed:* J. Hudson.

Postscript—Since writing this I find the King and the Chancellor in a better opinion of the Master of Gray "then befoar I could procuer"; so he shall come in a more proper time than if he had come sooner.

Also I see that the Lord Treasurer likes of his coming home, and that there may be friendship betwixt the Chancellor and the Master, "sainge he fynds the Master a vere suficient gentleman." Of this and other

James VI. 1589. matters his lordship hath written to the ambassador to deal with his majesty, but he only showed the King the letters of news, and spake no word of the King's marriage or the Master. He hath no gift to persuade or reason with the King or Chancellor, "for they wil put him presently to a nonplus." Mr. Archibald, as one that apparently envieth the welfare of God's church, hath sent word not to trust the news of France and of our fleet, being only invented to please princes.

I have no particular against either of them, but the one of malice and the other of simplicity hinder service too long; and they have both left your honour in heart, wherefore have I the smaller care of their welfare. Mr. Asheby's nephew comes not these two days. The state of all things I leave to Mr. Fowler.

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

May 23. 96. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I received your letters of May 16th, with one to the Chancellor, which I delivered to him with such speeches as I thought proper. His answer was "that the Master should be wellcum and should be well ussid, and upon tryall he wold lett him know that he wold be his very frend in deid." But it will be "deficill" to get the abbacy again. I am sorry to see such partial dealing against the good Master, "who is in efect the only worthe man of his birth in this cuntrei for the Kinges service in matters of estaett." I have written often of this, and you may judge of it also by Mr. Fowler's letters. At his coming I shall inform him of what may hinder or profit him.

This day Crawford is gone to the Tolbooth to his trial before the King and Convention; and tomorrow Huntly and Bothwell shall be arraigned. Better order would have followed thereupon had any good man been here from her majesty. "My Lord Theasurer wryts that the Master must suplye that, but that is noct the richt wae of theas things."

Mr. Fowler writes of the marriage. My Lord Hamilton is proud of your counsel, which he will follow. I wrote the truth to your honour of all men. I am sorry the Master driveth time so in his coming: his wise behaviour will overcome all hard beginnings. I will do him what service I can, without respect to his passionate friends' reports. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

May 23. 97. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

I have seen your letter to the Laird of Wemyss touching the levy of his men. He gave money to the captains and proceedeth joyfully to the service. I pray that the money may be reimbursed to him "in angell gold," or be ready against his sending for it, or he will be undone. He will willingly engage "his hoall moyen" upon one word from you, and there is no putting men here in readiness without money. The ambassador has written to you to this end, and so the laird prayed me to do also. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. May 23.

98. THE MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

"My cousing, the Laird of Vemis, hes uritten many tymes to me since his parting desyring that I sould speik your honourable lordship for sume oversicht to theis honest marchantis for transporting into Flandres sume marchandise from this country not permittit altogither by the laues of this realme, and that for [arranging ?] sume bargan my cousing hes vith them for furnising certane armis for this levie hie intendethe for the King of Navarre. Thairfor I have takin occasioun, in prospect of my forgetfulnes for to recommend unto you the said marchandes, that by your lordships protectioun they may have the said oversicht in quhatsumever marchandise shalbe found least offensive to the commoun veil of the realme. The vitche I am the more bould to desyr in respect I have sum interest in the men." From my lodging. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

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

May 23.

99. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

On the 21st instant your letters of the 16th came to my hands, with news of the success of her majesty's forces landed in Spain; I acquainted the King presently, who showed great joy, wishing all good to follow this happy beginning. The Laird of Wemyss was sent back for the money to Berwick. Touching the soliciting of the King to control the unruly greatness of the nobles professing enmity to the gospel, I wrote to his highness thereof when I was in physic a day or two before his journey to the north, and since his return congratulated him, and told him how well her majesty was pleased with his proceeding, which being continued with severity will bring honour and security to himself and his state. I have added such counsel as you set down, and to add more credit to my sayings showed sometimes your own hand, which availeth greatly with his highness. He is well disposed in religion and ready to do justice, but I doubt how he will be able to perform that he desires; best affected towards her majesty's friendship, and the chief persuader of it in all councils; neither will he suffer any dishonour to be spoken of her or of England, "condempning more his owne subjectes and countrie for the death of his mother than our nacion." Justice upon these rebellious earls is referred to this Convention begun the 21st instant: your honour shall be advertised when resolution is taken for the punishment of them. The preachers cease not to call for justice, and the King seemeth bent thereto: otherwise there is no hope of quietness, as I have told him.

Touching the match with Denmark, I see all bent that way, and preparation made by the Earl Marischal to set forward, but this Convention shall determine that also. This two or three days since I received your last the Chancellor hath been so busy as I could have no conference with him; by my next you shall understand further in this marriage. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

James VI. 1589. May 23.

100. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Since the return of the Laird of Wemyss he hath used vehement persuasions to the King against his marriage with Denmark; and hath so far prevailed as the King now saith he will hear the opinion of his lords, and will take the most commodious; which almost all here allow Navarre to be, "as of late it is perswaded" that she is wise, virtuous, gracious to behold, of years but 28, that she shall bring a yearly revenue of 40,000 crowns, besides jewels and money which is of great value. The King her brother was bold with her portion to serve his turn, yet now his estate will be such as he can spare it for her preferment. That King may live to be King of France, "then what great strengthe by frendship commes to this Kinge." If he die before, then is his sister heir to 400,000 crowns a year rent. Above all, "it is muche better for the Kinge to matche with a wyese stayd woman then with a childe, consydderyng his careles dispocysyon." Others affect Denmark, especially as they say the King hath gone so far that with his honour he cannot leave it. His ministers have dealt further therein than he was privy to, "as one Mr. Peter Younge that was his scole master, and Coronell Stewerd, but especially Yonge, whose credit is suche with the Kinge that, after Chauncelour and other cowncelors had set downe his instruccyons, he made new secret instruccyons which he gat the Kinge to signe, and never red them. Allwayes the Dowger and Chauncelour of Denmark in all theyre answers had relatyon to the Quene of Inglandes consent." There is matter to be agreed upon for the Orkneys and Shetland, so there is yet means to break with Denmark. Some say the King hath gone so far with Navarre as he cannot go back. "Now is theyre a nomber of bothe sortes and newteralls that all agrees this alteracyon to be browght frome Ingland," to keep him unmarried, and many ill content therewith. They think that if, to please her majesty, he would bend to the marriage with Navarre, she would mislike of that as much. My Lord Treasurer sent to be resolved how far the King had gone with Denmark, and I have written the premises in effect.

There shall be an arraignment tomorrow of Huntly and Bothwell if time serve for both; if not it will be finished on Monday. I received yesterday your letter of the 16th. "I cannot wryght what comfort I receave by your lynes when they comme to me." The Master of Gray will be well used when he comes, and proof made of his demeanour. Mr. Hudson hath travailed with King and Chancellor for him, as has the Laird of Wemyss since he came home; but I doubt the Master will be a great enemy of mine, I have dealt so plainly in writing what I knew to be true; at least if he knew thereof. "I care lyttell, for he cannot impayre my credit with the Kinge; yet I beseeche your honour let him know as lyttell of my advertysmentes as may be." Would God your advice might be followed for the Chancellor and other matters. My Lord Treasurer writes that the stay of Sir George Cary's coming, or Mr. Robert's, is that her majesty thinks the Master of Gray shall serve as well, being so well affected.

Richard Colborne, the Chancellor's nephew, since he came home, told me there was a chain or some gift for him by your means, but the matter was so crossed as he saw none; he wants to learn, through me, by whom

James VI. 1589. it was stayed. "He is so honest and his unkell so muche my frend as if I myght satysfy him I wold." Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.
Postscript—The Convention began the 21st.

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

May 24. 101. INDICTMENT OF BOTHWELL AND CRAWFORD.

"Articles of indictment wherewith the Earles Huntley, Bothwell, and Crayford were charged at their arraignment the 24 of May, 1589."

1. "For theire treasonable treating, dealing, and consulting with ye ministers and agentes of straingers for alteration as well of the state of goverment as of the religeon."

2. "For traffecking with Coronell Sempel, Roberte Bruce, Edmund Hey, and Crichton, Jesuites, of whome they had receavid forein money to execute some treasonable practise against the presente state."

3. "For assembling themselves in armes latelie in the moneth of Aprill, appointing there meeting at the Quarell Holes, neare his majestes pallace of Hollierude Howse, with conspiratie and intention to have scaled the saied pallace, to have surprised his majestes person therein, and to have slaine his chancellour, with other of his councellours."

4. "For making of leagies, bands, associations, betwene them selves against their fealtie and obedience."

5. "For making a leavie of men, both horse and foote, by sound of trumpett and displaied ensignes."

6. "For taking the towne of Sainct Johnstons with intent to have kept and fortefied the same against his majesty."

7. "For raysing fire and asseaging the howse of Kirckhill and taking the Lord Threserour forth thereof."

8. "For usurping the kinges authoritie in making proclamations in his name in sundry of his borroughes."

9. "For taking the coate armour from of his majestis heralt, and tearing in peaces his majestes proclamation at Aberdine."

10. "For assembling an army of 3000 men, encouraging yem to fight against his majesty, marching toward ye bridg of Dee in open hostillitie, with intention to encounter his majesty at Bervie."

Indorsed: "The 24 of May the Erles of Huntley, Bothwell, and Crafford were arraigned, Huntley yelding himselfe giltye. Craford in part did the like, but standing in some poyntes on his innocencye, and Bothuell altogether, with more stowtenesse then wisedome, answering as though he cold have bene noway towched, were both, notwithstanding, yat day by theyr peres convicted and by assise found guiltye of treason, so as they are all three condemned."

1¼ *pp. Indorsed.*

Another copy of the above 10 articles.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 179, 386. Copies of the same.

May 25. 102. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

"I sent yesterdaie to your honour that it was determined that the Erlls Huntley, Bodwell, and Craford should be arraigned as this daie,

James VI. 1589. which was performed. Huntley yelded himself guiltie at the first: Craford in part, but stoode upon some pointes, but he was found guiltie of the whole matter. Bodwell yelded to nothing, but would stand to his triall, but he was found as guiltie as the rest. The lordes stirred not awaie till on a cloke after midnight. About five in the afternone the King came to the towne house and staid in an inniour chamber till all was finished, which was betwixt on and tow after midnight; which was a good furtherance for justice."

It is now in his own hands to show mercy or judgment, for they are found guilty by their peers; there is hope that he will proceed for his honour and security. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—Your letter of the 19th came to my hands the 23rd instant. I showed it to his majesty that day. It cannot fail to do good, for the opinion he hath of your wisdom.

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

May 26. 103. THOMAS FOWLER to WALSINGHAM.

The arraignment was on Saturday, and continued till 2 o'clock on Sunday morning. Huntly, Bothwell, and Crawford are all found guilty, and by their confessions, "specially Hontleyes, who shewed him selffe a most semple man and tymorows." Erroll and Montrose are as great offenders as any of them. Judgment is stayed till to-day or to-morrow: "there is great workinge for theyre pardons all reddy, but I fynde the Kinge to favour none of theyre cawses so muche as Huntleyes for his symplicyte sake, yet his favour tendes but to save his lyffe. If there were an ambassador here from her majesty it would be well, but I see it folly to give any advice. I dare not show myself too far, but I do that which no other can here of my country. "Bodwell and Crawford ar kept very strayte. Bodwell before the araynment had favour shewed by his keper unknowne to the Kinge, which he was very angry at," and has changed his keeper. The ministers would have them all die for it, but that will not be. There is a summons out for Montrose and Erroll, that which of them will come in first shall have his life, and if neither come in, they shall be pursued to death. This is to avoid a new rebellion, for they have convened the rebels that are not yet taken. "If one of those ij were in handes all were suer, and they have Spanishe mony; but thowghe he that comes in have his lyffe, yet he is suer to lose all the rest, and to be eyther banished or kept perpetuall prysoner."

I have written again to my Lord Treasurer about the Chancellor, for they run a wrong course to have the Queen's service well performed here. Would God it were in your hands to amend it. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed. On inner leaf is written in a clerk's hand:* "The asyse or Iury. The Lord Hamellton. The Erle of Angus. The Erle Marshalle. The Erle of Marr. The Erle of Athole. The Erle of Morton. The Lorde Seton. The Lorde Fleminge. The Lorde Yester. The Lorde Dingwell. The Lorde of Awtrye. The Lord Hume. The Lord Somervelde." *Then follow the* 10 *articles of indictment against Huntly, Bothwell, and Crawford.*

James VI. 1589. May 26. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 385.

104. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

[The K]ing came down from the . . .* 2 o'clock yesterday morning with all his nobility, [the] prisoners being severally sent down before him strongly guarded with shot, for this town had 100 men all day guarding the Tolbooth and streets. The King was hungry and went then to supper, all which supper time he talked with me of the matters of the arraignment, "and of the follies of Bodwell and Crawford to troble the asyes and judges with standinge in deniall of partes of the dytementes, as they cawle it here, and yet colde not clere themselves of no part thereof." He showed great misliking of them, and spoke of Huntly's simpleness and his confessing and yielding to all things objected against him, laying the fault on sundry men that counselled him against the religion, the Chancellor, and state present; and bewrayed that Montrose was the principal counsellor of any nobleman in this matter, and that Erroll was most earnest against the religion and for the Spanish faction, accusing the baillie of Erroll, the Laird of Cluny, and others not yet taken. "He acused Bod[well] for receavinge Spanyshe gold frome Arroll, which no[ne] ells had proved, and which Bodwell stode in tyll then. Thes Erlls ar all fownd gilty of all parts of the dyte[ment] which I send your Lordship inclosed: and yet no judgment—*alias* dome as here they cawle it—geven or pronownced, but I am perswaded shalbe tomorrow, or before the Co[nven]cyon breke up. Yet I wold one were here from thence as Sir Thomas Henege wrote that Syr Geo[rge Cary] was to come presently after hir majestes letter."

"The[re is] exceedinge workinge all reddy for theyre pardons and the . . . favour to them; and yesterday the prechers playd theyr partes as well in the contrary, cryinge owt apon the Kinge even to face for to doo justyce and use the . . . of his victory, and not to make a mockery of it. I deale with one to the same effecte, which was in Ingla[nd] and now is best beloved by the Kinge of them all. [He] is wyese, l[ear]ned and eloquent—Mr. Patricke Gallo[way] . . . — . . . the Kinge as desp . . . respect of his semplenes and playne dealinge . . . not to spare him but for his lyffe."

Huntly's wife, her brother the Duke, and others persuade the King for him, yet he protests that no suit can do him good, for he himself sees the nature of the man, easily led to evil or to good. He would never trust so weak a man, or pardon his offences without great pun[ishment]. He is the least dangerous of them all. I think with you that Bothwell is the greatest enemy to her majesty, "a bloddy man infected with all notoryows vyces," such a one as the King hath most cause to fear if he let him go, and so I have told him plainly since the arraignment. If any should come, now is the time.

"Bodwell and Crawford [are] straytly kept, but Hontley hathe his wyffe alowed [to] come to him but with iij servantes. Bodwell had lyb[erty] geven him by his keper before the araynment un . . . to the Kinge, but his majesty was excedinge angry the[reat] and apoynted a new keper."

"The Kinge walkinge to the gardens of the abbey yesterday, and passynge the towre wheare Bodwell lay, he cryed owt at the iorn wyndow apon the Kinge to pitty his casse and not to follow the opinyon of flat-

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. terynge mynis[ters] : but the King past on, and not seminge to here, sayinge, 'You must be hanged and we do well.'" Edinburgh. *Signed :* T. Fowler.

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

May 27. 105. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

"For satisfeing the promeis I maid, being arryvit heir the 26, I could do no les then to advertis your lordship that by sume letters from court and sum conference with a certaine my freindis who ar heir vith me I find, notheles any exteriour, nothing domagable intendit agenst th'earle Huntly, and if any be intendit agenst his fellouschip it is to be of so small effect that thairby thay shall not be greatly hermed. I could vryt forder in particulaire, but I vill send your lordship no informatioun uithout a sufficient knouledge, and thairfor hes send you only the generall, quhairof I may almost give assurence."

"As for all maiters past I forbear to tuitche them, seing your lordship is sufficiently informed by one from the embassador heir recident. I beleve if her majestie micht be moveit to send any personage of respect to the King, his majesty micht be brocht to do forder satisfactioun in all pointis to her nor lykly he is nou, cheifly if he sould carie vith him the ordre of the Garter, vitche is a maiter of superfice. Aluayis in this I remit the advyse to your lordships self, and at my arryvell to court I shall not feall particulairly to informe you of the greatest misteries of our proceidingis."

"I am glaid I haid conference vith your lordship the day I partit, for this day, at one in the morning, arrave in the roade of Leithe, a Dannische ambassador to knou if the King be of mynd to performe his matche uith the dauchter of Denmark. Quhat forder he cariethe can I not advertis, for quhen my man came auay he ves yet in his schipe ; so I intend not to deiply deall vith his majestie in that maiter til I sall heir from your lordship." Berwick. *Signed :* Mr. of Gray.

Postscript—"I vould not preseume upon so small subjecte to importune her majestie by my letter."

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

May 27. 106. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

Matters here rest in the King's hands to do good or evil. Many bear ill-will to Bothwell if they were assured of backing, with or without law. He and Montrose are like to bear the burden. Hudson thought the Master would have been here sooner, and wrote to meet him by the way, which he sends with a letter from Gray's wife.

"For Dumffermllinge I sei nocht how it wilbe eassely cum by agaen, becaws the King haeth suche caer of the laett Duek of Levenox his chilldren, and it is the joyntter of the Earll of Huntle his wyff : but his presence must mend it or nothinge will."

Much unkindness was taken at the Lord Treasurer's letter blaming the King for writing to Huntly. It were well if the Queen and her ministers would write commendations to his majesty and the Chancellor when they do so well as now, "for they must sum tymes be praessid." Her majesty's gentle letter pleased well : he would it might please her to write a kind

James VI. 1589. letter to the Chancellor. It is most needful to get the King's house purged of those that hinder all good and advance all noisome and pestilent things craftily and flatteringly: "this can nether by forsse nor faer means be doen; therfor sum litil cuninge must be ussid hearin, as if the afaers duringe the dealling for a leagwe permit yat pleges be givin, and takin of the second be either of nobillmen and gentillmen, then wold I wish it to be condisyonid that hir majeste mycht have suche of this quallety as shei wold demand." Then things should be in a good state.

If Walsingham thinks this or any such were good, Hudson will acquaint some good man herewith; "for ther is no man that dowtith any thinge so much as a few of theas flatterers."

"For the parleament and all other things I comit to your honors faethfull and discreit servant Mr. Fowller whoas creditt groweth vere inward hear." *Signed:* J. Hudson.

Postscript—Hopes that his letter with the copy of the King's, and comparison of the Chancellor's and the Master's ability to serve the Queen, were seen by Walsingham alone, being somewhat plain and vehement. He means not to stay above 8 days more for the Master's coming.

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

[May] 28. 107. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 382.

The Earl Marishal, who had provided a month since 2 . . .* for his voyage to Denmark, discharged them yesterday. Whereupon this morning the provost, bailiffs and many of the burgesses came to the Chancellor to his chamber in the King's house, and told him with threats that if the marriage with Denmark went not forward, being crossed by England to keep the King unmarried altogether, he would die for it, and all the English faction here, which was the Laird of Wemyss, Carmichael, "Mownsane," Dalzell, and myself. "He was not past ij or iij, and they were many. He did all he cowld to pacify them, and promised to speke with the Kinge, but they went in to the towne styll mall content, and gath[ered] theyre cowncell. Every man was reddy to take arms, and [gave] owt playnly that, if the Kinge wold not satisfye them owt of hand that he wold procede with his maryage in Denmarke, they wold shew what they durst doo." Some of the rashest told plainly that they would set at liberty the noblemen in prison and make them their party, alleging that all the boroughs of Scotland should be undone if they brake with Denmark, as they should if this marriage went not forward; whence they have all their timber for building, shipping, and furnishing, and other needful things.

There came some to the King's chamber where I was, saying that Wemyss, Carmichael, nor myself should not come into the town till the fury of the people was past: this was about 10 o'clock. "[I] came downe the strete at viij and hard noth[ing]. I told the Kinge, who sent for the Chauncelour. I saw it amased them all in regard of . . . and the uncerteynte of the noble [mens] partes in that matter, for the . . . were mall content with the stay."

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589.

Peter Yonge and Colonel Stewart were in the King's [chamber], yet were thought to be the stirrers up of that mutiny. At last it was referred to a council of the whole Convention in the afternoon, where were the provost, bailiffs, and many townsmen. "And after [that the] matter was debated thorowly, the Kinge declared hi[mselfe] most affecyonat to the matche with Denmarke, and prow[d] to goo thorowghe with it if the condissyons were suche as all shold lyke of, so that the fawlt shold not be in [him]. This pleased the towne of Edenbrowghe, who caryed a[bout] by prowd bostinge thretes the rule and apoyntment of [the] Kinges maryage, wheare as they had better deserved [to be] hanged." There was no striving nor stirring in the [matter], for the nobility being so many manifest rebels, and the few united with the Chancellor against them being divided in this case, take away the strength of the boroughs too, "besydes that Kinge and Chancelour and all [are] within the towne wawles in theyre daungers." In the council there was envying against England, some asking why they should ask counsel there. The King, Chancellor, and others spake as much as they durst, but were over matched; yet the King gave many good reasons why he must take . . . "I pray God I may see sum of them plaged and . . . of thes carlls of this towne that trades with Ingland and gaynes thereby."

I was fain to keep the King's house all day till the council rose, which was at 9 o'clock at night. I have yet had no conference with the King to know the secrets of his meaning, but he determines to go forward with that marriage. "The ministers, who deales in all matters [of] state here, were bussy in this matter on the townes syde."

"Here is a straunge cowntry; I shold say a most vyell people. They noryshe and support with aparell and all wayes 400 Spanyerdes, besydes those that begges and fyndes noo traviell, nor ar not wery of them. They so hate I[nglish m]en that they repine to see them goo apon the strete . . . common sort of people, and the noble and . . . traveyled and that be papistes and of [the] Spanishe faccyon; indede there be divers of the nobyllite and gentellite very cowrtyous. The rest I leave to my lord ambassadour, whome I have eased of this discowrse, which I saw and understode by mi kepinge the cowrt so w . . . this day. They crye owt styll for Syr George Cary or sum boddy to come." *Signed:* T. Fouller.

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 29. 108. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 448.

Has deferred writing about the match till some certainty could be learned. It was since the beginning of the Convention dashed, and Earl Marishal discharged two ships which were ready to transport him; whereupon what disorders arose in Edinburgh, and how insolently the burghers behaved, the enclosed of Mr. Fowler's will show, who was in the co . . .* and durst not come abroad till 11 at night: "word was sent to him not to come out from . . . the court, the towne being in mutinie, [and] he thought to be a chefe mynister to c[ross] this match with Denmarke." Earl Marischal goes presently, and shall have 1500 *li.* of the money come from England towards his charges.

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. Walsingham may see how the King is abused. "He can do no justice but what pleases them: for ether thei will quitt the . . . by post knightes, as we terme them in . . . , and so suffer them to escape, as the . . . within theise ten daies by the Laird of . . . an infamous murderer, or els conv[ey them] out of prison, as thei have done theise 3 nightes with tow gentlemen [com]mitted by the Lord Chauncellour to ye To[lbooth ?] prison," two desperate men, partakers in Bothwell's rebellion, being the Lairds of Shaw [?] and Ormiston, escaped through the negligence of the governor. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"Roger Aston arrived here yesternight, and gives out that the match of Denmarke is crossed by England. The Master of Gray came to Berwicke and is looked for this day . . . out to myte him."

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

May 30. 109. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I mett the Master att the gaetts of Barweik, wher I fownd him in suche dispossysoyn as I doe noct dowt but the Chancellor and he shall agrei well and sowndly: whiche doen ther resteth smal dowt in removinge the King's hard opinyon. I fownd him a frend of wisdom and credit abowt the younge Duek, whiche I hoap shal doe him good, for that Duek mae doe him most harm of anny other."

Bothwell minded to escape on the night of the 28th, but the Chancellor warned his keeper. "He seinge straet wache so ragid that he crewelly bett his wyff and all his servants that came near to him." He is now in the Black Ness; "ther is the lyk end preparid for him that he haeth hellpid other men to in his crewellte," which none will lament. If some man of wisdom had come whilst these matters were warm, some of them might have got their desert; one might yet do good in removing schisms.

As to errors by several forms of writing, he wrote to none but Walsingham, chiefly touching the danger in the copy of the letter he sent, which might have done harm, especially to the Master: the other thing he wrote "was of the simplicite of the pubblik instrument hear, which for honor and comodete wold be amendid by a moar suffeceent in his place." Wishes the Queen and her ministers would comfort the Chancellor with kind letters, as proceeding of the Master's report of him; and that Walsingham would write to Fowler to be the Master's friend. Berwick. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

[May.]* 110. JAMES VI. TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 23. "Chancellaire, as to Milorde Bothuellis assurance, he will not deny but it uas in thir termes giuen me in Leith, that quhill his nixt meiting uith me he uald not steir nor suffer Sir Uilliam to be steirit, allthoch he fand him sleiping, the notwithstanding he prouokit or braggit him alluayes. Garr try by the hurt men or any other uaye, gif ather Milorde Bothuell prouokit or caus it to be prouokit, or gif yone Oliphaire was schott throuch his auin uanitie first. Gif the first uaye it uas, the Erl Bothuell is onlie to blame, but gif the last, his captaines uanitie and Sir Williamis faite, for the quhilk na prouision coulde haue bene maid before.

* This letter is misplaced. It should be dated August, 1588. For the murder of Sir William [Stewart], see *ante*, vol., IX, p. 588.

James VI. 1589. As to Milorde Maxuellis keiping, in my opinion Koldencnou sall keip him straitlie in a chalmer in the castell, remitting me alluayes to youre and the counsallis farther deliberation in this."

"As to Huntlie and Mairshall, Huntlie is to cum ouer at this euening-tyde; thairfor gif Mairshall be thair yitt, lett this serue him for command to cum ouir the morne on Thurisday, and ryde to Dundie at the narrest. But gif Huntlie stay this daye and this nicht, lett Mairschall cum ouer at this euentyde. Na farther but remember uith all speid on all other thingis I directid you at pairting." *Signed:* James R.

1 *p.* *Holograph.*

May. 111. PROTESTATIONS BY HUNTLY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 445. [*In Ashby's hand:*] "Hunteleys protestacion to the ministers."

"He protesteth for his owne person that he n[ever] intended any the least alteracion of the religion . . .* interteigned ever at any time so muche as an off . . . thowght against his majestes person, whom he hath good and speciall cause to honour and serve to the utterm[ost] of his power. In deed for the chancellour and cert[ain] other of his majestes freindes—as they ar taken—he con[fes]seth he was maliciously bent towardes them, as [he] knew them to be in like sort affected to him."

"As [for] any other designes, if ye rest of his confederates [pro]pounded the execucion of any such enterprise again[st] either his highnes or the religion as now they be cha[rged] with, he doth utterly renounce them as false and traiter[ous] impostours, not daring to acquainte him with any s[uch] detestable attempte, in respecte either of his loyal[ty] to his deare soveraigne, or of his rashe and unstable youth for mistrust of secrecie; adding that if [he] can be by any creature livinge convinced of any e . . . assent or knowledge of such like purpose whatsoever, . . . whomsoever of his associates, he will refuse no tr[yall], no judgement, no execution, etc."

⅔ *p.*

June 2. 112. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Be the raport of my servand and uther circumstancis I can collect no bettir mater bot that thayr is ane disposition to pycke querrellis against me in the tyme of this my necessite. Albeit the harde measure that hathe beyn offered onto me hath reduced my present state in that case that is verray unpropre to enter in the debating of querrellis, zit necessite that is subject to no lawis gevis me libertye to thank God of all that he sendis, and permittis that I may gewe gud ressonis that I haif deserwed no such mater as apperis to be intendit against me."

"I dowbt not bot that your honour doothe remember that I haif remaned in this realm the spaice of ix yearis and moyr; ane part of that tyme in the state of bannishement, when for the werray cause thayrof some of the best of my freyndis hathe lossed thayr lyves."

"I persuade my self that suche as hathe serwed her majeste in that realme of Scotland hath informed your honour that I was no beggar so long as I remaned as ane subject theyr; as also that all the gudis of fortune

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. be me acquired vas lossed for no uther cause bot for the desire I had to do hir majeste service. And the rather I was drawin in this inconvenient for that suche as var than inployed to serve thayr mayde me to beleave that thayr hoile derection did proceid from your self, whiche I must leave to your bettir rememberance to pray your honour to consider that I haif remaned these thre yearis in this realme in qualite of ane servand to the King my soverayn, whear I haif ressawed dyvers promessis that my vantis shuld be subveaned onto."

"Throw the remaning on my awin chargis I haif contracted induring the tyme of my aboade no smale nombre of debtis that doethe dayly incresse, and no part of this inconvenient hathe fallin owt throw ony part of my misgoverning, but throw the ilnes of tym that gawe the occasion of my remaning, to hir majeste weill knawin."

"And now, for the releawing of my present necessite, proceading from the groundis aforespecifeid, I can persawe no uther helpe bot that it is objected that this variance fallin owt betuixt the Master of Gray and me doothe greit harm to boythe, if not at home at leaste in this realme, notwythstanding that I am fullye persuaded your honour doethe veill consider that I can not be towched vyth ony part thayrof, be ressone that as I can not amend the Maister of Gray his inconstancye, nather inhonestye, so can I not forbear to deffend my awin reputation of ane honeste man be all laufull and honeste meanis, albeit it shuld be wyth gretar hasarde than anye can com from the Maister forsaide, whose credite and fortune I do not misknow. Admitt that he hathe mayde promesse to performe som matterris to hir majeste, as I onderstode be him self he hath don, if it may lye in his powar to do thaym. I pray God he may dissawe me and keipe his promesse, bot I do onderstand they vill not be vorse performed that he is informed that I am cayrfull to sea him keaped in the bowndis of honestye, and fayling thayrof to be able to put him in rememberance of his deutye."

"It hathe also beyn objected that the variance betuixt our Chancellar and me doethe breid harm to the common cause and quietnes of boythe realmes. I beleawe your honour doethe remember that the variance betuixt him and me did proceid from no uthir grownd bot for that I wold hawe beyne the moyen to draw him to the course whearin he presentlye valkis. So long as he shall remayn uprytlye thayrin, the querrell betuixt him and me is endit one my part. And newerthelesse I am of that opinion that nather the one nather the uthir of these forsaidis personis vilbe the lesse myndfull to keipe thaym selffis vythin the boundis of honestye anent thayr sewerall promessis mayde for intertannyng of quietnes and veill of boythe the crownis, that they shall onderstand thay haif ane cayrfull vatchman to tell thayme or thayr maister when they shall go owt of the hye vaye. Bot perhappis it may be thocht be the vysar sort that the partye is not veill fowndit when I shuld presume to bende my self against those personis that ar—or may be—in so greit credit vyth the Kinge our soverayn. Treulye I may this far affirm—vithout any greit jactance of my self—that I beleawe I haif mo kynnismen and freyndis amongis the nobilite of Scotland than thay bothe hawe, so that I neid not greitlye to fear thayr actionis if I can keipe my self from any disgrace of the Kinge my soverayn, which boyth thayr creditis is not able to effectuate against me if it shall not be assisted be her majeste,

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to whose grawe consideration I leawe it to be considered whethir it shalbe moir expedient for her hyenes to do it or no."

"Seing that be the consideration of these promissis I can not collect that these querrellis alledged against me doethe proceid from any of these growndis, I must imagyne that my present estate reduced in to necessite is the occasion thayrof. I must confesse that powretye is ane privation from uthers and be consequent hynderar of honest men to do so gud officis as uthirvayse thay volde, bot zit not to be imputed as ane vice to any that is not the occasion thayrof to thayme selfis. I culd be bettir contented of my present necessite, accompanye[d] as it is vyth honestye, than thay of thayr ill acquyred richesse when they shall possess it—vyth politye—if I culd maynteyn my powre credite withowt craving of creditouris: bot this necessite whearin I am reduced, not threw my defalt bot proceading from the causis before expressed, gevis me the boldenes to craue pardon that I have uttered some part of my just consawed greif to your honour, that best knavis the originalle thayrof, as also how I haif beyn used for my gud meanin, prayand your honour that all ill fowndit querrellis may be sett apart, and hir majeste moved that I may ressave her anser whatsoevir it shalbe her gud pleasur to gewe anent piraceis, that thayrbye I may mak my deligens knavin to my soverayn. In this nydde tyme if it shalbe hir majesteis gud pleasur to sea my debtis, contracted in hir hyenes and for hir hyenes service, ane part also proceading be commandement from hir self, satisfeid, I shall think my self the moyr bownd to serve hir majeste in all tymes heireftir, and be glayde to depart furth of hir hyenes realme when it shalbe hir majesteis gud pleasur to gewe me leawe, as one that nevir thocht offence against hir hyenes, nather deserwe that ony querrell shuld be consaved against him."
Signed: A. Douglas.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

June 4. 113. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 379.

Printed in *Letters . . . of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 156.

". . .* kneu . . . the treuthe of our estait vitche I find summqu[hat] different from that I did accompt it to be for [I] perceave a greater difficultie then I lukit for, . . . the persecutioun of theis rebelles, be reasoun of the K[ing] my masters sumquhat to passionat affectioun towardis them [for] sum particulaire respectis; vitche, as the Chancellar affirmis, did grou from the slounes [*slowness*] usit be the Quene y[our] souveraine in that maiter; for in the begining haid any man of sprit bein send hither, the Kings necessitie vith the con[cur]rence of the veil disposit noble men about his majestie [had] moveit him for to accord to quhatsumever sould have bein demaundit. Bot the tym past, and the rebellis haid so m[any] freindis about him, that they submittit them selfis . . . a forme of entring, yet albeit the King seimit not to d . . . in any capitulatioun vith them, he moveit the noble men about him to give unto the rebelles promeis of lyf . . . and goodes. The promisers ver Lords Hamiltoun, Angus, Mar, Mortoun, Houme, Maraschall, and Master of Glamis."

"The Chancellar fand in this, if forther ordre ver not tak[in], great danger, and yet vould not seim to be the do[er of] it, bot moveit the King

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. to convein his estaits, quhair [the thing] being proposit, it ves concludit that the rebelles so[uld be] maid coulpable of thair fait, keipt strictly . . . The first poynt ves performed by Huntly his submis[sion] and confessing of treasoun, and by Bothuel and Cra[ford] thair convictioun by one assyse of thair peires . . . strict keiping it . . . of inhabilitie. Treulye thair is no appeir . . . I may tell in my particulaire for in a mai[ter] by Huntly vitche apperteinethe to me. The King hes . . . vill in goodis prefer no man to him. So . . . vryt plainly, I see no appeirence that any of [the] three pointis concludit in Conventioun shalbe execut age . . . from our selfis and in this I knou sume men in[tending] to do our Chancellar good haithe hermit him for . . . have maid his credict sutche vith the King that qu[hat he] pleasethe he may get done. Bot in this they ar [stran]gers bothe in the Kings auin naturell and in our estait . . . vill assur your lordship the Chancellar quhat he may [do he] uill, bot all he vould he may not. For the [Erle] Lenox is nou a man and accomptit for his aige, a . . . dissimuler and reasonable accort; he beginnethe to have interest in the Kings ear, and of naturall inclinatioun he [is ene]mie to the course and freind for dyvers respect[is to] thois rebelles, vitche is no small impediment to . . . thing the Chancellar of him self could propone . . . maiter. One vuther thair is, the Master of Glammiss . . . the estait in sutche termes that if he ver guyl[ty] . . . the Chancellar he lukethe to fall in his place . . . moveit him factiously to seik the Chancellars ru[me ?] . . . indirectly deallis vith Huntly and sume of his f[reindis], so that appeirand to be ennemie, quhat ever he say[is] tendethe for Huntlyis avantage. To the King he sem[is] to speik it for the Kings veil, and veil judge . . . sible fait . . . auin dispositioun inclyning thairto."

"In sorte . . . he is in a maner the uphoulder of Huntly . . . rest. This fare I doubt if it be plainly . . . your men heir for your embassadour is accomp[tit] sumquhat simple for our estait and vhen men [settle ?] one a ground if it tuitche the King his majestie . . . dasches him from it, vitche I have not of . . . for that I never as yet have practiquet the . . . bot of the Chancellar and a nombre of uther [veill] villars; who vould be glaid from thair . . . that sume man of countenence ver send hither . . . extremitie. Of justice non can not be haid. Th . . . pointes resolvit by estaites micht be cravit to . . . , vitche vithout doubt shalbe grantit, for the . . . is sutche that at this tym he vill not . . . refuse her majestie your souveraines reasonable petition. . . . Besyd this the Chancellar vill advyse your l[ordship] and the King bothe in maiters he can not propo[ne] him self by reasoun, as I have said, he is gre . . . bothe directly and indirectly. For sutche a prop . . . findis no man fitter then Mr. Robert Boues fo . . . knouin in our affaires is requisit, and for so sch . . . imployement small moyens for a great good . . . his inhabilitie. Remitting aluayis the choise of the . . . your Lordships visdome; bot one is necessairly requisit, . . . vitche eny thing to be performed. As for the . . . in it . . . durst not have medlit in it, for the day befo[re] . . . this toun the holl marchandis in concurrence mai[d] . . . and bostit my Lord Hammiltoun and Chancellar beca[use they] opposit them selfis to the mariage, so that I am v[er] lothe to speik in it: and I think it shall . . . affectual, for the King craveis so great

James VI. 1589.

maiters bo[the] . . . taucher and uther pointis that I doubt if they . . . to performe it; and in this country thair be verie [few] noble men inclynable to it."

"I vould have v[rytten] to her majestie, particulairly quhat the King haithe said to . . . that maiter, bot I forbear, for that I have not y[et] delt in uther pointis vith him, bot by Mr. Huds[one], vho shalbe despetchit touardis her majestie vithin fyve or sex [days]. I shall, God uilling, advertis her majestie of all thingis . . . more particulairly then goodly I may at this tym [by] reasoun of sume heast."

"I feare her majestie tak[ith] not veil that the monoy sche send to the king for [the] greater pairt is delyverit to th'earle Marchall for . . . ing his voyage in Denmark, bot sche shall not blam[e the] Chancellar for it, nor haithe sche any cause."

"Res . . . advertis your lordship that all the jalousies conceavit of me proceidit of sume opinioun they haid that I ves go[verned] by Mr. Archibald Douglas, and thairfor I pray your lordship . . . the treuthe ver to schau hou vhen for malice [Mr.] Archibald vould have calum[n]iat the Chancellar, I tould your [lordship] the simple treuthe. This I pray your lordship vryt to Mr. . . . I . . . notvithstanding all ver vroth . . . favorably of me, he never utterit the same . . . bot I am not to be a sore accuser of it for [I] hoyp, God uilling, to be aible to do my auin tou . . . In the particulaire of Dumfermling, albeit . . . be half pairtie as yet, I trust I shalbe . . ." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. of Gr . . .

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

June 5. 114. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 378.

Printed in *Letters of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 160.

"Efter this uther lettre ves vrottin Mr. Aschby hir majesteis embassador send me one from your lordship; bot befor the recept of it I haid takin leive of his majestie to go vissie my father and my hous, so that presently I think I can ansuer it in litle forther then is alredy conteinit in my uther letter: for thair is sutche unuorthy men about the Kings majestie, that honest men can nether do nor speik bot is misconstructed. Yet vithin a day or tuo I am to retourne, and then I shall concur vith the Chancellar, but I knou he vilbe lothe to deall ether directly or indirectly in stay of the mariage vith Denmark; for as I have vrottin the verie day befor I came to this toun thair arose a great mutinerie agenst my Lord Hammiltoun and him, for he, all noble men and gentlemen, save a verie feu particulairs, be altogither inclyning to Navarre; so that my opinion is bothe for that and uther maiters that Mr. Robert Boues sould be send hither, and indirectly the Chancellar and my self shall advyse him hou to stay the maiter, and her majestie never to acknouledge it, nor yet shall it be knouin in Denmark the maiter to proceid from her. And in the mid tym I shall deall quhat I can vith his majestie, according to the reasouns sete doun in your lordships lettre, and by Mr. Hudsone shall mak you advertisit hou fare I prouffit. Bot, as I vrot, th'earle Maraschall hes alredy receavit a great pairt of the mony her majestie send to the King . . .* for defraie of his voyage. The choi[se ?]

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. of this mariage is one Mr. Peter Young . . . majestie, vho ves first imployed in the same . . ."

"As for my actiouns so fare as they may extend . . . shall euer be to do her majestie service nixt my auin master, and I hoyp the Chancellar s[hall] do the same, so that bothe '*propter istud ter* . . .' our auin particulaire veilles, as your lordship v . . . it shalbe agenst my vill if ve co . . . veil amongst our selfis."

"I have hard . . . from Mr. Archibald Douglas of neuis, nor visch to heir from him, bot vould be glaid to [heir] from your lordship if any be good." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. of Gr . . .

Postscript—"My lord it shalbe in my opinioun verie pertinent . . . Secretary vryt a lettre to the Chancellar conteining [the] same argumentes set down by your lordship, and sutche a lettre [as the] Chancellar may veil schau to his majestie as proceiding from Mr. Secretary's self."

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

June 7. 115. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 376.

Printed in *Letters . . . of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 161.

Please [your[lordship to understand that "sence . . .* sent by the ambassadours convoy tochinge the tymulte abo[ut the] Kinges maryage, and the resolucyon apon the same, w[e ?] fynd styll to holde, and the Erll Marshall peparinge in hast to goo with the next wynde. Yet his instrucyon[s are] not drawne to a poynt, but sum of them agrede a[pon]."

"I fynd that the Kinge is caryed by Coronell Stewerd, but specyallye by Peter Yonge in this matter of his maryage, frome Chauncelour and all other, so far as he commendes [the] delyng of the towne of Edenbrowghe, and alowes it [to] procede of zeale and affeccyon they beare him, and to avoyde an extremety lyke to fawle apon themselves for theyre trade. Yet he condemnes them for unreverent speches that the baser sort shold use agaynst the Lady of Navar and sum other there, and theyre raylinge agaynst Ingland, which he wold have had sum ponished for, but there was no partyculer men charged, it was so generall. The sayd Stewerd and Yonge hathe put in his hed [that] the syster of Navar ys old and croked, and sum[thing] worse if all were knowne, and settes forthe [the] other, so that it aperes the Kinge hathe conceaved [a] lykinge by imaginacyon, which makes the Chauncelour yeld and allow of his procedinges that way. But [he] is sorry for it in his hart, and hathe told me [in] secret that there hathe none but fooles deal[t in] that negocyacyon as yet, suche as ar vayne g . . . and hoopes to gayne to them selves by it, regar[ding] not the good of theyre master. And even now goo suche lyke, but of a higher degree: for the [Erll] Marshall and the Lord of Dingewell, that go[o for] him, will not bothe make a wyese man. And [their] instruccyons shalbe suche as the Chauncelour thinke[s they] in Denmarke will never agree unto. One is that they shalbe bownd to furnishe the Kinge ten tho[usand] men payd and armed for syx monthes if he . . . to use them for the obteyninge of Ingland after her majestis deseace. It was once agreed on so longe [as he] shold nede them. I thinke to get all the who[le so] sone as they be drawne perfet; but now is . . . sayd Peter Yonge determined to goo with the [Erll] Marshall, and the Kinge commendes it, and it . . . that Yonge . . . [in]struccyons to him selffe that shalbe more . . . be not lyked.

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. so that they will have noo . . . matter, but hoopes to brynge hir home with the Erll . . . at his returne and make no moo sendinges."

"Whear[e] it was set downe that the Erll shold have but c . . . the covenantes of the maryage, and the Lord Hamel[ton] shold have gon for hir, the Erll Marshall is pers[uaded] by sum frendes, of which in truthe I am one, that Peter [Yonge] will robbe him of all the honour, havinge byn there before and havinge secret instruccyons: and now he [will] not goo at all if Peter Yonge goo, and tells the [Kinge] so playnly yesterday; so that yet the matter is [not] agreed apon."

"It is wisshed here by the well af[fected] to Ingland that the Cowncell of Denmarke myght [be] wrought to answer, they wold conclude noo mary[age] with the Kinge without the Quene of Inglandes con[sent]; and that the forward Scotes Danistes that will take so muche apon them, dyspisynge that hir majeste shold . . . in the Kinges maryage, may be dryven frome theym unlesse she be pleased."

The Master of Gray hath con[ferred] with me at length; he and the Chancellor have had large conferences. The King gives him countenance, but his credit is little with him. He seeks the abbey of Dunfermline, or at least to have the . . . of the law allowed him, which cannot be well refused. The Chancellor is of that opinion, but the King hath made no answer, but s[ayd] to me, 'He can never get it by law.' The Master speaks exceeding well of England, and against those who oppose the amity. He condemns the hardness of her majesty, and that she loses much thereby. His credit will not be much here a long time. I beseech you that these may be kept secret. I know the Master writes at length, and that mine are the less needful. [He is] of my opinion that it were needful to have a gentleman of account sent hither, and thinks it would be good for his own particular.

"The Erlls ar gon to severall pryssons in the cowntry; Bodwell to Tamtallon, Hunt[ley] to Bairtyke Castell, Crawford to St. Tandrows [*sic*], and every . . . a trusty gentellman with sum gard for theyre keping." Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—Today the captains of the *Vanguard* and *Tiger* have been with the King, who takes kindly that they were appointed to offer him service, and is proud that he used them well. But the base people and Spaniards misused some of them and slew a trumpeter. The King was angry, and willed me that a demand should be put in to the Council, and he would see it was granted. I told the ambassador, who had made other requests before for disorder and was little regarded. At his request I drew him two requests to present to the King and Council; they may do more good, for I have conjured the King to see justice done and the English well used, being subjects not only of his good sister, "but to accompt [her] his mother, maynteyner and upholder, protectour and defender; so blessed by God that the lyke of . . . so many yeres cannot be red of in thes cowntry; and who hathe byn so miraculowsly preserved." He allowed of my speech exceeding well.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 7. 116. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Has received his of May 30, and will follow his advice. Other matters he will answer by Hudson, who goes hence shortly. He thanks

James VI. 1589. God for sending him such a friend as Walsingham. Colonel Stewart and Peter Young have the credit of the marriage with Denmark,and thus have won the King's affection above all others. The Earl Marishal is near ready to go, and the Lord of Dingwall with him, but a controversy has arisen, because Peter Young would go with the Earl. He has private instructions, easier than those the Earl was to carry, for the Chancellor had drawn them so hard as it is doubted they will not be granted in Denmark: "and Peter Yonge perceavinge it no dowt hathe perswaded the Kinge so; and becawse they wold have no delay in the matter he may make what instruccyons he will, the Kinge will fyrme them as he did once allreddy to the sayd Mr. Peter."

"The Erll is perswaded, and it is true, that the sayd Peter will robbe him of all his honour, beinge an ambycyowse fellow, and aquaynted there, and specyally by his pryvy instruccyons; and he told the Kinge yesterday that he wold not goo if Peter Yonge went. The Kinge wold have perswaded him, but it wold not be."

The Chancellor and others well affected to England like not of that marriage, specially that it should be done by such mean men for their own glory, who despise that any advice should be asked of her majesty in the King's marriage. They wish the council of Denmark might answer that they would conclude no marriage without her majesty's consent, that they might be driven to seek her. They hope to make such speed that the new Queen shall come home with the Earl Marischal without delay. It was once appointed that Lord Hamilton should go for her convoy, and this Earl but to have concluded the covenants.

It is generally desired that the King should marry, but the wisest think this lady too young, and that the other of Navarre, being staid, were more for his good, besides that the portion of this is but money that will be quickly spent here, and the other hath a yearly revenue and money too. "Besydes they thinke that the Luteryan religion shall be browght in, and dronkennes, which they ar here to muche in use of all reddy." The King, though wise in matters he gives himself to, is careless of his own commodity, and a great giver if he have it. A wise woman would be a great stay, and the other being but a child shall for a long time need some discreet ladies to advise her.

The Chancellor found that Peter Young was a chief stirrer up of the late tumult in Edinburgh, and so rebuked him and called him a seditious knave, but no one has been punished, the King excusing them "that they did it upon zeale and love to him and care of theyre owne trade. Yet he wisht to know summe of them that spake unreverently of Ingland and of the sister of Navare and Kinge and all; but none is bewrayed, the case was so generall. But the Frenche here, as Civell and De Lyell, sweres the percecusyon of the marchantes of this towne that trades with Fraunce."

Has had conference with the Master of Gray, and loves him for honouring Walsingham. Gray is well affected to England, and honours the Queen above all others except his master: "he thinkes hir majeste to hard, and that she looses muche there by, and so thinkes many moo." The Chancellor and Gray agree, and confer much together: "'but what it wilbe if the Master get not the abbye agayne I know not." The King uses him well but cannot hear of the abbey. The Master desires to be allowed law, which the Chancellor thinks reason, but the King says he

James VI. 1589. cannot have it by law. His credit will be little with the King for a long time. Gray wishes a wise man were here from England : it would be well for him.

"The Erlls Huntley is gon to the Castell Burtyke, Bodwell to Tamtallan, Crawford to St. Androwes, and every one of them a gentellman and sum gard to kepe them saffe, and not any other procedinge yet towardes any of that rebellion."

The Master says that the King excused the rebels that they meant not anything to himself but to the Chancellor ; but to others he hath done clean contrary, and approved it by many reasons that it was a feigned tale to say they took arms against the Chancellor. Edinburgh. *Signed :* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"This day the capteynes of the Quenes shippes were a land with the Kinge, who was exceedinge glad of them and used them well. I have wrytten in effect of all thes matters to my lord Tresorer. Mr. Archbald hathe wrytten hether spitefully agaynst the Master of Gray."

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

June 8. 117. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 374.

"In my last I acquainted your honour with the arri[val] of Sir Georg Beston in the Firthe hard by t[his] the first of June, leaving thother tow, bei[ng] severed by wether. The third of June Mr. Edward Croftes, captein of the *Teygar*, came to Sir Georg Beston, but the *Achates* is not as yet hard of, the ammirall imagining that this . . .* erlie wind keapeth her in harbore that she cannot come to him." The King accepts in good part the coming of these ships from her majesty. He sent for the admiral and captains and used them with all honour, as Sir George upon his return willed me to make relation to you. Yet there hath been great outrage offered, whereof the King is highly offended, offering such justice as shall be required.

On the 5th instant certain of the admiral's company came on shore to Leith and Edinburgh to buy necessaries and see the city. Three of the [English] trumpeters drinking with Scots of their quality, and falling out, one of them was hurt with a dagger. They retired towards their ship, and passing to Leith, three or four Spaniards followed and overtook them, and murdered one.

The Spaniards returned to Edinburgh. The two English trumpeters, being without weapons, could neither defend themselves nor avenge their fellow's death.

"Upon Sir Geo[r]ge Bestons coming to the King the 7 daie we both requested his majestie that suche Scottishemen as shalbe found guiltie in this abuse maie be punished according to there desertes : and for the Spanni[ardes] that cruellie slew the tompeter of the ship called the *Vantgard*, that thei maie ha[ve the] lawe executed upon them as apparteineth. And if those cannot be gotten which slew t[he] man, then we desired to haue so manie [of] the principall capteins delivered us pres[ently] till thei find out the parties guiltie. Whereupon by the Kings commaundment, for th[at] the parties that did the murder cannot as yet be found, tow of the principall Spanniardes that are here are committed [to] the

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. towne house prisoners, the King promising condigne justice to be executed in this ca[use], which I will prosequute with all diligence."

"The Earl Huntley was sent on Thursdaie the 5 of June to Burticke 7 or 8 myles from Edenborough, and there keapt prisoner. The Earl Bodwell is sent to Tantallon a house of the Earl of Anguse."

The commissioners from the States have taken leave of the King, for the time contented, To-day or to-morrow they will acquaint me with the answer they have received of the King, and with the next wind return home.

Postscript—"Of the Master of Graye and the Lord Chancellors coming in on good course, it is to be feared, for that there haith ben great enmytie in court heretofore betwixt them, and now the Chancellour having the onlie credit, he will hardlie suffer a competitour to crep into favour, for '*stimulos habet animi virtus,*' and the Master of Grayes humour is not here liked."

You will smile at a pageant now begun betwixt Archibald Douglas and the Master of Graye, who seemed to be great friends being in London together: they now deface one another by letters, which have been showed to the King.

The Master of Gray a little before . . . into Scotland writeth to his brother here what an evil course Archibald Douglas followeth, wishing he might be called home, as his being there is a hindrance to the King. This letter was shown to his highness, and report made to Archibald Douglas by his friends here: he replies "and paintes out the Master [of] Graye in his coullours"; his letter likewise shown to the King, who laughs at their dealing.

They show what faithfulness is to be had of them, pretending friendship and going about to cut one another's throats by evil reports. These men may well be used but never trusted. They will not cease here. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

3⅔ *pp. Holograph. Indorsed by Burghley.*

June 11. 118. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

Has received Walsingham's letter of May 30 and gives thanks for it. "Mr. Archibald has writtin a venemous letter hear agaenst the Master of Grae, wher in he haeth so often callid him faethless and a detraccter of the King and a desembler with hir majeste and your honors, with suche vyll and shamefull deallings and cross nudges as I am ashamid to wryt but mean to bringe the letter it self with mei to show your honor, becaws he haeth sent a letter writin with your honors owin hand hear to give it cowntanance, as thowch your honor was prive to his letter so freycht with mallice." They are unwise in inveighing one against the other, for they harm themselves, and make sport for their enemies to laugh at. The King and Chancellor know the beginning of this, but interpret Mr. Archibald to write in malice rather than truth; "and the King saed that Mr. Archebald belyed him in that letter as well as the Master, in sainge that he was nocht desperatt of his majestes favor and that he had his hichnes good cowntenance in tymes past whiche he hoappid stil to injoye. 'Ther he lyeth,' saed the King, 'for he never had it, nether shal he ever have it.'" Thus passionately he heaps more

James VI. 1589. ill will upon himself, and for all his fair terms of the King and Chancellor is but mocked.

The Master returns but this day from his father, and shall be acquainted with that letter, and to procure a trial of such things as he is charged with, by the Chancellor's favour. The Chancellor and he "sort" well, and their friends and unfriends are all one. The Master shall have the benefit of the law for his living, which will make it his. He has friends here and is like to get more. The only thing that has kept Mr. Archibald in any good terms is Walsingham's favour, at which men marvel. Fowler's credit is great, and thereby must he work. Edinburgh.

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

June 12. 119. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig. D. I., fol. 426.

"I thank zour lordship for zour fatherlie and . . .* counsell send in zour last, quhilk I sall God . . . follow in preferring religion to natur and all s[uch] thingis. And quhair as zour lordship praysis me for the . . . full service done to the King my soveraine . . . acknowledge I mereit na prayse in doing quhilk in dewtie I could nocht omit: bot the [suffi]ciencie of this berar and his privatie . . . ws baythe makis me to be schorter [than] vtherways I wald. He can declair how . . . rememberance I keip of hir majestie for hir . . . benefites, and how thankfull a mynd . . . zour lordship for zour curteseis, in so mutche . . . ar the frend I haif in the wardle I ho[nour] and luif moste, and that hes gretest powar to dispose of me." Hamilton. *Signed:* "Zour lordship's assirut gud frinde at pouar to coummande, J. Hammilton.

1 *p. No flyleaf or address.*

June 12. 120. [LAIRD OF POURY OGILVY] TO WALSINGHAM.

"My good lord, willing to pretermitt no occatione, nacthuer at courte nor at home, it will pleis your honour [to] onderstande yat notwithstanding all the rigour yat is wsitt agaenst thois laeitt rebelliuse subiectis, zeitt the Jesuistis, Mr. Aedmonde Haey, Mr. William Chrichtone, Robert Brwsce, the Laird of Fintrye, ar all keiptit priwelie in my lord Ogilwy his howse calitt Boischaere in our contrie of Angwiss. Thaey mein to goe owt of the contrie bott nott zeitt, boith for feir to be caichitt be the way be hir majestes schips, and yat thaey doe ass zeitt attemt for ye incummine of straengers, quhilk expectatione maeks my Lord of Arroille and Montroiss to lye owt ass zeitt."

"His majeste is to be in Aberdeine abowtt the 10 day of July, thaer to pwtt ordur to my Lord of Arroill and sik my Lord of Hwntlei his frinds ass doe zeitt trwbill ye contrie. My Lord of Crafwirde is to resaiff fawoir and sindrie wyers of the factione, quhilk mwiffs [moves] sume jalows maen to feir; sume hide misteries quhilk is meir than I myself can sie throche, for I doe persaiff his majeste altogithaer baent that waey."

"I sall nott feill till adwertis your honour of the Jesuistes yaer passine owt of the contrie if I maey knaw ye samme to be acceptabill to yowr

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. honour." Dundee. *Signed in cipher.*
$3\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 13. 121. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"The necessite whearin I am reduced forcis me inportunatlye to put you in rememberance that my sute may be put to some poynct. I remember that hir majeste at that tyme it pleased hir hyenes to speik wyth me was able to declayr onto me what I had gottin from Jhone Morley as I my self vas, and did regrett that the mater was so small in respict hir mynd in gevin vas so liberall."

"As towardis William Huntar his mater, I fynd the mater betuixt the marchantis and him not so difficill to be agreed apon as is the money taking from his cuntreyman thayre fact uris, whiche he alledgis vas takin for paymente of debtis contracted for thayr cause, and that necessite constraned him to the doing thayrof. This somme extendis to xxv hundreth ducattis, whearof they vill pay no part, bot doeth alledge that the takin thayrof did hinder thaym anent the gayne thay vold haif uthervayse obteaned, the somme of no les than the principall. What is to be done in this mater I must leawe to your moyr grawe consideration."

"I mynd to derect the bearar heirof to Scotland so sone as I can obteyn anser what ordour shalbe takin anent piraceis, and such uther mater as was left unperfytted be the Larde of Weamis. My lord Tresorir did tell me yisterdaye that he vold consult heirupon vith your honour, and vold mowe you to send me anser when any meting shuld be for this effect." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

June 14. 122. JAMES COLVILE TO WALSINGHAM.

"I resavit zour letter vithe my cousingis, quha movit me ane litil to onderstand that thingis promeisit and contractit culd not be kepit, seing I vas oblisit be vord to ane number of capitains quha myndit to hasard them selfis in my cumpanie. Ze may lat Monsieur de Buzanval onderstand of it gif it pleis zow. My mynd and frank deling in that service I think hes rather doon me hinderance nor fortherance, but my gud mynd shal ever contineu and that above my pouer."

"Gif zour honor may do ony gud at Monsieur de Buzanval it is now the tyme to help, sua as in mony uther thingis afor. Zour honor, I beleve, vil not tak this request in no evil part. My redines, I hoip in the Lord, shal be in tuenty days efter the reset of the silver to depart, quhilk I vald com vithe al expedition. Thingis ar not doon heir as necessitie requyrit, and that becaus ther is non send to keip his majestie in mynd, and flatteris hes mair credit nor honest men."

"For my awin part I abyd at al occationis to lat my affectionat mynd be knawin to do zour honor service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Coluill of Estveimes.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. June 14.

123. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

"Here is great workinge for favour and ease to the traytors in prysson. Crawford is not gon to Saynt Androwes as was apoynted, and he goinge, but returned and lyes in this towne with noo great gard apon him attendinge. Hontley hathe lybertye to ryde with his keper to take the ayre fyve or syx myles frome Burtyk. Mountrose by the Lord Hameltons meanes comes in and submittes him selffe to the Kinges mercy withowt any condicyon, and shalbe warded as yet is agreed in Dumbarton. The Kinge wilbe at Hamelton within viij dayes, and there he comes in. The Master of Glames is a suter for the Erll Bodwell and for Huntley allso, that they may be banyshed for a tyme but injoy theyre lyvinges wholy." He is malcontent with the Chancellor that Crawford is not executed, in respect of the feud between them. The Chancellor says he cannot help it, because so many of Crawford's friends have the King's ear, specially Alexander Lindsey the King's minion. The Master this morning in open Council protested his friendship for Huntley and his friends: he carries with him Morton, Angus and Mar.

It is manifest now that the Master was taken by his own consent, and so let go again to serve a turn for the traitors; he is a perilous man. The Chancellor is so little regarded by her majesty that every one thinks to overthrow him for his dealings with England and receiving English gold. He might hinder the favour showed to the rebels, but has to temporise, being so strangely dealt with by her majesty. Fowler gains nothing by him, but thinks him the surest means to her majesty's service if he were rightly used.

"The Kinge is most suer and constant for the religion and the amyte betwen hir majeste and contry and him selffe and his; and hathe of late shewed openly his opinyon in rebuke of sum that contended with the Larde of Wymes and me, he sittynge at diner, wheare he pronownced them all traytors that wisshed him, as some before had spoken, to favour or esteme Spanierdes as [w]ell as Inglishe or nere them by twenty fold; but rather to hate them as those that wold have gotten frome him that which after hir majeste he had righte unto: with muche more whyche I will commyt to my lord ambassadors letters and the report of Lyttel David."

The Master of Gray will get no credit with the King, who says he cannot brook, love, nor trust him who dealt so falsely with him. Mr. Archibald's letter is most despiteful against the Master, but the King only says, "Lyke will to lyke," and is glad to see them at this point. May be the Master shall do better in time; he professes a good part towards England and Walsingham; to win him credit the Chancellor should have been better considered. Once the King has been deceived he forgets not hastily, though he sometimes forgives.

His majesty lacks horses, and takes unkindly that the Queen will send him none for hunting; he has to borrow of his servants. He rides north to Stratherne and Ross to keep justice courts, and to see the houses and livings of all Huntly's friends and Erroll's seized to his use. After his return on August 10th he will hunt the buck in all the grounds he hath, which are but few, and then the stag.

Hears now that the Master of Glamis and the Chancellor are friended by means of the nobility of the good faction, "but the Chauncelour

James VI. 1589. dryven to yeld to many thinges that he wold not if he knew of a back." He is honest, and will run a sound course in religion and the King's service, how unkindly soever he be dealt with.

Has written to Burghley to speed some good deed, specially for horses and money. The Master of Gray says that the 3000 *li.* which came last was no part of the 5000 *li.* her majesty promised. Edinburgh. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"The Lord Mershall goes within 3 dayes and not Mr. Peter Yonge."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[June] 124. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMISSIONERS FOR DENMARK.

Printed in *Hist. MSS. Com. Reports, Hatfield MSS.*, Pt. 3, pp. 420-22 (with marginal notes by Burghley).

"Instructions to our right trusty cosen and counsellor Goerge, Earle of Mersall, Lord Keith and Altrie, our liftenaunt in the north, our trusty cosen and counsellor Andrew, Lord Dingwall, colonnell generall of our realme, our trusty and wellbeloved counsellour James Skymger of Dudop, Constable of Dundie, and with them adjoyned Mr. John Skinner, advocat in our Colledge of Justice, directed by us ambassadours for the complectyng of our mariage with Dennemark at Edimburg the daye [*sic*] of June 1589."

"After you have presented your letters and hartyest commendations to our dearest sister the Queene of Dennemark, our dearest brother the elected King her sonne, and his fower regentes and governor of that realme, ye shall declare unto them how havyng now by the good favour of our God attayned to a reasonnable perfection of yeares and thirwith to some tranquillitye of our estates subject to continewall unquiettnes induring the wholl course of our minoritye, and findyng the matturitye of our adge, the statt of our affaires, and the long wishe and expectacion of all our good and lovyng subjectes to crave most earnestly that by some worthy and honorable alliaunce our crowne should be continually in our race and lyne, our realme and kingdome strenghtned, and we the more able to possesse us in our forayne ryghts, that God and the prerogatives of our discent have geven unto us, and [*sic*] undoubted expectation; and findyng by good recordes of wordy memory what wealth and honor hath accresced and still remayneth with our sayd crowne and countrey by our alliaunce with the crowne of Dennemark, and thirwith understandyng, by our latte embassadour the adge, the favour, education, and other princely qualitys of the right excellent and worthy princesse the Lady Anna, second sister alyve to our sayd dearest brother, aunswearable in every point to our contentement and lykyng: wee have made choyse of you to passe into those partes and in our name to propound to our sayd dearest sister, the King our brother and his sayd governors, our mariage with the sayd princesse, and findyng them agreable to treatte, conferre, conclude, and contracte with them upon the clauses and conditions followyng:—"

"1. Art: First, that the somme of tenn hundreth thowsand poundes Scottes be graunted to us in name of tocher, and the sayd some transported here together at once and delivered really in our handes immediatly after the complectyng of the mariage."

James VI. 1589.

2. "Secondly, yat for the better countinuyng of good amitye and frendly love betwixte the inhabitantes of the two realmes, all Scottishmen be naturallized Danishe, and therby be permitted to trafficke, conquer, mary, bruck offices and honors, make testamentes, succyed *ab intestato*, and generally to enjoye all and whatsoever immunitys, libertys, and privileges within the wholle dominions subject to the King of Dennemark which wsually are permitted to any natturall and borne Danishe, such like and als freely in all respectes as if they were borne subjectes to that crowne."

3. "Thirdly, that whatsoever to[ll] be imposed to our subjectes travelling trough theyr seas, eyther for theyr shippes or goodes, may be discharged, and our sayd subjectes free and relyved therof in all tyme commyng."

4. "Fourthly, if eyther for our juste deffense against a foraine ennemye, or the recoverye of the possession of foreyne titles dewe unto us by juste inheritaunce, [1]wee shall be mooved to crave our dearest brothers or his successors ayde and assistaunce, that he and his forsaydes upon our requisition direct hyther and intertayne within our realme eight thousand foottmen and two thouzand horsmen upon his owne expenses, well armed and ecquipped, to serve when wee shall have occasion to employe them."

5. "Fyftly, that wee may have a graunt [of] warre shippes[2] well ordeyned and ecquipped with ordinaunce and other necessary provisions to be sent hyther with all diligence to our use and behove."

6. "And last, that our sayd brother and his forsaydes, respecting the undoubted right, the long continewed kindnes and possession which wee and our predecessors above all memory have had and fermely brucked of the Ilandes of Orkney and others [*blank*][3] to the countinent of our realme, may well forbeare to move us any further question or clayme therfore in any sorte, and for the more security therof that with advice of the estates they will expeedd us under theyr hand and seale a full discharge of whatsoever right or interest they can pretend therunto, founded upon whatsoever reversion or other title, in such sorte and maner as you shall advisedly devyse. And for that reason and honor craveth that the sayd princesse and futur spowse should be reciprokely provyded by us to any honorable lyverent proportionnall to the revenu of her sayd tocher, therefore you shall accord and graunt her in our name a lyverent of all and whole our ducherie of Allbany, our earledom of Carrikt and our lordship of L . . . [*sic*],[4] with our palaces of . . . [*sic*][5] and Falkland and theyr pertinentes, togyther with the revenewes of the sayd ducherie, earledome and lordship, the which you may in our name assure and therupon oblige to them our all borrowes to make equivallent to thre fyfte part partis of the rente of whatsoever somme shall be accorded to us in name of the tocher. And if that be not found sufficient, rather or it cast of in that deffault you shall in our sayd name aggree and promis her the third of our all property in lifrend, sparyng all wayes to vallewe it in any sorte."

"This beyng don, you shall laye out unto our forsayd dearest brother and his sayd governors how the long covered pretenses of the Pope and his adherauntes begynnyng now more playnely to utter theyr intent and malice against the trewe religion presently by the good favour of our God in both owr kingdomes, our duety kraveth that by our comm[on]union,

1 For 'or the recovery . . . inheritance,' *Cal.* of *Hatfield MSS.* reads 'or otherwise for the weal of us and our estate.'
2 'ten warships' in *Hatfield MSS.*
3 For 'Orkney . . . countinent' *Hatfield MSS.* read 'Orkney lying so "euish" to the Continent.'
4,5 Linlithgow, *ibid.*

James VI. 1589. conjunction, and intelligence wee should oppone to theyr desseings such remedyes as God hath graunted us, both for the surety of the sayd religion in our tyme and the continuaunce tharof to our posterity. You shall therfore deale most earnestly with our sayd dearest brother and his forsaydes, that not onely wee our selfes, our tounes, and kingdomes may joyne togeather in strayght league for our commun defense against all and whomsoever that shall attempt any violency against us or eyther of us, our crownes and countreys, but also do our best indevour to drawe the reste of the reformed stattes and princes to concurre and joyne with us in that behalf."

1¼ *pp. Copy. Addressed to Walsingham. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. I. fol. 177. Another copy of the same.

June 16. 125. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Received his letter of May 31st on June 5th; thinks Walsingham knows what moved the ambassador Mr. Douglas to write to the King: some unkindness fallen out between him and the Master of Gray. They have both written to their friends most spitefully against one another; the letters have been shown to the King, who makes merry with their follies, and doubts which he may best trust. Mr. Archibald's letter to the King was delivered by Fowler.

On 14th instant a Scotsman arrived at Edinburgh from Flanders with letters from Parma, "requesting the Spanniardes that be in this countrie to be transported of his charge." The King is willing to have them gone and divers labour to transport them, yet no man will undertake it without her majesty's safe-conduct. If it please her, one William Neper, a burgess of Edinburgh, will transport them to Spain or Flanders, as she shall direct.

"Peterson the Pyrate is taken and in prison here in Edenbrowghe; the ship which he tooke the last yere from Frauncis Clarkson—who came in Sir G. Beston ship with your honour's letter to me—is staid by a brother of the Erll Marshall's; but the King haith commaunded the deliverie of her to the partie, who is going for her towardes Aberdine: so as I hope the pore man shall recover his ship, althoughe there is some crosse dealing by the Erll Marshall and his brother; but the Chancellour promissed me this daie that the ship should be delivered to the Zealer."

"The King goeth the 21 of this present to Hamelton to the christening of the Lord of Arbroth sone and hayre; who haith invited me to be a goshope there, as I writ to your honour before. After that solemnitie finished, the King meaneth to ryde into the north, and there to spend tow or thre moneths in progresse, and to shew himself amongest those Hilanders, which are as wild as our Irishe."

The King deals too mildly with the condemned earls; Huntly is at "Bourtecke" 7 or 8 miles from Edinburgh, Bothwell at Tantallon, Crawford in Edinburgh; all have access to them, and they have many favourers about the King.

The commissioners from the States departed on June 10th. Upon debate, and hearing Colonel Stewart's demands and reasons, wherewith they were not before acquainted, they asked his majesty for further time, promising an answer within three months: to which the King consented, and also Colonel Stewart. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

James VI. 1589. Postscript—"This daie about none Sir George Beston went downe with the ebb out of the Frith: he haith ben honorablie used at the King's hand. Your honour's letter of the 12 with a packet to Monsieur Civil I receaved this [*sic*]. Mr. Hudson should have brought this packet, but the King haith stayd him for 3 or foure dayes."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 16. 126. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

The King and Chancellor have been so busy about the dispatch for Denmark and in writing to the Queen by Sir George Beston that he could not be dispatched, and the King's absence will stay him four days more. The Master has written to Walsingham. The King is inclined to pity these last trespassers. Many about him are evil inclined to England; Hudson has already suggested the remedy. "The Master's pacyence and wysse behavyor is lyk to carrei hime thorow al theas storms to his conttentment." *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

June 16. 127. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 369.

Printed in *Letters . . . of Gray*, Ban. Club, p. 165.

"Since my last ve haue . . .* so many appeirences of maiters to fall furthe I diferrit from day to day to vryt lu[king] for sum certaintie; vitche as yet skairsly . . . I performe, bot I have stayit for a day or . . . Mr. Hudsone, and til then have send them . . . let your lordship knou hou that vpon sume occasi[on] thair fell furthe at my retourne betuene the . . . Chancellar and Master of Glammiss sume querel[l] vitche ver occasioun that no thing ves . . . as ves promised at the last Conventioun by . . . majeste tuitching the rebelles; for the Master of G[lammiss] tuk a plaine dealing for th'Earle of Huntly, and . . . Chancellar underhand for Montrois, so that . . . the tuo all maiters ves neglected. Vitche . . . perceaued by sume honest men who hes medlit . . . in this cause they trauelit vith bothe the . . . , and hes takin up the maiter betuene the Chancellar and the Master, so that yisternicht . . . have promisit honest freindschip among them sel[fis], and to procure to joine in the course all [the] men they can, for suppressing the vther . . . If this maiter be effectuall betuene them . . . good, bot I am affrait. I vryt to your . . . Mr. Hudsone that the Master of Glammiss is . . . his nepheu is to chuse his curatores and . . . necessitie he ves compellit to ryd from . . . to stay for a tym: thairfor thocht it not g[ood to] leave behind him so great one ennemie at court [as] the Chancellar. This in a pairt I knou to be [true], for he hes stayed theis eicht dayis bygone only [for] this purpose. Aluayis th'effect vill give li[cht]. I am requyrit my self to enter in this same . . . schips, to the vitche I accord most villing[ly] . . . marie th'earle of Huntly is yet possest vith my . . . and I as yet can haue no redress, for I crau[e] . . . indifferent justice according to our laues, vit[ch] . . . can not haue, for the King him self in persoun hai[th] procured that the sessioun shall medle in no process [or] actioun apperteining th'Earle of

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. Huntly during his a . . . in vard, so that t[he] ..rle is in both caice no . . . if he haid neuer bein traiterous, ..d better by . . . committing then he ver fre. For this I haue . . . of the Chancellar, and the rest of honest men and . . . men vho craveis me in fellouschip, that they . . . find out the moyen hou I may haue justice . . . for me, for I haue my liuing dayly offerit . . . I vill sute Huntly for it. In this caice . . . my maiters at this tyme, so that skairsly . . . I ansuer your lordship in your auin langage, vhither . . . larde or pauanne, seing I haue not yet begune . . . befor I kn[ew] . . . to tak by the hand. I dar not vryt so pla[inly as] I vould and as I shall by Mr. Hudsone . . . knou your lordship can not be informed of our verie . . . for they be not knouin to many. Bot if your . . . not sume sufficient man send hither, I do assur . . . maiters for that estait can not go rychtly; . . . if ve haid heir sume sensible man your lordship sould see England sould find freindis, and nou I da[re] affirme quhair euer thair is one favouring Eng[land] about his majestie, thair be ten Spainyardis . . . Mr. Hudsone shall informe your lordship to vhom I . . . all uthir thingis, saue to schau your lordship . . . throu sinistrous men the King thocht not the . . . of me for her majesteis earnest requyest, bot hes . . . I may kythe my self and knou vhom to em . . . I hoyp to redress all maiters to my content[ment] Mr. Archibald Douglas vithin theis eicht da[yes] vrot a letter hither to a gentleman for to be [shown] to his majestie, conteining no vther thing saue . . . of me and my deportmentes at my last be[ing in] England; quhairin he tuitchis no les deiply her [majestie] and all your Lords of Counsell then my self. Thairfor it haithe pleasit his majestie for to . . . me the lettre to send to her majestie, to th'end . . . sein quhat handsomme ghaist sche enterteinethes. For [my] pairt I protest the greatest offence . . . receave for doing the lyk for a tryede . . . say no more in this" . . . . Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

Postscript—"I forbear to vryt to her majestie, as yet, not haueing full knouledg of all thingis bot Mr. Hudsoun shalbe by his majestie despetchit the 20."

3½ *pp. Holograph. No flyleaf. No address.*

June 18. 128. MAITLAND TO WALSINGHAM.

"Upoun this great concurse of Spanizeartis in this realme ordour is tane uith Williame Naper, ane honest merchand of this burgh, for thair transport, and licence granted him to deale uith the Duke of Parme for the refounding of his money. To this effect her Majesteis ambassadour being delt uith for a pasport to thame, he hes remitted the graunt thairof to her majestie, for the quhilk, sen this bearer is purposlie directed thether be the said Williame, I maun requeist zow hartelie to further the said pasport hether, and to include thairin the said William his name, that thairupoun he may tak present ordour for thair shipping, and sa releve this realme of thame, quhair thair remayning langer can do no gude." Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Your luffing freind to command, Jo. Maitland."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. June 20. 129. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

"The same daie I receaved your honour's lettre with the inclosed from the Lordes of the Counsell the Kinge tooke his journey towardes Hamelton. Notwithstanding, before he went to his horse I acquainted his heighnes with the contentes of the Counsell's lettre, and withall shewed him the letter to read, delivering his majestie beside the principall pointes to considre of. For answere he deferred me till I did come to Hamelton, meaning to follow tomorrow, being invited by the Lord Hamelton to be his goshope at the christening of his sone on Sondaie next." Desires to be excused answering the Council's letter till he has been with the King at Hamilton.

The Earl Marishal sailed for Denmark on 17th instant, but there will be no conclusion without her majesty's advice. Touching the murder of the English trumpeter by Spaniards, the King desires to see justice done, and the two chief Spaniards are kept in prison till they bring out the parties that did the murder.

No Spaniards have been transported since Medina—"generall of the hulkes"—went towards Spain, except two or three about a month past. Parma has sent for them all. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—Thanks Burghley for thinking of his poor estate.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 21. 130. JAMES HUDSON TO [WALSINGHAM].

The King has commanded him to wait upon him at Hamilton, because he has no leisure here to write to her majesty. At the Queen's request the King uses the Master of Gray as a good subject, but for the abbacy of Dunfermline he is bound by his promise to Huntly and cannot retreat. Asks [Walsingham] to tarry his coming, and not urge the King to a thing so far against his heart. Over great favour is shown to the traitors, and nothing done against them; to amend this both Fowler and Hudson wished some wise man to have come from England: "but this seamid noct good unto hir majeste and now it is past remedy." Yet he still wishes some man of judgment might be sent for a short time.

The Chancellor, being a subject, may not over far press the King; and Fowler, wanting authority, can do no farther than courtesy will reach. Yet when no man dare deal in a matter touching England comes Fowler thus: "Sir, yow know I love yow. Sei how this mae offend hir majeste, hir Cownssell or peipell; and therfor, Sir, remedy it thus." And the King follows his advice. If it be a public thing touching England, Fowler spares no person of whatsoever degree; he is always in waiting.

Fowler has told Hudson the contents of the last letter sent, "the answer wherof I think I shall returne but as it was takin." That touching the rebels in Burghley's letter he remits to Fowler's writing. Were it not for the Chancellor's wisdom and Fowler's credit there would be a strange state here, "for that whiche is good hear this daie three daies hence is noct currant; and ther is suche daelly jelowsseis and such parcyall deallinge of all syds, and suche fallinge owt and agreinge, that if a man be noct stil pressent and have good creditt to, he shall never know what they mean."

James VI. 1589.

"My lord, I wish good generalls keipt for hir majestes service, and what have I to doe moar with Mr. Fowller or my lord Imbasador but to this end?"

Fowler follows the King at his costly roads, at all his pastimes, without and within doors, to his great charge, only to do the Queen service. By his wisdom he has gotten great credit, yet receives no commendation from Burghley "to stuf him agaenst the falss reports spred hear by Scottish men boath of hir majeste, hir fleit and other things whiche he will wryt him self. Theas things he haeth beattin dowin by his specyal credit at the King's hand, and maed the reporter cum to purge him self at his hand." Wishes him to be encouraged. The bringer of those knavish bruits was William Cockburn, for whom Burghley has done much; it is the fortune of knaves often to speed when honest men go without.

Merchants are coming for transporting the Spaniards. One of them is a proud knave, and was of the uproar touching the King's marriage; his name is Geddass. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

June 24.

131. THOMAS FOWLER TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 371.

Being at Hamilton on the 22nd instant with the King I received your letter, which "stayed" a day longer at Berwick for John Selbye's being absent at a marriage.

The Master of Gray finds, as he thinks, hard dealing at the King's hands, and though the Chancellor and he agree in all show, yet I know it is no perfect part with either. The Chancellor will go no further than the King likes, and the King is not to be won in this cause. The Master thinks I may do him more good with the King than the Chancellor or any other. For his honouring of her majesty I have done my best, "but the Kinge prayes me not to speke for him nor to deale in his matters as I love him. I told him it was for his owne sake, not for the Master of Grayes that I spoke, for I was so[rry] that it shold be bruted bothe here and [in] Ingland that he wold be so partyall as to stay justyce, specyally in the favour of so g[reat] an offendour. He still sayes he dothe it for the s[ake] of a yonge lady his dowghter and beloved of his blud, and he trustes that neyther hir m[ajestie] nor cowncell wyll accompt of the Master and h[er] alyke, nay, he assuers him selffe of it, and sayes, 'If they love me they will not, but [if] they knew him so well as I they wold not. I will prove I do him no wronge. I cann[ot] goo muche farder in this poynt because he ca[me to] me with so fayre and good wordes, and I must . . . *my credit, which is knowne to be su[m]what m[ore] then ordenary.' To conclude, I see no hasty h . . . for the Master."

"Here hathe come home of l[ate] one William Colborne, whome your Lordship . . . informed hathe favored muche . . . owt here for serteyn . . . and over all Edenbrowghe and cowntry that . . . of Ingland sent for Portugall is defeat vj . . . men slayn, Sir Frances Drake eyther slayn [or] taken; a brother of Sir John Norrys and x or x . . . capteynes pryncypalls; manny of the shipes sould . . . muche a doo. He assuers that he hard it in . . . that the Quenes shipes were sent hether to bry[ng] away the Kinge into Ingland, and that

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. the Chancellor shold have wyeled him aboarde. He sayes allso [that] Ingland generally was not in that stir, fy . . . , and discontent and feare when the Spanierdes came alonge the coast the last sommer [as] now they ar at the Kinges matche with Denma[rk], and that hir majeste shold protest agaynst it; w[ith] moo suche untruthes, as this berer Mr. Hudson well informe your lordship at lengthe, who hard it. The Kinge beleved no part thereof, the traytour erlls in prysson. It is true that [they] ar but dallied with all more then that they . . . forthe comminge. And I fynde it allowed of [by] the cowncell that now has place abowt the [King], for sum affectes one and sum a nother, and [one] cannot have favour but all must have the lyk[e, which] makes one beare with a nother. And beinge h[ere] in sort as I am, I cannot shew my selffe [to] the contrary of all the nobyllite, as one tha[t had] byn sent hether for a while myghte have [done]. I am offred in secret by one that was pryour [of] Cowdingham, and put frome it by Bodwell, t[hat] if he myght fynd favour sum wheare he [would] dispatche the sayd Erll. This matter I wold [not] hastely harken unto, but he desyred me to . . . of it and adviese him. It is a nere kins[man] of the Lord Humes, and wold fayne have [his] abecy agayne, and is lyke to do suche [an] exployte. The sayd Bodwell shall now have . . . a more lyberty as to be removed to Burtyke . . . Erll Hontley is, and Hontley shall . . . howse of his owne iij myles [from] Edenbrowghe. Burtyke is within ij myles of Cryghton, and by that meanes Bodwell shall have suche lyberty [as] he may goo every day home to his owne howse and see to his byldinge which he there is presently proceeding with."

All this is won by the Chancellor. Every one of the rebels hath sought by friends to make peace with him, and when they have him they spe[ed] well after. I beseech you to remember what I have advertised of him heretofore. I assure you he was bent to run a course most pleasing to her majesty till of late, and I had brought him so far into it as he was never. "But when hir majeste had here but one cook kyndeled to holde in the fyer and wold quenche that too, hir fyer here must nedes goo owt." Therefore whatever fall out unpleasing to her majesty from hence, let me be excused.

The King and Chancellor are sure to continue the amity with her majesty so far as their own power can reach. But in matters of their common proceedings and execution of laws, favouring offenders and doing justice to the earls, it is overseen and little regarded. The King is well minded of himself, but "they put it in his hed . . toyes" of the Queen "intent to kepe him vnder," and other hard dealing with him, as if he were not stayed and settled it might remove him.

For the marriage with Denmark, I know the Chancellor likes not of it, and hath framed the instructions accordingly which now upon your letter they send her majesty.

"The Kinge must be at Haleidene . . . of the next, and so forward [as] yesterday . . . a brode with the Kinge . . . with me emongst others. He told me that wh[en a] prysoner with the lordes rebells they told him [that] they ment to change the religion, and by the he[lp of] Spanyshe power to enter Ingland, set up the relig[ion] and reforme religion there too, makinge accompt that theyre help of Inglishe papistes wold be gre[at]. They expected vj thowsand Spanierdes,

James VI. 1589. and wold ha[ve] had mony to pay xij thowsand, but the Prynce [of] Parma wold allow no more but to pay half so many men as he sent. If they wold have vj^{M}, then they shold have mony to pay iij^{M}, and so after the rate. They here wold have the contrary rate, mony to pay as many moo as they shold receave." The Master told me if they had not begun over timely they had wrought a shrewd piece of work, but they were deceived by missing intercepting the King at Hawton, which bewrayed them ; and then the King pur[sued] before they were ready, raised their forces of a sudden ere foreign help came. They may [prepare] the like again for any restraint they have.

I told the Master of Glamis what England must think if it were not otherwise used, "they wold all be gon owt of this cont[ry] over, and I dowt that as evell." *Signature decayed.*

Postscript—I beseech you to procure the King's horses to be sent hither ; it will content him much and do good.

"The Lard of Wymes and Mr. Rychard Colborne beseches your lordship to pardon theyre intersessyon for William Colborne, for they condemne [his] behaviour here."

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

June 24. 132. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Whereas Thomas Boston, of Lynne, in the countie of Norfolke, marchaunte, hathe solde unto one David Walker of Brunte Ilande in Scotlande, marchaunte, the number of one hundrethe and thirtie quarters of wheate nowe remayninge in certaine garnettes within the Bridgehowse of London, in discharge of a debte to him owinge by the saide Boston ; and by reason that the saide wheate is mustie, unsaverie, verie course, and not vendable within this lande—as maye appeere by a certaine certificate herein enclosed under the hande of the mayor of the citie of London, the saide David Walker is verie like thereby to sustaine greate losse unlesse he maye have some vente for the same other wayes then in this realme. These are therefore earnestlie to praye your honnor—at the request of the saide David Walker my soveraignes subjecte—that it woulde please your honnor to vouchsafe to graunte the saide David Walker your honnors licence or warrante for the transportinge of the saide number of wheate into the realme of Scotlande where it is in more request." London. *Signed :* "A. Douglas."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 25. 133. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Refers all matters to the bearer who knows all as well as himself, and whom he has also acquainted with the contents of his letter now sent to Burghley, to let his lordship see that the little regard had to the Chancellor, and the not sending a man of account to Scotland, "doth hinder many good effects." Is now going with the King a long journey north, but will write as occasion serves. Hamilton. *Signed :* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"The noble man of this howse deserves well to be remembered for the love he beares hir majeste and the good wordes he gives."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. June 28. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 373.

134. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

"Seing your honour continews the mannaging of theise Sco[tch] affaires, I judge it would haue the better effect if [some] familiar correspondence of writing might passe betw[een] your honour and the Lord Chancellor here: and that doth the King desire, whom I see greatlie bent to follow your honours advise and counsell before others."

The King is well disposed, and loth to do anything to discontent her majesty, but I see none about him with credit to nourish this mind in him, "onlie the Chancellor haith folowed this course hitherto, seeing the King so bent, and finding it the only waie for the advancement of religion and honour [of] his prince"; but I judge him somewhat discontented, imagining his service either mistrusted, or thought not sufficient without the Master of Gray's coming, which he mislikes; neither do any here think it can do good, since he is out of credit with the King and others.

The Chancellor has the King's ear, and on him the King reposes, "therefore the countenansing of him will wourke better effectes and lesse charge [to] her majestie then the interteining of Mr. Archbald Do[uglas] or of the Master of Graye, both which, as appeareth [by] there letters, for now thei accuse on another, will [do] rather hurt then good. For as mercenarie men seek to live respecting there gaine more . . . *accompted debauched . . ." It lies upon the Chancellor to run this course he hath begun, for the earls, if ever at liberty, will not forget to revenge; such is the charity of this nation. Seeing it toucheth him near, and he hath well carried himself, and hath the better hand of his adversaries, who are now glad to seek him, if her majesty would have any good done he only must be countenanced: the joining of any with him, especially the Master of Gray, will only do hurt. He doth all, and hath credit above the rest. If he see her majesty's favour towards him, other good offices will be done by him for suitors of [our] nation; for the dispatch of matters is referred to him after the King's assent, which takes small effect without the Chancellor's furtherance.

"I thinke the liberalitie bestowed of [*sic*] the Master of Graye and Mr. Archbald Douglas, for nether of them haith cr[edit] with there prince, will litle advance anie accion, but rather hinder, for the envie that is borne."

Thus much I thought good to impart, understanding that the Master of Gray is writing to you, and will say more than he can perform. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

June 28.

135. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Whereas it hathe pleased your honour at my request to directe your favourable letter—in the behalfe of David Walker my soveraignes subjecte—to the officers of the custome howse of London for the transportinge of one hundrethe and thirtie quarters of wheate lyinge within a garner of the bridgehouse, beinge unsweete and unmeete to be solde within this lande, into the realme of Scotlande, and to aunswere her majestie suche custome and duties for the same as thereto apperteynethe; therefore my request unto your honnor is that the saide David Walker

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. maye transporte the saide number of wheate freelie without payinge anye custome or dutie for the same, in that the saide David knoweth not howe to get his owne, notwithstandinge havinge the custome freelie graunted to him, by reason the saide wheate is soe unsaverie, unsweete, and not vendable in anye place." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. **136. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

This gentleman, Mr. Hudson, will acquaint you with all matters since his coming to these parts. The King is daily more and more devoted to her majesty and careful to avoid what may discontent her. "For the offers made at my first comming, her majestie shall heare of them no more, although thei were latelie urged by the Laird of Weimes."

I see by the date of your last letters that your honour is returned to court, whereof I am glad, judging thereby of the recovery of your health.

I beseech you to continue your favour towards me, and to remember my revocation; my stay has been longer than I looked for, and "my pore state is such as I am no waie able to sustein the charge without her majestie's gracious consideracion some waie by gift or larger allowance." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. **137. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 422.

Since my last letters I followed the [King] to Hamilton, being invited by the Laird of Arbroath to be a gossip of his at the christening of his son with his majesty. This nobleman showeth himself grateful for her majesty's liberality in time of his banishment, and always ready to honour her servants, among whom he protests himself to be.

I certified your honour that I had acquainted the King with the contents of the letter from the Lords of the Council, delivering the principal points and requiring his answer, which he deferred till he came to Hamilton, meaning to write. Her majesty shall understand by his letter how far he hath proceeded in the match with Denmark, as you may see by the articles sent by the Earl Marishal, whereof the copy is enclosed.

"Towching his weake proceading against th[e re]bellious Erls, it is misliked of manie, an[d no] waie to be healped, but by her majesties ear[nest] urging and advise to do justice; oth[erwise it is to] be feared that greater troubles will fo[llow in this] countrey, if he do not cut of some of the [prin]cipallest, and plucke the fethers of the re[st]; but as yat there is none touched . . . in life nor goodes nor office, but confined [to] prisone, which is the waie to inriche them, a[nd] better to inable them to wourke a farther mi[schief]." The best instrument to use is the Chancellor, upon whom the King doth most repose, finding him both religious and politic.

Montrose surrendered to the King at Hamilton, and is sent to Dumbarton Castle. All the rebellious earls, except Erroll, have surrendered and are confined—Huntly in Borthwick, Bothwell in Tantallon, Crawford in St. Andrews, Montrose at Dumbarton, Claud Hamilton still in Edinburgh Castle, Lord Ma[r] in Blackness. None of them hath lost lands, goods or office; no company barred from them; thus their restraint

James VI. 1589. cannot be counted imprisonment. Such is the lenity of this prince. He will ruin his state if he overslip this opportunity of ruling his subjects and enriching the crown, which is in a miserable state.

The King is at Stirling, and means to go to Ross to see the country and pass a month or two hunting. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—The Spaniards shall be sent away if a safe-conduct come from her majesty, and justice done for the murder of her subject ere they depart; if the parties that committed the deed be not brought forth to be executed, the captains shall be still detained in prison.

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 1. **138. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Burghley.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 368.

"I ressawed your lettir proporting . . .* majeste had seyn the declaration touching the procea . . . [aga]inst the layte Quene of Scottis, whearof hir hyenes . . . lyk, and culd be contented it shuld be signed . . . to the King my soverayn if I had any authorite . . . [re]quire the samin. And fayling thayrof it . . . your Lordships meaning is that I shuld certifye so . . . the King my soverayn, to the end he may cau[se] . . . samin be required of hir majeste if it be his pleas[ure] . . . it."

"It may pleis your Lordship to be inf[ormed] . . . ane copye of suche declaration as it shuld pleis . . . to gewe to the King my maister anent the [pro]ceading was craved of hir hyenes be the Lar[d] . . . and be my self; and for this effect onelye . . . dessired that his hyenes mycht be adwise[d] . . . the form granted be hir majestie wolde satisfye . . . whearfore it was required be his hyenes."

"Your lordship may onderstand that nather of ws . . . to ressawe the sayde declaration signed, oneles the copye . . . first be sent to his hyenes to be advys[ed] if hir majeste shalbe pleased to deliver the . . . declaration as it formed onto me [sic]. I shall . . . gentill man wyth it to my maister or than . . . self to mowe his hyenes thayr anent . . . such instruction as I shall ressawe, and so . . . to knaw hir majesteis pleasur heirin." *Signed:* A. Do . . .

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

July 3. **139. Anne Vernon to William Asheby.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 2.

"Wheras this berrar, my cossen Kelsterne, now is occasoned unto Edenbrowghe for certayne bondes of my husbandes remayneing in one Mr. John Cramonth's handes, one of the lawyars in Edenbrowghe, wiche bondes he is to call uppon haveng owt of ther handes, so that my request is and this berrar be neydfull of your lordships good helpe, to doo us that favore and furtherans convenyentlye butt as yow maye. Further, my said cossen berrer her of is occasoned to the cowrte for a particuler of his owne, wiche of him selfe verry well that he can doo, not trobling anye others . . . Edenbrowghe." *Signed:* Anne Vernon.

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

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. July 6. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 4.

140. THOMAS BYNG TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Gives thanks for the Scottish token. Is glad Asheby's stay in Scotland has been longer than he wished, as it is for his country's benefit.

"Your suite in the behalf of your nephew, this bearer, I were to blame if I should not affect with all my hart. Only I can but be sory that his kynsman, who yet enjoyeth the place, dyd not sooner acquaynt him with his determinacion that way: whiche if he had done, thinges might have been prepared in some better forwardnes to that effect then now in short tyme can be wrought."

Ashby's nephew will report of the matter. "Grantcester". *Signed:* Tho. Byng.

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

July [6]. **141. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.**

On the King's coming to Aberdeen on the 4th instant, there came to him a merchant and two masters of ships just arrived from Denmark. They bring assurance that Earl Marishal landed at Copenhagen on Sunday last, where the whole nobility of that country had attended more than 20 days for his coming, the parliament being ended. He was received with great honour, the people there desiring speedy proceeding with this marriage. These men—with whom Fowler has spoken severally—assure the King that great provision is made for the young lady's coming; 12 ships fully furnished, three of them most princely apparelled, besides [four] for horses and stuff—16 ships in all. They tell of rich provision of apparel, jewels, furnishing for horses, coaches and women; more than 500 tailors and embroiderers have been at work upon it for three months. The Queen-mother has bought many jewels for her, especially pearls.

Many ladies and noble men are coming with the princess at their own great charge. This forwardness is here thought strange even by the King himself, because there has been no dealing yet that they might assure themselves he would marry there; yet all here rejoice, hoping they will refuse none of the King's demands, and desiring the match to proceed, especially the trade towns.

The King grows in affection for the gentlewoman, and talks much of her virtues; she has taken great pains to learn French for his sake.

He is repairing and augmenting his house at Edinburgh, but other provision is there none; all spoiled and decayed. The King hopes her majesty will deal bountifully with him, and asks Fowler what he thinks about it. "He is now well mynded to procede severely agaynst all the pryncypall frendes of Hontley, and Arroll and his frendes, by a justyce cowrt which presently is holden here for that purpose, and refuses all sutes of the wives and frendes of any of them."

The King leaves Aberdeen the 9th instant, and means to be at his farthest journey the 17th or 18th: there he hunts the hart with hownds in a forest called Cromarty, and returns home by the Earl of Atholl's "to chrysten him his fyrst sune." He means to be at Falkland the 10th of August, and is accompanied with the Duke, the Earls of Angus, Atholl, and Murray, the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvin, Justice Clerk, and others, with good trains. He has been entertained at gentlemen's houses all the way hitherward, far better than Fowler thought to have seen in

James VI. 1589. these parts, and is to be so entertained all the journey, almost 120 Scottish miles from Aberdeen northwards. The Chancellor sent to dissuade the King from this northern journey, and others mislike thereof, but he will forward. When the King hears how the Earl Marishal is answered of his demands, he means to send to her majesty to acquaint her with the matter and to desire her help. Aberdeen. *Signed :* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"The Master of Gray goes not this jornay. He is very bussy to make and [*sic*] agreement betwen all the Humes and the Erll Boddwell withowt the Kinge's knowlege as he thinkes."

2¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 7. **142. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Nothing of importance has happened since he sent by James Hudson, but this bearer, Monsieur Lisle, sent hither from the King of Navarre three or four months past, returning to France through England and meaning to see the court in passing, being well known to Burghley, Asheby has committed to him divers particularities of the King and state ; he "being thoroughlie acquainted with this countrie and brought up in this court as a child, and well affected to our nacion." Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 8. **143. BARNARD WHETSTONE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 8.

Desires to hear of Asheby's good health : "for which cause my father—your brother—and I have thought good to send this bearer, my owne saryant, to your lordshipe." Hears that where Asheby is there are "spanyels which wyll set partriges, called with us settinge dogges" ; desires one by bearer. Woodford. *Signed :* Bar : Whitestons.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 9. **144. ROBERT NAUNTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 9.

Is distressed that Asheby has not had his two letters. Wrote also to Captain Carvell to use the best means for their speedy conveyance. Returned yesternight to London to solicit Walsingham and Burghley for Asheby's revocation ; when he hears her majesty's resolution he will hasten to Scotland.

"I am to request your letter to Mr. Secretary for his warrant for a sealed packet, which will hasten my returne greatly ; and Justice Clinche I have aunswered that I come poste ; if this faile, I muste crave your letter to my uncle Frauncis that I may have a geldinge of yours from him to jorny with."

His former letters, if intercepted, may breed displeasure. "I wrote them incensed with such indignities as I saw offered by some whom it lest became." Complains that Asheby's service is not better accepted of. Refers all news to his next, being as yet a stranger in London. Is sorry he has failed to meet Mistress Fowler ; he went four times to her house, and Mr. Tanfeld appointed a time for him to meet with her and himself, but failed. "This Wedensday, the morrow after my returne hither out of Cambridge, my cosen, William Ashby of Lowsley, and I have

James VI. 1589. agreed to suppe at the Spittle with her if she be there. Wherof if it hitt, I [will] certifie you and Mr. Fouler." Desires to be commended to Mr. Fowler, Roger Aston, Wigmore, Hudson, Richard Douglas and the rest. "From the postmasters Mr. Goffe at Bosomes Inne in St. Laurens Lane." *Signed:* R. Nauntan.

3 *pp. Holograph, also addressed. Indorsed.*

July 9–Aug. 8. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 19.

145. Itinerary of King James.

"The Kings majestie departit fra Abirdene on Wednisday the ix of July to Knokhall the Lord Sinclaris hous. The tent day in Turreff. The xj in Banff. The xij and xiij in Spynie. The xiiij in Darnway, the Erll of Murrayis hous. The xv in Invernes. The xvj in the Chanonrie of Ross. The xvij in Cromarty and thairabout in Ross, to tarey at hunting quhill the xxiij in Kilrawak. The xxv in Spynie. The xxvj in Craig of Boyne. The xxvij in Tolquhone, the xxviij agane in Abirdene, quhair remaning sum few nychtis his majeste intendis God willing to returne be Drum, Mureailhous, Edzell, Glammis, and therfra be St. Johnnestoun or Dundie to Falkland, quhair he salbe God willing agane the viij of August."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*

July 13. 146. James Colvile, Laird of Easter Wemyss, to Monsieur Buzenval.

I have received your letters with the money and specie contained in the note; and although the sum is small, and the specie such that I must lose much upon it, yet having no other aim but to serve the King of Navarre, I promise you to do my utmost to depart, which will be at the end of this month by God's help, and to furnish what is fitting for the completing of the said levy; and I wish not otherwise to make request to his majesty, for the hope, nay, the good assurance that I have, that he will recognise the service that I am doing him in this matter, and will consider it according to his goodness how and when it shall please him.

As to what I had written to Monsieur de Buhy, I did it knowing very well those of this country who deserve respect, and I assure myself that when he knows me he will have no cause for discontent but will find me ever ready to do him service. Meanwhile I pray you to see that Monsieur de Buhy writes to the King for us others, that it may please him to cause 100 crowns to be given to every one of our captains on our arrival at Dieppe, and that the soldiers have some victuals, refreshments, and commodities to help them to reach the camp, until, being with the King of Navarre, they may be able to receive money, which will encourage them both to do so much the better service to his majesty, and will remove all cause of disorder and discontent from our people who are foreigners, for whom I beg you also to be pleased to write to the King our master and to the governor of Dieppe; and also, if you please, to speak to Mr. Walsingham to send me as soon as may be a passport for myself, for my companions and retinue, to pass peaceably along the coasts of England,

James VI. 1589. and to have assistance from the country and provision of victuals and all things needful for our passage. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Dest Veimes."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 13. **147. ROBERT NAUNTON TO THOMAS FOWLER.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 11. Finds Mrs. Fowler pliable to her husband's direction. There wants only a reconciliation between her parents and Fowler; they will hardly otherwise let her depart. They cannot take it kindly that he refuses their accompanying her to Yorkshire. The gentlewoman herself is pitifully distracted between her duty to her husband and to her parents, and rejoiced to hear "of your semblable good affection towardes her." She thinks his alienation due to busy-bodies, and is desirous to make the journey if she may be properly accompanied. London. *Signed:* R. Nauntan.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 13. **148. ROBERT NAUNTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 12. Has interviewed Walsingham at Nonsuch, who referred him to Burghley, and promised him a packet to take to Scotland.

Burghley told him that both he and Walsingham had moved Asheby's suit to the Queen, "but as yet she was neither of nor on, but remained uncertaine, upon the uncertaintie of the state there. In the end he told me that Sir George Carie was like to come thither er longe, and he—as [he] thought—should bringe you home with him."

Has visited Asheby's friends at the "Spittle"; "Mistress Mainie toke your letters as kindlie as she had done your former silence unkindlie." Her daughter is willing to go to Scotland, if her husband take order that it may be with her parents' blessing and seemly convoy. She asks Asheby's mediation.

Mr. Hudson has told him that her [majesty] is well content at his [Hudson's] report of Asheby's behaviour at the christening, "aswell for your present, which she doubted before that the country there wold hardlie have afforded; and therefore is to provide a second complement here wherwith to present my Lady Hamilton there; as also for your mariage in other circumstances appertaininge." Mr. Agard goes to the country tomorrow; he has paid Asheby's money to Mr. Lynford, and is to give Naunton a copy of his accounts.

Essex is at court, and in favour. Drake and Norris are still at Plymouth, "with small forwardnes to make report of their successe to her majestie. Some speech there is of a second service toward the Indies."

Mr. Rogers is like to be employed for Denmark and Germany. *Signed:* R. Nauntan.

2 *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

July 14. **149. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Wrote to Walsingham yesterday, enclosing a letter from Fowler touching the proceeding with Denmark. Has received the safe-conduct

James VI. 1589. signed by her majesty, with a letter from the Council touching "the transporting of the Spaniards into Flanders, who are seking, if anie Scotsman would venture, to passe from hense by the north of Scotland into Spaigne onlie with some of the chefest; but none here will undertake to transport anie without pasport."

According to the direction of the Council, will have care that satisfaction be had for the murder of the trumpeter ere the safe-conduct pass out of his hands. Four ships are ready for their transporting, and the Spaniards flock apace to Edinburgh, Leith, and Burnt Island, to the number of 600. Many are dead since their arrival, many in miserable case; some better entertained in noblemen's houses than they look to be in the wars, and so loth to go hence. Thinks some of the chief shall be stayed, "for diverse Scotsmen deteined in the holie house in Spaigne." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 14. 150. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Wrote yesterday to Burghley, enclosing a letter from Fowler, [*etc.* as in letter to Walsingham of same date.] "The King is in the north of Scotland; the Lord Chancellor at his house caulled Lawder in Lodian, but expected tomorrow; upon whose comming order wilbe taken for the dispatch of the Spanniardes.' Thinks some of the chief shall be stayed here, "to redeme on Lambes sone of Lyth, and some other Scotsmen in the inquisicion in Spaigne." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 15. 151. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO THOMAS MILLS.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 13. "I must nedes thincke my self gretly pleasured at your handes for the curtesie yow have shewed to my nevew Naunton in procuring Mr. Secretaries letters in his behalfe to Mr. Doctour Styll, master of Trinitye Colledge in Cambridge; besides the warraunt yow healpt him to for the packet he brought from me" [*sic*]. Hopes Walsingham will give Naunton a packet to take to Scotland; speaks of his nephew's forwardness in learning. "I praye yow deliver the inclosed to my nevewe or send it to Mr. Agar's howse in Hosier Lane by Smithfeild." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "To Mr. Milnes the 13 of Julie." [*Sic:* the draft is dated 15 July.]

July 15. 152. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

Understands by Mr. Archibald's nephew the ill-will Mr. Archibald bears him for the things concerning him the King gave him in direction to the Queen and Council; likewise how his suit and credit were in good state before Hudson's coming. This being done against him by the King and Chancellor if he prevail—"you will loase better and honester"—that can do more than 100 such as he, that lacketh credit and some think honesty. "His specyall servant in discoursse told me that he can noct sei wherin the traytor lords in Scottland deserve any punishment, or yit to be callid traytours, or to be callid befoar a juge. I toek it to be his

James VI. 1589. master's opinyon that it was only ment agaenst the Chanceler, and therfor should noct be punished by the King, beinge but a perticuller amongest subbjects." Their champion Bothwell before Hudson's coming offered his friendship and his eldest son in pledge to the Chancellor ; and all for the favour of him whom so often he slew with words.

Mr. Hunter is in debt to his merchants through sending their goods to Scotland for his own use, as I know by his friends, himself, and his enemies, to the value of 200 *li.* Walsingham gave 40 *li.* to him, 20 *li.* to his man, and 3*li.* to him that he sent. Now his demand is great : Hudson could tell how to please him and content them both. Some get double their loss, some nothing who deserve better ; all are unthankful. *Unsigned.*

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham :* "15 July 1589. From Mr. Hudson."

July 17. **153.** THE MASTER OF GRAY TO HUDSON.

"I mervell I have hard no thing from you since your perting. All letters ye send delyver them to Mr. Secretary and desyr his honor to send them as his ainis to Captaine Carvell, for I have takin ordre how George Crau shall send them to me. The day ye pertit I rod and spak th'Earle Bothuell vhom I fand villing to accord to any reassonable maiter, so that the Chancellar and he are aggreit in termes, and he is now at free vard in Saltoun. I am schortly to ryd agene to Laudren to aggre my lord Houme and him, for bothe have submittit the maiter to me. Marie, first I am to ryd northe to his majestie, vho hes vrettin to me to be at him the 26 of this instant in Aberdeine, for then he is to be of retourne from Invernes."

"At his majesteis ryding northe I connexitt him, and receavit many good vordis ; as tuitching my particulaire, he is to satisfie me. The causes of theis caressis ye shall understand by my nixt from Aberdene Goduilling."

"As I sheu you at your perting, maiters ar lykly to fall furthe betuene the Maister of Glammiss and Chancellar : for the Chancellar hes stayit behind the King, yet hes not bein ydle, bot hes done quhat he could to procure some frendschip."

"The Master of Glammiss accompannit the King northe and hes delt for all the outlawes, and hes disapointit the King of a great deall of money he luikit for; for the compositiouns ver remittit to him and the rest of the officeris, and he hes aggreit vith all men, and of some he receavit particulaire gain. He brocht th'Earle of Arroll to Aberdeine and keipit him in his hous thre nichtis : so his compositioun is maid to enter in vard in Glammiss after he hes spokin vith the King at his retourne to Aberdene. The Master brocht the bailly of Arroll to Glammiss vith him, and the Laird of Fintrie, and bothe thair housis renderit, so that all that maiter is nou redeucit in vind."

"Of lait thair is some more opin malice enterit betuene the Chancellar and the Master, so that schortly I feir ye shall heir tell the one of them shalbe a preparatiue for the utheris vrak."

"I am nou bissely socht be all handis, bot I sueir to you I shall keip quhat I have promeist. Bot I have a speciall commaund out of his majesties auin mouthe to medle vith no man, bot quhair he commaundis

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me, and this he hes injoinit to me for a preufe of my obedience. If sume man beis not send from thence of vysdome and experience in good seasoun, maiters vill spill verie fare. I dare not vryt so plainly as I knou, bot in the manis dispositioun ve spake of I did not erre ; and schortly it shall appeir."

"Colonell Steuart hes receavit new directiouns fo[r] Denmark fare lesser then theis th'Earle Maraschell cariit, for he hes upon no condicioun that the lady be left behind ; and love letters. This hes deiply offendit Sir Villiam Keythe, and the Master of Glammiss is not content nor nane of th'Earle Maraschells freindis, for the ordre is thocht verie proposterous, and the maiter disgraceable for th'Earle : so that they mislyk sumquhat of the Chancellar for it, thinking him the doer of it ; quhairin they judge not fare astray, for he seis it is a maiter vill effectuat, and therfor he dois lyk a vyse man rather to forder it nor hinder it. I have in lyk maner maid Atholl fast vith us."

"Send me vord if ye have vrettin any to me, and by vhom, for I have receavit none. Ye shall communicat the contentis of this to my Lord Threasurer and Mr. Secretary, and by my nixt ye shall knou forder. I pray you remember one the letter I craveit from her Majestie and Counsell anent my behaviour at my last being thair, and quhat ves thocht of Mr. Archibald Douglas letters ; and send me all neuis." Foulis. *Signed :* Mr. of Gray.

Postscript—"Receave your dauchter and her dauchters commendatiouns and do myn to yours. I feir my nixt send you vord I am become a greater courtier nor I protest befor God I desire to be.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address.*

July 19.

154. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Lansd. MSS., 1,236, fol. 51.

Printed in *Papers relative to the Marriage of James* . . . Ban. Club, App. I. p. 3.

"Rycht trusty and weilbelovit we greit zou hart[l]ie wele. Having derectit the beraris Robert Jowsie and Thomas Foulis marchandis of Edinburgh toward Londoun, for bying and provisioun of certane abulzementis and utheris ornamenits requisit for decoratioun of our mariage, we have taikin occasioun to recommend thame to zour greit courtesie, hartlie requeisting and desyring zou to interpone zour goudwill and moyne to thair expeditioun and furyerance in that tuone, sa that thai be nawayis interruptit nor hinderit in the performance and executioun yairof, bot may ressave quick and haistie dispasche, as ze will report our richt speciall and hartlie thankis and do ws acceptable plesure. Frome ye Chaunonrie of Ross" *Signed :* "Youre loving freind, James R."

Postscript in James's hand : "I pray yow further this, for yet now it is ane extraordinarie occasion."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 20.

155. [MICHAEL ?] THROCKMORTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 14.

Desires to send greetings by Asheby's nephew Naunton. Mislikes the former's revocation so much laboured and now granted. "You will comme home horste upon hoope, whiche is never a jade but at his jornayes ende."

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Reminds Asheby of the proverb: "Better halffe a loaffe in hande then muche breade in a commone ovene. From Pickeryng howsse, Mr. Wottones." *Signed:* [M ?] Throkemorton.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "Received the 6 of August at Edenburgh. R. Nanton." *Seal.*

July 22. 156. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

The two captains of the Spaniards, Patricio and Gorotto, upon the procuring of the safe-conduct, have gathered their companies, which were dispersed through Scotland, to Edinburgh, Leith, Burnt Island, and Kirkcaldy, 660 ready to be shipped—400 serviceable men, the rest sick, lame, miserable wretches who will never be fit for service. "The transporting of them is comitted to William Neper and George Thurbrand, burgers of Edenbrowghe, who have conducted foure Scotishe shipes to transport them into Flaunders, and now are readie with anie good wind to depart from the Firth."

Those that murdered the English trumpeter are not yet apprehended. The Chancellor has commanded two or three to be stayed for satisfaction; if this is not done, Asheby will detain the passport, and let them take their hap: if they meet English or Dutch ships without safe-conduct they will get their deserts: they are poor and proud, and unable to resist any force that shall encounter them.

The King is at Ross; the 23rd to return towards Aberdeen, and so to Falkland by August the 8th. Out of Denmark there is no news but by private letters of the safe arrival of the Earl Marishal and other ambassadors the 29th of June; how he was received with great honour, and his message acceptable to all. They write from thence privately that the marriage will be concluded and the young Queen ready to be sent hither before the King's wedding apparel be here made, or any house repaired to receive her. The King is but a cold wooer, yet has sent some more articles by Colonel Stewart, some say to hasten the marriage, others to delay it. He is not hasty of marriage, but will match with the Danes to please his boroughs and merchants; "the nobilitie here affect rather the French to match withall then with anie other nacion. What wilbe the event is yet uncertein."

An old feud is renewed betwixt the Laird of Ferneherst, a Carr, and the Laird of Buccleuch, a Scott; three or four of Ferneherst's side have been slain in Edinburgh, but none apprehended for justice. If wisdom be not used, it will divide the whole clans of the Borders: the Carrs and Humes in Lothian and the east are strong and will hold together; the Scotts, Johnstons, and Maxwells in the west are nothing inferior, and will follow Buccleuch.

These feuds make them poor and divided: want of justice is the cause of barbarous cruelty: the King's miserable state and his lenity will ruin his state. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

July 26. 157. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

The Spaniards embarked at Leith and Burnt Island, and departed the 25th of July towards the Low Countries. "Some few is yet here left,

James VI. 1589. sparkled abrod in noble men's houses, chosing rather to lead a serving man's life at ease in this countrie then to folow the warres in Flanders in want and danger. With Maclane, where the Spanish ship was burnt, at an island cauled Mula, on the west of Scotland, there is yet forty or fifty souldiours left, which he will not suffer to come awaie, but imploies them against his neighbours and enimies."

For satisfaction of the trumpeter the two Spanish captains have left a Spaniard with the provost of Edinburgh to be answerable for the malefactor, who, they say, is in Scotland. If they could have gotten him, he had been executed before they parted ; if he escape to the Low Countries, they will procure his execution, for the performance whereof this Spaniard shall be answerable at the King's will in the custody of the magistrate.

" Out of Denmarck is retorned the Lord Dingwall, with Mr. George Yong, and Doctor Skein. Theie arrived at Aberdine the 22 of Julie, and from thence straite to the King farr north. What newse thei bring your honour maie in part gheasse by the inclosed sent me from Mr. John Colvile lying at Aberdine." The merchants begin to fear that the match will not go forward, and blame the Chancellor, saying that letters were intercepted in order to hinder the marriage ; wherein they slander him. If the King do not relent of his demands there is small hope of the young Queen coming this year, which will content the King, for as yet he has no house repaired meet to receive such a princess : Colonel Stewart was instructed to procure some delay until the spring. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same.

[Mr. John Colvile to William Asheby.]

Printed in *Letters of John Colville* . . . Ban. Club, p. 247.

" The xxijth at four after none the Lord Dingwall with Master Sken, Yowng, and Fowler are arived from Denmarke, quhair they haif bein verey weill interteyneit, bot are retornit to haif resolucion in certain heidis concerning that mariage quhairin they thincke noct thairselves sufficiently instructit. Thaie are in good hope that all shall end to his majestes contentment, and the article I thincke which they most stand on is concerning the tocher ; bot I knawe his majestie is so noble that he will preferre his contentement to any commoditye. They have not yet seine the younge prinsses because she was not at the court."

" The Earl Marshall with the constable of Dundye remainis at ther pastyme till thei personis returne, quhilk wilbe with diligence. Yt will yet be aucte dayes or his majestie can retorne to this towne ; he has had good game which makis him stay the langer."

" Pleis your lordship imput my lang silence to the distance of place and lake of messengers ; for I am as well affected to serve her majesties servandis and ministers in all lewfull manner as any strainger that ever resavit comfort in her landes." Aberdeen. 22 July 1589.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 542. Original of the enclosure.

James VI. 1589. July 26.

158. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"The names of the Scottis gentillmen that ar cummed hyther from Parise ar George Meldrum, larde of Fyve, Mr. Alexander King, sone to Alexander King, adwocat in Edinburgh, Archibald Lambe in Leyth, and Robert Meynzeis of the town of Aberdeyn. Thay gewe it owt that the occasion of thayr going hom be sea proceadis from necessite, whearof thair is apperance. Thayr newis ar that the Duck de Mayn luked for some forcis at thayr departure, and intendit thayraftir to gewe battallie. Some particulariteis off the taking of Ponthois thay declayr, which I think be so weill knowin to your honour that I vill not trowble you vyth needles repetition."

"If it shalbe hir majesteis pleasur to hawe me altogethir ruyned, I must be [*sic*] of necessite be contentid thayrevyth, and lamenit my mishappe that is the first that is ruyned throw hir service. If othervaise, I dowbt not bot hir majestie vill consider of my request, and offir that necessite pressis me to pray your honour to mak hir hyenes acquaynted vyth." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

July 26.

159. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"I delivered your lettir to Mr. Doctor Ceasar, who sayis to me that he shalbe vyth your lordship tomorrow. As towardis ony satisfaction to be mayde to these poore men of the towne of Ayre, nather that ony ordour vilbe takin be him for the help of the poore man called George Padye of the towne of Leyth in Scotland that hath beyn utterlye ruyned be pirattis, speciallye be Sir Woggan and his sonnis, nather for the ansering of ony spoilis conteaned in ane buke delivered to my lorde Admirall, can I sea that he hath ony derection or mynd to do it. And thayrfor I haif derected the men to your lordships self, to be used as it shall pleis your lordship to gewe derection."

"Some of thaym hath avated xvij monetheis, some ix monethis, to crave justice. Thay ar lyk to awayte longar if be your lordships meanis thay shall not be helped." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

July 28.

160. THOMAS FOWLER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 16.

Has been prevented from writing by sickness, and now has no messenger but a hired one. On the 23rd instant there came to the King at the Laird of Boyne's the Lord of Dingwall, Mr. George Yonge, and Mr. John Skeyne, from Denmark. His demands are there thought too hard, but all things are ready for her coming away: her guard, horses, ships, plate, jewells, apparel, pages, "alakeyes," and all so costly it is strange to hear; one of her coaches has no iron in it but all silver.

It is thought the King will not insist upon his hard conditions; "for the cheffe of all is that the yonge ladi is so far in love with the Kinges majeste as it were deathe to hir to have it broken of, and hathe made good proffe divers wayes of hir affeccyon, which his majeste is apt inowghe to requite." So soon as his majesty can assemble his Council, the Lord of Dingwall goes back with speed, and Sir Robert Melvin goes to her

James VI. 1589. majesty to acquaint her with the proceedings and require her help in his marriage: which will bind him to her more than all that ever she has done for him.

Has been driven to leave the King and go to Aberdeen for his health: if he recovers he will continue with his majesty; if not, will come to Edinburgh and seek help. "I am growne leane and faynt; therefore am even wery of wrytynge and of doinge anythinge." The King comes to this town tomorrow. Aberdeen. *Signed:* T. Fouller.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed. Seal.*

July 30. **161. NOTES BY ALEXANDER HAY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 18.

"By sindrie advertismentis from Abirdene concurring, the Kings majeste wes lowked for to be thair without faill upoun Tyisday at nycht, the xxix of this present Julii, and from thence to returne southwart without delay. It wes louked that my Lord Chancellair suld have past and mett his majestie at Abirdene, for the mair spedy dispatche of the ambassadouris returnit from Denmark, bot for sum necessarie considerationes the Chancellair is lyke to remane still at Edinburgh quhill the Kings majestie cum to Striveling, St. Johunstown, or Falkland."

"It is reportit that his majestie persistis very affectioned to have his mariage fullye treabit [*sic*] and consummat with all possible diligence, notwithstanding all difficulties objectit, and that the ambassadouris returnit salbe out of hand dispatcheit to Denmark for that purpois."

"The burrowis or townis ar written to for convening of thair commissioners or deputies at Edinburgh agane the viij of August nixt, becaus of thair speciall interest in the mater of the league with Denmark."

"Sindry directionis ar to be send owt concerning the reformatioun of disorders on the bordouris, for the bettir continewance of the peace and amytie; and a proclamatioun for the Kings majesties reparing thither in persoun agane the xx of October nixt." Edinburgh.

⅔ *p. Indorsed.*

July 30. **162. BURGHLEY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 20.

After writing my other letter, your nephew being ready to depart, your letter of the 26th instant came to my hands telling of the departure of the Spaniards, and the return of the Lord of Dingwall and others from Denmark, with copy of a letter from Mr. John Colvile. I will acquaint her majesty and her council with the same, and you shall hear from me if there be cause. *Signed:* W. Burghley.

Postscript in Burghley's hand: "I hope this accident of France will hold the King ther in some suspence for his marriadg."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "Re: at Dundie the 6 of August 89, R. N." *Seal.*

July 31. **163. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 366.

"Upon the retorne, right honorable, of the Lord of Ding[wall] from Denmarke, sent by the Earl Marshall to ma[ke] relacion how farr thei had proceaded in there embassaye, the King presentlie sent to the Lord Chancellor to summon a convencion at Edenborough against the 10 of

James VI. 1589. August next, cheflie of the bor[oughes] and townes, by reason of there spetiall inte[rest] in the matter of the league with Denmark, and hoping thei will contribute more bounty towardes his charge at this present. His heighnes, as your honour maie see by the ar[ticles] I sent before, demaunded a great dower with [the] yong princes; but the Danes, thinking t[hat] kings should match for love and aliance, and not expecte somes of monie, answered th'a[mbassadors] that if it pleased the King of Scotland t[o] accept the yong ladie with such porcion as t[he] late King her father left for her, which is n[ot] passing 70,000 dollors, that the yong King [her] brother, and the Queen Regent her mother, [and] the whole state of Denmarke were mo[st] agreing to this match. And on this hope [such pre]paracion was made to have sent her, th[inking] the Earl Marshall came with intent to h[ave] caried her in to Scotland, without demaund-[ing] of such greate somes mencioned in the instruccions and other articles which cam . . .* To this the Earl Marshall could not well [consent] —his instruccions naming so great a some, [and] standing upon divers other articles which c[ould] not be graunted—without further knowing the Kings mynd; whereupon presentlie retorned t[wo] of the commissioners to understand his m[ajestys] full resolucion, and to retorne with all expedicion to Denmarke to the Earl there remaining."

"It is here sene that his majestie persistes ve[rie] affectionate to have his mariage fullie tr[eated] upon and consummate with all possible dili-g[ence], notwithstanding manie difficulties objected, [so] that the Lord of Dingwall, Mr. George Yong, and Doctour Skeine shalbe out of hand disp[atched] againe to Denmarke for that purpose."

"The King retorned to Aberdine the 29 of Julie. The Lord Chancellor should have mett his majestie for more spedie dispatch of the embassadours retorned from Denmarke; but now the Lord Chancellor stayeth here to conveine the deputies of [the] boroughes at Edenborough the 10 of August, at which tyme the King is here expected."

Here are directions to be sent out for reformation of disorders on the borders, the continuance of peace, and a proclamation for the King's repairing thither in person the 20th of October next.

The Spaniards that were with Maclean in the isles on the west, which are 3 or 4 score, are come to Edinbugh and await opportunity to be transported into Flanders; they came hither 2 days after the others were departed.

"There is an Inglishe pyrate that keapes this cost and robbed latelie a Scots marchand h[ard] by Aberdine, whereof the Scotes greatlie exclame for the great hurt thei receave by him: the pyrates name I cannot yet l[earn]."

"A man of warr about Barwicke would rep[ress] both Inglishe and Scottes and Dunkerkers w[hich] haunt theise costes and do great hurt bo[th] to England and Scotland." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"The King will presentlie send to acquaint her majestie with his proceading, and to desire her healp and kind dealing at this tyme against his mariag; which will bynd him most sure and faithfull to her majestie. Sir Robert Melvin is named for to be sent, [whereof] your honour shalbe advertised more certain by my n[ext]."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. July 31. Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 450.

164. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Upon the return of the Laird of Dingwall from Denmark, sent by the Earl Marishal to inform of their proceedings, the King sent to the Chancellor that there might be a Convention at Edinburgh against the 10th of August, chiefly of the boroughs and towns because of their interest in the league with Denmark, hoping they will contribute more bountifully towards this marriage. His highness demanded a great dower with the young princess. The Danes, not expecting this, answered the ambassadors that if the King pleased to accept her with the portion her father left for her, not passing 70,000 dollars, her brother, mother, and the state were willing, and preparations were made to send her, thinking that the Earl Marischal came to carry her to Scotland. The ambassador could not reply without further instructions, so sent three of the commissioners to understand his majesty's resolution, and to [return] by the 8th of September to the Earl Marischal. His majesty persists to have his marriage consummated with all diligence; the Laird of [Ding]wall, George Young and Dr. Skeine shall be out of hand despatched again to Denmark. The King returned to [Aberdeen] the [29] of July, where the Chancellor should have met him for the more speedy despatch of the commissioners from Denmark. The Chancellor stays here to convene the deputies of the boroughs at Edinburgh about the 10th of August, when the King is expected.

Directions are to be sent out for reformation of disorders on the Borders, for the better continuance of peace and amity, [and] a proclamation for the King's repairing [thither] in person against the 20th of October. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—Three or four score Spaniards that were in the Isle of Mu[ll] with Macklane, and were out of the ship that was fired, are come hither to be transported into Flanders, but the Spaniards here had departed, so they await the next opportunity.

"Here is an Englishe pyrate keapes this cost, and haith robbed a Scottisheman hard upon Aber[deen], but I cannot learne his name; whereof the S[cots] ex[clame] that theie are greatlie hindred by . . . a man of warr to lye ab[out] Barwicke [to] represse both Inglishe and Sc[ottish] pyrates, which hunt this cost, and those of Dunkirke also."

The King will shortly send to her majesty to acquaint her with all his proceeding, and to crave her help and kind dealing, as hitherto, now especially against his marriage.

"Robert Melvin is named to come f . . . now going to myte the . . ."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 24. Draft of the same.

July 31.† Cott. Calig., B. VIII., fol. 179.

165. ROGER ASTON TO [BURGHLEY ?].

I have had no commodity to write but now, because the King is returned to this town to conclude Parliament, which dissolved on Saturday the 29th of July. I cannot certify of good proceeding of matters here; many here fear greatly that all will not be well. It appears by

† This letter is misplaced. It should be dated 31st July, 1587.

James VI. 1589. the proceedings of this secretary that he has altered his course. He has of late preferred the Earl of Huntly, Sir John Seton, and divers other papists, but chiefly Huntly who is now one of the King's chamber and daily occupies his ear, seeking to debar all others but those of his faction. There are four in the chamber they have laid their count to remove and have already begun with the Controller. The other three are the Lord Privy Seal, Mr. Keith, late ambassador, and myself. We are determined to abide all storms. They have given out that we are the Queen of England's pensioners and have intelligence there. They have sought of late to have me removed from the King, but he will not condescend by no means. If matters go forward as they do, I will take little pleasure to be here except to do her majesty service.

I have long hoped some good course be followed forth between her majesty and this King but I see daily less appearance, for they that occupy his ear are altogether enemies to her majesty, and papists, and were it not to do her service "I could nott endoure to here thatt I here; he thatt speketh worst is best lyked."

"The Secriter has taken so grett a hatred agenst Mr. Arcball as he will never soffer any course to go forwart where in he is a deler."

All the papist bishops are restored, that is Glasgow, Ross, and Dunblane. The ministers begin to cry out and are many discontent. What this will turn to God knows.

"The Lordes are under eting and drinkeking frensip, bott the one halef of them trost nott another; every one flatteres other to gett there tornes dune att this tyme."

Many of the nobility are not come, and chiefly the earls. Morton shall be restored, and all that hath been forfeited since the Kings coronation.

Many Acts are made at this time, which shall be sent as soon as they come forth, chiefly touching religion: that no man shall deal with any Jesuit or seminary priest under pain of forfeiture of all his goods, and his body to prison during the King's pleasure; "the sed Gesewitt or prest shall soffer the ded;" all men shall give confession of their faith within a certain time or leave the country.

Fentrie has gotten liberty for three months to advise with himself. All the temporal lands of all benefices are annexed to the crown so that there will be no more bishops, priors, nor abbots. This is thought a great matter and has passed with great difficulty. It will augment the King's rent much.

No word has come from Denmark. That marriage is grown cold. They have persuaded the King to the Princess of Navarre, but it is thought they mean rather Spain, or else the house of Lorraine.

There is no intelligence come from France this long time. Our ambassadour, Chisholme, comes not good speed. I fear Mr. Archibald Douglas shall not be able to do any good here, for the Secretary works so against him and makes him so odious no man dare speak of him; yet such as love not the Secretary hope he shall work his fall, who at this time guides as he pleases. "The King is geve to his pasteim and lefe all the burden on him." This country cannot abyde one man to guide all.

I know the King has desired such offers of her majesty as she will not grant. The death of the Queen is kept in such memory here as no thing is omitted that may keep the same in memory. The King's mind is to live quietly and not have any trouble in his own country nor in any other

James VI. 1589.

place ; these things that were done on the Borders were by his knowledge ; what other men may do underhand by his knowledge I will not be answerable for. It is given out here that her majesty has stayed the marriage with Denmark and is not willing he should marry in any place ; and that there was 6,000 men coming down to the Borders ; whereupon proclamation was made that all men should be ready within six hours. Her majesty need not fear any wars from here as there is no means to do it, and the country is divided, the most part and the best desiring to live in quietness. The King himself is resolved not to deal that way, but what evil company may do I leave to your honour to consider.

" The evell openyon that is here taken of Ingland is the caues I dare nott writt so oft as I wold. I am so nere loke to that I dare nott speke to any Ingles man." So long as they can lay nothing to my charge I care not ; I shall leave nothing undone for her majesty's service. Let not Mr. Archibald know I write to you for I will not write to please him.

I was determined to have come into England, but I fear if I come I shall bring myself in suspicion here, and not be able to do her majesty such service as I would. I wrote to you by Mr. Richard Douglas touching my suit at her majesty's hands ; as I receive advertisements from him so I will do. I am indebted in London which I must see paid ere it be long.

" This daye being the last of the Perlementt, the Secriter is made Chenceller. After the conclusion of all matteres, the Chansler mad a long orracion in the name of the iij estates, offreng there lyfe, landes, and goodes in the reveng of the Kinges motheres morther, wich was conferm[ed] be a generall voyes of all the hole houes. Nott withstanding all this to morro we take gorne to the boke honting, and has as mouch mynd of thatt as of any ware."

It is enacted that no Scots man shall marry an English woman without licence under the great seal. Holyrood House. *Signed :* Roger Aston.

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

Aug. 1.

166. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [MICHAEL THROCKMORTON ?].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 25.

I hope soon to see you, that we may philosophise together. " You will mervaile whie I seeke my revocacion, houlding a place where I injoye *otium cum dignitate* " : you know my mind, you know my state ; my health will not comport with this climate ; other particulars I will satisfy you *bocca a bocca.*

The state here is quieter than it was, the rebellious earls confined to houses appointed by the King : all submitted except Erroll, who hides in the north till his peace be made.

Vincere scit Rex, sed uti victoria nescit ; his lenity will occasion greater mischief. " This yong prince, chast and continent as Hypolites, spending the tyme in Diana's excercise", is now far in love with the princess of Denmark, hearing of her beauty and virtues and her affection towards him. He sent the Earl Marishal with others of account to demand her for his spouse. His ambassadors were well received and entertained, a marvellous desire for the match appearing in both countries, all provided ready for her coming away ; so that they now take this King's hard conditions very unkindly, and think they will not be stood upon, as the

James VI. 1589. young lady is so far in love with him that it were death to her to have it broken off: *Amor' con amor' si paga.* So soon as his majesty can assemble his Council, the Lord of Dingwall will return with his full resolution, who was sent hither with two others from the Earl Marishal to know the King's mind.

"The King meaneth after the Convencion which shalbe the 8 of August to send to hir Majestie your old frend Sir Robert Melvin," to acquaint her with the proceedings and desire her help for his marriage, nothing doubting the continuance of her goodness towards him shown from his cradle.

You would wonder to hear of the grand preparations made in Denmark for the princess: "you must give the Scottes leave to bragge, but you know that Germanie is not so sumptuous." It may be they give out this large report of Denmark to stir up the King, suspecting him to be a cold lover, but upon this report of Lord Dingwall he seems most fervent.

"I have ben so long in this clymate as you maie se I am growen a tratling Scot"; to cure me of this, hasten my revocation before winter; my health and my want make me weary of this place. "Salute in my name your faire ladie and joye." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Aug. 4. 167. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"Mae it pleas your honor to resave the Master of Grae his letter inclossid agaen, that your honor mae confer it with other advertismentts; and that it mae pleas your honor allsso to break up all his letteris derecttid to me, for att my cuminge from him he promessid—undessyrid—to wryt all secretts and trew things of importtance to me, onlly requyringe of me agaen that I wold usse him well tuchinge his letters. And for this cawsse it mae pleas your honor to keip al his letters for me that after the readinge your honor sendith to mei, whiche I shal returne agaen to your honor to that effect. His mynd was that I should aquaynt your honor with the effect of them and my Lord Threasurer lyk wysse, whiche I leave to your honors wissdome, for he saed he wold wryt to no man so plaenly as to mei."

"If it mae pleas your honor to grant your warrand for my last voyadge to Scottland, and derectt one of your honor's owin to resave the mony, I shalbe the better inablid to serve your honor." "At the court at Nonsuch."

Postscript—"Sir Thomas Henedge was pressent when I delyverid hir majeste the King's letters." *Unsigned.*

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "4th August 1589. From Mr. James Hudson."

Aug. 4. 168. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO MAITLAND.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 27.

"Hearing at Dundye be Roger quhome I met thair that his majestie wes not to remove frome this till this day, I tuik occasioun and come heir forward on Saterday sa lait that I saw not his hienes till Sonday at morne."

"At quhat tyme, after I had presented zour lordships letter and usit all zour lordships uthir directions, they were exceading weill ressavid,

James VI. 1589. and zour lordships not cumming forward heir weill interpreted and taken in vearye gud pairt."

"Mr. Johne Colvill pairted frome this on Sonday airlie, quha schew me of his intentioun to mak your lordship acquent with his erand and directioun frome his majestie, and of all other proceadeur heir, quhairof I doubt noct he hes discharged him self or now."

"This day in presence of the Counsale heir the Erle of Arroll, the Laird of Auchendoun, and Bughaine ar ressaved be his majestie, noct sa mekle, as his hienes self sayis, for onye other respect then for keping of thame to enter in forder practizing till sic tyme as thair pardone be mair solemplye grauntit in presence of ane greater Counsale and assemblie of the estates, quhair thay shall crave the same oppinlye and fulfill sic poyntis as shalbe thought metest, aswell for thair offence committit as thair suirtye noct to fall in the lyke; besydes that thay may satisfie the kirk publiclye be repentance and geving in of cautioun for thair na forder attempting against the state nor religioun; and except all this be performid thair accepting heir to be ineffectuall."

"Efter I hard at my cumming heir at quhat neir poynt the Erle of Arrolls ressaving wes, I spak sumething to his majestie thairof, quha tauld me the haill circumstances and particular mennis dealing, quhilk I shall impart to your lordship at meting; and that before my cumming he had promised the same, but noct before that he understuide of my lord of Arrolls repentance of the dealing against your lordship; quhairin his majestie will have your lordship satisfeit to your awin contentment."

"The Laird of Clunye is ressavid in lyk maner, bot upon his promese and handwryte to answere to sic interrogatoris as shall be layd to his chairge concerning the haill plai[n]ttis layd against the state, religioun, and your lordship in particular; quhilk his majestie shew me with his answere nottit in the margine of everye heade he will mak the same. Notwithstanding of all this, they man pay lairglye for thair offences, and everye ane of thair compositions ar alreadye set down, quhilk his majestie will nedes have because he lakes moyen to end this turne of his mariage, quhairin your lordship will knaw his earnestnes shortlye."

"The ambassadoris have alreadye ressavid thair directioun, and stayis heir onlye upon the wynde, quhilk is oft commandit to be favorable yf it wald obey. As his majestie cummis to Edgell I shall adverteis your lordship mair particularlye of his hienes dyet." Aberdeen. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

Postscript—"The sonest his majestie wilbe in Falkland shalbe on Thursday at evin, quhair I beleve his majestie shall desyre your lordship to mete him."

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

Aug. 5. 169. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Has been unable to write, being sick, and fears he will not "hastely" be so well as when he began that journey. The Lord Dingwall and other commissioners were strangely used in Denmark, the Danes taking it for a scorn, and that the King meant to break off the match by his unreasonable demands: "for as aperes now they had byn borne in hand by other

James VI. 1589. commissioners sent hence before, that this Kinge desyred so moche the lady as he regarded not any other matter nor wold stand apon it. Whereapon they made a publike provisyon for hir transportynge hether and maryage withowt dowt, which so knowne in most partes of Urope it were, they thinke, the greater disgrace bothe to the lady and all that Cowncell if it shold not goo on." They would have had the Earl Marishal return, but he would not, but desired to go and see the adjacent cities of Germany, as he has done, while awaiting the return of Dingwall, putting them in hope all should be to their liking.

"Thys Lord of Dingwell, beinge before Sir Ambrose Kethe, servant to the King of Swayden, they knew, for he had byn there with offencyve messages in the tyme of the warres"; they therefore misliked that he was in commission. They would not suffer him to see the young lady, neither the Earl Marishal nor any of the company, till they know whether the King will alter his demands and accept their offers: for though they would fain have the match go forward, they are so proud that they will not add 20 dollars to the portion they have set down, which is but 100,000 dollars, which they say is all her father left her; but it is thought they have bestowed part of her money upon the provisions made for her coming hither, for these men who have come home say she has much plate, fair hangings and household stuff, jewels, horses, and their furnishings: probably there is more spoken of than is true.

The King has been at great charges in sending thither, and will yet send four ships, being determined to convey her home; all this, and the rewards to the noblemen and ladies with her to return will cost him as much as he shall receive. But little regards he that now, for he is far in conceit with the lady, "and is made beleve that she is as far in with him, ye, that she is love syke presently becawse of the stay that is."

Dingwall was quickly despatched again on the 3rd instant, carrying a new commission to accept whatever is offered and bring the lady away without delay: she should be here the middle of next month, yet here is no provision for the marriage nor wherewithal to make any. The last tax, all that can be gotten, is gone, and the King is driven to seek the Queen's help. He will out of hand send to seek it. He longs to know what her majesty will do for him in his necessity, for his honour and credit are involved: he often asks Fowler what he thinks. Fowler comforts him: what her majesty does now will bind him to her more than all she has done yet. The King never cared for money till now, but desires this provision for his honour's sake, and says openly that he must trust to the Queen for all. Shrewd fellows here, seeing his care in this matter, wish him to send to Parma for money; "but one that spake it openly was openly so reproved that there hathe byn no more of it sence." It is not yet certain till the King and Chancellor meet who shall come for England, but some comes out of hand. "Eggell." *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"Or I cowld get this letter sent away, the Erll of Erroll cam in to the Kinge, who conferred with him at lengthe. He submitted him selffe to his marcy very humbly, and repented muche, accusynge Huntley of many thinges that the Kinge knew not before, which makes him think worse of Huntley then ever he did. Erll Erroll must pay two thowsan crownes for a fyne, and imprysonment at the Kinges plesure."

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. Aug. 5. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 27.

170. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO JAMES VI.

Has received news from England of the murder of the King of France by a Jacobin friar, confirmed by the governor of Dieppe, whose letter he encloses. This will increase the fire now flaming in France. The nobility and captains have given their oaths of loyalty to the King of Navarre, promising to revenge this outrage. "I would have ben with your majestie this last night, but my travale and the heat haith brought a fever upon me, so as I am forced to staie by the waie, hoping your heighnes will pardon my slones at this present. At Bricken."

1 *p.* *Draft in Asheby's hand.*

Aug. 7. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 28.

171. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Is entreated by Monsieur de Buzenval to convey the enclosed packet to "Monsieur Ciuille": prays Asheby to see it performed. *Signed:* Fra. Walsyngham.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 8.

172. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Has received Walsingham's letter of July 23rd this day, on coming to Falkland with the King. Likes that which Walsingham advises him to accept, and will think himself happy to do her majesty service in any place or by any title whatsoever. Has more credit with the King than ever, and to avoid losing it, it were requisite a letter were written from Walsingham to him (Fowler) to this effect: "that hir majeste in sum respectes is to cawle home Mr. Asheby, and that hir majeste assuers hir selffe so muche of the Kinges good dealinge and caryage of him selffe towardes hir every way as it is thowght nedeles to send any other in his place; but that I, beinge here and havinge lyttell busynes, may negocyat any matters there is to deale in; and so long as this Kinge and hir majeste so well agrees as they doo and hoopes to contynewe, hir majeste lykes well that one so well affected to the Kinge shold have the delinge in matters betwene them."

Also a letter should be written to the King to some such effect, and a private letter to Fowler from Walsingham, "that your honour hathe perswaded hir majeste to trust me in this service, and that she might do it." Thus is he (Fowler) bold to set down his opinion. He will answer Mr. Hudson of all other matters. Falkland. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

1¼ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 8. Harl. MSS., 292, fol. 69.

173. ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE KIRK.

"Seing the cowrss of the warld hes alwayis bene, belovit in the Lord Jesus, that the waker sort of men has alwayes soght protectioun and defence of them that ather war in authoritie or of sic as war abill to preserve thame fra the violence of the prood and michtie Nimbrotis of the warld; the seik consulted them that war skeilful in phiseik, the poore releiff of the liberalitie of the ritch, the ignorant, and sic as hang in suspence of ony dowtifulnes of any materis, counsell of wyse and lerned, and

James VI. 1589. especiallie—to speik with the spreitt of God—to seik the preistis or propheitis for counsaill in materis of religione : quhilk has presentlie mooved ws—deir Breithreine—to seik to zow and writt this shorte letter in the malice of this corrupt tyme. Ze ar the men—we meine the propheittis quha sould be consulted—God has placed zow upon the watch towris in tha placis quhair ze trawell, to zow is concreditt the overwatching of our sawlis to forwarne ws of the enemie, quhairin, if ze dewtifullie deschardge zower calling, our blood remaines upon our awin heidis gif we heir not zower voyce and eschew the perrell. Bot if sa be that ze sie the enemie and forwairne ws not, ze cry not and blaw not ane trumpett for our surer intelligence of the perrell, ze wirk the woork of the Lord negligentlie, ze bring our blood upon zower awin heidis, to the eternall confusioun of zower selfis and ws baith. Zower estait and calling —if sa be ze faithfullie dischardge the same—is the honorabillest estait and calling in this warld, zea above the michtie monarcheis, sua is it—ather negligentlie or fraudulentlie dischargitt—the miserabillest estait and conditioun of onie men in the erth. Lett it not greiff zow, breithreine, that we have takin upon ws to writt thir few lynes as thocht we wall teitch zow zower dewtie. Trewlie we meine na sic thing, being sufficientlie assuritt that ze all knaw zower dewtieis better then we can speik. Bot God knawis it is the lamentabill estaitt quhairin we ar wrapped beitwix obedience to God and our prince and the gritt wncertaintie we ar in quhat we shall allow or damne in this varietie of opinions twitching the laitt actis of parlament sett doun anent materis of religioun and politie of the Kirk, quhillis soome of zower vocatioun avow and as *pro aris et phocis* stryf for defence of tha actis and ther approbatioun. Vtheres damning, disaproving, disallowing, and impugning them as feghting *ex diametro* with Goddis woord, wtheris keiping sic ane generalitie and sic ane indifference anent all that subject, baith in doctreine and communicatione, that they dar neaver tuitch it mair nor it war the pest to infect them ; quhillis ze that be the lerned—of quhom we attend baith counsaill, instructioun and gud example—be thus tossed and devydit amangst zower selfis."

"Quhat think ze shuld be our estait in deliberatt resolving quhat goldin mid cowrss to keip ? Our maist humble supplicatione therefor—in Christ—is as ze will eschew that maledictioun threatned against the negligent doers of Goddis woork, the judgment of God upon the pastoris that sie the enemie cum and warne not the flok ; and as ze wald participat the blissing of God quhilk man nor angell can not descryve appoynted for thame that faithfullie dischardge ther calling, zea as ze will oblish us in bodieis and guddis and in humble supplicationes to God for blissing zower labor in zower vocationes, that ze will—we say—confer upon the actis laitlie sett furth, and gif ze find them sik as aggrie with the woord of God, resolve our conscience in pulpett in zower surmountis, that we may be lernit, wnderstand, and zeild our lawfull obedience to our prince in them. And if wyrwayes they aggrie not with the woord, ze will plainlie speik itt, avow itt, preitch it, proclame it, wrytt it, and sett furth the evident repugnance, that we that be the wnlairned may be edified and maid abill to give ane accompt of our disapproving and not zeilding to the obedience of tha actis, and, gif possible, the authoris of thame may be brocht convict in ther awin conscience, seing ther awin error, to reforme them againe. Bot cheiflie—brother Jhone Dunkesone —our exhortatione to zow is, that sene ze have the cheiff place for doc-

James VI. 1589.

treine in this realme, wnto quhilk the eies of the grittest multitud attend for doctreine—beicaus it has beine found ther heirtofor—that ze will na maire halt in this indifferencie—quhairwith the hairtis of money gud men ar wounded and the conscience of moniy godlie offended—that ze keip us na langer in suspence, bot speik zower opinoun plainlie and evidentlie, and cry it to the dischardge of zower conscience, if tha actis be lawfull or repugnant to the trewth. For now is na tyme of silence or simulatioun, quhen publict lawis ar sett furth and strait chargis for reverence and obedience to them, the perrell beung of Goddes dishonour, condemnatione of menis sawlis, and disobedience to princes: in quhilk if men—throuch zower negligence—fall, dout not bot God will craif it at zower handis in his awin tyme, and raiss staines to speik it to zower shame and accusatione of zower silence. Let not this, breithreine, greiff zow, for we tak God to witnes that of gud mynd in the bitterness of our hartis and of zeill to the trewth we wrytt that we have writtin, mynding onlie Goddis glore, our awin salvatioun and knawledge, quhairin we may lauchfullie obey or disobey our naturall prince. And this we tak God to judge beitwix zow and ws if we speik not ane thing lawchfull and necessar. The Lord graunt to zow all that in thir evill and dangerous dayes—quhairin wikednes and corruptiome haisted to rypnes be certaine degrieis—*nemo enim repente fit pessimus*—ze propone to zower selfis for imitatioun the gritt pastor Jesus Chryst and faithfullie invocat him in zeill—*quem zelus domus Dei comedit*, in love of his flok that gave his lyf for them quhilles they war his enemeis, in beihaviour quhilk war sic as the haill warld culd not reproch. The Lord, we say zit anes againe, grant zow ernest meditatione and cairful imitatione. Thus mikle shortlie in Goddis feire, awayting answer of zower mowthis in publick doctreine and, for our better edificatione and memorie, of zower pennis publish in writt zower judgment and opinions. The 8 of August 1589."

"Zower breither that wncessantlie thrist the trewth to be reveiled to Goddis glorie and our and zower salvationes."

Postscript—"Gif this letter come in the handis of oney other then thairis to quhoum it is directed we admonish the finder, and in Goddis name cravis that he present it to the breither to quhom it is directed."

2 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 9. **174.** [JEAN HOTMAN DE VILLIERS] TO MADEMOISELLE HOTMAN.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 30.

I have had no means of saluting the maiden until to-day when she returned from her journey. She told me on entering that she knew my father by reputation, and that she was very glad to see me here. We entered into discourse about the lover and the gentleman, but she knows them both as well as I, and lends a willing ear to such speeches, and has fixed to-morrow for me to explain everything to her more particularly.

I have kissed the King's hands, whom I find a very complaisant and gracious prince; and it seems to me that I am in France when I am at this court.

The affair of the marriage with Navarre has been so badly managed, that, mistrustful of being able to accomplish it, and being moreover solicited by his subjects, he has entered upon a treaty with Denmark,

James VI. 1589. and is so far advanced therein that the marriage is considered as concluded; but the news now come of the death of the King of France and the new greatness of the King of Navarre has caused them to repent of having made such haste.

We are at Falkland, which is a house of the King a day's journey from Edinburgh, and I hope in five or six days he will dismiss me; but Monsieur du Moulin wishes that we should travel together in returning, and I must wait for him until the 25th of this month.

Believe, dear heart, that I am greatly longing to see you to tell you and the gentleman about it.

I have as yet received only one letter from you, of the 30th of July; the preceding one which you mention has not yet come to my hands and I shall only have it to-morrow.

This news from France will cause me to hasten my return for reasons which you can guess. If Monsieur du Moulin cannot yet start, I will go with a Scottish gentleman named Colville, whom the King is sending to the Queen of England in twelve or fifteen days; or perhaps with Mr. Asheby, who has been ambassador here for the Queen for a year and a half, and who returns about the same time.

I wrote you a letter from Edinburgh last week, whereby you could perceive how weary I was of sojourning so long in one place without seeing her for whose sake chiefly I had undertaken the voyage. Now that I have seen her I am much better satisfied, and hope to be yet more so to-morrow when I have talked to her to my heart's content. For her appearance pleases me, and I find more in her than had been told me. Yet for fear of contradicting myself later, I will not say more to you for this time about her.

Poor Mr. Douglas has found that during his absence his enemies have done him ill offices at this court, and he has not had so good countenance from his master as he hoped and deserves. But his friends are busy about restoring that which has been spoiled and placing him again on the right road. He and I will write very fully to the gentleman in a day or two. For my part I have nothing else at present and no paper good enough to write to the aforesaid gentleman, to whom you will not fail to present most humble salutations on behalf of Mr. Douglas and of myself, who am his very humble servant.

I believe that he with whom I had a quarrel a year ago has very much raised the heels of his slippers since this last accident in France; but I fear that he will wear them so high that possibly they will cause him a heavier fall. You tell me that he was going to seek his master, but I think he will now have changed his mind.

The Master of Gray is at this court, but not in such credit as he was before. The Lord of Wemyss shall come to-day; he and Mr. de Seville in two days' time are to take leave to go with their troops to Dieppe by sea.

Remember how many letters you have written to me and how many you have received from me; and when you have received this present do not write any more to me, for your letters would not find me here. Falkland. *Signed:* "Vostre fidele et intime V.S.P."

2½ *pp. French. Holograph. Addressed. Seal.*

James VI. 1589.

175. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Aug. 11. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 32.

Has received two letters from Burghley on August 6th by his nephew, dated 29th and 30th July. Heard the news of France three days before from Walsingham, and thereupon rode to meet the King returning from the north, in Angus, to acquaint him with the murder of the French King, "hoping it would have made some suspence." But the King had despatched Lord Dingwall on August 3rd to Denmark to go forward with the match, "respecting nothing the article of the dowre and leaving the rest to the ambassadors' consideracion; for that he would not be thought a marchant for his wife"; so there will be no stay on his side if they of Demnark will send the princess. The proceeding has been inconsiderately dealt with; fears the conclusion will be worse. The King says he has been abused by the ambassador sent a year since, Colonel Stewart as Asheby judges, yet he still follows the counsels of those who seek their own particular.

"Surelie Scotland was never in wourse state to receave a Quene then at this present, for there is nether house in repaire but all most ruinous and want furniture; and the tyme so shorte as this defect cannot be healped if she come before winter which is looked for." John Colville is being sent to England to acquaint her majesty with the King's proceedings with Denmark, requiring that as she honoured his christening with an embassage she will vouchsafe the like for his marriage.

Erroll made his peace on August 3rd by the mediation of Mar, Athol, and the Master of Glamis; he is to be confined to a house in Fife or Stirlingshire at his own choice, and to abide the King's will and the sentence of parliament in October next.

"All the rebellious earls be now comed in, and matters here packed up stranglie, everie on sekeing there particular, and neglect the weale and securitie of there prince."

Bothwell and the Chancellor are reconciled till the next opportunity.

Montrose is fined but 2,000 crowns, and so is Erroll; a riot in England has a greater fine than high treason here: this lenity will bring further inconvenience.

"A yong prince so facill and in want, a nobilitie faccous and thursting the bloud of on another and inconstant, the churche spoiled and the ministers overwhelmed with povertie, the boroughs loth to contribute to the King's necessitie, doth shew this state to be in such miserie as *ipsa si cupiat salus servare non potest hoc regnum.*"

Hopes shortly to tell Burghley all by word of mouth, having now received the Queen's letter for his return.

The King is at Falkland; also the Chancellor and some of the Council. This day the deputies of the boroughs are to convene at Coupar "6 myle from this house" to yield some contribution for receiving the princess of Denmark and her train; the Convention will last two or three days.

The King promises him (Asheby) despatch, with order set down touching the Borders before he departs about the 19th instant; Asheby departs about the 22nd. Falkland.

Postscript—"The Laird of Weimes and Monsieur Civill apointed to embarque the 14 of this present with 1500 Scotes towardes France. The King longeth to heare how Navare succedes."

3½ *pp. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. Aug. 12.

176. THOMAS FOWLER TO HIS WIFE.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 34.

"My Besse, I have receaved your angry, thretening letter by Mr. Nanton, whom I thanke for it by your owne confessyon." I have had great wrong in stay of my letters which you and my Lord Douglas complain of. I wrote a letter to your father which you acknowledge not; let me know if it were delivered. I hear your father's bond is delivered, and that you meant to come and see me, but not to tarry with me past a month; such a journey for so small abode will not quit cost.

Your cousin Asheby is coming home; he is already discharged, which I am sorry for; I shall lose good company and friendly. Have patience: of sufferance comes ease; all I do will turn for the best and to your content. If you take the worst course, it will be evil for yourself and for me. Fear God and serve him, eschew idleness and evil company. "Edenbrowghe." *Signed:* T. Fowler.

Postscript—"Not so well in helthe but I thinke if you sawe me you wold pitty my case."

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.*

[Aug. 12.]

177. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO MRS. FOWLER.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 36.

"Sithence my cosin Fowler's comming hither, swete ladie, I have ben the willinger here to staie in her majesties service, having his good companie."

The hope to have seen you here made me like the better the honourable place I hold, for that your presence would have been so joyful to him whom I love, and to me most acceptable. *Unsigned.*

½ *p.* *In Asheby's hand.*

Aug. 12.

178. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 37.

Here were of late certain Scottish men, Meldrom, Laird of Finy, Minies, and Lamb of Aberdeen, and King, son of Alexander King of Edinburgh, papists come from France. They departed hence without passports in a hired ship for the north of Scotland.

We now hear they are traitors, and had spoken in France of the murder of the King; you shall therefore deal earnestly with the King and Chancellor to have them apprehended. There may be some practice against both her majesty and the King. From the court. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

Postscript—You shall take the Chancellor's advice before dealing with the King.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.* *Seal.*

Aug. 15.

179. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Lansd. 60, fol. 101. Printed in *Original Letters* ed. H. Ellis, First Series, iii. 28-9.

"Richt trustie and vellbelovit cousin, that quhiche nou I have in hand and is so nie the performing, as I never hadd the lyke adoe before so paradventure shall I not have the lyke hearafter. If ever the Quene thinkis to play a verie freindis pairt unto me it is nou tyme. I speake the lyke of you in furthering, quho I knou hath bene seeking an occasion all this tyme past to kythe his affection touardis me: it is nou tyme to

James VI. 1589. give a proofe. No houris nor daies must be lost, for *tempus* dealis most straitlie uith me. The particulairis I remitt to the bearare, quhome I pray you to trust and give youre best advyce unto and to excuis me for this my laconike uritting; I ame in suche haist." Edinburgh. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 15. 180. THOMAS JACKSON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 39.

Thanks Asheby for benefits done to himself and his friend Mr. Bredyman. Marvels that the Laird of Wemyss does so delay him. Jackson's company is ready at Holy Island, where Wemyss appointed by his letter of the 8th instant, promising to dispatch the lieutenant and furniture requested. Berwick. *Signed:* Thomas Jackson.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. 181. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 363.

Mr. John Colvile hath his despatch of the King, and this day goes towards Berwick; by whom her majesty shall understand how his highness proceeded with the match with Denmark; "wh[ere] the King haith passed his wourd so farr as he cannot with his honour go backe. He is forced to flie to her majestie in all his distresses, and now he hopeth her moth[erlie] care shall not be wanting: he haith ben abused, and drawen into this match verie craftilie, which now in honour he cannot refuse." Of himself he is well disposed, and mindful of benefits received, and cannot be drawn from her majesty's friendship by evil counsellors about him. Any favour now shown will bind him more surely than all he hath received heretofore. He hath great hope of your honour's good dealing and wise counsel, which he would follow, but cannot perform all he desires, having no one about him to trust to. What favour he shall find from her majesty he will account you the worker of it, and always acknowledge your fatherly care.

"Yf the Lord Bodwell seeke her majesties favour [or] make anie offer of service, he doth it [to] abuse her majestie, for he is a capitall eni[my] and no credit to be geven to him, whats[oever] he saith or swereth. And trulie there is [no] specke of vertu or honestie in him, neith[er] haith he judgment to carie himself w[ell] in anie accion."

"The King seing his borowghes did not conv . . .* , thei fearing some new contribucion, staid but one night in Edenborough, and went the next day towardes Lenoux to passe his tyme for ten daies in hunting in the islandes of Lowghe Lomond in the west, and reto[rned] to Sterling the 24th." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. 182. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 41.

The King has sent back the Lord of Dingwall with full resolution touching his marriage with Denmark, and also sends to her majesty Mr. John Colvile, who starts this day towards Berwick. Her majesty's past

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. liberality makes the King request her gracious dealing now, "and to honour his mariage with the presence of some noble parsonage." He is unprovided of house and furniture to receive a Queen; yet he thinks with his honour he cannot go back, and expects her by the end of September. He is well disposed and cannot be drawn from the friendship of her majesty, although he has many evil counsellors about him; any favour now will bind him more surely than all he has received heretofore.

"The borowes by the King's apointment convined at Edenbrowghe the 8 of August, where his heighnes determined to have ben; but coming a daie or two after to Faukland, comaunded that the deputies should come to Cowper in Fiffe the elevent of this present; but thei fearing that some benevolence should be further demanded of them for the better receaving of the Danes, excused themselves, and retyred to there boroughes, without anie further contribution then that graunted the yere past, alledging there inabilitie and the charges thei have ben at otherwise this last yere with his majestie against the rebelles."

On the 14th instant Captain Forbes and Captain Seton departed hence to pass through England into France. This day Wemyss and Civille willed Asheby to acquaint Walsingham therewith, and think they should be stayed in England and searched for letters which they carry, for they are thought to be evil instruments, especially Forbes. The latter carries letters from Civille to the King of France; Civille desires Walsingham to keep them, and would have both captains stayed till he and Wemyss were with the King in France.

Bothwell has his agent, Cuttie Armorer, in the court to make his peace with her majesty's favour. There is no honour to be had of this earl whatever oath he makes; "he will not sticke to swere and forswere to do mischefe, especiallie against her majestie and the state of England."

For Border affairs the King seems careful, and means to be there in person in October. It were well a commissioner of England and another of Scotland were appointed to meet for the compounding of controversies happened since the order set down by the last commissioners. The Middle Marches of both countries are most disordered.

3 *pp.* *Draft in Asheby's hand.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 18. 183. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 43.

Has received Asheby's late letters. The King being resolved to go through with the marriage with Denmark, although it seems not fit for him considering his poor estate, it is not to be given out that her majesty is an enemy thereunto, she continuing in friendship with the King of Denmark. By reason of contrary winds no advertisements have come from France, saving news from Calais that the King of Navarre is at Compiégne for the funeral of the late King.

The Spaniards have besieged Heusden, and the Duke of Pastrana has chief command there, but Count Maurice having put into the town 300 men, with powder, it is likely it will be held bravely. There is no great likelihood that Parma will recover of his sickness, but if he should, the disgraces offered him of late by the King of Spain are such as a reconcilement can never be made between them. The court at Oatlands. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

James VI. 1589. Postscript—Encloses copy of advertisements just come from France, and letter for Mr. Fowler.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 18. 184. FRANÇOIS DE CIVILLE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 46. You are the lord in Scotland to whom I have most obligation; therefore I thank you first for the numberless courtesies which I have received from you during my stay in this country, offering you my willing service in gratitude for them. Meanwhile I will pray you to deem the like good will to be in me, begging you when occasion allows to send me news of your good health by your letters, which will oblige me to love you and to honour your virtue more and more.

I entreat you also, Sir, to secure the gelding at Berwick soon without fail, and that in your name, if you please; for which Mr. Egger will furnish the money whenever you please, for I have delivered it to him: and as you pass through Berwick in returning to London be pleased to have it led by one of your men, if I do not before then find a friend who may relieve you of this trouble, which I am ashamed and grieved to give you.

I pray you likewise, Sir, when you get there to acquaint the Queen's majesty with the desire that I have to do her service wherever I may be; and to assure her and my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Secretary, as also the Earl of Huntingdon my old and gracious master, that I shall never forget the favours they have done me. Wemyss. *Signed:* Francoys de Ciuille.

Postscript—Sir, I beg you to be pleased to send the enclosed to London with the first dispatch and occasion that you have to send to London, for it is about your affairs touching Mr. [Wemyss] the younger, in order that he may be advertised before he starts.

1 *p.* *French.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Aug. 19. 185. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"When any is dryvin to wryte in praise of his deserwingis, I do know that suche letteris ar no les tedious to the readar than unpleasand to the wrytar. And zit suche is the miseri somtyme of the best sort that thay ar constreaned to wryte the treuthe—albeit unvillinglye—as at this tyme I am forced to do. Bot in one thing I hawe confort, that in this my case thayr neadethe no long lettir to your lordship, who so weill knawis the begynning of my trowblis, the lossis thayrthrow susteaned, my deservingis, and the chargis that I haif beyn dryvin to susteane during my aboade heir in maner to your lordship knavin."

"About foure yearis since it pleased hir majeste for considerationis mowinge hir to grant onto me the benefite of tuo thowsand fyve hundreth *lib.*, which I must confesse did me greit gude, for thayrbye was my debtis contracted before that tyme releawed and I maid able to go in Scotland to seik tryall anent suche calumnyis as fayme had charged me wythe."

"When I had ressawed my purgation according to the lawis of that realme, I did so good serwice as I culd, beand besyde my maister, for the weill of boyth the princis and thayr crownis; and in hoipe to hawe performed bettir I willinglye did accept wpon me the charge to come

James VI. 1589. hyther, whear I hawe remaned these thre yearis as ane publick officiar, and even in so ill ane tyme that in my awin cuntreye at hoime I hawe acquired the hatrent of manye for the benefite I wisshed mycht hawe beyn done to boythe the realmes."

"Eftir the deythe of the Queen of Scottis I culd not forbear to lay oppin my state at that tyme before her majeste, your lordship, and some mo of hir honorable consale, declaring that it was not able to beyr ony suche chargeable expensis as I was dryven to sustean; and thayrfor I dessired libertye to depart hoime, bot it vas at that tyme refused, whearthrow I vas constreaned to contynew the saydis chargis albeit unhable to do it."

"In your lordships house at Tybbaldis it pleased hir hyenes to favorablye uttir these wordis, that sen sche had interteinyed ane nombre of Scottismen upon hir chargis in tyme passed, sche cowlde now do littill if sche culde not susteyn one to do hir service whose vantis sche wolde sea supplyed. Vpon that speach and some uthir suche lyk uttered be some consalouris, I haif remaned heir the spayce forsaide, doand the gud I culde and such as I beleawe shall heireftir appeir to be gud serwice to hir majeste. And notwythstanding of all these promissis and all my formar service and trowblis susteaned—for the gud vill I burn to do hir majeste service—I am now lyk to be shakin of be hir hynes, and be the King my maister for hir cause in such sort as I culd nevir hawe luked for. And all the ressone thay do yealde for this thayr doing at home is fowndit upon no uthir grownde bot upon ane opinion consaved that I am moyr at hir majesteis dewotion than for the work of the realme whear I was borne, notwythstanding that tyme vill trye the contrarye of this to be most trew."

"It hathe pleased hir majeste of layte to anser to Ser Francis Walsinghame, when be derection from hir self he layde oppin before hir hynes my present state full of necessite, proseading from the causis before specifeit, that I oucht to remayn satisfeid wyth that whiche hir majeste had bestowed upon me of before."

"Treulye, my lorde, albeit hir majesteis liberalite extendit towardis me was newir able to hawe recompansed the smallest part of my lossis susteaned for hir majesteis service before that tyme, zit wald I haif rested contented thayrwyth, and nevir to haif socht any fordar, if I had not beyn in a maner deteaned be hir majesteis self, induring all this tyme that I haif contracted suche debtis as I am not able to paye."

"Most humblye thayrfor I wold pray your lordship to be so faworable onto me as to mowe hir majeste that some gud ordour may be gevin that suche necessayr debtis as I haif contracted, and in some kynd be derection from hir majesteis self and be my remaning heir of layte, may be discharged; and I shalbe contented to depart in the poore estate whearin I am reduced wyth the losse of ten thowsand *lib.* and ten yearis tyme spent that I haif remaned in exile and publick charge in this realme." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Aug. 19. 186. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

Part printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 247.

"Having occasion offerid to vryte to yow anent the contentis of letteris ressawed from Scotland, I haif allso thocht it expedient to vryte

James VI. 1589. to my lordis Tresoreir and Chancellar, to lay oppin my present estate to hir majeste, and most effectuallye to pray that I may ressawe hir majesteis faworable anser, whearin I am the moyr ernest to requeist for that I am now in every manis mouth, be resson of debtis contracted that I am not able to paye oneles hir majeste of accustomat clemency, ejoyned to suche ressonis as ar conteaned in thayr letteris, shalbe pleased to do it for me."

"Be letteris ressawed from Scotland I do onderstand that the King returned from the northe to Falkland upone the vij of this instant, whear my nephew presented my letteris to his hyenes, desiring that his hyenes mycht be pleased to derect ane lettir to hir majeste to call me home, whear I mycht anser to any calumnye that ony vold object against me. His hyenes anser hathe beyn to that poynct that he vill adwise upon that mater at this Conwention to be holdin at Stryveling the xvj of this monethe, whiche I tak to be no wthirvaise bot to delay tyme quhill he may speik vyth the Chancellar; and what anser I shall ressawe I muste remitt quhill that tyme."

"In this Convention thayr is to be dessired of the borrowis that thay shall remayn obliged for the Queen to be, hir drowrye extending to the sowme of moyr than sex thowsand *li.* sterling as it is required, and that thay shall furnishe some sowmis of moneye for the King his use at this tyme of his mariage."

"It is dowbted as zit wheathir thay vill aggre to the first, be ressone it ressawis *tractum futuri temporis*, whearin thay hawe no releawe if God shall call upon his majeste."

"Mr. Jhone Colwille is to be send hyther vyth expeditione to persuade hir majeste that the mariage of Dennemark is best and most profitable for hir weill; and the ressone of his argument is to [be] takin upon this grownd that Colonell Stewarde wrote of onto me at Eastir laste, whiche he did affirm did proceade from the Chancellar of Dannemark to him at his being thayr, to witt, that the realmes of Scotland and Dannemark beand joyned to this crowne is able to yeald suche ressone to the Kinge of Spayn as may induce him to tak peace wythe hir majeste. Bot this did appeir to me at that tyme to be *argumentum longe petitum*, and thayrfor quhill now I nevir mayd any mention of it. These ar the wordis that I am informed he is to wse; bot in substance his erand is to buye playte and some wthir howsholde stuffe for the Kingis use, as beand generall collectour for the ingathering of the taxation granted for that use."

"He is in lyk maner to crawe hir majesteis assistance in lending or gevin of money for this effect. I am also informed be some freynd that he is to requyre my assistance, alsweill in requesting at the handis of wtheris that these matteris may be performed as my pryvate helpe for the doing thayrof, as if I war able to performe any suche mater."

"Be the saydis freyndis that makis this adwertisment I am consaled to be absent from the towne at his comming hyther. I am thayrfor effectuallye to pray your honour that hir majeste may be moved to gewe some speadye ordour how that I may retyre my self vythowt sclander of my creditouris, whiche is the thing in the vorlde I wold be glaydest to awoyde."

"The Erll of Arroll hathe mayde his composition be moyen of the Maister of Glammis, whearvyth the Chancellar is offendite, and the Erll Bothewell is agreid vyth the Chancellar, whearewyth the Maister is nothing

James VI. 1589. contented, be ressone he is not conteaned in the aggreance. The saide Erll hathe vrytin to me ane longe lettir, bot of ane olde dayte, declarand that he is myndit to go in France ; and the speciall ressone that he gevis for his going is, as he affirmis, for no uthir cause bot for awoyding of the trowblis that he fearis shall fall in that realme, owt of the whiche he can not redde him self beand at home. And the rather he vas willing to go, for that he thocht the charge of this leawye of men that was spokin of for the Kinge of France shuld be layde upon him. He is myndit to passe throw this cuntrey, and desiris to knaw my opinion what commission he shall procure of his maister that may mak him gratious to hir majeste."

"As for my awin part, I can not tell what to say of these extravagant commissionis, bot I am of that opinion that whosoevir shal come in commission, oneles it shalbe to confyrme the league, and to mak publick and fynall aggreance betuixt these princis that ar so neir of blowde and nyhebourheid, shall serwe to small purpose. And thayrfor I mynd to absteane from vrytin any anser in this mater quhill it shall pleis your honour heirin to adwise me, whiche I mynd to follow."

"I send onto your honour be this bearar the anser of the lettir derected to Doctour Ceasar; what he cravis your honour vill onderstand be it; and what my opinion is I hawe declared to this bearar, who will raport the sammin to yow."

"I spake vif Normonde Monypennye, he who was send in the Low Cuntrey to persuade the Scottismen to do ill effectis. He declaris the mater moyer playnlye than I onderstode it of before, as moyr particularlye I shall lat your honour onderstand at meatinge." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Aug. 20. 187. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 47. Seeing the King resolute in his marriage of Denmark, her majesty is disposed to grace it with her allowance in respect of her friendship with the late King of Denmark. "But if the King expect from hense anie great supplie of monie, myne owne private opinion is, considering both the great charge her majestie haith ben at both for her owne defence and otherwise, and especiallie that she is nowe to yeald for assistance of the Frenche King, a matter that importeth the good of both the realmes as well as Fraunce, and the more to be regarded, besides the whole cause of religion dependeth thereon, that it will not be here had, how willing soever her highness shalbe to satisfie him therein." Oatlands.

1 *p. Copy in Asheby's hand.*

Aug. 20. 188. [JEAN HOTMAN DE VILLIERS] TO [WILLIAM ASHEBY].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 48. This man will, if you please, being me your letters and the passport, for by God's help I shall certainly start on Friday morning. If I can do anything further for your service, I consider myself thereunto bound by the numberless courtesies you have been pleased to show me during my stay in Scotland. Mr Richard Douglas and all that honourable family and I salute you. Whittingham. *Signed:* Hatm . . .*

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. Postscript—Sir, I entreat you if you have received my letters for, or any news from France to let me know it, if you please, by the present bearer.

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

Aug. 21. 189. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"Before the recepte of your lettir from ane messinger, I crawed be your trustye servitour, Thomas Lackis, that your honour mycht be niformed that I wold send the lettir whiche I ressawed zister-nycht to be perused be yow, to the end that your honour mycht thayrbye consider upon what grownd I craved audience; the ressonis moving me thayrunto I must leawe to the sayd Thomas, to whom I did inpart thayme."

"As to the anser that you ar myndit to gewe to my demand, I can be hartlye weill contented thayrwythe, be resson that it appearis best to aggre vyth the resolution that I haif takin vyth your honour, whiche I mynd to follow so far as I can or may procure to be performed. But I must leawe the aggreing thayrof wyth the wtheris anseris gevin of before be hir majeste and consalouris at dyvers tymes knavin to my maister to your moyre grawe consideration, and visshis at God that hir majeste mychte haif beyn pleased to haif gewin the sayde anser xviij monethis since."

"Be wtheris letteris I ressawed I onderstand that our Chancellar hath vrytin at greit lenthe to your honour to mowe you be meating of commissionaris—whearof he vold appeir to dessire that your honour mycht be one and he another—to go throw vyth the promisses may be Mr. Aschebye. In respect of his pitthye ressonis I vill forbear to meddle in that mater. I onderstand also that thrittynning is to follow in case of refusall, bot lyke to do small harm quhill fordar may be knavin. For the interpretation of that mater which apperis to be obscure in the begynning of this lettir, pleis be informed that my dessire vas that ane gentill man of gud sorte mychte be send hyther for declaration of the King his gud meaning towardis this realme, alsweill to hir majeste as to hir consalouris, nobilite, and hoill subjectis of this ile, or wthirvise that the sammin mycht be send hither be instruction to haif beyn delivered be me. Whiche my dessire the Chancellar in haist did preveint be sending Rogeir Ascheton upon moyr plausible mater than I knew of, and zit upon ane promess mayde be him to Mr. Aschebye of before, but delayed quhill the cumminge of my letteris whiche he caused to serwe to wtheris as ane mask for his doingis. I leawe to persuade or mowe yow in ony of these promissis, praying onelye that my letteris may be returned vyth anser whatsoevir." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Aug. 22. 190. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 365.

There is a new faction brewing against the Chancellor, wrought by the Master of Glamis and Justice Clerk, which will be dangerous to the Chancellor, being forced to be reconciled to "his capitall enimie" Bothwell, upon the peace wrought for the Earl of Arroll by the Lord Treasurer and Justice Clerk. What is the occasion, and how they combine, I refer to the relation of John Colvile.

James VI. 1589

Lord Claud Hamilton is taken out of the castle and confined amongst his friends in Lothian: to his place Maxwell was brought from Blackness the 16th instant, that he may have opportunity to confer with the ministers, and to show himself reconciled, to get his liberty and attend occasion for their practices.

"The lenitie used by this prince cann bring no good effect, but drawe himself in cont[empt], incorage the evell disposed to torne all upside downe, and hazard his state and the lives of his faithfull servantes. Here is no care had to exequute justice n[either] for treason nor murder; suche partialitie . . .* nether is . . ."

"All the rebellious earls have wrought th[eir] peace with the King, and fined at 2000 crowns everie on; such is the severitie here in punishing such light offences; but I feare both King and countrie will feele err it be long this omitting of justice, for it must nedes be the nurse of further trouble."

"The King convines certein of his nobilitie and twelve of the chefest boroughes at Ste[rling] the 25 of this present, it is thought for some contribucion, for uniting the nobilitie [and] the chancellour, and for receaving the yong princes out of Denmarke; but as yet no [word] is comed wether the Danes will send [her] before winter. It is now wished that she might staie till the spring, thei find[ing] themselves here so unprovided to rec[eive] such a parsonage, and I beleve haulf repent of there hast in that match." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Aug. 22.

191. "BRUITS" FROM EDINBURGH.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 49.

"That the Erll of Boithwill zisterday dyning in Carfray, efter denner wes on gaitwaittis toward Lauder to the Lord Chancellar, thair to have zeildit to conditionis at the Lord Chancellaris appointment, for aggreance betuix the said Erll Boithwill and the Lord Hwme anent sum difference standing amangis thame."

"That the Master of Gray being in the said Erll Boithwellis cumpany, wischeit the said Erll not to ga to Lauder, be ressoun the said Lord Hwme had prevenit him, and wes accumpanyit with his unfreindis quha wer in armes. Notwithstanding, the said Erll, efter his furious maner, wald nedis go forewart to the said Lord Chancellair, respecting no danger; and had not past half a quarter myle bot sum in the said Erlis cumpany espyit sum forces: and the said Erll judgeing thame to be the said Lord Hwmes cumpany, wes advisit to returne to Carfra quhair he dyneit. And not sa soone returning, bot the said Lord Hwme and his cumpany hardlie persewit him, and the said Erll being convoyit ane narrow way eschapit, and wan the said Carfray befoir theey overhyit him. Zit owertaking a servand of his namyt Peter Collace, they dang him from his hors, and feinzeing him self deid, eschapit the furie of the ennemy. Upoun this fetche, it is thocht mutche bussynes is able to ensew, be ressoun of the zowth and furious naturallis of baith lordis, and being baith sa weill freindsted."

"It is spokin be these Scottis merchandis now cum bi England, that sum of thame wer in Calece a xiiij dayes since, and hard none uther word

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. bot that the King of Navar had reterit from Pareis to sattill his estate now efter the death of the King of France, being intanglit with many bussynes concerning himself and the state of that realme."

"That the King of Navarr is proclamyt King of France at Calice, Burgonye, and Depe, and uther places."

1 *p.*

Aug. 22. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 51.

192. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Received Walsingham's letter of the 12th touching the Scotchmen Meldrom, Minies, Lamb, and King, on the 16th, and acquainted the Chancellor therewith, who will use care "to boult out from theise matters what he can." The Chancellor stays King here, to satisfy the church, till Meldrom be come and examined touching the death of the late King of France and other treachery. But such partiality is used as little good will be done.

[The rest of the letter is the same in substance as that to Burghley of the same date.]

2 *pp. Draft in Asheby's hand.*

Aug. 25. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 53.

193. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO JAMES VI.

I am bold to solicit your majesty in the behalf of an English merchant spoiled not many months since by Peterson, his ship and freight brought to Montrose and there sold. "Onlie the ship is delivered, but without takling, and no part of the goodes can be recovered, allthoughe he had your majesties warrant to the officers of Montrose, comaunding most straitlie the stay of the pyrate and the saftie of the goodes; which thei neglected." The party hath been here a long suitor, and fearing that he shall receive but delays, to his undoing, was ready to depart without hope of justice; but I, knowing your careful mind to content any of her majesty's subjects, would not suffer him till I had moved your highness once again to vouchsafe in this poor man's cause such justice as your grace is most willing to grant, correspondent to the good usage your subjects—by their own report—find in England by her majesty's commandment, as one regarding your amity and the weal of your subjects. How the affairs of France stand you shall see by the enclosed, which came to me this morning. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph draft. Indorsed.*

Aug. 26. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 58.

194. FRANÇOIS DE CIUILLE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Is waiting for the Laird of Wemyss, and sorry their journey is delayed, the wind being fair for Dieppe. Writes to take leave, and to desire Asheby to remember the gelding of Berwick, that he be sent to London, where "Monsieur Hottoman" will receive him and send him over. Dundee.

Postscript—Trusts Asheby has received 15*l.* at John Egger's hands.

James VI. 1589. Thanks Asheby for letter just received. Is glad Egger has delivered the 15*li.* If Wemyss were but there they might embark that night; knows not the cause of his delay. *Signed:* Francoys de Ciuille.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 26. **195. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Received Walsingham's letter of the 18th on the 25th instant, with advertisements from France, and the enclosure for Fowler, which Asheby has sent. This day the Chancellor took his journey towards the King at Stirling, where is expected a Convention, but divers hold back, especially the boroughs, fearing a new contribution; besides it is demanded of the Danes that they should enter into bond for repayment of the young Queen's dowry if she die within the year. If the marriage be not solemnized in Denmark before they hear this article yielded to, there will be a stay, for the boroughs will not condescend to that point, seeing the King hath no care to any article touching their profit for traffic, but, as a true lover, demands the lady, and careless of his gain.

Bothwell having made his peace with the King, and fined 2,000 crowns, which will never be paid, and the Chancellor and he reconciled, comes at his pleasure: "this libertie will souner wracke him, for that he is quarrelous and bloudie." Since his liberty, which has not been many days, he going towards Lauder, a house of the Chancellor, there to have agreed upon conditions, the Chancellor being an arbitrator to compound some difference betwixt the Earl and Lord Hume, Hume was at Lauder before him. The Chancellor sent to Bothwell, not to come that day, as Hume was there well accompanied, and in arms. Bothwell, in his furious manner, would needs go forward. He had not ridden half a mile when some in his company espied some forces: judging them to be Hume's, he returned to Carfray, where he dined. He was no sooner returned but Hume and his company pursued him, but Bothwell escaped and came to Carfray before they could overtake him: they struck one of his men from his horse, who feigning himself dead escaped further fury.

Much business will ensue, by reason of the youth and furious nature of both these lords, and both being well friended. "It is wished, seing the King's facilitie such as no justice is executed, that thei maie be boureaux on to another, for thei have both, especiallie the Earl, bloudie handes and turbulent sprites." No news from Denmark since Dingwall's return, by reason of contrary winds. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"I shall not have my dispacth from hense before the King come to Faukland, which wilbe about the 10 of the next moneth." The enclosed is from the Lord Chancellor to Mr. Colvile."

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 27. **196. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 60. Encloses letter from Mr. Colvile to the Chancellor. Fell into a fever the day Colvile arrived in London, so was not at court when he had audience yesterday. He was graciously received. "Monsieur Beavoys Lanocle is come out of Fraunce to crave assystance for the King of Navarre. Her majestie seemeth verie forward to yeald him the same,

James VI. 1589. but her meanes to performe yt I doubt will not bee aunswearable to that the world expecteth at her hands." Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. **197. Sir John Maitland to William Asheby.**

Eg. ESS., 2,598, fol. 61. "As your lordship hes conjectured, the mariage in Denmarke is fullye concluded, the cerimonyes and all done, and the same alreadye celebrat, whereof Colonell Stewardis haistye cumming wes to give advertisment to his majestie." Stirling. *Signed:* "Your veary loving freind, Jo. Maitland."

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 28. **198. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Burghley.**

"I wold hawe trowbled you vythe the uttering of some superfluous speach be my self or nou for my awin pryvatte busines if I had not beyn persuadit that suche as ar heir at this tyme wolde hawe interpreit the sammin in the worst part. For awoyding of any occasion thayrof I am forced to wryt these few lynis, whearbye pleis be informed that be suche adwertismentis as I hawe ressawed from Scotland I do persawe that some hath drawin this gentill man that is send hither in the saim trayde of doing that our Chancellar wolde hawe dravin me in to at my layte being in Scotland when as zit Mr. Randolph vas thayr, that is to saye, be domme schawis to mak the worlde effrayd. His deviss vas at that tyme that I shulde hawe retyred my self in Ingland wytheowte the ressaving of ony tryall be ordour of justice, and as one visshing weill to boythe the realmes to hawe declared to this state dyvers inconvenientis lyk to fall owt, and to declayr suche ramedeys as he him self had devised. In the mydde tyme of my being heir he promised he wolde cause the nobilite to be conweaned, and such controwerseis to fall owt amongis thaym that mycht mak it appeir that my speachis was fowndit upon gude grownd and ressone, whearbye the erand he desired I mycht effectuate—whiche vas the dravin of hir majeste to yealde to some instructionis—mycht be performed and granted. I myslyked the form and thayrfor did refuse it."

"What this gentill man his erand is I leawe it to your lordship that knavis it. Bot it doeth appeir be setting of all our lordis in Scotland at libertye at this tym, and these jarris mayde to appeir to grow amongis thaym, that all these vaniteis tendis to the sammin end and vill turn to ane smoke of nothing or it be longe. As I did mislyk any such form full of incertentye of before amongis these princis that ar so neyr of blowde and nyhebourheid, so at this tym wolde I wishe materris to be weill examinat in that cuntry be suche as can weill do it. And I vryte this tykat to your lordship, not that your lordship shuld beleawe anye part thayrof as cumming to your lordship from one that lovis not our Chancillar, bot to this effect that your lordship may examyne the sammin according to your accustomat discretion. The season of the year apperis to crave no lesse."

James VI. 1589. "This layt accident fallin owt betuixt the Erll Bothevell and Lord Hume appearis rather to confyrm this mater than uthirvayse, bot I dar affirm nothing for the one or uthir partye quhill it may bettir appeir what shalbe the end."

"I wold hawe vrytin thus farre to Ser Francis Valsingham if he had beyn in the towne, bot I knaw it to be all one to vryte to your lordship or to his honour." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Aug. 29. **199. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 63.

How acceptable Colonel Stewart's arrival was to the King, and how joyful to him was the news of his marriage, this enclosed to me will inform you, and of the ceremonies used in Denmark. The next day the King dissolved the Convention, commanding the lords and burghs to follow him to Edinburgh, and came thither himself late that night to give order and hasten his building at Holyrood House to receive the young Queen, who is expected with the next wind. Her coming is so sudden that none of the King's houses can be fit to receive her; he must borrow Dalkeith, which is the nighest fair house to Edinburgh, for the Queen to stay in.

½ *p. At the head:* "To the L. Thr. the 29 of August, and Mr. Sec." *Draft in Asheby's handwriting.*

Aug. 29. **200. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 64.

At the request of "the late ambassador Mr. Colvill" he sends packet. The French King having resolved to besiege Rouen was forced to retire by the great forces brought by the Duke of Maine to aid the town, until he may join the Duke de Longueville or Marshal Dumont. Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 31. **201. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 68.

This hasty marriage makes the King half amazed. He knows not which way to turn, having no house ready to receive the Queen, nor his subjects willing to contribute towards her maintenance and that of her train. His only refuge is to her majesty, whose gracious dealing now will bind him more than all that is past: "a penie now sent wilbe better accepted then a pound hereafter."

This day Roger Aston started for London to provide things necessary for the marriage. The Queen at her landing—which is daily expected—is to remain at Leith for ten or twelve days till Holyrood House be ready. It is thought by September 20th the marriage will be celebrated at Edinburgh.

The Queen's convoy will be 16 or 18 ships accompanied by the admiral of Denmark. Earl Bothwell is preparing five or six ships to receive her: Lord Hamilton with divers great ladies to attend at her landing: but there lacks *aurum potabile* to set out the entertainment.

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Secr. the last of August, '89."

James VI. 1589. Aug. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 55.

202. JAMES VI. TO THE BURGH OF MONTROSE.

"Rex." "Provost and baillies of our boroughe of Montrois we greit you weill. Understanding that ane Englishe shippe laidnit with guidis perteining to [ ],* being latelie sett on and tane be a Flemishe pirate named Petersoun, is brocht in be him within our heavin to be disponit uppon as gif the same were lawfull prise; and willing that baith our realme salbe purgit of sic infamous trade as alswa that the gentilman to quhome the guidis perteinis salbe restorit to his awn, according to the treateis and justice; therefore be advise of counsall have thocht meit to will and command zow by this present, that ze incontinent efter the sicht herof serche, seik, tak and apprehend the said Peterson's ship and his equippage, and deteine tham in such firmance to be forthcomand to the tryall of our lawes for thair demeritis. And syclike that ze stay and arreist aswell the barque perteining to him as the said Englishe ship brocht in be thame in maner foirsaid, tak thair sailles fra their rous and na wayes suffer tham to departe furthe of zour haevein till yow ressave our express act of counsale for thair relief and libertye, as ye will ansever to us uppon the vallew of the parteis interest and uppon your obedience and hiest perrell."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Asheby:* "The King's lettre to the Provost of Mountrose."

Sept. 1. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 70.

203. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Seeing by your letters of August 28th, received this day, her majesty's gracious mind to yield the King all honour at his marriage, I have thought good to advertise Lord Scrope and the other wardens in time, "that what good provicion of all manner of vivars and dilicates fitt for such an occacion may be made, it be by there honours meanes stayd in the countrie there, and not sould or presented to anie Scottishe, but reserved and sent hither to be presented in her majesties name when tyme shall require." They desire to have three or four English oxen.

The Queen's arrival is uncertain, depending upon wind and weather: it is thought it will be about the 20th instant.

"The King is unwilling I shall depart before the mariage: I beseche your honour for direccion herein with speed." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Secr. the first of Sept."

Sept. 1.

204. NOBLES OF SCOTLAND WELL AFFECTED TO ENGLAND.

"The Lord Hamilton with his dependantes, videlicett, the Earles Glencarne and Cassills, the Lordes Rosse, Symmervyll, Fleminge, and Master of Forbesse, the Lordes Lusse, Lamenton, Evindall, Carfin, Dayell, with sundrie other Barrons in Clidsdale, Renfrewe, Lanaricke, and Carricke."

"The Lord Chancelor with his suite, videlicet, the Masters of Eglinton and Cassalls, the Lordes Hume, Yester, and Borthicke, the Lardes Cowdon-

* Blank.

James VI. 1589.

knowes, Drunlanricke, Cesfourde, Beaucleuche, Parbrothe, Comptroller, Caddell, Spott, with sundrie other Barrons."

"The Earle of Marre with a worshipfull denpendance (*sic*) videlicet, the Lord Drumond and his brother the Lord of Inchaferay, the Masters of Leviston, and Elphiston, the Lardes Tyllibarne, Keir, Carse, Baquhanen, Pomeise, Culcrothe, Dentrethe, Saquhy, Clakmannen, Ady, with sundrie others."

"The Earles of Morton and Angusse."

"The Earle Marshall."

"The Earle of Gowrye, thoughe he be but younge yett is he ruled by your frendes."

"The Master of Gray and Lyndsey."

"The Justice Clarcke."

"The mynistrie contynue verie constant, but the burroughes are alienatt, because of the contynual pyrracies."

¾ *p.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 175.

Copy of the same.

Sept. 3.

205. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Burghley.

Cf. Letters of John Colville, Ban. Club, p. 248.

"This morning thayr is cummed to my handis be accident some letteris whearof thayr is some moyr suspition to be collected than at the first doethe appeir, as moyr particularlye wilbe knawin be some materis that heirtofore I did communicate to Mr. Philippes. The letteris ar derected to the Master of Graye, and be one unhonest Scottisman called Chalmeris whome I knaw to be such a one. I haif thocht it expedient to send thaym to your lordship, to the end that yow may persawe that thayr is in thaym ane schiphre termed in Frenche *le bastone*, which must be dischipherd be compasse. I dowt nott bot that your lordship hes wyth you suche as can do it, and thayrfor I leawe that mater to thaym."

"Be the circumstancis of uther mater conteaned in the saydis letteris I do collect that thayr is somme moyr hidde mater in thayme then be the expres wordis doeth appair, necessayrye to be onderstand to your lordship and to those that handlis the effairis of this state. Thayrfor if it may stand wythe your lordshipis pleasur ather to mowe Sir Francis Valsingham to send some trustye servitour of his to me, or than that your lordship may be pleased to send some of your awin experimented in these effaris, and I shale inform thaym, or ony of thaym, of the hoill circumstancis that I haif considered in thaym."

"The resson that movis me to absteyn from cumming to your lordship my self is for that I haif promised induring the aboade of Mr Jhone Colville nather to com to court, nather to consale, to the end that I may remayn unsuspected in onything concerning my maister his effairis in ony mater whearin he is to negotiate, which I must pray your lordship to ressawe in gud parte."

"Be letteris from my nephew I do onderstand that the Maister of Gray vold now persuade me that it is Mr. Fowlar that is the occasion of this fallin owt betuixt him and me, and that thayr vas ane fals alarm gevin to him be our Chancellar, who feared that the amitye betuixt us mycht breade harme to him, that mayde Mr. Fowlar to beleawe that suche

James VI. 1589. mater as he vrote of was trew, whearof no part vas of verite ; bot in this I mynd to beleawe him as in uthir materris I intend to do." *Signed :* A. Douglas.

Postscript—" I send to yowr lordship wyth this bearar ane lettir I ressawed from France. I knaw the contentis to be bettir onderstan to your lordship than be it can appeir, bot my meaning is thus—if you lack intelligens at ony tyme you may haif it be this moyen if no bettir can serwe."

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

Sept. 3 & 4. 206. CAMPLAINTS OF CATTLE-REIVING FROM NORTHUMBERLAND.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 71. " Complain Thomas Reade of Burroton and Johne Reade of Farnem his brother upon Jame Hall of Heaviside younger, James Robson of the Burvens, Johne Mowe sonne to Launce Mowe, with there accomplices to the nombre of xx men, who forceablie refte and caried awaye xxiiij kye and oxen and a horse worthe x *li.* starlinge ; done the iiijth of September 1589."

Cf. Cal. of Border Papers, i, 362,363. " Complains Robert Roddam of Lytle Hoghton upon Androwe Rotherforde and George Rotherforthe sonns to William of Lytle Hewghe, Androwe Dowglas of the Brea and Jocke Dowgles tennents to the Lairde of Hunthill, Anton Pott of Carricke, George Hall of Burdupe, Anton Hall of Sharperton, Thome Hall of Dewishill, beinge fugetives and recept by William Rotherforde of Lytle Hewghe with there accomplices, who stale and recept xvj kye and oxen frome Lytle Hoghton the 3 of September 1589."

½ *p. Indorsed.*

Sept. 4. 207. HENRY LORD SCROPE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 72. Received yesternight Asheby's request for provision, wanted for the marriage of the King : " wherin these partes where I am yeildeth no viandes nor delicates fitt for such an occasion." He has sent to friends in Yorkshire and elsewhere to help to furnish this provision, and hopes thus to provide one or two good stags against the day appointed. Touching his footcloth, being of velvet, but plain without gold or silver trimming, it can be sent if desired. Wishes to know the certain day of the Queen's arrival and marriage. Carlisle. *Signed :* H. Scropp.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 7. 208. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

" I send onto you this inclosed, not thayrbye to gewe ony awertisemente that is not alreadye to you knavin, bot that yow may onderstand be it that the vrytar is able to do service if yow hawe to do vyth it, and that he is weill knavin to Mr. Stafforde, who may mak yow acquaynted vyth his abilite."

" I am informd that ane Scottis man called James Forrete is cummed to this towne ; he is broder to one Villiam Forritte that is maryed in Brudges, who helped to sell the sayd towne to the ennemye. His erand, so farre as I can learne, is to go to his sayde broder. If the secreit of his

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erand be to you knavin, it is weill; if not, I can nott tell what to say of it, nather of his jorney. The man whom he hath served is honest, to vitt, my Lorde Hammilton, and I can say nothing against him self excepted that he whom he is myndit to repayr onto is be publick fame knavin to be of the vorst sort. Thairfor I must leawe it to your discretion how to examyn this matter leist it appearis to be weill don that some adwertisment thayrof may be gevin to the commissionaris heir, that thay may cause som regarde be gevin to him and his behaviour be thayr freyndis in those quarteris." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Sept. 8. **209. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO WALSINGHAM.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 74.

With the first wind the Queen is expected out of Denmark. It is thought that she embarked about the 2nd instant, but that contrary winds keep the fleet back. Great preparation is made at Leith to receive her, and to lodge her till the solemnity, which shall be twelve days after her arrival. The King is at Seaton till her arrival. He is loth that Asheby should depart before the marriage. The Chancellor told him that the rumours of the Queen's dislike of the match would be increased by his departure, so thinks good to stay, the time being so short, to avoid hard constructions.

Lord Wemyss and Monsieur Civille embarked with their companies ten days ago for France, but were by a south-west wind driven back into Leith road, where they await a favourable wind "thinking it longe till they be in France."

The rumours that the King of Navarre is defeated make many of their soldiers to steal from them: "such craftes use the papistes to lessen what they can the forces that ar to goe from hence. The King doth expecte some honorable personage from her majestie to honour his mariage." Edinburgh.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Secr. the 8 of Sept. '89."

Sept. 10. **210. SAFE-CONDUCT FOR JOHN KELSTON.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 75.

By Sir Henry Widdrington, marshal and deputy governor of Berwick, for John Kelston, servant to William Asheby, horse and guide, to go to Carlisle and return. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Wodrington.

1 *p. Seal.*

Sept. 12. **211. HENRY LORD SCROPE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 76.

Sends his footcloth, such as it is, by this bearer, Asheby's servant. Desires to be advertised of the Queen's arrival and date of the marriage, "that such thinges as can be gotten here maye be reserved for the tyme withoute waste, forasmuch as such delicates will not kepe." Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrop.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. Sept. 13.

212. G[ ] S[ ] TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

Monsieur de Men (Maine) took Neuchatel on the 11th instant, and the King expected him at Arques. The governor of Dieppe sent the King four pieces of battery. The Duke of Longueville sent word to the King that on the 10th instant Marshal Dowmont and he should join at Compiégne. The King thinks they should both join him at Arques on the 18th instant. On the 12th instant the said Duke marched to Eu, beside Treport, and is besieging it. Maine is lodged in the abbey of Treport, where the King lodged on the 8th instant. On the 12th instant the King rode to Dieppe to frustrate the plans of the Duke of Maine. The latter's army is estimated at 32,000, or, according to two Walloon prisoners, 40,000.

"Apone the xij of this instant the Kingis grece send out iij of his Scottis gardis of our compeney to sey quheir Monsieur de Menis campe was lyand; the quhilk iij lygis frome Arkis thir iij Scottis men tewk ij presonaris of the lyge of Monsieur de Menis compeney. The ane is a zoung gentillman was newryssid page with the Cardenall of Gueis. He that tewk this gentillman is callit Thomas Wardlaw, halfe broder to the Lerd of Torry [in] Fyfe."

"The King lewkes dey frome dey for some help frome Ingland, and marvellis grytlie of the Lerd of Wemys long tary." Arques. *Signed:* "G. S."

2¼ *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Sept. 15.

213. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 362.

"I have not written of late to your honour, because I was preparing for my journey whomeward; but I, finding the King unwi[lling] I should depart before the mariage w[as] solemnised, and considering the hard construccions that would here have ben m[ade] thereon at this present, as the Lord Chanc[ellor] tould me, and as I will further acquaint [your] lordship at my retorne, I thought good to staie the solemnities, most humblie [be]seching your honour to excuse me to [her] majestie if it be taken otherwise than well."

"We dailie now expect the fleet of De[nmark]. The Quene embarqued at Copmanhaven [on] Moundaie the first of this moneth, and [hath] not set foote on ground sithence, except [the] last storme, which continued the 12 and thirten of this present southwest, haith driven the fleet back into Norwaie, [as] in all likliehode it haith done."

"The Lord Dingwall arrived here this [day]. He left the Quene and the whole fleet on [this] side of Elsenoure, and had sight of the same nere the Skaw. It is certen[ly] looked that the Quene shall arrive in this Firth within as shorte space as [wind] and wether cane serve from Norwaie [to] this cost, which maie be in foure or fi[ve] daies, if thei have keapt the seas, and not entred over farr the Sound of . . ."

"The wind haith ben southwest and gre[at] this foure daies last past. This daie it groweth calmer and northwest, so as in . . . daies the Quenes arrivall is expected at Le[ith], where great preparacion is made to receave her."

"The Lord Maxwell is taken out of the castle and lodged in a burghers house in Edenborough; such severitie is used to rebells in [this] countrie,

James VI. 1589. which I beleave will draw repentance with it err it be long." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Sept. 15. **214. GEORGE ST. POLE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.**

Upon receipt of their letters for his attendance on the Earl of Lincoln into Scotland, being sheriff of the county of Lincoln, and having to collect money and appear with it at the Exchequer on November 1st, he cannot be dispensed withal without her majesty's special warrant. Melwood. *Signed:* George St. Poll.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 16. **215. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 78. Sends a copy of proceedings in France. Oatlands. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. **216. FRANCIS DACRE TO ELIZABETH.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 429. Writes to excuse his sudden and forced departure; has never before hazarded the Queen's displeasure. Disclaims all disloyalty or evil practices, whatever his "unfrendes" may say, of whom he has many, especially those whom his father brought up from mean estate and who now live in wealth on the lands that were his ancestors'. Their untruths have often taken effect with the Council, but never with the Queen till now.

Has suffered many things trusting in the Queen's promises. Has made shift to get money by selling his house, in order to come up to attend the Queen's pleasure.

"Being within a weike of taking my jurney, your majesties commission in the* . . . upoun the said landes haith not only dispossessed me by vertu of a letter [from] my Lord Tresurer writen by your majesties comandment of all thos tenantes which was a . . . to me, both of the Grastockes landes and also of the Dacres which were purchased and ou . . . concealment, but also haith called me and very earnestly demanded the rentes ag . . . my landes that I have receyved therof."

It is hard that Arundel's attainder should forfeit his [Dacre's] lawful possessions. He fears his adversaries have withdrawn the Queen's favour from him, as he had no answer to his petition to her majesty last Easter. Begs consideration of his poor estate, his lawfull possession being taken from him by another's fault. The [Louthers (?)] and Carltons, who never deserved well at the Queen's hands, are preferred before him, and evil men are maintained.* Has been accused of defrauding her majesty: had he done so he would have made a better . . . for himself than he has done. Has lost all hope, knowing . . . the Strangwaies landes, and considering the interest that Sir Thomas Cecil's

* Partly illegible here.

James VI. 1589. son hath in those lands from the Queen, so must let them rest in their hands and abide in poverty. Has no shift left: "to begg I am ashamed, to work I cannot, and to want I will [not]." He determined to employ the little that should have taken him to her majesty to carry him elsewhere, and has taken his son with him, that they may live or starve together. He leaves his daughters to such friends as God may provide. Croglin. *Signed:* Francis Dacre.

1½ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 20. 217. HENRY LORD SCROPE TO ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 82. Upon a letter he received from Roger Aston, signifying the King's desire to have her majesty's players to repair into Scotland, he sent to them where they were in the furthest parts of Lancashire, whereupon they returned, and have now been ten days at Carlisle. Prays Asheby to give notice thereof to his majesty. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scropp.

1 *p. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 22. 218. HENRY LORD SCROPE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 83. Has provided some red deer for the marriage, through the Earl of Derby, who sent him "a brace of verie fatt stagges redy baked." He sends them by his bearer to be presented to the King. Prays Asheby that Derby may have thanks for the same. Desires news of the young Queen and of occurrences in France. Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scropp.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 22. 219. BURGHLEY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 85. Asheby's letter of the 15th instant came not to Berwick till the 17th, nor to Burghley till the 21st. The Queen approves of Asheby's staying till after the marriage: "by your letter yt showld seme she weare not then landed, yet doth the Lord Chamberlaine by such intelligence as he hath assure hir majestie of hir arrivall; and my lord of Lincolne is hastned awaie, whoe will depart hence abowt Thorsday or Fridaie at the furthest." Prays Asheby to advertise by what noblemen and ladies of her nation she is accompanied, and the manner of her receiving. From the court. *Signed:* W. Burghley.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. 220 WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

The 20th of September is come and gone when it was supposed the marriage should be solemnized. The winds have been so great and so contrary that it is presumed the fleet is driven back into the Sounds of Norway and attends a fairer gale. The King, as a true lover, wholly passionate, and half out of patience with the wind and weather, is troubled that he hath been so long without intelligence of the fleet, "and thinketh everie daie a yere till he se his joye and love approche." With an indifferent wind four days would suffice from Norway hither.

James VI. 1589. Francis Dacres is come to Edinburgh with his young son. "He giveth out himself for a malcontent"; he is countenanced by Bothwell, and to win him favour here it is alleged that he is forced to forsake his country for certain speeches by him uttered derogatory to her majesty's and her Council's proceedings against the late Scottish Queen. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"If her majestie think anie thing of my staie, I most humblie besech your honour to excuse me herein, for that the King will not geve me leave before the mariage be here solemnised to departe."

1¾ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 87. Two drafts of the same.

Sept. 25. 221. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 89. It pleased her majesty to give him the penalty of Mr. Draycote's recusancy, as he desired, as appears by her grant signed and sealed, through Burghley's favour. Asheby compounded with the gentleman before going to Scotland, and the arrears are paid. Mr. Draycote is troubled by process out of the Exchequer for these arrears; Asheby being already satisfied desires Burghley's favour for him that he may be no more troubled. Edinburgh. Sept. 25 [*sic*].

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed:* "To the Lord Threasurer, the 27 of Sept. [*sic*] 1589."

Sept. 26. 222. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 444. Sends this packet at Mr. Hudson's request. Few of the nobility are like to be at this marriage, only the Earls Marischal, Mar, and Bothwell, Lord Hamilton, Claud, "Maxwell who cawles him selffe and is cawled by all his servantes and frendes Erll of Morton, and will passe all the rest in trayne and bravery, for he is wayted apon alreddy with a hundrethe jentellmen in Edenbrowghe," Seaton and other petty lords, the Chancellor and officers.

One Dacres is with Bothwell, who protects him: he hath presented the earl with two fair horses; he brought in six. He calls himself Francis Dacres, and has a son with him, a boy of 12. He came in by Liddisdale, brought hither by the Elliots; "he geves out he hathe righte to the lordship of Dacres and shewes to be mall content. When I goo to cowrt I will better looke to him."

Hears the ambassador received letters for him about the 14th instant, but cannot hear of them. Mr Aston told him that Walsingham wrote to him, but he has received none this month. The ambassador breaks his letters and keeps them, but probably would not dare do so to Walsingham's. Whittingham. *Unsigned.*

¾ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

Sept. 27. 223. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"I have resavid your letter of the 16 of this month. The Master of Grae is noct now at court, but att his cuminge I shal doe after your honoris derecssyon. The King is well sattisfyed with hir majestes

James VI. 1589. bownttefull deallinge att this tym, and wil yeild hir majeste very harte thanks for the saem. He is vere hevy and sorowfull for the Quein hir longe stae, and the church of Edinborow haeth had a dae of fast and praer for hir saeff aryvall."

"For the staett hear Mr. Fowller haeth writtin att lenghtt to your honor, as also a particuler letter to me of ane other matter, whiche, if your honor have noct sein, it mae pleas your honor to break up and read. Mr. Fowler mendith well daelly, and is comforttid by the King and Chanceler by ther oftin sending to him." Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

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

Sept. 27. 224. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 90. Burghley's letter of the 22nd instant arrived this 27th; small haste is made in the conveyance of letters. The Princess's arrival is uncertain, whatever may be reported to the contrary. The 24th instant his majesty caused public fast to be had, with supplications for her preservation since when the wind has turned, and her speedy approach is hoped for, if it continue but two days longer in the north-east.

Mr. John Colvile arrived here on the 22nd at night, and the next day acquainted the King with her majesty's bountifull consideration: the King came the 25th to see the plate and furniture he brought, which is such as was never known in Scotland, and is kindly accepted.

Bothwell the same day presented Francis Dacres, known here as Lord Dacres; "who delivering some small speache upon his knee, was heard with as small countenance," and returned without answer of the King or any other, except such as by Bothwell's importunity were drawn to salute him: Bothwell and Lord Maxwell conveyed him back to his lodging. Bothwell is ridden today to the King at Craigmillar, taking Dacres with him to procure favour for him.

Rumours of the Princess's approach caused gentlemen here to seek provision of victual from the Borders for her entertainment. Whereupon, learning the Queen's disposition to countenance the marriage, Asheby presumed to move the Wardens of the Marches to stay such preparation as the country afforded till her pleasure were known, so that if any provision came hither from those parts it might be acknowledged, "rather then it should be conveyed in hugger mugger and smothered under hand": since which Lord Derby, at Lord Scrope's request, sent hither a brace of fat stags baked after the English fashion, and other provision is stayed on the Borders in readiness against her landing. Asks for direction herein. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To the L. Thre. the 27 of Sep., by Brown."

Sept. 29. 225. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 91. Sends news from France. Encloses letters to James Hudson. Richmond. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed Indorsed at several places on the road between London and Edinburgh.*

James VI. 1589. Sept.

226. PLATE DELIVERED TO THE AMBASSADOR OF SCOTLAND.

"Guilt Plate."

	oz.	*dr.*	*gr.*
"Imprimis a paire of flagons poiz	175	15	0
"A nest of boules with one cover	90	9	0
"A nest of boules with one cover	85	7	12
"iij candell stickes	49	2	12
"A spoute pott	42	7	12
"vj boules without covers	43	12	12
"A basson and ewer	104	0	0
"A boule and cover	22	10	0
"ij boules and covers	44	12	12
"A chase salt and a cover	43	0	0
"A chase salt and a cover	25	17	12
"A chase salt and a cover	26	7	12
"A nest of boules and a cover	73	7	12
"A basson and ewer	88	5	0
"A basson and ewer	131	0	0
"A paire of pottes	67	7	12
"A paire of pottes	50	7	12
"ij rounde saltes and covers	38	1	12
"iij boules without covers	58	12	12
"A basson and ewer shipp fashion	69	10	0
"A boule and cover	55	15	0
"A boule and cover	41	15	0
"iij boules without covers	74	15	0
"ij boules without covers	25	17	12
"A standing cupp and cover	48	2	12
"iij plaine boules without cover	32	10	0
"iij boules with one cover	42	15	0
"iij boules without cover	28	12	12
"iij boules without cover	35	7	12
"iij smale boules without cover	20	10	0
"A greate basson and ewer	116	7	12
"A boule and cover	36	10	0
"A boule and cover	57	7	12
"iij dosen of spones	82	15	0
"A round salt with a cover	11	5	0
"A greate round salt with a cover	68	12	10
"A double bell salt	20	17	12
"A nest of deip boules without cover	25	0	2
"iij rased boules without cover	27	12	10
"iij graven boules without cover	21	10	2
"iij boules without covers graven without	28	1	10
"v celler boules without covers	55	5	2
"ij fruite dishes	18	17	10
"A christall pott	37	7	12
"A paire of saltes without cover	91	17	12
"A paire of livery pottes	70	5	2
"iij boules without covers gilt	29	5	0
"A paire of flagons	143	15	0

James VI 1589.

	oz.	dr.	gr.
" A couble cupp	38	2	12
" A spout pott	30	7	0
" ij crewettes	23	2	12
" A boule and cover	17	15	0
" A cupp with cristall	58	5	0
" A couble cupp	62	5	0
" iiij gilt boules and covers	126	0	0
" ij peare cuppes and one boule and cover	67	7	12
" A basson and ewer	63	5	0
" A salt and cover	11	7	12
" A dosen of spones	17	10	0
" A nest of boules without cover	75	17	12
" Totall of the parcells conteyned one both sides is in ownces	3279	5	0

" Percell gilt plate "

	oz.	dr.	gr.
" A double bell salt	18	0	0
" ij parcell guilt boules	19	17	12
" vj bowles with one cover	116	5	0
" A nest of tonne cuppes	51	15	0
" A basson and ewer	80	10	0
" A paire of pottes	77	15	0
" A basson and ewer	74	17	12
" A basson and ewer	98	12	12
" A basson and ewer	86	7	0
" A paire of pottes	101	17	12
" A basson and ewer	92	12	12
" A basson and ewer	83	10	0
" vj boules without covers	51	10	0
" ij dozen of trencher plates	146	0	0
" A dozen of trencher plates	78	15	0
" x dozen of spones	192	0	0
" iij . . . [*sic*]	26	12	12
" A smale shallow boule	8	0	0
" A basson and ewer	55	0	0
" Totall of the parcells above written being parcell gilt is in ounces	1459	15	0

" White Plate "

	oz.	dr.	gr.
" v boules without covers	43	17	12
" A bason and ewer	64	10	0
" xvij white boules	155	0	0
" ij chaffing dishes	63	17	12
" A basson and ewer	100	0	0
" vj bowles white	66	10	0
" ix boules and one spoute	136	12	12
" A perfuminge pann	27	17	12

James VI 1589

	oz.	dr.	gr.
" iij candellstickes	28	2	12
" vj candellstickes	70	0	12
" Totall of the parcells of white plate is in ounces	756	7	12

" The parcells of gilt plate delivered weyinge 3279 oz. at vij*s.* the ounce do amount in money to the some of 1147*li.* 14*s.* 9*d.*

" The parcells of parcell gilt plate delivered weyinge 1459 oz. 15 dr. at vj*s.* the ounce do amount to in money 437*li.* 18*s.* 6*d.*

" The parcells of white plate delivered waying 756 oz. 9 dr. do amounte to in money at v*s.* viij*d.* the ounce 214*li.* 6*s.* 9*d.*

" More paide to Mr. Stone mercer in money for silkes the somme of 200*li.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

" *Summa summarum* amountes to 2000*li.* 0*s.* 0*d.*

3⅔ *pp.* *Indorsed by Burghley :* " Sept. 1589. Plate sent into Scotland to the vallew of ij thousand by Mr. Colvile."

Sept.

227. Mr John Colvile to William Asheby.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 69.

" That I writ nocht in former paquettis the caus wes for that I thocht your lordship had bein on your journey, and noct of forgetfulnes. This mariage of Mr. Robert Cicill, and Mr. Secretaris seiknes, hes retardit my arand, bot now I look for hesty and favorable answer, whiche salbe signifeit wnto your lordship how sone I sall resave it."

" At my first audience I trust—as my dewite wes—I haif done your lordship no harm, and I think hir majeste will declair the same at your meting. I assurit hir highnes that your lordship, sem[ing] to do nothing, had effectuat a good work, considdering in quhat disposition our estat wes into at [your] arryvall amang ws, whiche hir highnes confessit to be trew, with other spechis that passit amang ws whiche I om[it], lest yow suld think I did flatter."

" I fere the matteris of France be noct in werey good estat. Mr. Lillie is returnit home, and schawis the King l[eft] at Arques, abyding till Monsieur de Longeville and Marischall d'Aumont joyin with him; and that De . . .* is at D'Aumall, noct distant above ten legis. I think or now thai haif ether fowgin or ellis on of the par[ties] hathe quat the place : bot your lordship heris theis [mat]teris better nor I can writt." *Signed :* Jo. Colvile.

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

Oct. 2.

228. William Asheby to Burghley

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 95.

There is yet no news of the Queen's arrival, neither hath the King heard anything from her since the day of embarking, which was the first of September. The fleet is probably carried into some sound of Norway. Certain ships have arrived which parted from Elsinore five or six days after the Queen's embarking, but they bring no news of the fleet. The

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. wind was north and north-east the 26th, 27th, and 28th of September, "which put us in good hope to have sene the flet approching," but the 28th at night it turned to the south-west, and there continues, so that the King fears he is not like to see his love and joy before the spring; "beside thei feare the retorne of there navie, by reason those seas are often frosen in winter, if the windes should keape them here but twentie daies arriving this moneth in theise partes."

The King, passionate as true lovers be, having heard nothing of the fleet since Lord Dingwall arrived, who parted the first day of her embarking, sent Colonel Stewart to sea on the 28th to understand what he can of the fleet and bring him some comfort; "by this daie, with the wind he had, he is upon the costes of Norwaie," but if it change not, he must be slow in returning, and it is so strong that they can send no messenger from those parts.

1½ *pp.* *Draft.* *In Asheby's hand.*

Ib. fol. 93. Another copy of the same.

Oct. 2. **229. JAMES MURRAY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 361.

"I have oft and divers tymes heirtofoir burden[ed] zour honour in my affairis, quhais ayde and sure freindschip I have, mair of zour honouris courtasie and gude favour borne to me than of my . . .* esperance of the continewance of zour gude affectioun as experience mak . . . I have taken the baldnes humblie to imploir zour honouris help in my advis a . . . be offerit. Zour honour will pleas wndirstand I have oftymes befoir writtin . . . the incourtasie ressavit be me of the governouris of court for the tyme being abo[ut his] majestie my maister, specialie James Stewart, sumtyme callit Erlle of Arrane, and [his] confidderatis in debarring me fra my charge in his majesteis service, wardit a . . . but just caus or mereit on my parte be commiteing eny capitall cryme . . . sie reward gevin me, bot rather apone malice and evill will consavit . . . syspecting me to be the Quenis majesteis favorar, and that I professit hir . . . quhilk wes thocht ane caus sufficient be thame to seclude me his majes[teis] . . . Quhilkis injureis I have patientlie abiddin till it sall plais God . . . same, quhilk I trust be tyme to sie put in executioun."

"Now it will p[lais zour] honour, seing hir majestie is to direct the Erle Lyncon in this cuntrie, th . . . will tak apone zow to treat at hir majesteis handis for me, that ane letter . . . in my favouris or wtherwayis as hir majestie sall pleas be direct to the se . . . , that seing I have sustenit sic injurie and wrang for hir caus debarrit fra my service, that I may be repossessit agane, becaus Sir Williame . . . presentlie possessis the said office is to be promoittit to gritter honour."

"A . . . honour and service lyis in the power of sic ane as me to do hir majestie . . . experience sall follow at my utirmest. I doubt noct bot hir majestie will in . . . gud-will to me in this my honest and ressonable sute, for his saik quha pro . . . that place in his hienes service, I mene my deir kynsman of gude m[emory] Erle of Murray, quhome of hir majestie had experience of gudwill towart . . .

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. alsu a writtin ane lettre to hir majestie tuiching this my sute quhairof it p . . . ressave the copie ; and gif it sall pleas zour honour the same be presentit, I remit it to zour honouris wisdome ; howbeit I be tedious and langsum, quhairby zour honowr hes occasioun to fasche in reding of the same."

"I am bauld and hamelie to burdene zour honour and to imploir zour help . . . honest sute. I doubt noct zour honour sall accept and tak the same in gude [part], as of him quhome zour honour hes creddeit to command at his wtirmest . . . zour honour. Quhatsaevir freindschip zour honour professis to me it sall noct . . . ingrat or wnthankfull persone." [*Signature decayed.*]

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

Oct. 2. **230. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

At the writing of his last letters, of September 27th, there was hope of some news of the Princess of Denmark, for the wind was favourable two or three days together, but the 28th at night it turned south-west, which dashed all hope. The King is as a lover "distracte with a wourld of passionat cogitacions," having heard nothing since her embarking on September 1st. She has been thirty days at sea, and no bark come from the fleet to advertise what state she is in : some ships are lately arrived here that parted six days after the Queen's embarking ; they bring no news of the fleet, but guess that she is driven into the Sounds of Norway. "On Sondaie the 28 the King sent Coronell Steward to the sea, who by this is on the cost of Norwaie, to search for the fleet, and to retorne with such expedicion as the wether will give him leave." Monsieur Buzenval arrived here yesterday. The King is at Craigmillar, so it will probably be Sunday ere he have audience. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

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

[Oct.] **231. PERSONS COMING WITH PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 97. "Piter Monck, greate admerall of Denmark, and one of the four governors. N. Brave of the privie concell. N. Romsaw, the stateholder of Helfterstone, one of the privye concell. Henry Goldensterne, admyrall of the flete, wherin ther is ordayned 18 of the King's shipps. Accompaigned with a nomber of gentelmen of good parentaige and credite in ther trayne."

½ *p.*

Oct. 5. **232. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 105. Whereas by my last despatch I gave you to understand that Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's letter was sent to Lord Scrope to be conveyed to him, it has fallen out that Lord Scrope has returned it, and therefore I send it here enclosed to you to be delivered to him. From the court. *Signed :* "Fra : Walsyngham."

Postscript—"I send you herewith all such occurrents as I have this day receaved out of Fraunce."

½ *p.* *Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. Oct. 8.

233. WILLIAM ASHBEY TO WALSINGHAM.

Writes an account of the rumours of the princess's arrival, that the Earl of Lincoln may dispose his journey thereafter. The wind continues flat contrary, and so strong as no vessel can make hitherward to bring news. The King sent Colonel Stewart on September 28th to seek the fleet; he had a good wind to carry him thither, but holding in the same corner it keeps him back. The fear of some disaster is increased by two ominous chances, as they are here interpreted: "th'on upon her embarking a greate pece in the admiral's ship brake in shoting, and killed tow or thre of the gonners; th'other chance was here in the Firth, a boote passing the 7th of Sept. from Burntisland, in Fiffe, towardes Lythe, in the midwaie being under saile and the tempest growing great caried the boote with such force upon a ship which was under seale as the boote sunke presentlie, and almost all the passengers drowned, emongest whom was Madam Kenedie which was with the late Quene in England, and divers other gentlewemen and marchantes of Edenbrowghe to the nomber of fourtie perished, with plate and riche hangings which was all lost."

The King, passionate with long delay, flies to God, commanding public fast and prayer, hoping for good news upon Colonel Stewart's return; whereof Walsingham shall be advertised within four days after his arrival, if the posts do their duty. Edinburgh. October 6. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

First Postscript—Kept this letter hoping for Colonell Stewart's return with news. The wind turned to the south-east yesterday; if it continue, there will be some certainty in what state the princess has been since September 1st. This morning he received Walsingham's packet with the enclosed to Monsieur Buzenval, who had audience on Saturday, and means to take leave in a day or two, and return on the 13th instant. Edinburgh. 8th October. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Second Postscript—He imparted the French news to the King at Craigmillar, who joys to hear of it, and wishes the King a glorious victory against the Leaguers.

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

Oct. 8.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 414.

234. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

"The rumours geven out, right honourable, of the princes [ar]rivall, and those assured in England for certein, causes me now to writ to your lordship, having [no] newse thereof, that the Earl of Lincolne m[ay] dispose of his journey hitherwardes there . . .*" The wind has continued south and south-west since the princess's first embarking, which are flat contrary, and have been so strong as no vessel could come to bring news. "The King lyeth at Cragmillar, hard by Edenbrowghe, retyred, and as a kind lover spends the t[yme] in sighing till he heare of the retorne of [Coronell] Steward, whom he sent to the sea the [28] of the last moneth, to the cost of Norway to seek out the fleet; whose retorne is dai[ly] expected and wished for, that his heighnes might understand some good newse of [his] love and joye." This long uncertainty brings fear of some disaster, that is increased by two ominous chances,

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. as they are here interpreted. "The [one] upon her embarking a great pe[ce in the] amiralles ship brake in shoting and killed tow o[r thre] of the gonners. Th'other chance hapened h[ere] in the Firth: a boote passing from Bru[nt] Island in Fiffe the 8 of Sept. towardes [Lythe], in the midwaie being under saile, and the tempest growing verie great caried th[em] with such force upon a ship under saile as the boote presentlie suncke, and almost a[ll the] passengers drowned; emongest whom was [Madam] Kenedie, who was with the late Quene in Eng[land], and divers gentlewomen and marcha[nts] of Edenbrowghe, to the nomber of fourtie that per[ished], with plate and hangings brought hither f[or] the mariage, which was all lost."

The King, somewhat passionate with these chances, long delay and contrary winds, flieth to God, and commands public fast and prayer. Yesterday the wind changed to the s . . .; if it hold two or three days, there is hope of Colonel Stewart's return with news of the princess. You shall be advertised within four days [of] his arrival if the posts do th[eir] d[uty]. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Oct. 9. 235. SIR JOHN SELBY TO WILLIAM ASHBEY.

Eg., MSS., 2,598, fol. 107. Has often troubled Asheby because he could not get justice "nor dayes of trew holden, neither of the Middell Marche of Scotlande nor the Easte Marche." Hears that by Asheby's endeavour both those Wardens had command from the Council of Scotland to meet and do justice. The Warden of the East March twice met Selby, and did justice, till they came to a bill of Captain Carye's, "wherat the Scotche Warden stopte." Captain Carye showed the King's letter that he should have justice; the Warden said he had a countermand from the lords of the Council, and would proceed no further in that bill. Proceeded in other bills, and the Scottish Warden promised to acquaint the King and Council with the matter, and give answer at their next meeting. "We apointed a new daye, and the Scotche Warden hathe shott it, to the great hurte of the trew subjectes on bothe sydes." Can get no day of meeting with the Warden of the Middle March: thieves are busy on both sides "and this slack of meetinges gives them good ocasion." If there be not speedy remedy her majesty's subjects are like to suffer great damages, as they have done already. He prays Asheby to deal with the King and Council "that dayes of trew may be kepte and justice ministred," and that he may hear of the proceedings, that he may the better take care of the country and let them understand what they may trust to. Received a letter from Asheby for providing of "cates" for the King's marriage; in his wardenry there is neither fallow deer nor pheasant, but only beef and mutton, and that no better than where Asheby is. Twizell. *Signed:* Jhon Selbye.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 10. 236. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

This morning arrived a gentleman of Denmark, with message from the Princess, and is to have audience in the afternoon at one o'clock. In

James VI. 1589. his company is a Scottish gentleman of the Earl Marishal's train, Andrew Synk[l]er by name, who says that the princess is in good health, and her company, but sorely beaten with the seas. She put out twice for this coast, but both times driven back by contrary winds. Divers of the great ships have taken leak and cannot undertake the voyage; they are now a-mending, but their burden is such as without a direct and constant wind—which at this season is uncertain—they cannot hope to recover Scotland.

There is controversy between the Scots and the Danes, the latter seeking to carry her back till next spring, the others importuning her to come aboard their light vessels, which would reach hither without difficulty: the Queen herself is most forward hitherwards. Earl Marishal has sent Colonel Stewart and John Skene into Denmark to solicit her immediate repair hither. It is thought the Danish gentleman is sent to crave light ships of his majesty for the Queen's transportation, and to communicate some other matter to the King. Asheby hopes to learn his embassage and the King's answer this afternoon. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 109. Draft of the same, with addition of the following postscript :—

On Tuesday, the 7th of October, Mr. Sinclair parted from the coast of Norway, where he left the Queen, and landed at Leith on Friday, the 10th, at 4 in the morning.

Oct. 11. **237. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 449. Yesterday Andrew Sinclair arrived, and with him a Danish gentleman sent from the Queen, who had audience the same day. Encloses information from Mr. Hay, Clerk Register, as to dangers she has passed, her present estate, and resolutions for her transport. They must attend the wind, which has kept the fleet four days since the Queen's embarking, being beaten with storms upon the coast of Norway.

It were well if the carriage came before the depth of winter, "and staie at Barwick till my Lord of Lincolne's comming, who ned . . .* to take his journey before he sh[albe] advertised of the Quenes arrivall, [for] the mariage will not be solemnised . . . twelve daies aftar; in which . . . will be here." The reports of Francis Dacres were false; he carries himself modestly, and reports honourably of her majesty. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Oct. 12. **238. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 112. Yesterday arrived Mr. Andrew Sinclair, and with him a Danish gentleman sent from the Queen, who had audience the same day. What dangers she has passed, in what place she now remains, and what is resolved for her transporting hither, this enclosed will tell, from Mr. Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, one well affected to her majesty. There can be no certain time of her arrival, because they must attend the wind,

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. which has kept her fleet these forty days since the Queen's embarking, and beaten it on to the coast of Norway sundry times. It were not amiss if the carriage came before the depth of winter, and stayed at Berwick till the Earl of Lincoln's coming; who need not take his journey before he hear of her arrival, for the marriage will not be solemnised in ten or twelve days after.

"Towchinge Mr. Frauncis Dacres I fynd not that true which is reported of him, but that he carieth himself modestly and reporteth right honorablie of her majestie as becometh a good subject." Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

¾ *p.* *Draft.*

Enclosure with the same:—

[Intelligence from Alexander Hay.]

"Saturday xj of October 1589."

"Be the report of the gentlemen of Scotland quhilk arrived upon the x day in the morning, it is understand that the Quene and all the flete has bene in greit payne and dangier, having at five severall tymes bene drevin bak be storme and contrarious wyndis, sundrie of the schippis being lek, and specialie that quhairin the Quene wes."

"The Counsell of Denmark thair present deliberat to haif returnit in Denmark, were not the Colonell about the same tyme arrived; quhair the mater being a long tyme disputit, in end it wes remittit to the Quenis awin choice, quha choissit rather to cum forewart nor pas bak."

"Quhairupoun the Colonell and Mr. John Skene wer direct to Denmark to travell, as we heir, that it may be permittit that the Quene sall cum hame in Scottis vesschellis; and a gentleman namyt Stene Bleic send hither with letters to shaw the occasiouns of the stay, quha wes the sam day ressavit."

"And there is purpos taken to send away the Erll Boithuel, admirall, with the reddiest schippis that can be had, to visit the Quene now remanyng, as is reportit, at Ansloe, and yf salbe permittit—wynd and wedder serving—to convey her hither."

"Present dispatche maid to the townis on the coistside of Fiffe, Dundee, and other places, for shippis and mariners."

"The King himself intendis this day to pas to Leyt and remane there quhill he sall see the rigging out and dispatche of the schippis." *Unsigned.*

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

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 273. Copy of the inclosure. Added in Asheby's hand: "It wilbe eight or ten dayes before the shipes wilbe readie to set forward."

Oct. 12. 239. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Received Burghley's letter of the 6th on October 10th. Touching the motion he (Asheby) made for provision out of the Borders, is sorry it should be so mistaken. Did not presume to procure the same of himself, but only propounded the matter to Burghley "without anie progresse ether by promisse or performance here" until her majesty's and Burghley's pleasure were known. Indeed wrote to the Wardens of the Marches, but not to cause them to make any solemn preparation for such a purpose, which he knew the bareness of the Marches could not yield, "but onlie

James VI. 1589. to make staye of such dainties as that countrie doth afford and this doth not," until he knew the Queen's pleasure, being advertised that the Scots, expecting their Queen's immediate arrival, had sent thither to furnish themselves. Thought meeter, if any such preparation came from thence, it should be "acknowledged whence it came, rather then to be smothered as it were in coverte and thankleslie bestowed otherwise"; intending that if any present of that nature were sent, it should be "as a necessarie supplie to there domesticall wantes here, wherewith thei might be overtaken at so short warning, and so to procead as from the good devocion of the King's neighbours her majestie's subjectes there, rather then to come in manner of a prince's present, which, consisting of complementes of that nature, it might seme nether honorable for her majestie to offer nor for this King to receave."

Only propounded the motion, craving Burghley's advice and answer whether such present as might come should be presented in her majesty's name, or as proceeding "of the voluntarie inclinacion of the gentlemen of the Borders for neighborehoode's sake, seing her heighnes gracious disposicion declared otherwise in gracing the King's mariage in most princelie manner."

The red deer sent by the Earl of Derby was hastened by the false alarm of the Queen's arrival, but "it was not so soone as welcome," being here esteemed a delicacy for the manner of baking, which is not used in this country. No oxen are provided by Mr. Vernon or any other: Asheby's motion to him was upon request of Alexander Hay, only to stay such "bevies" as were ordinarily provided for Berwick until he heard from him (Asheby), "and so to the rest of there venisons and other such dainties to the intent before specified, that if her majestie should like of such a mocion, there provicion should not be forestallen by the Scottes"; if otherwise, there should be no hurt done, no promise having been made.

Thanks Burghley for his care of him, and beseeches him to employ his endeavours towards her majesty for the qualifying of her misliking hereof and the continuance of her favour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby. 12th October '88 [*sic:* but indorsed 1589].

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 12. **240. Mr James Colvile to Walsingham**

"Being arrivit heir I have directit this present, taking the bauldnes as I have doon ever hitherto to put zour lordship to pains as to caus convey my pacquet to my cousing Mester Jhone. Gif ther var not heir quha can advertis zou better nor I can in al thingis, I vald not spair my pains, nor shal never gif zour lordship think it gud. Gif ze think it necessair, lat me knaw be zour lordship's nixt letter, for I vald esteim my self happie gif I culd do zour lordship ony service. Gif thair cum ony letteris from Scotland to me, I prey zour lordship lat them be send as ony occatione presentis." Dieppe. *Signed:* James Coluill of Estveimes.

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

Oct. 12. **241. Burghley to William Asheby.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 110. Your last letters were of the 8th instant, from Edinburgh, at which time there was no knowledge of the Queen's arrival or of the fleet, which

James VI. 1589. maketh her majesty of opinion that she should be stayed till the spring, except these easterly winds have brought her. Her majesty has caused the Earl of Lincoln, her ambassador, and those that are carrying her presents to the King and Queen, to stay on the way until they hear with more certainty of her coming or stay. "From my howse in Westminster." *Signed:* "W. Burghley."

Postscript in Burghley's handwriting: "I pray you tell Mr. Colvile, how I am here by my promiss engaged to sondry persons to paye them two thousand poundes, which I shuld have payd the 8th of this month: and yet I have his letter to answer the same at the end of two months from the tyme that he receaved that plate. I can not obteyne from her majesty any discharg as yet, so as without some meanes be used from thence by that King's thankes to hir majesty, as though he did receave the hole three thousand poundes of hir gift, I must in honesty paye the same, which I will doo, though I leave not my self a spoone of silver."

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 13. **242. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 115. Has received Asheby's letters of the 7th instant, and thereupon wrote to the Earl of Lincoln "to proceed onwardes by smale journies towardes Carlile," and there to await news of the Scottish Queen's arrival. In the mean time Asheby should write to the said Earl of such matters as pass in Scotland for his better instruction. *Signed:* "Fra: Walsyngham."

Postscript in Walsingham's hand: "The Earl passethe by Carlel in regarde of the infectyon that reygnethe in Nucastell."

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 15. **243. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [BURGHLEY].**

Cott. Calig., D.I., fol. 447. "Upon the receaving here, right honorable, our m . . .* Stephan Bley, the Danishe gentleman, a[nd] the contentes of his letters perused, it was [de]termined, as I advertised your lordship, that [the] Erll Bothwell should have made to the s . . . and attended the Quene out of Norwaie hi[ther]. Sithence that the Erll is fallen sicke, and . . . this voiage is appointed divers of the Kings principall counsellours, *nominatim* the Lord Chancellor, the Justice Clerke, the Lord of Dingwell, [the] Provost of Linclowdane, the Lard Carmic[hell], the Lard of Barnbarrough, Sir William Keith [and] Peter Yong, with sundrie other gentlemen of [the] Kings house, such as are ordinarilie the ner[est] attendant on his parson: which makes some [of] the discretest here suspect that the [King] haith a resolucion to hazard his owne pa[rson] in the voiage, purposing to embarque h . . . secretlie to avoide such disturbance as [were] likelie to arise if his determinacion w[ere] publicklie knowen." It will be known within two or three days, if the wind serve. *Signed:* W. As . . .

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

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. Draft of the same.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 122. 244. ALEXANDER HAY TO [WILLIAM ASHEBY].

Oct. 15. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 121. "Zour lordschip hes bene sa lang acquaynted with this estait, that ze ar not ignorant of the conditioun of the officeris and counsellouris, of whome as I am the meanest, sa have I never presumed curiouslie to inquer further then simpillie I wes directit, and least of all in this purpos ze wrait, quhairof I can affirme na thing, bot abydis behalding quhat sall fall out. For quhaevir croce the seys, I think it salbe lang before I be employed in sic ane erand."

"The cheif personis that I think preparis ar the Chancellair, the Lord Dingwell, quha wes thair afoir, the Justice Clerk, the provost of Linclouden, the Lard of Carmichell, Sir Williame Keith, the Lard of Barmbarrauch, Maister Peter Zoung, with sundrie gentilmen of the Kingis hous."

"For my opinioun I think as zour lordschip dois, bot am far from place of geving advise in materis of sic importance: praying God to send his majestie happy succes in his proceidingis quhatsoevir." Leith. *Signed:* A. Hay.

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

Oct. 16. 245. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 123. "I beseke zow apardoun me that I forbeare to deale or gif ony advise or jugement in this mater, quhilk is sa fer above my reache that in guid fayt I dar not medle in it in sport or earnest. I think gif zour lordschip wer in my present cace in England, yow wold gif me being a Scott the like answer. And sa in simplicite I besek zow urge me noct in thingis that althoch I heir thame I dar not trust thame, specialie finding our materis and resolutionis subject to sa mony alterationis that he quha wald gadder occurrentis on thame mycht procuir unto him self the title of a very incertaine reportair, I will noct say lear. For my selff I rest upoun the event, and further can not say at this present." Leith. *Signed:* A. Hay.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Oct. 17. 246. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Thair came of late a subject of zours in our realme and to oure presence named Frances Dacres, lamenting his miserie and sorrowfull estait; how that being the sone of a nobleman that had proceidit of ane ancient race in England, and deservid weill of zow and zour worthy progenitouris thair soverains, wes be the offensis of his brother, and not be ony offens committit be himself, drevin fra the ancient inheritance of the hous of Dacres and utheris landis that accressit thairto, with sic possessionis quhairof he had his lyvelood; being in daunger alswa of imprisonment for sowmes recovered agains him in attendance of thay suittis, not being in his habilitie to pay, that he hazardit to repair in our realme and to mik sute to ws to be ane intercessour for him at zour handis. Quhairin we had na greit liking at the first to be a medlair,

James VI. 1589. knawing how little princes ar accustomat to like of requeistis maid in the behalf of thair subjectis; bot efter we had informed our selff of the estait of his caus, and that the occasionis thairof ar sa weill knawin unto zour selff be his awin letter sent zow at his depairting furth of England, and na uther caus ayther allegit or knawin to ws, we perswadit ourselff that ze wald not only be pleased to accept our sute and requeist in gude pairt, bot favorablie to respect the same for our sake. The summe of quhais petitionis followis. First that it may be zour guid pleser to grant him, his sone, and servandis, thair pardoun for cuming furth of England without zour licence, the rather for our requeist, and that the causes of his said depairture ar sa weill knawin unto zow be his awin letter, as indeid thair is na uther caus allegit or knawin to ws. Nixt restis the consideratioun and pretijng of his caus, quhilk, according to his informatioun, standis thus. Ze have possessioun be the attendre of his brother Leonard of landis to the valu of nyne hundreth pund sterling, quhilkis landis quhairin ze are now intitulat, being the ancient landis of the Dacres, stand maist cleir to him be his faderis tailie gif his brotheris offences quhairof he is innocent had not bene. The dignitie and title of honour wer intailled in the tyme of zour worthy progenitour King Edward the fourth to the airis maill. And sa be the offences of the brether of this Frances the landis ar in zour curtesie. Edward Dacre, the other brother of this Frances, had landis of the valu of ane hundreth merkis be zeir, quhilkis ze haif bestowed on Sir Henry Knevett, quhilkis landis wer befoir the offence conveyed to this Frances, howbeit he could not find the conveyance till within this twelf moneth, sa that the tyme of his challenge thairunto is past be a lait statute, thogh otherwayes he had guid richt. And as he is informit all the befoir rehersed landis with the title of honour ar cleir to him gif the said lait statute sen his brotheris departure wer not; for the landis of Dacres quhilkis cam be Sir James Stranguishe and wer in the possessioun of Leonard Dacre liand in Zorkschyre and Northumberland they ar allegit to be maist cleir to this Frances be taillie quhilk his father maid. And howbeit ze had thame in possessioun evir sen the depairture of Leonard, zit it is thocht zour titill endit fyve zeiris syne, at quhilk tyme his brother died, and that ze haif na cullour of title to thay landis, as gif zour pleser wer to call Maister Justice Perron and Maister Justice Waunslay befoir zow thay twa could satisfie zow thairin."

"Sum other landis were in contraversie betuix the lait Erll of Arrundell now attainted, the Lord Williame his brother, and this Frances, quhilkis ar namyt the Graystockis landis, and sum pairt of the Dacres landis; to quhilkis albeit ze can not mak challenge, notwithstanding wes he put frome his possessioun of sum pairt of thay landis befoir his depairting furth of England."

"Now for the first theis our requeist for him is, that it wald pleas zow not to tak advantage of his broderis offences in owerthrawing that ancient hous, the heritouris quhairof in this name hes bene sa lang loyall servandis to zour auncesters, bot according to the conveyance maid be the fader of this Frances the landis may succeid, considdering they ar not forfaltit be him or be any his offences committit be him or his meanis; as also for that thay landis fallis not to zow be the commoun lawes of England bot be the said late statute quhilk we mon eirnestlie crave sall tak na effect upoun him. And for that it is thocht ze can pretend na guid title to the Stranguishe landis, that ze will restoir him thairto, ay and quhill he be

James VI. 1589. lawfullie callet and put thairfra, as alswa that he may be restorit to the Graystockis landis and full possessioun thairof, unto sic tyme as tryell be tane of the titles of the saidis lait Erll of Arundell, his brother, and the said Frances, as also to utheris of the Dacres landis that ar not in the concealment."

"Thies his sutes as he hes informit ws we haif thocht convenient als specialie to remember in this our letter, that we may the better louke to ressave zour gude and speciall aunser heirof to his relief and confort; as we sall thankfullie retene in mynd a benefit shawin for our respect and caus, and salbe na les willing to aunser any to be maid be zow gif at any tyme ze sal have occasioun to put ws to pruif." Leith. *Signed:* James R.

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

Oct. 18. **247. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 412.

By your letter of the 13th, which I received this morning, I see the news of the Queen could not be with you at the date of your last to me; but ere this you understand by my letters of the 10th, 12th and 15th what d[angers] the princess hath past, how oft driven back by south-westerly winds upon the coast of Norway, where she remains till she hear from Denmark and from this King, having sent word of her estate to both places. The ships I mentioned have put out of Leith harbour into the road, and provisions in readiness; they shall make away this day or tomorrow.

Bothwell is recovered from his surfeit, and is malcontent that he being . . .* is not employed in this sea service. "The Kinge seinge his purpose halfe discovered, and misdoubting what tumultes maie growe there u[pon], geveth out by vehement assercions that he intendeth no such matter as to hazard his pers[on] in the voiage; and the Chancellor, who standeth stro[ngly] suspected and charged at all handes to be the principall adviser herein, protesteth by all [he] maie that he is utterlie unacquainted . . . such resolucion in his majestie, and that his heighnes [con]cealeth his meaning herein from him."

Yesternight the King appointed a strong watch in . . . and Edinburgh to appease such disturbances as may arise upon this opinion of his embarking, to be continued till the . . . be made forth; some affirm that he will go, others no such matter: great inconvenience must follow if he were absent but a month.

Mr. Colvile has retired to his house for a few days. He acquainted me with that your honour mentioned in the end of your letter, and told me her majesty should hear from the King very shortly to show his grateful mind for her liberality; and he will also thank your lordship for your fatherly care.

It is uncertain when we shall see the Queen; she may stay in Norway, or return to Denmark, or come hither, for anything we know.

"I have written to my Lord of Lincolne that he maie repose himself where he thinkes good t[ill] the certeintie be here of her arrivall, whereof

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. thei begin here to doubt before the spr[ing]." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 125. Unfinished draft of the same.

[Oct. 19.] 248. JAMES VI. TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 29. "I thocht not to haue urettin to you at this tyme, bot to haue remittid all my directionis to the sufficiencie of this bearare, uarr not the inconsiderat importunitie of this Maister of Glammes, quha, as a man cairless of me and onlie louaire of him self, pressis be all meanes uith his conuocationis for dayes of lau to interrupt and truble this tyme onlie dedicatt for my honoure: ueill thir faconis are intollerabill in subiectis quhais prince meritis sa ueill at thaire handis alluaye. This and all other thingis I remitt to the sufficiencie of this bearare as I have said, quhom ye may frelie credit, for I haue amplie aneuch informid him in all thingis. And as for siluer, in guide faith I ame making all the schift I can, bot I darr promeis nathing, this uarlde is sa false. For yett not to make presentlie, euin the morne, a proclamation to be proclamit throuch all Skotlande dischairging under paine of deade all conuocationis ather for dayes of lau, teindis, turfis, posessionis of cornis or comonountie, alsueill in respect of my order taine the last yeir in a convention thair about as be reason of this extraordinair tyme, and this to induire quhill the tuentie daye of October next betuixt; and the quhilke it sall promeis in the uorde of a prince that I sall sett doune a solide order to be folloued in all tymes cumming be the subiectis heirin, assuring all the contrauenaires heirof that I uill accoumpt thaim as hinderairis of my mariage and euill-uillaris of any succession that euer I soulde haue; and lett this be proclaimid in Edinburghe the morne uithout faill. Fairueill. Urittin this Soundaye at nicht in haist." *Signed:* James R.

Postscript—"Johne Gibb remember on me at this tyme nou or neuer."

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed:* "To our Chancellor."

[Oct. 20]. 249. DISCOURSE OF JAMES VI. ON TAKING HIS VOYAGE.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 134. Printed in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, IV. 427-9; and in *Papers relative to the Marriage of James VI.* . . . Ban. Club, pp. 12-16. "In respect I know that the motion of my voyage at this time wilbe diverslie scanned upon, the misinterpreting whereof may tend as well to my great dishonor as to the wrongous blame of innocentis, I have thereupon bene moved to set downe this present declaration with my owne hand, hereby to resolve all gude subjectis, first, of the causes breafely that moved me to take this purpose in head, and next, in what fashion I resolvid my self thereof."

"As to the causes, I doubt not it is manyfestly knowen to all, how farr I was generally fownd falt with by all men for the delaying so long of my mariage. The reasons were, that I was alone, without father or mother, brother or sister, king of this realme and aire apparrant of England."

"This my nakednesse made me to be weak and my enimies stronge; one man was as no man, and the want of hope of succession breades disdaine; yea, my long delay bread in the breastes of mony a great jolousie of inhabilitie as if I were a barron stock."

James VI. 1589.

"These reasons, and innumerable others howerlie objected, moved me to hasten the treatie of my mariage: for as to my owne nature, God is my witnesse I could have absteined longer nor the weill of my patrie could have permitted. I am knowen, God be praised, not to be verie interperatlie [*sic*] rashe nor conceatid in my weightiest affaires, nether use I so to be caried away with passion as I refuse to here reason."

"This treatie then beinge perfited, and the Quene my bedfellow cuming on hir journey, how the contrarious windes stayed hir and where she was driven it is more then notorious to all men, and that it was necessariely conclu[d]ed by the astates that it behoved necessariely to be performed this year, I remitt it to your selfes who concluded the same in the springe at th'earle Marshalls derecting. The word then comminge to me that she was stayed from cuming through the notorious tempestes of windes, and that hir shippes were not able to perfect hir voyage this yeare, throwgh the great hurt they had received,—remembring my self of hir inhabilitie on thone part to cum, and of the foresaid resolution of th' estates on the other, the like whereof I had oft solempnitlie avowed, I, upon the instant, yea verie moment, resolved to make possible on my part that which was impossible on hirs."

"The place where I resolved this in was Cragmillar, not one of the whole Counsell being present their. And as I take this resolution onelie of my self, as I am a trew prince, so advised with my self onelie what way to follow fourth the same."

"Whereupon I thought first to have had the culler of th' erle B[oth]well parting, whome first I imployed to have maid his voyage, as well in respect of his office as likewyse the rest of the Councell being absent all that hole daie after I came to Edenbrowghe, the Chauncellor and Justice Clark being yet unretorned owt of Lauder, and the whole rest of the officers of estate being all at your howse, the Clerk of Regester onelie except."

"B[ut], from I saw this voyage impossible to be perfected by th' erle Bothwell, in respect of the costes he had bestowed upon the preparations of my mariage, whereby he was unable to make it with such expedition and honour all [*sic:* as] the estate of that affair and his persoun did requier, I was then forced to seak sum other way and to abyde the Councell assembling."

"Who being convenit [f]and such difficulties in reckning owt a nomber of shippes for hir convoy, for so I geve it owt who should be the persons of the ambassa[age], as I was compelled, to make them the more earnest, to avow in great vehemencie that, if they could be gotten no other to gang, I should go my self alone, if it were but in one shipp: but if all men, said I, had bene aswell willed as became them, I neaded not be in that straiet."

"These speaches moved the Chancellor, upon thre respectes, to make his offer of goinge: first, taking those speaches of evell will unto him, because all men knowes how he hath bene this long time sclandered for over great slawnes in the matter of my mariage; next, his zeale to my service, seing me so earnest; and last, the feare he had that I should have performed my speaches if no better could have bene."

"From the time of their making of this offer I have ever kept my intention of my goinge as close as possible I could from all men, because I thought ever it was enoughe for me to put my foot in the ship when all

James VI. 1589. thinges were readie without sparinge of further. And as I kept it cloce generallie from all men, so I say, upon my honor, I kept it so from the Chanclor as I was never wont to do any secreates of my weightiest affaires, two reasons moving me thereto. First, because I knew that if I had maid him on the councell therof he had bene blamed of putting it in my head, which had not bene his dewtie, for it becomes no subject to geve princes advise in such matters; and therfore remembring what invious and unjust burding he daylie beares for leading me be the nose, as it were, to all his appetites, as if I were an unreasonable creature or a barne that could do nothing of my self, I thought petie then to be th' occasion of the heaping of further unjust sclander upon his head."

"The other reasons were, that as I perceaved it was for staying of me that he maid the offer of his going, so was I assured that upon knowledge of my going he would ether altogeather have stayed himself, or at least lingered as long as he could, thinking it over great a burden to him to undertake my convoy, as I know upon the rumors of my goinge he hath said no les to sundry of his frendes."

"This far I speake of his part, as well for my honor's sake, that I be not unjustlie sclandered as an [ir]resolute asse who can do nothing of him self, as also that the honesty and innocencie of that man be not unjustlie and untrewlie reproched."

"And as for my part, what moved me ye may judge by that which I have alreadie said, besydes the shortnes of the waie, the suretie of the passage, being cleane of all sandes, farlandes or such like dangers, the harbers in thesse partes so sure, and no forraine fleetes resorting upon these seas."

"It is my pleasure then that no man grudge or murmor at these my proceadinges, but let everie man live a peacable and quiet life without offending of anie, and that all men confirme himself to the directions in my proclamacion which may [*sic:* quhill my] returne, which I promise, so God willing, within the space of twenty dayes, winde and weather serving. Let all men assure themselves that whosoever contraries my directions in my absence I will thinke it a sufficient proofe that he beares no love towardes me in his hart; and by the contra[ry], these will I onelie have respect to at my returne that reverences my commandement and will in my absence."

"Farewell. James Rex."

"Clark of Register, it is my will that this declaracion be registred for the more force and attentivenesse[1]."

3½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Asheby:* "The King's discourse for taking his voyage."

Harl. MSS., 4,647, fol. 138b. Another copy of the same.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 136. Another copy of the same, but dated 22 October.

Oct. 21. **250. The Earl of Lincoln to William Asheby.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 127. Received his letters on the 1st of October, but none since, save such as were sent by the lords of the Council which Asheby had written to them. Desires Asheby to direct his letters to Sir Richard Maliverer, sheriff of Yorkshire, who lieth hard by the post way, where the Earl has left his carriages and some of his men, or to the post at Doncaster "for

1 *The Register of the Privy Council* reads 'authentiknes.'

James VI. 1589. that I have left order with my servants whom I left purposly in that towne to bryng youre lettres with speed, fyndyng that where I lye out of the post way they are eather slowly brought to me or not at all by the posts."

Sees by Asheby's letters of October the 11th, received from Walsingham, that the princess is not looked for till ships go out of Scotland and return; whereupon he has resolved to retire to Lincoln, leaving his carriages and people at Doncaster and Allerton, and the gentlemen at York; being ready upon advertisement to return with speed. Desires Asheby to see that he be lodged well and near the court, and to think of anything fit for him which he may himself not remember. Doncaster. *Signed:* H. Lyncoln.

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

Oct. 21. 251. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [JAMES VI.].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 129.

"The care I have of your estates makes me the more bould to acquaint your majestie with a feare crept into manie mens myndes that your heighnes is determined secretlie to embarque, and to hasard your parson in this fleete sent by your grace's commaundment to convoie hither the Queen, your love and joye. This resolucion, if you go foreward with it, will greatlie amase your good and faithfull subjectes, and make the wourld judge your grace rather a passionate lover then a circumspect prince, that will in this season comit yourself to so great hazard and danger, seing your presence in this accion can nether commaund the windes, nor rule the raging sea, nor bring hither that yong princess the souner."

"Remit all to God, and have pacience a while, and your majestie shall heare in few daies, by the good care and diligence of those honorable parsons now to be imploied, of that swete and gracious yong ladies safe arrivall here, to your heighnes great joie and the contentment of all your good and faithfull subjectes." *Unsigned.*

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 130.

Another draft of the same

Oct. 22. 252. JAMES VI. TO ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 132.

"Upon the difficulties objected towarde the transporting hither of the Queen our spous in this season, we have taken present deliberatioun to repair to Norwaie our self, whare, God willinge, our tary shall not be longe, winde and weather servinge. Were not the trust we have that our dearest sister the Queen, your soveraigne, sall take this our jorney in the best part, we had not interprised the same with so few a nomber of smale shippes. But as the principall matter hath proceded from the begininge with her good likeinge and advise, so doubt we not of her favorable interpretacioun of this our peregrination. We intended to have written to her our letters of thankes for that good aunswer which we received of late by Mr. John Colvin, but the time not servinge to write at lengthe, we thought best to remit the writinge of all together to a better lasure at our retorninge or souner as it shall please God to offer

James VI. 1589. the commoditie, and to commit the makinge of our excuse to you, which we desire you effectuuslie to do in our most hertie manner." Leith.

⅔ *p. Copy. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. 253. JAMES VI. TO [LORD SCROPE].

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 443.

"Trustye and welbeloved cosin we grete you hartelye. Upon occacion of the impedimentes objected towarde the trans[porting] hether of the quene our spous in this season, we have ta[ken] present purpose to passe to Norroway our self, wher she presentlie remaynes, and wher, God willinge, our tarrye shalbe ver[y] . . .* wynde and wether servinge. In the meane tyme we have . . . our will how thinges shalbe governed in our absence, and sp[ecially] conserninge the kepinge of good reule on the borders, ha[ving] committed the chefe care and oversight of them to our cosing Lord Hammelton, a nobleman verye well effected to jus[t] interteyninge of the amitie betwixt the realmes, and the . . . haith derected and admonished the Lord Maxwell with the ot[her] noblemen, barrons, and gentilmen, inhabitinge the whole Marches, specialye that our Westmarches foranenst you, to take special . . . that the committinge of disorders by ther men and depe[ndents] be left of and forborne, and quietnes and good neighberhode [be] kept, princypallye till our returninge, that we may res . . . establishe the justiciarie and wardanrie their, beinge c . . . upon necessarye respectes to take Carmichaell, present officer, in [our] awne companie. Wherefore our lippyninge ys accordinge to . . . accustomed good will for kepinge of the peace and amitie e . . . declared, that you will do your uttermost indevoure . . . the quietness and restrayne the trublesome men under your . . . by your auctority and wisdome att this tyme, as also to cause the people under your rewll to stande the better on ther awn . . . in case our disorderte subjectes wolde take occacioun upo[n our] absence to make further breake. Wherin we doubte no[t] . . . shall be verye acceptable seruice to the Quene your sovera[yne our] dearest sister, and to us yt wilbe right thankfull . . ."

1 *p. Copy. No flyleaf or address. Indorsement illegible.*

[Oct. 22.] 254. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig. D. I., fol. 408.

"I find that Mr. Fowler doth not "*ορθοποδειν*," as I will acquaint your honour at larg heareafter. In the meane while your lordship is so to use and trust him as your honour be not abused by his craftie dealing. He makes you beleave that no man knowes of his writing, but he followes the Chancellors advise, and acquaints him with his letters, and shewes himself a right Scott, for that he dare not retorne to his countrie. His cariage here haith ben such, and so hate[d] popularlie, as in the Kinges absence he dare [not] come abrode, or keape his house in Caniga[te], but haith gotten himself lodged with the captein of the castell. He will not stike to give out that it is for the service of his cou[ntry], whereof he haith small regard, as your honour shall further understand at my retorne."

Bothwell begins to show himself ready to do her majesty any service, and desires hereafter to be thought of as he shall deserve. He showeth

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. great kindness to our nation, using her majesty's players and canoniers with all courtesy.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Signature decayed.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 22. 255. PROCLAMATION MADE IN EDINBURGH.

Cf. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, IV., 424-7, and *Papers relative to the Marriage of James VI.*, Ban. Club, pp. 3-11.

"A collection of the speciall pointes of the proclamacion publiquely made at the market crosse in Edenburgh the morrow after the Kinges embarquing."

1. "A declaracion of his majesties private and proper resolucion to enterprise this viage in his owne person, which he hath taken upon speciall consideracion of the hurte and danger that may growe to his estate by delay of the consummacion of the mariage; as also in respecte of his requisite and decent correspondence in all good affection and kindnes towards the Queen his lady, having endured such travaile and undergone such dangers for the enjoyinge of his love and presence as she hath."

2. "A diligent commemoracion of his majestes due care had of the government of his realme duringe the uncertaine space of his absence, which induced him of his owne mere and voluntary mocion, without advise taken of any his councellours or other subjectes whatsoever, to set downe in writinge his majestes francke resolucion, will, and minde, which he will have to take place for the administracion of his country till his returne whensoever; notwithstanding a late president of longer want of any established government in this realme, which continued from the death of the Queen Regent his gudam till the arrivall of the Queen his mother out of France, to the full space of 14 moneths: all which time there was so quiet and peaceable an estate continued here, as never the like at any time in the best government whensoever before or since. Upon which example his highnes might as probably have presumed of the like tranquillity for so small a season, had not his exceding tender care and princelie regarde of the weale and safetie of his liege subjectes prevailed with him, even in the extremity and heate of his most impacient passions, to geve particular directions for their securitie and good regiment in most carefull maner as followeth."

3. "The ordinary Privy Councel to remaine at Edenburgh: the Duke of Lennox to be president therof, accompanied with the Earl Bothuel, admirall, who is to make continuall abode with the said Duke, together with the barons and landed men of Louthian, Fife, Sterlinshire and Stratherne; which being divided into four quarters, every quarter to attend the Duke at Edenburgh for fifteen daies in course, beginninge with Louthian; the Earl Bothuel havinge in charge to see the said attendance geven at all handes in due sorte."

"*Item*, the whole officers of estate to attend continually on the Councel at Edenburgh."

"*Item*, the Lord Threasurer or his depute, the Comptroller, Master of Requestes, Lord Privy Seale, Capten of Edenburgh Castle, the Lard of Ormeston, the King's Advocate, and the Clerke of the Register, or five of them at the least, to be allwaies present at Councell with the Duke and the Earl Bothuel."

"For the nobilitie resident, the Earles of Anguse and Athol, with the Lords Fleming and Invermeith, to attend and remaine together the first

James VI. 1589. fifteen daies. And the Erls of Marre and Murton, with the Lords Seton and Yeaster, to remaine together here the next fifteen daies ; and so the former four to renue their residence, and theis to succede in course four and four."

"All matters incident to the hearring of the Privy Councel to be thus heard at Edenburgh, where in pointes of difficultie they may and ar to require advise of the Lordes of the Session, who also ar to convene at their termes appointed for the due ministracion of justice in all causes, excepting only such causes and cases as shall happen in the south partes, being committed to the charge of the Lord John Hamilton as followeth."

4. "The oversight and commandement of all the south partes within the boundes of the three wardenries and the whole sherivedome of Lannerike committed to the Lord John Hamilton, to be assisted and advised by the Earl of Glencarne, the Lordes Boyde, Maxwel, Heres, Hume, the Lard of Sesford, and other the cheife barons within the boundes of the Marches, at all suche times as he shall thinke meete to require and imploy them."

"All Border matters to be heard and determined by him. To that intent he to make abode at Jedburghe or Dunfrise as occasion shall require. His charges to be borne by the King, and he the first man to be paied out of the readiest of the taxacion—appointed for furtherance of the mariage—by Mr. John Colvil collectour."

5. "If any thinge fall out that shall necessarilie require the advise of the whole nobilitie and Councell, that then the Duke and the Lord Hamilton, with the Councel and their assistantes for the time present, shall convene, treate, deliberate, conclude, and put in execucion whatsoever they shall see convenient for the Kinges honour and service and the common weale."

6. "The burghows, aswell others as this of Edenburgh, to kepe them selves in order, suffering none to resort into them with convocacion or in armour, and to be ready to kepe watche and warde for that effecte, as they shalbe directed by the Councell."

7. "A request to the ministers earnestly to pray for the good successe and returne of his majesty and the Queen and hir company ; to put the people in mind of their duties toward God and their prince ; to eschue all occasions of troble and dissention among them selves, etc."

"Geven under our signet at Leith the xxijth of October Anno Domini 1589, regni nostri 23. *Per Regem.*"

2 *pp. Abstract. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 173. Copy of the same.

Oct. 23. 256. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO ELIZABETH.

Encloses letters from the King to himself signifying his grateful acceptance of her princely liberality, which as he thankfully acknowledges has been always extended to him ; "wherewith of late it pleased your majestie to grace the manneging of his mariage now instant" in such ample manner as he will never forget. The King defers his own letters to her majesty, excusing himself by want of leisure, but the real cause is "a passionate extremitie of an impacient affection towardes his love

James VI. 1589. and ladie," committing him self and all his hopes "Leanderlike to the waves of the ocean, and all for his beloved Eroes sake."

Lest he (Asheby) prosecutes this excuse too far, he refers her majesty to the King's letter to him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 257. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO SIR THOMAS HENEAGE.

Received in a packet from Walsingham a letter from Heneage to Frances Dacres, who has been in Edinburgh some few weeks. Dacre's behaviour here is that of a good subject of her majesty; he has acquainted her with his leaving his house and country, and desires the continuance of Heneage's favour. Encloses letters brought to him (Asheby) from the King the day after the latter's embarking. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—Touching the order left by the King for government during his absence, refers to advertisements sent to the Queen.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 258. JAMES HUDSON TO WALSINGHAM.

"Becaws Mr. Colveil haeth writtin to your honour the efect of things present in this estaett and also haeth informid hir majestes imbasador thereof, I forbear to truble your honor ther with, only this: it apearith that truble wil aryes hear, and that shortly, but the best is the most turbolent man hear wil have his horns so well keptt in by the Lord Hom that he wilbe abil to doe nothinge in his owin person unles he stur up Bakcleuch and other suche evill men. I have staed from this jorney for suche reassons as I shal maek knowen to your honor. Mr. Fowler is in the castel of Edinborow with his good frend the lard of Coldonknowes, captayne therof, for Bothwel is his unfrend."

"If ther be no other cawes knowen to your honour then that whiche he ether deservith or is knowen to me, I must under your honor's corecsyon mervel that your honors acustomid favor and clemensse is with drawen from him, as paertly apeareth by your honors long sylence. It is only your honors favor that he buildith and restith upon, and in secret he haeth soar lamentid to me the fear he consavith of the loss therof. *Signed:* J. Hudson.

Postscript—"I must humble prae your honour to prove my lord Theasurer if his lordship wil grant me the parsel of wood your honor movid him in for me, which I have left with Mr. Thomas Sanders his servant Ingram. Mr. Fowler is not indettid to hir majeste, unless my lady Lester mak hir det the Quein's."

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

Oct. 26. 259. LORD SCROPE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 138.

"I have this daye received your letter advertisinge the Kinges jorney towardes Norwaye, whereof I was by others informed, but could hardly credyte the same before the cominge of yours to my handes, for

James VI. 1589. the which I hartely thanke you, prayinge that as any other matter shall succeede hereof you will make me acquainted." Carlisle. *Signed:* H. Scrop.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 29. 260. BURGHLEY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 141.

Has received three letters from him since the King's departure from Scotland, and the Queen is pleased with his diligence. Is glad that the south of Scotland is committed to Lord Hamilton, but sorry that the Duke is made president of the Council, and Bothwell next after him, "whereby it is to be feared that some stirrs and trobles maye be moved in the Kinges absence by the papistes and that faction." Asheby must do what he can to keep things there "in as good estate as they were lefte," and should deal with the clergy that they may endeavour to stay any mutinies and uproars. "To which end also her majestie meanes verie shortlie to write her selff to the Lord Hammilton to have a speciall regard thereof." Westminster. *Signed:* W. Burghley.

Postscript in Burghley's handwriting: The French King is in the suburbs of Paris and the Duke of Maine sick. Nemours commands the army. "I do conceave by the late westerly wyndes that the Scottish King is afor this tyme in Norwaye; but if the wyndes come not esterly befo Martillmas it will be hard for the King to retorn afor the spring."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 30. 261. BURGHLEY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Add. MSS., 2,598, fol. 143.

As he signified to him yesterday that her majesty would write to Lord John Hamilton, so he now sends the letter, concerning his charge of the south part of Scotland with the three wardenries: Asheby is to assure him "that she cowld not have wisshed anie nobleman of that realme afore him to have had that charge." Her majesty disapproves of the Privy Council being directed by so young a person as the Duke of Lennox, "and he accompanied with noe more constant a person than the Erle Bothwell"; nevertheless, Asheby is to "deale inwardlie with the rest" of the Council, the Treasurer or his deputy, the Clerk of the Register, the Earls of Angus, Marr, and Morton, and all well bent to the maintenance of peace, specially against the Spanish and Popish faction, "which is feared will putt owt theire heades at this time of the Kinges absence."

The ministers of the church should have care to have the Jesuits that lurk in that realm apprehended, for that it is likely they will now be bold to show themselves abroad. *"I am sure yow will of your self have as great care as I can direct yow."

Asheby may tell Mr. Colvill that the delay in giving thanks to her majesty for the 2,000*li.* lent in plate is like to turn to Burghley's private burden, for she has no mind to discharge it as she would have done if the King had written specially to her in that behalf: "for though she hath sene the Kinges letter to your self, tendyng that yow shuld gyve

* From this point in Burghley's own handwriting.

James VI. 1589. thankes in a generall sort, yet she is not therwith moved, but rather mislyketh that the Kyng wold wryt to yow and not to hir self." Colvill bound himself to procure Burghley's discharge within two months, but Burghley was bound to pay the merchants within one month. They openly charge him, and he must find means to pay them, though he leave not himself a piece of silver plate ; for beside his credit, which he cannot neglect, he has compassion on many of the creditors, they being very poor. This inconvenience ought to have been thought of by Mr. Colvile, who might have obtained the King's letter to her majesty. "I do not repent me of my good will towardes the Kyng, but I must hereafter forse my own harmes, not to depend uppon the negligence of any whom I shall trust."

A bundle of letters has come from the King, addressed to the Lord Chancellor, Burghley, the Lord Mayor, Heneage, Walsingham and others, with one fond manner of writing, such as "To our lovyng coosyn Mr. Martyn mayre of London," etc. "Suerly whan these cam to my handes I was ashamed to behold. They all ar wrytten in on tenor, very generally, and signed by the Kyng. How those letters cam hyther I know [*sic*], but the post of London brought them to me. I pray yow inquyre of the secretoryes or clerks of Counsell how those war depeched, and lett me understand how this gross error did come." "From my house in Westminster." *Signed :* W. Burghley.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 30. 262. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 407. His majesty embarking the 2[4]th in the night, was the next day at even beaten back by sudden storms upon the point of Pittenweem, and there harboured till toward the morning of the 25th, not suffering any of his company that were seasick to refresh themselves on land : since which time the winds have blown so direct for Norway that we have no doubt of his safe arrival there ere this. Nothing is wished here but a fair g[ale] to prosper his return. His people in his absence bear themselves in accordance with his contentation and their own duties.

The Duke and Bothwell, being governors, endeavour to show their respect to their office, carrying themselves with seemly gravity, frequenting sermons, and ready to proffer all good [offices] toward her majesty and her realm. Lord Hamilton hath signified his dutiful acceptance of the charge his majesty has enjoined him.

"The ministers have instituted a publique fa[st] with comon supplicacion for his majesties prosp[erous] navigacon to be solemnised everie Sonda[ie till] his retorne, which is dulie observed aswell [by] the nobilitie as the common people." This commendable demeanour makes us conceive good hope of their prince's good s[uccess] in his enterprise attempted. Edinburgh. *Signed :* W. Asheby.

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

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 140. Copy of the same.

Oct. 31. 263. MEMORANDUM BY ALEXANDER HAY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 145 "The last of October 1589."

"Thair convenit in Counsell the Duke, Boithuile, Master of Glammis,

James VI. 1589. Setyon, Newbottle, Sir [Robert] Meluill, Coldenknowis, Blantyre, Ormistoun, clerk of Registeris."

"Befoir the writing to the Quenis majeste of England—quhilk is intendit—the Counsell present hes writtin to my Lord Hammyltoun to be heir this nixt Tysday, that thay may all write togidder as ane body concurring."

"Thay have bene earnest to put sic in Lowthaine as ar in feade under assurance quhill the Kinges arrivall and fifteen dayes thairefter for the better keping of quietnes."

"The borderaris writtin for be my Lord Boithuile ar not zit all cum. He speikis very honorably that he sall move thame ben[e]volently to keip the peax and gude rule within this cuntrie of Scotland quhill the Kinge returnis."

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

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 146. Copy of letter to Burghley and Walsingham dated Nov. 1 and endorsed Nov. 2, embodying the above, and with the addition of the following postscript and notes:—[See Nos. 266 and 267 *post*].

"Since thes inclosed, I am geven to understand that the Earl Huntley beginnes to riot in the north, and hath chased and taken prisoner a gentleman named Mr. William Forbose, one that hath maried a dawghter of the Earl of Angus. What the sequel will be it is yet in expectacion."

"The Lord Hameltons letters."

"The King haith sent none from him."

"The Earl Bodwell gone to compound the quarrell betwene Huntley and Forbose."

"The sounding of the west costes in summer last."

[Oct. 31.] **264. [THOMAS FOWLER] TO [BURGHLEY.]**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 419. I need not write to you of the King's going and the order he hath left, because it is common. All things remain quiet. "But this is onely to ma[ke] my complaynt to your lordship of the cruell dealing of the ambassadour Ashby, who I never offended in wourde, dede, or wrytynge, but advaunced h[is] credit here by all meanes, as Kinge and Chau[ncelour] can wytnes; helped him in his weakenes of spiryt, when he had no power by his owne confessyon to speke to the Kinge nor Cowncell. In matters of importaunce he hath byn fayne to wryght his mynde, and I have at his request drawne it for him and advised him; gave him all the intelligence he had, for he bestowes not a grote for any: and onely for that my credit was suche with the Kinge as one Wigmour enveynge and growinge great with the ambassadour perswaded him what a disgrace it was to him that any Inglishe man shold have more cowntenance and in . . .* with the Kinge then he, allso put in his hed th[at] I wrote to the Cowncell of Ingland, and wa . . . credit frome him; which styrred his lordship up [not] a lyttell, and yet they knew nothinge. I being ignorant of all this sent my lord ambassadour my letters for my bussynes and to my fre[ndes], desyrynge him to convoy them as before ty[me] in his paquetes. He receaved them, and, cawlinge Wigmore to cowncell, brake th[em] up and perused them and kept them; and [so] he served me iij or iiij tymes or I kne[w for] serteyn; and when I sent to him being . . . abowt

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. it, he sayd he might doo it b . . . awcthoryte; and he avowched it . . . sayinge I was a perylowse fellow, and . . . knowne as he knew me and his Counc[ell] . . . told the Kinge so, but sense the ambassadour . . . spoken it to divers of good accompt here that [I] am a spie, that I geve intelligence conty[nually] to your lordshipes, that he marveyles the Kinge will suffer suche one in his cowrt or coun[try], muche more that he will geve me the . . . and credit he dothe. And he tells them [that] I do the Kinge wronge in kepinge from him muche riches that was the Lady . . . my old mistress. They have set my Lord B . . . agaynst me, perswadinge him that I h[ave] byn and is his enemy in perswadinge all evell that I myght agaynst him in Ingland; and now that I worke for the Lord Hu . . . credyt there agaynst him: God knowe[s I] never dealt in the matter; and the . . . day Mr. Hudson departynge hence homeward, havinge divers letters of sundry per[sons] and sum of myne for my bussynes to [my] wyffe, hir father, and sum marchantes which I wold not have had all men know, the day before they understode of James Hudsons goinge, the ambassadour and Wig[more] went to the Erll Bodwell, and perswade[d him] that by interceptynge his letters great . . . wold be discovered of my dealinges. And there apon the Erll sent a man in ar[mour] and lay in wayt at Seton and toke all his letters and browght theme to the ambassadour him selffe at viij a clok at [night], sayinge he wold not breke none open. Quode the ambassadour, 'My awcthoryte . . . ', and there they brake up all my . . . others, scoffynge at sum thinges in th[em]. Sence which he sent me word that if I wold submit my selffe to him and acknowlege [my] fawlt in gevinge intelligence to the Cowncell with owt his knowlege he wold be frendes with me, ells not. And when by my frend I aunswered I wold acknowlege no fawlt . . . him, and if he were discharged of h[is] commissyon for hir majestis service I wold let him knowe he had offended me often; he then raged and sayd he dowted not to fynd that I had spoken evell of [Mr.] Secretory to this Kinge; which makes me th[ink] he hathe no expectacyon of his returne, f[or] when God shall send it he shall have proffe of that to be true or falsse apon the othe of a Kinge. But now the new aquay[ntance] with the Erll Bodwell browght on by Wig[more] betwen the ambassadour and him shall s[erve] theyre turne. They hoope to discredit me with the Kinge at his returne, which will [not] lye in all theyre powers, your lordship sh[all] here tell."

"But, my good Lord, there was [never] poore gentellman used so dispightfully as [I] am. Wigmore now gydes the ambassadour [like] a childe; and if your lordship knew the man and his lyffe here, you wold thinke him a fytt gyde for a ruffyan or ho . . . master, then an ambassadour for his lordship."

"At this tyme in anger I will say no [more], but if I shall do any service I beseche [your] lordship take order with him, yet not to aqu[aynt] him therewith, for his malicyowse ha . . . overcomes all other consyderacyon of honesty or service of his prynce. B . . . he was once cawled home frome h . . . he is in this styr, for God knowes a[nd all in] this towne how myserable . . . he hathe lyved here. Sence . . . for to come he hathe mended sumwhat . . . tell your

James VI. 1589. lordship one parte that he hathe pla[yed] me which I knew not tyll even now that it [is] layd to my charge."

"When the Kinge wa[s in] his jornay to Straboggy agaynst his rebels, the Erll Bodwell gathered the second ty[me and] cam abowt Edenbrowghe and Leethe, th[inking] to doo great thinges, and in truthe ab[le] to doo lyttell. One aperteyninge the sa[yd] Erll that was a crafty fellowe pro[mised] our ambassadour to goo mete my Lord Bodwell at Leethe and perswade him to go . . . ; which presently he did."

"The Erll made . . . advantage of this, and stode apon termes that if he cowld get the Kinge to rem[it] all past for him and his he wold be perswaded, ells not. The ambassadour se[nt] his letters presently to cowrt to perswad[e the] Kinge for the sayd Erll. Then [the] Erll was evell thowght of by his majeste, a[nd] he cawles ane to him, sayinge,—'What d . . . hathe your ambassadour to do with the E[rll] Bodwell, to be a suter for him that is the greatest enemy to Ingland and Inglyshe men that may be?' And bad me perswa[de] the ambassadour frome his folly. Where[apon] I wrote to him, perswadinge him frome dealinge with the Erll, specyally at [this] tyme, for I thowght he shold doo h[ir] majeste best service and please the Kinge . . . so doinge; addinge that it was a disg[race] to hir majestes ambassadour to be browght to [go] so far to seke to speke with suche an . . ."

"This letter I wrote frome Haberdene . . . promised . . . the rest to your lordships owne consyder[acyon. I] have for borne tyll it toche the quyke." "Edenbrowghe Castell, for my owne saffety, thowghe the ambassadour hathe geven owt I am pryssoner."

Postscript—". . . my advice. Now within this iij dayes he hathe shewed the same le[tters to the] Erll to styr him up agaynste me, even to the cuttinge of m[y] . . ."

4¼ *pp.* *Holograph, signature decayed.*

[Oct.] 265. PREPARATIONS FOR PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 98.

"As sone as her majestie shall appeare in the roade, the Erle Bothuel, the Lord Seeton, Sir Robert Melvile, with some 30 persons of good accompt, ar appointed to goe aborde, and with them Mr. Peter Yonge to make the harangue in Latine, if her health may permitte to heare the same. At her cominge to the scaffold upon the shore, the Ladye Marre, principall, and with her the ladies Seton, Boyne, the ladie Chancellour, and Diddop, with some 30 persons shall meete her, and upon the scaffold one Mr. James Elphinston, one of the college of justice, shall make the oracion. His majestie meets her there, and shall convey her to her lodging in Leith, where she is to remaine till she shall have well reposed herselfe. When she shall come to the towne of Edenburgh, one Mr. John Russell, advocate, shall make the oracion to her entrie."

½ *p.* *In the hand of Asheby's clerk.*

Nov. 2. 266. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 148.

"Suerly zour honour hes writtin very effectually, and as apperis to me is meant indeid, and sall omit nathing that may do gude to my simple jugement. I heir of na new thing, saulffing that the Erll of Huntly hes

James VI. 1589. chaissed and taken prisoner a gentilman named William Forbes of Monymusk, quha maried a daughter of the present Erll of Anguss. It apperis to haif happynned upoun a suddancie, and as zit I am incertaine quhat salbe the sequele." *Signed:* A. Hay.

½ *p. Holograph, also address.*

Nov. 2. 267. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Received Walsingham's letter of the 24th October on the 29th, eight days after the King's embarking; he acquainted the Council with her majesty's care for the King's safety. The last of October here assembled in Council Lennox, Bothwell, Seton, the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvile, the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Requests, the Clerk Register, and Ormiston. They have determined to write to her majesty signifying their devotion to the amity with her, and have sent for Hamilton, Marr, and others of the nobility, to be here on Tuesday the 4th instant to be associated in the tenour thereof. They have no word from the King, and have resolved to send out a ship to tell him of their proceedings and to be informed of his estate and purposes.

Bothwell has sent letters to the principal borderers, of whom many are repaired to him this day, to observe peace with England and among themselves. He has also travailed with the gentlemen of Lothian who are in feud, to draw them to a final reconciliation, or at least to some reasonable accord till the King's return; "wherein he is further assisted by the Counsell for putting such in assurance as he shall not by persuacion prevaile with otherwise." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 3 & 29. 268. WILLIAM HUNTER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 190.

"According to my promeis att parting to advyse your lordship off proceidingis; the 24 off October we departitt the coist off Scottland, and arryvitt att Fleckra the 29 off the same, all in good health praisid be God who preserve yours. The Kingis majestie was never seik."

"Stean Belde, who was imbassadour in Scottland for Denmark, is departitt frome this to Houslo, the town whair the qwene our maistres lyeth, 28 weke off seas frome this, everie weke off seas 4 Scottis myle. We abyd the wind to saill to the same place."

"We war onis pwrpoisid to have taikin boittis, and so in thame gone within sowndis to that place, bot that the boitting—eftir thair was some twentie off thame convenit for thatt pwrpois—war nott thoght sufficient for our transportatioun, so we proceidit not bot ar lying readdie with our pylotis for the first wind."

"Thair was a boy off our schip that was schot with a pece of ordenance owt off the Kingis schip—at the departour of Stean Belde—be neglegence off the gwner, quho thoght thair had bene no schott in hir. This schip is send back agane with suche personis in hir as ar nocht fwnd meit to ramane heir."

"And thus I take my hwmbill leaff off your lordship, who schall be advysed be me frome tyme to tyme off our proceidings according to promeis, praying yow with all expeditioun to send this wther letter away

James VI. 1589. to Sir Francis with my moist hwmbill service, praying yow to advyse me off the estaet off boith our cuntreis." Fleckra, 3 November 1589. *Signed:* Will: Hvnter.

Postscript—Since this wther letter was writtn we went to sea agayne wpoun another determinatioun, and ramaynid thair on a verrie foull nyght, and on the morrow war set in to Long Sownd 15 Dens mylle frome Houslo the 9 off November: we arryvit thair the 19, and war mett withowt the toun be the nobill men off the cuntrie, and went derrectlie to the Qwenes hows, whair thar was a joyfull meiting on all sydis."

"The 23 day thay war mareit be Mr. David Lindsay, and a reasonabill banqwet beying on saitche a accedent."

"The King haith retrenchit his trayne so that him-selff is bot one off fiftie that ramaynith heir. I can not tell geve his majesteis purpois be to go to Denmark or not." "Houslo," 29 November 1589.

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

Nov. 5. 269. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 103.

"I think the mater maist necessar to be insinuat be word, bot the letter quhilk heirin I returne unto your lordschip perillous to be shewed to all sortes of men, for the divers constructionis that mycht be maid of those personis *that notoriously ar knawin*[1] to be his inymeis, fearing that sum specialie employed in his majesties absence mycht deme thame selffis so estemit of be her majestie; I meane baith of the noblemen that wer authouris of the trouble this last zeir, or that ar thocht apparent in the successioun of this croun."

"I am incertane gif the lordis sall convene and do any thing this foir none, bot traistis that in default of thame not zit cum from Dalkeith all dealing sall differ quhill efter none. I trow upoun thair meting that thai sall cum or send sum to conferre with zow or then send for zow to cum to thame, quhen ze may declair the effect of this letter, bot not the letter it self becaus of this claus, for I wold noct haif it to gif occasioun of ony doubt or offence in the earis of our noblemen, ready anewch to suspect. *Signed:* A. Hay.

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

Nov. 6. 270. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 149.

"It may pleis your lordschip to ressave heirvyth ane p[acket] of letteris from your broder that for lack of ane assured [messen]geir hath lyn som few dayis besidis me, tr[ea]ti[ng] of mattoris heir and in uther cuntris ar bettir knawin to your lordschip be the information of utheris than I can be able to vryte of thaym to your lordschip, and thayrfor I forbeir to trowble you vyth the reading of that in hand gist at this tyme, bot most requeist [your] lordschip at the returning of this bearar that I [may] onderstand of your weilfayr be him, wyth what uthir mator it shalbe your pleasour to dessire me." *Signed:* A. Dou . . .*

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

1 Underlined in the original.
* Decayed.

James VI. 1589.

271. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Nov. 6.

Eg. MSS., 2,598. fol. 152.

"Heare is the letter fra my lordis and others of the Counsell heare to the Queens majestie your soveraigne. What is written you will here understand by the copy. For my owne opinnion towching the two demaundes. The first I thinck shalbe graunted, and the souner that her majesties derectioun cum downe the better. For the second, it wer not unmeit likewise to be graunted for a tyme, with admonition that better diligence be made heareafter on this part in furthering of the redresse nor hath bene since the comissyoners mett, and that a commaund be send to your self to deale with my Lord Hamiltoun allane or with the hole Counsell here, as likewise with the Englishe Wardenis, to understand the trew occasions that staris [*sic*] the redres and the relief of the Scottishe pleas, and to try the possibilitie how thingis accordit may be best and sounest performitt: wherin I shall be a furtheraunce to my uttermost, knowing it tendis to the common benifit of baith our soverainis and ther gude subjectis. In gude faith I want no gud will in these matters, but if I deale uncommandit or derectit, I may be counted over bussy quhar all men ar not peradventure alike inclined."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Asheby:* "A copie of Mr. Al. Hay's lettre with the copie of the Counsellis lettre to the Q. Majestie." "Rec. the sixt of Nov. at Eden."

Harl. 4,647, fol. 120b.

Another copy of the same.

Enclosure with the same:—

[The Council of Scotland to Elizabeth. 6th Nov. 1589.]

"Pleis it zour majestie: At the lait departing of the Kingis hienes our soverane lord furth of this cuntrie towardis Norroway to cut of the impedimentis objectit anent the consummatioun of his mariage and transporting of the Quene his dearest spous in this realme, he had na thing in grettair recommendatioun then the interteynment of the gude and happy amitie betuix zow, your realms and dominiouns, be all gude offices, and cheiflie be keping of the disorderit subjectis on baith partis inhabiting the cuntreis ewest the Bordouris in quietnes and gude ordour, leving a speciall charge theranendis to me the Lord Hammiltoun, unlouked for be me, quhairin I am maist willing to do the uttermaist of my endevoir, as experience, God willing, sall declair."

"Bot we all having bene eirnest and cair full sen his hienes foirsaid departure to understand the trew estait of ye Bordouris at this present, quhairof sundrie of ws quhill now wer ignorant, we haif found twa thingis principallie to be communicat unto zour hienes, first humblie and eirnestlie craving of zour majestie that zour commandement may be send to zour wardanis and ther deputtis to concur in all thingis tending to the observing of the peax, intertenying of the amitie, restrenyng of the disorderit people within thair chargis frome offending; and as neade sall requyre to assist in punissing of the subjectis of this realme offendouris, and to signifie zour hienes gude mynd heiranent unto ws be zour ambassadour heir

James VI. 1589. resident with as convenient speid: for he hes informed ws of zour hienes guid cair of zour dearest cousins the King our soveranis weill doing and saulftie, and how he is assured zour hienes wilbe troubled to understand of his present daungerous voyage, quhilk notwithstanding we hoip, God willing, sall prosper to zour hienes contentment and to the confort of ws and otheris his subjectis."

"Nixt for that we find ane of the grittest difficulteis now at the Bordouris to be for the non redresse of certane billis fylit be the lait commissioneris, for quhilkis plegis wer enterit, and sum other particulariteis in contraversie betuix the wardanis quhilkis hardlie can tak perfite end without sum new meting of commissioneris or uther dealing beside the wardanis them selffis, and that the staying of justice for present attemptatis in that respect myct breade gritter inconvenientis; oure eirnest requeist is that zour hienes commandiment may be directe to zour wardanis or their deputyes to meitt, proceid in justice, and gif and tak redres first of all upoun the maist recent attemptatis alreddy attemptit sen the King our soveranis departure, or that sall appin to be perpetrat quhill his returning, unstaying for ony uther thingis resting as zit unredressit of the former billis fylit be the commissioneris or uther wayis; quhairof we mynd, God willing, to be still cairfull and to seik the best meanis how the personis fylit salbe maid anserable; quhairin as zit we find na little difficultie."

"As we thus crave zour hienes assistance be zour officeris to further the quietnes of the Bordouris, according to the will and directioun of our soverane, sa sall we be reddy to assist in all thingis lyand in ws quhilk may tend to the honour of zour hienes and intertenying of the peax and amytie." Edinburgh.

1½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Asheby:* "Copie of the Counsellis of Scotland to the Q. Majestie."

Harl. MSS., 4,647b. fol. 136. Another copy of the same.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 151. Draft of the same.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 154. Another draft of the same.

Nov. 7. 272. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 409. I received your honour's letter of the 29th of October on the 3rd instant, to my special encouragement in that I perceive my service acceptable to your lordship. The next day followed yours of the 30th, with her majesty's to Lord Hamilton enclosed. In answer to them both you shall understand that I have endeavoured to incite the Council, nobility, and clergy here to an answerable correspondence to her majesty's motherly care toward this King and realm. Whereupon the Council have addressed letters to her majesty, as I foreshowed in my last of the 2nd; I enclose the copy, with the Clerk of the Register's private letter to me touching their contents. Her majesty's to Lord Hamilton I delivered with some further compliments, as directed, which he received as I could have wished, protesting his joy at the charge committed to him, that he

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had so fit an opportunity to declare his devotion and gratitude to her highness.

The ministers are not a little comforted to see the affiance her majesty and your honour repose in them, acknowledging her majesty's continual [care] of this church, and thanking you for your advice concerning Jes[uits].

"Towching the endorcement of the letters, I find [that] errour groweth of the custome here to m[ake] everie counsellour the Kinges cosin; and in par[t of] the oversight of a yong clerke that superscribed the letters."

Your advertisements given by postscript in your own hand give comfort to the well affected here, half dism[ayed] with false rumours spread by the papists and factions. For further particulars I refer you to this bearer, Richard Wigmore, well experienced in this country, whom I have found forward in all good offices for her majesty's service.

Huntly's late stir is but the renewing of an old feud betwixt the Gordons and the Forbeses. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"After I had receaved the Counselles letter to her majestie, Sir Robert Melvile came to me to excuse that thei had left out of there letter humble thankes to her majestie for the greate present of plate it pleased [her] heighnes to send to the Kinge, which thei [did] overslip in there . . ."* By my next you shall receive Lord Hamilton's letter to her majesty. Mr. Colvile is sickly, asking your pardon, and meaning to excuse himself by writing with . . .

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Nov. 7. **273. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.**

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 411.

The packet enclosed being despatched, and Mr. Wigmore in readiness toward horseback, hither came letters from Archibald Douglas to Bothwell, advertising him of her majesty's acceptance of his forward disposition towards her, which she will shortly signify by special letter to him. Whereupon he resorted to me, protesting his joy, giving me thanks for intimating his serviceable offers to her majesty, and promising to do such offices for the discovery of the Spanish designments, and otherwise to her service, as might not be expected but should surely be performed. He was very earnest for the staying of Mr. Wigmore, as one to whom he would impart more to be delivered by word of mouth to her majesty than were meet to be committed to writing. These forward offers I was loth to slake or neglect, especially in respect of his constancy. "Some alienacion here was betwene him and [the] ministers upon an unkindnes he conceaved of [some] parsonall invective, wherewith on of tham s[ome]what indiscretlie welcomed him at his fi[rst] repaire to the sermons: whereupon he abs[ented] himself from the church. Notwithstanding h[e haith] well disgested the matter, and frequentes [the] preching againe of his owne inclinacion, [and] is purposed to reconcile himself finallie [to] the whole presbiterie on Sondaie next. He informeth me that the faccions here [have] dispatched the bailife of Arrols sone [with] letters into Flanders, to be imploied for in[telli]gence betwene the Spaniards and them. The gentleman is by name a Hay, verie n[ere] in consanguinitie to the Earl of Arroll, [a] man verie serviceable and of good sufficiencie." This makes

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589. us conceive the better hope of further progress of reformation in Bothwell's defects. If her majesty would honour him with a letter it would [help] him to make amends. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

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

Nov. 10. 274. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 155.

Told him in his last that Bothwell meant to reconcile himself to the church: now the said Earl has accomplished that resolution. Yesterday at the general celebration of the public fast he humbled himself before God and the congregation, acknowledging his former insolencies and requiring their assistance in prayer to God for him in his "new birth" as he termed it. The congregation broke out "into abundance of teares in testificacion of their joye." That this penitence might not be thought to proceed from any sudden humour, declaration was made by a minister of long inward remorse which he had communicated to one of them a good while since, and that it was his own choice to make public humiliation before two principal congregations, before and after noon, which was more than their ecclesiastical laws required. The strangeness of his conversion is imputed, after God's inward working, to the generosity of his own nature kindled by the dignity whereto his majesty has advanced him, whereas when in disgrace he was forced to follow the worse disposed, who were "ready to enterteigne his greatest abuses with sycophanticale admiracions."

Even the ministers thought, within these six days, that it was but lost labour to seek his reformation. His submission to them was "voluntarily resolved upon, penned by his owne hand, and exhibited in writing unto them by him selfe." Edinburgh.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To the L. Thres. the 10 of November, '89."

Nov. 10. 275. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"In the letteris that I ressawed yisternycht, whearin is conteaned ane relation of the present estait of that cuntrey, vyth ane discourse of some accidentis apparing to fall owt in that realme, thayr is besidis mention mayde of ane heavy displeasour consawed against Mr. Thomas Fowlar be the erll Bothewell, whearupon the sayde Thomas for awoyding of suddan inconwenientis hes retired him self in the castell of Edinbruhe, thayr to remayn quhill the king his hyenes returning or than quhill he may be reconciled to the sayde Erll. It is consawed be some that the sayd Erllis displeasur is for the most part stirred uppe be your andbassadour and Mr. Wyguemoyr thayr resident, which I can not beleawe. Some of my freyndis ar presentlye dealing that the sayde Erll may ressawe him to his fawour, and the rather for that he is knawin to be my freynd. And in lyk maner I am vrytin to be some freyndis to ernistlye move his lordship to that effect, bot as zit he hathe gevin no wthir anser bot that for my saik he vill aggre wyth him if he shall not be able to schaw his awin letteris derected to this realm conteaning untreu and harde mater against him self. For the recoveri of suche lyk letteris Hudsone was apprehendit [cum]ming to this cuntrey; his papirris takin from him,

James VI. 1589. whearin no ill mater against the sayd Erll coulde be fownde, so that it doethe thayrbye appeir that no suche letteris ar zit cummed to his hands. Be ressone that in my letteris of requeist to be derected to the sayd Erll I am myndit to affirme that no ill mater was ewir vrytin be him to ony consalour in these partis, I wold be glayde to onderstand of your lordship and of Mr. Secretary, to whom I haif vrytin for the samin effect, how far I may affirme in this poynct."

"I am the moyr bolde to mak your lordship and his honour acquaynted wyth this mater for that so far as I onderstand he nevir wrote to any uthir consalour, and that onelye for solliciting his awin pryvat effairis. I wold be hartlye contented to do him gude if I culd tell how to do it."

"I forbear to vryt any particularteis of the state of that realm least I may do injurye to your sayde ambassadour thayr resident." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Nov. 11. 276. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [WALSINGHAM].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 156. "Αἱ δευτέραι φροντίδες σοφώτεραι."

Mentioned in his last letter touching her majesty's private letter to Bothwell. "The noble man is able to offend more then anie subject in Scotland, for his place and birth and the offices he beareth, beside an able and undertaking man, as theie here terme such. Without him the malcontentes dare attempt nothing, so as the winning of him wilbe a bridle to the rest: he makes great promisses to do good offices towardes her majestie, seing her gracious dealing and motherlie care she haith of the King his master."

It appears the said Earl means faithfully, and Asheby wishes to know whether her majesty would accept of him, should he offer himself by letter before hearing from her privately. Should a letter come from her to the Earl, Asheby will stay it till he receives an answer to this. Edinburgh.

1 *p.* *In Asheby's hand.*

Nov. 11. 277. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 157. "I had forgotten in my packet addressed this afternone to your honour to advertise that the E[rle] B[othuel] haith alreadie written to the Duke of Parma a few ceremoniall complementes, with intent to drawe him to some renued course of intellgence by his profered service, which his promise is to discover to the advancement of the contrarie cause."

"Here be sixty Spanniardes readie to embarque and to cast aboute Ireland for Spaigne, for feare of being intercepted by the Flushingers." They are to be transported in three small ships. The men are in appearance of good service; there were not so many of sufficiency in all the six hundred that went hence into Flanders last summer.

These were the remnant of five hundred which perished in Maclane's country by the firing of their ship by casualty, and came hither two days after the six hundred were embarked for Flanders. They embark in this Firth and compass the Isles of Orkney towards Spain. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.*

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278. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Nov. 15.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 159.

Is to tell Bothwell that her majesty received great contentment of his offer. He shall receive such thankful requital that he shall have no cause to repent. He is to be assured "that her majestie meaneth to remove all former jealosies she had conceaved of the coldnes of his affection and devotion towards her and this crowne, assuring her self that a man of his witt and birth, and protesting to be so devoted towards the King his master as he doth, would thinck no course so honorable or so profitable for him, as also for both the kingdoms, as to runne the course of England."

"I praie you tell his lordship from mee that I will, in respect of the honour I receaved of him when I was in Scotland, do my best endevour to nourish this good opinion that her majestie hath lately conceaved of him." Barn Elms. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

¾ *p.* *No flyleaf or address.*

Nov. 16. 279. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2 598, fol. 160.

Her majesty having received the letter of the nobility and council of Scotland to whom the King committed his kingdom at his departure towards Norway, and understanding thereby the occasion of the King's journey and the good order he left behind him, especially for the state of the Borders, wishes Asheby to signify to them in her name how thankfully she accepts their friendly letters, and that although she cannot but be "aggreeved" that the King at this time of year attempted such a journey, "yet considering the same is attempted to so good and holie a purpose, she doubteth not but God will blesse the same with good and happie successe," as she desires for his sake and the honourable house he matches in, "to whose parentes she can not but alwayes acknowledge hir self infinitely bounde for sundrey most kinde and frendly offices she hath receyved from them." Also she is beholden to the King for his care for the preservation of the amity of the realms in his absence, and his choice of men well affected to discharge the trust reposed in them.

Concerning their two requests touching the Borders, Asheby is to tell them that order is already taken with the wardens to look well to their charge and avoid just cause of offence to Scotland, which order shall be renewed: and for the second point, that her majesty has commanded her council to devise a way for the contentment of the subjects of both countries. From the court at Somerset House. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

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

Nov. 17. 280. GEORGE TOLLYE TO LORD HUNSDON.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 427.

I sent your honour on Sunday last by the post, with Mr. Marshalles, such news as were current, as also Captain Reade's handling. Since then the S . . . Marr, whom your honour remembers was wont to come to my chamber, hath told me that Ferniherst shall marry on Sunday next the Lord of Buccleuch's sister, and so their friendship be stablished which were in deadly feud. Sir Andrew Karr and the Lord of Buccleuch and old Lord Cesford are become friends, the younger Lord fast to the

James VI. 1589. Regent. Those lords and their allies "meane to bend with the [Lord] of Hume, who meanes to be att Eden . . .* the lawe daye for the Lord Lyddington . . . poore they can make; to whom, as he sayeth, . . . joyne the Hameltons and ther frendes," and so be at the law day with a great number, in spite of proclamation by the Regent that but certain should come, and they with an appointed number.

"The abbott of Jedworth, brother to the Lord Hume, . . . in pryson in the Black Nesse, which stomackes the Lord Hume not a littell. Mortall hatred ys betwen the Lord Hume and th'Erle of Morton. The Heb[urns] will joyne with the Hameltons. The Davisons, [the] Pringles, the Yonges, the Bornes and others of Tivid[ale] will go with the yonge Lord Sesforth."

"The . . . Crosiers, with the nomber of a iiij^{xx} hors, and persons ha[ve] burnt and spoyled muche in Kelham. ij of Sandy Pringles sons wer on Thursdaye with the Lord Hume. One Befford and his b . . . usethe to travell muche to the Scotche Quene, . . . the Beffordes of Edenborrowe; which Beford dwell[eth] abowte Northallerton" . .

"The talke of your honors retorne . . . manie praiethe—ys cause that we w . . . oftner, for that the talk is that ther ys . . . of stoppe by the waye. I have sent thes [by] sea, by whome I have sent Mistres Rese . . . and Mistres Wottons: yt ys one that h[ath] promised me to deliver them safelye."

"Wh . . . your service towchinge the Kinge certen your shippes . . . ware which was stolen from Sowthhampton; [his] name is Ryvelye, and dothe retorne to Ne . . . This very night ys Mr. Bankes and certen of [the] Treasorers men retorned from York; who . . . the Awditour stayes ther, so that the soldyars . . . the paye wilbe after Christmas. Your hon[ors] rent for Newater was payed this daye t[o the] Collector, which was iiij *li.* Frome whome Mr. Ma . hath stayed the monye which he shold have had to the awdytt, to be imployed ab[out] the Quenes Majestes affayres: yt is iij^{xx}xiij *li.* . . ."

"Here is no ane in the pallace. Here inc[losed] ys the note of soche as arr unpaied att my ladyes departure, whose billes I have of the p . . which my lady willed me to aunswer them . . . . paiede at the paye daye, wherunto they trust. Might yt therfore please your honor to send som warrant to receue hytt, or otherwise [as] to you shall seame best. No ane will hy[re] the castell fyeld, sainge ther is wynter pas[ture] enoughe; and will geve not passing [xl. *s.* ?] for a hors for this wynter. I wold gladlye kno your pleasur therin, for I . . . best to tak cattell to Jestmentes. Yt b . . . begyns to rott on the ground." *Signed:* George Tollye.

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

Nov. 18. 281. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 161. Encloses Lord Hamilton's answer to her majesty; the copy of it he could not come by, "my lord being gone from this towne to his house at Hamelton from whense it was addressed." The north easterly winds have brought no news of the King; it is suspected the seas be not navigable by reason of the frosts, "or els his majestie gone into Denmarke."

* Decayed.

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"Here are some 100 Spanniardes readie to imbarque at Lythe for Spain. There course intended is to cast about the north of Scotland for feare of intercepcion by the Hollanders. Thei appeare to be men of better service then those which past awaie from hense the last sommer, being the choise men culled out of 500 by Maclane for his service against on of the lordes of the isles: the remnant perished the last yere together with there ship at the Isle Mula by mischance of gunnpouder whiles theise were interteined by Maclane in service by land."

In September last a ship manned with Spaniards, and appointed in warlike manner, sounded about Dumbarton, Irvine, and Ayr, and being "made to" by a couple of Scottish vessels, professed herself a friend, but would only come near enough to hear one another speak, and departed without further pursuit.

Bothwell went northward on the 10th instant to Dunkeld, the Earl of Atholl's house, to draw Huntly and the Forbes's to agreement, and to compound a feud betwixt the Earl of Murray and Huntly, "that all quietnes might be keapt during this interregnum." He returned the 16th, but no great good done: the Scottish nature is hardly reconciled.

The state continueth in as good terms as the King left it, but if he delay till the spring as now they fear, the long smothered flames will break out by instigation of the papists and malcontents, "as men readie to blowe the coole and vigilant for there purpose." Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

2½*pp. Holograph. Indorsed.*

[Nov.] 282. ELIZABETH TO THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N.S. xviii. 241.

*"And as touching the two requestes conteyned in your late letter, the one that we would be pleased to give order to our wardens and their deputies not onlie to have a care for the due observacion of the enterteyning of the peace and amitie uppon the Borders by restrayning of the disordrered people within theire charges from offending, but also as neede should require to assist in punishing of the subjectes of that relme that should be found offendours; the other in signifyeng unto us that in case justice should be stayed—in yeilding redresse on the present attemptates in regard that no satisfaccion hath bene made touching the bills filed by the late commissioners for which pledges were entred—there would arrise manie inconveniences, and therefore doe desire that justice might proceede and redresse taken for the most recent attemptates that have bene comitted since the King your soveraignes departure, or that shalbe perpetrated untill his retourne:"

"For the first, we are to let you understand that imediatlie uppon knowledge geiven of the departure of your said soveraigne we gave order to our wardens and there deputies that theie should carefullie looke to the due observacion of peace in the said Borders, which we meane also further to enlarge touchinge the point you desire that assistance maie be given to our wardens in punishinge the subjectes offendours of that relm."

"For the second, althoughe we must confes that it hath bene a most greivous thinge unto our subjectes that the satisfaccion promised for the

* First page wanting.

James VI. 1589. bills filed by the late commissioners hath bene so longe delayed, and doe also knowe that the greife wilbe greatlie encreased when theie shall see redresse yeilded for the recent attemptates before anie order be taken for the satisfaccion of the ould: yet for the love that we beare to the King and the desire we have that in his absence no inconvenience maie fall out by standing uppon strict termes touchinge the point of satisfaccion agreed uppon, we can be content that the urginge therof shalbe suspended, and will geive order that our said wardens and there deputies shall proceed to the presente redresse of the recent disorders and attemptates as you require, in hope that uppon the King's retourne there wilbe present order geiven—the rather thorough your earnest and carefull sollicitacion—for the satisfaccion of our subjectes touching the bills filed by our said late commissioners."

1⅔ *pp.* *Indorsed:* "Minute of the Counsaile of Scotlande two requestes and her majestes awnswer."

Nov. 19. 283. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 165. "There cam na pacquet from the King of Denmark, nor any certane word from the King. The schip—as we heir—came from Elsonure bot twenty dayes synce and mair. The pacquet wes from the toun of Hamburgh upoun the complaynt of ane of there neyghbouris for a ship spoyled in Orknay; and the letter is daited in Junij last."

"We had sum apparent querrell yesterday maid by my Lord Boithuile, for that the Maister of Glammis, Sir Robert Melvill, the captaine of the castell, and I past yesterday and conferrit with my Lord Hammyltoun anent Bordour materis. In end all wes aggreed befoir supper and my Lord Boithuile sowped with my Lord Hammiltoun, quha I think trewly menis honestly and shall do weill yf he be not hinderit."

"We heir that justice proceidis furthwardly betuix the wardanis at the eist and middle marche. My Lord Hammiltoun menis to be at the Borderis about the aucht of December." *Signed:* A. Hay.

¾ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 19. 284. PASSPORT.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 163. Passport for Arthur Clephane to pass with hawks to Mr. Millworth in Staffordshire.* Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

[Nov. 19.] 285. EARL OF BOTHWELL TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 166. "I pray your lordship to lett the Clerk of Register haif a copy of the letter that ze ressauit last from the court, for we wald send it in Denmark at the first commodity." *Signed:* Bothuell.

¼ *p.* *Addressed.*

* Altered from "Sir George Chaworth in Notinghamshier."

James VI. 1589. Nov. 21.

286. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

The King's silence puts all in hope that he is not minded to be long absent; either he must return speedily, or abide on yonder side the sea till the spring, which may breed a world of inconveniences in a people of such turbulent spirits. Some unkindness was of late between Hamilton and Bothwell, upon partiality in taking up one another's feuds, increased by the resorting of the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melville, Sir James Hume and the Clerk Register to Lord Hamilton for conference about Border matters, without the advice of Lennox or Bothwell: *atque hinc in animis jam ante exulceratis suspicionum portenta.*

"But all was finallie accorded err night by the discrecion of such of the Counsell and ministers as were at hand, and ech of them have since receaved other with all courteouse interteignment both at table and otherwise"—but this will not last, unless the King prevent the inveterate jealousies of these two houses by his speedy return as his good subjects wish. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 169.

Another of the same, but beginning thus:—

"I have, right honorable, with some adoe procured the inclosed from the Lords of the Counsell to her majestie, in significacion of the receapt and gratefull acceptance of her heighnes late liberalitie toward there King, as your honour shall perceave by the copie."

"Here arrived the 18 of this present a ship which came from Elsonure about 20 daies since; in her was brought a pacquet from the towne of Hamborough to the King, in complaint of a neighbours ship of theres spoiled in Orkeney. It appears by report of the messengers that at there being in Denmarque there was no knowledg there had of his majesties voiage intended that waie."

"The continuance of the Kings silence" [&c.].

Nov. 24.

287. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 171.

Notes the Council's kind acceptance of her highness's answer, requiring a copy thereof to send to the King. Also Bothwell's contentment in her majesty's and Walsingham's correspondence. Walsingham's instructions in two letters, as to dealings with the Council and Bothwell, Asheby has accomplished, and finds correspondency in them to her majesty's liking. The Council profess themselves greatly bounden to her for her acceptance of their duty, finding encouragement at her hands in this dangerous time, acknowledging her care of their King and his realm, and avowing their devotion to her.

Bothwell, "upon this inclinable disposicion of her majestes to enterteigne his service," is resolved to prosecute his course with all honourable endeavour, so that both sovereigns shall find "he will in time make heaped amends for all offences past"; and thanks Walsingham for his assistance, which he will endeavour to requite.

1 *p. Draft.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 172.

Part of the same in William Asheby's hand.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 170.

Another draft of the same.

James VI. 1589. Nov. 24.

288. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY.

Walsingham's letters to him of last week, signifying her majesty's acceptance of the Council's devotion, yielded great contentment to the whole Council—who have required a copy of the letter to communicate it to the King—and specially to Bothwell, confirming him in his honourable resolution.

"This people, howsoever otherwise not altogether of the civilist, yet are thei both in speaking and in speering, as thei terme it, of newes and novelties mere Athenians; *Immo ipsis Athenis* 'Αττικώτεροι; *magis utique* φιλοκέινοι *quam* φιλσόδοι."

There are continual inconveniences here through flying rumours crossing one another touching proceedings in France;—"everie faccious head devising how to broach and set afoote such reportes as maie make best for there purpose and practices."—The ministers and others come to Asheby for information on foreign affairs, and therefore he asks Burghley to send him news of foreign states that he may answer their expectation. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

Postscript—"The Earl Bothwell giveth faire wourdes; what he will do tyme must trie."

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 25.

289. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 173.

"Haifand intelligence sein my coming forth of Edinburgh of sic thingis as may tend to the hurt and inquieting alsweill of this cuntrie as in like maner of your countre of Ingland, by the wickit and craftie conspiracis of papists in this cuntrey, I thoucht guid to advertise your lordship therof, that they being forsein you might make her majestie acqueint thairwith, to the ende we all with ane uniforme consent might inarme ourselfes to resist and prevent their wicket devises. Therfor I pray your lordship eftir ye have maide her majestie forsein in their matters, that ye shold shaw unto me what I and the rest of all the guid men quha trewlie feires God in this countrie may luike for at her majestes hands; and in case they come to ane manifest and open doing, quhat waild be her majestes parte herein. For I doubt not, seing her majestie knawis the earnest affectioun I have to her majestes service and to the weile and quietnes of baith thir realms, but her majesty sall haild hand and assist us in the same, baith with men and likwise money if neede be." "From Hamilton."

Postscript—As I can learne ony further your lordship sall be advertisit. Prayeng your lordship to keip this to your seilfe."

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Asheby:* "From the L. Hamilton. Rec. at Eden. 25 of Novemb. at 10 in the night."

Nov. 25.

290. [WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.]

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 174.

Upon the late decease of a Catholic gentleman here, Mr. Mungo Graham, one of the masters of the King's household and uncle to the Earl of Montrose, the principal papists are resorting to this town, as Lord

James VI. 1589. Claude Hamilton, the Earl of Montrose and his friends; whose coming, though it seemed only for the funeral, yet was suspiciously interpreted, being a more general convention than is usual on such occasions, the time and persons being specially dangerous, and the Earl of Erroll having secretly come among them, seeking to lurk here unknown.

Bothwell has informed him (Asheby) of a surmise of a dangerous enterprise to be attempted by these factionaries for the surprise of Edinburgh, but Asheby thinks it improbable. While he has been "skanning out" what their design might be, he received letters and instructions from Lord John Hamilton, which he forthwith addressed to [Walsingham]. A letter of compliment to Bothwell would not come out of time, to retain him "*certum in re incerta.*" "Thes goulden profers made to the Earl Athol I feare they have bene used for baits to inveigle other." Edinburgh,

¾ *p. Draft. Indorsed by Asheby:* " . . . at mid night."

Nov. 25. 291. THE CLERK REGISTER TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 177. "There departed furth of Leith in on ship Mr. William Crihton, Edward Hay, and Robert Bruce, all three Jesuitis directed by the papisticall faccion. Mr. William Crihton was directed to the Prince of Parma, and Edward Hay to Rome to the Pope, Robert Bruce to the King of Spaigne. The effect of there commission was to declare how commodious the tyme was now in the Kings majesties absence to come to there intent in this countrie: great men and frendis thei had enow, onlie monie was lakin, which thei desired to be sent them with diligence. Mr. William Crihton haith advertised backe againe from Flanders that he thinkes to speed at the Prince of Parma his hand, and haith promised to retorne to them in this countrie by the 6 of December next."

"The Earl of Huntley is to be in Edenburgh within ten daies, who with the faccion at Edenburgh presentlie haith sent to the Earl of Atholl and offers to him 5000 markis in hand for his intertenment to come to Edenburgh; which offers as yet he haith altogether refused. Thei of this faccion sent likwise to the Lord Maxwell willing him to joyne with them in this there interprise; who refuses to meill in onie wayes in sic matter.

¾ *p. Copy in Asheby's hand. Indorsed by Asheby:* "Re. from the Cl. R. the 25 of November '89 at Eden. at 10 in the night."

[Nov.] 292. ELIZABETH TO LORD JOHN HAMILTON.

"As we are verie sory for the imbarking and vyage taken for Norwaye by our good brother the Kinge your master, whereunto for the care and affection we have of his well doing we wolde not in any sort for manie respectes have advised him; so considering his resolucion therein so firme as that he was not to be removid, it dothe yet somwhat content us to understand the care he hathe shewed for the gouvernement of his realme during his absence by suche good order as appeereth he hath established for the same, having in that charge appointed yow a cheif person, which giveth us cause to hope that as yow have heretofore shewed your self well affected to us and ours, so yow will still contynue, specially at this time: And doe trust that you have allready considered to take order for the preventing and impeaching of any disorders that may be attempted by

James VI. 1589. loose and evill disposed persons to the disturbance or hurt of our subjectes upon the Borders, you having as we understand the rule of the south partes and Borders of Scotland; wherein as yow shall doo acceptable service to the Kinge your master, so we will allso acknowledge the same with all thankfullnes and good favor towardes yow; which we confesse we owe unto yow and you must be assured to finde at our handes, not only for the good offices don to the publick good, but allso for your speciall good affection sondry wayes manifestly declared to our self in particuler, which we cannot nor never will forgett."

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie of her Majesteis lettre to the Lord John Hamilton."

Nov. 27. 293. ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

"You may very well think that the most parte thinges of waight which happening in the remotest partes from us betweene prince and prince and between princes and subjectes and other persons of qualitie doo com to our knowledge, so are we not allso careles nor ignorant of matters that are handeled and attemptid in plaices neerer unto us, as namely of the attempte not long tyme paste wrought with a greate potentate by som persons of accompte in that relm, to have brought in strangers to a most greate perill of the King your master, and the disturbance of the wholle state of that relm. Amongest whom, although it were very unpleasant unto us to heare that you were one that should beare a parte, as drawen therunto by the conning of others, yet now we greatly rejoyce agayne to perceave by that which is since folowed that you have cast about and retournid to a right course agayn, by seeing your own errors, and with a change from them to a more advised waye. Which givith us cause to hope that you will for ever heerafter be warnid to stand upon your garde against such subtill spirites as might allure you agayne to the lyke, and never be wonne to harken to them in any matter that may be perillous to the King and his estate, contrary to your profession in religion, and prejudiciall to your own honour and reputation, and to the offence and hurt of your frendes. In which good opinion and hope of yow we are the more confirmid, not only by our servant Ashby, but allso by som other your good frendes heere, who are not farre from us. And upon this good bargayne we are to assure yow on our parte of all thankfull requitall by any our meanes wherby we may doo you any good, both toward the King and otherwise, whom we doubte not but our frendship will bynde to use all gracious favour that we will require towardes yow."

"In the meanetyme, besides the order we gave to Ashby to lett you know our thankfull acceptance of your honourable offer lately made, we wold not allso but our selfe by these our own letters give you a testimoniall therof, in regarde both of your qualitie and calling, and of the honourable offer it self, and specially of the assurid accompte we now make that you will honorably perform that which you volontarily promised; and rest for your parte assured that you shall allwais finde us most ready upon any occasion offred to acknowlidge the same with the best effectes we may." Somerset House.

James VI. 1589. 2 *pp. Draft. Indorsed:* "xxvijth of November, 1589. Draught of the letter from her Majestie to the Earle Bothwell, by instructions given to me from her Majestie self."

Nov. 28. 294. [ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.]

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fols. 175, 178.

"I hard nathing of before of the departing of the Jesuits furth of the countrie, bot rather that thei sould be still in the north. At the retorne of the Earl Bothwell from Dunkle it was thoucht that the cheif instrument and counsellour that moved the Earl of Atholl not to be conformable to accord with the Earls of Huntly and Arroll was the Master of Gray; and that the Master had the said Jesuites and the Laird of Fintre in his house of Broughtie. Sensyne the Master of Gray is come here as you see, a bissi and earnest sollicitour to have a matter in law advanced agains the Earl of Huntley for the abbay of Dunfermling; which is apparent enowch to drawe the Erll Huntley to this countrie, who otherwise as appearit seamyt to be desiorus to repose quietlie at his house of Boig . . .* and sometymes at Elgin in Murry, occupiet in procuring agreement betwix the Erles of Sutherland and Cathnes his frendis and allies. Thair hath no messenger come from him to my knawlidge thir 10 or 12 dayes ago. Sumthing I heard of the coming of a letter from this same Mr. William Crichton to some nobleman of his acquaintance here, quhairof I trust ye have intelligence either by my Lord Bothuel or by Mr. Robert Bruce our minister: the bearer of quhilke letter I conjecture to be one named James Knawis, a servant of the Erle of Huntlyes, quha commonly awayted on the Jesuistis, and this last sommer, when the King was in the north country, tuike a victuel boite and with some of the Jesuistis or their company past into Flanders. I heard of late that the sa[me] boite was returned, quhilke gives me this cause of conjecture. I will be carefull to enquire the maner maire speedily. I can not yet beleive that there is any dealing betwix [the said Huntly] and Atholl, nor I can not understand quha suld be counted in favour at Edenburgh presently, except the writair wald me[an] Bothuel and Murrey, quhilke wer lately at the Erle of Athol, all honest [men of the] name of Stewarte, rather I thinke to make prayer for . . .* against the Erle of Huntly, quha of late hes moved some quarell agains the Erle of Murrey, quhilke caused him and his wife retire to the south. I waite not what faction he meines wrate to the Lord Maxwelle, except of late their was familiarity and intelligence betwix him and the Erle Boithuel, their wives being sisters."

"Their appeares undoubtedly faccionis to be arisand, bot quha salbe on the contrarious side as yet fully kythis not. The Master of Grey saith that if the Erles of Huntly and Erroll come to Edenburgh agains him, that he sall bring hither alsua the Erle of Athol and the Lord Hume. Sume thingis further in all thir particularitis will appeare be the meeting quhilke the Lord Hamilton keipes at Peibles with the noblemen and barons of the Borders this nixt Monday, quhaire I trow the Lord Hume and Lord Maxwell sall be; and nixt by another meeting quhilke I trust sallbe at the Erle of Montroise house of Kincardin the nixt Sonday thirafter for the baptizing of the Lord Flemingis sonne, quhairunto it is meanit that the Duke of Lennox sall ride."

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589.

"In my awin opinion this persuite in law of the Master of Greys micht have restit at this time. Allwaies the Erle Bothuel and he knawis best what is intendit every way, and allthough they seeme to agree outwardly at the present, it may well be that they ronne diverse courses, and with time the ane sall procure the other out of this towne."

"Yesterday Sir Robert Melvile moved that the Councell mycht wraite to the Kings majesty touching that quhilke Mr. John Colvile broucht; bot the principalls that were present affirmed that it became them not to deale in a matter quhairin they were not privy. I find no eare geven to the mocion anent the stayeng of the ships bowin with the Spanyards to Spayne. In deid I have not bene curious to understand the contrary courss of our yonge nobilitie, being haldin otherways still occupyet. I wald ye enterteignit your familiar acquaintance still with the Earl Boithuell, for if he be kept in temper there appeares the lesse daunger. And surely I culd wishe the Master of Gray rather to be absent nor present in this towne. He hes ben sa ofte on contrair sidis, and I thinke will not ceasse to be occupyet."

"Yestrene thair wes a rumour that he quha somtime wes Chancellour —I meane James Stewart—wes prively in this towne. And if so be, it may be for no cause of quietnes, quhilke I thinke he wald not attempt without the Earl Bothuels privity. Our provest of Edenburgh and Mr. Robert Bruce our minister ar maire hable to try out the verity of these thingis nor ony other that I knaw, and menis richtly. Soundry thingis may be spoken and reportit be otheris without guid grundis." Edinburgh.

Postscript—"As I returne your Lordship's letter, sua I pray you send this againe when ye haive perused it. And I will write the oftener."

2nd Postscript—"Sen the writing hereof I have spoken this morning with a man cum from Murrey, quha sais that it is a moneth or thair about sen this James Knowis arrived in the boit at Aberdine, with quhom I think verely the letter and the advertismentis came fra the Jesuitis. He and thei departed from Sutherland in June or Julie last and landit at Hamburgh and past by cart to Flanders. The boit past in Norroway, and being their fraucht with tymmer sailled other to Flanders or France, quhair this James Knowis trystit to meitt hir, and sa finding hir returne in her. This the man with quhome I spoke understude of sum of the marners that wer in the same boit."

2½ *pp. Copy, partly in Asheby's hand and partly in that of his clerk. Indorsed:* "Re. the 28 of Nov. at Eden. and sent the same . . ."

[Nov. 28.] 295. [ALEXANDER HAY] TO [WILLIAM ASHEBY].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 179.

"I have spoken with the man that sawe Mr. William Crichton, and inquirit of the tyme, quhilk by conference I understand to have bene in somer, and before the boit mad sale out of Sutherland; quhairin I trow now assuredlie that all the three mad sale, I meane Creichton, Hay and Bruce; and that James Knawis brocht hame thair answer in the same boitt quhilk laitlie arrived within this moneth at Abirdene."

¼ *p. Copy in Asheby's hand.*

James VI. 1589. Nov. 28. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 180.

296. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [BURGHLEY.]

Finding a general fear in this people of some sudden uproar, and every man uncertain whom to fear in particular by reason of the diversity of factions, has communicated the contents of his last letter to Burghley to a councillor here, one of whose letters he has already sent to Burghley, in order to discover about this presupposed enterprise. Asheby now sends that councillor's answer. Has also conferred with the provost and Mr. Bruce, but received no fresh intelligence from them, saving that the council have written this day to Earl Huntly, to enjoin him to omit his intended voyage hither, assuring him that his absence shall not be prejudicial to his law-suit, which is like to be put over till the King's uncertain return.

"Touchinge the Earl Bothwell it seemeth both their opinions do jompe in this, that he affecteth to ἀμφοτεριξειν, or at leaste to play the Suysser, "*ibi fas ubi maxima merces.*" He soareth daily in the winde, hovering now hither now hither, only expecting—as he would seeme—who should reclaime him with the loudest lure. Yet his franke protestacions of all alleagiance and devocion to his soveraigne, and for his sake to her majesty, makes us all presume of his resolved inclinacion to the better parte, and that this lieing aloofe tendeth to nothing els but to procure some reall interteignement from her majestie."

[*In Asheby's hand.*] No news where or when the King arrived.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed by Asheby:* "28 of November at 8 at night '89."

Nov. 28. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 184.

297. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [? BURGHLEY].

(The same in substance as his letter to Walsingham,—No. 300). Edinburgh. Dated 24 November, but indorsed 28 November.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Secr. 28 of November."

[Nov. 28.] Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 181.

298. [MEMORANDUM OF WILLIAM ASHEBY'S CONDUCT TOWARDS THOMAS FOWLER.]

"He intercepted his letters for his ordinarie buisines, packet after packet, and made Wygmore acquainted with them. He railed upon me, calling me knave and other vile speaches to diverse, and brought his gentilitie in question. He examined men of Edenburgh what gould or mony they had received of me, and what I brought in with me. He hath set him out to his best frends to be a sedicious man, mervailing that the King wold geve him credit or countenance, being a spie in this country. And deteined from the King diverse riche thinges that were his grandmothers. He made him an evill speaker of all men."

"No English man could come to him but Mr. Ashby did examin him. He sought his life betwixt Wygmour and Mr. Ashebie, as it is manifestly knowen. That he shewed his letter to the Earl Bothuel beinge written in some sharp maner, and procured the Erle to intercept his letters sent by James Hudson."

⅔ *p.* *In the hand of one of Asheby's clerks.*

James VI. 1589. Nov. 28. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 182.

299. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [MICHAEL] THROCKMORTON.

Doubts not but the storm will be overblown, and hopes to see those make shipwreck that have by their enchantments raised the tempest. Will in the end be honorably dealt with by "that honorable parson"* who in his letter seems so greatly moved against him. Asheby will appeal "*a Cesare irato ad Cesarem non iratum.*" Honest dealing will prevail, and patience, according to Throckmorton's counsel, for the present, the only shield to quench the fiery darts of all sycophants. Encloses a letter to "his honour," and prays Throckmorton to learn the cause of his displeasure: if it is for searching James Hudson and taking his letters from him, Asheby knew nothing of it till Bothwell brought the letters to his house. If it be touching Mr. Fowler "who is retyred into the castle of Edenburgh for feare of the Erle Bothwell," he had taken sanctuary before Asheby knew of the Earl's displeasure against him.

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Throg. the 28 of November."

Nov. 28. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 183.

300. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

Is overwhelmed with grief upon the receipt of Walsingham's letter of Nov. 16th, and requests him to suspend judgment till his return, which he hopes will not be many days, and to vouchsafe his accustomed favour meanwhile. "If I be found anie waie in fault, towching the informacion made against me, let me never receave good countenance from you." Has always joyed to honour and serve Walsingham; "and what I have *honori tuo acceptum fero.*" His request was not to draw Walsingham to any party, but to give warning of a dissembling person, "that feareth nether God nor loveth man, as appeareth both in his wourd and lyfe past, whereof I se no amendment."

1 *p. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed by Asheby:* "to Mr. Secr. Wall."

Nov. 29. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 185.

301. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Encloses her majesty's letter to the council of Scotland; if the council seem to think they should have had answer sooner, Asheby is to allege for a cause her majesty's weighty affairs of France, the Lord Treasurer's sickness, and the slackness of the posts.

Her majesty understands that since the King's departure divers disorders have been committed upon her subjects on the Borders of the Middle Marches. Asheby is to make this known to the council, reminding them that it will be almost impossible to prevent her borderers seeking revenge if speedy redress be not provided. She has sent order to Sir John Forster not only to keep his borders in good order in the King's absence, but to yield assistance to the council for repressing or punishing disordered persons if they shall so require.

Also sends a letter from her majesty to Bothwell, as Asheby advised, with a copy for himself "that in case you should perceave the Erle should think the same to conteyne somwhat to much remembrance of matters

* Thomas Fowler ?

James VI. 1589. past that might touch him, you may the better consider how to aunswere therupon." Somerset House. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

Postscript—"Because you can best judge whither the Duke of Lennox or the Lord Hamilton is to be first namid in the subscription of her majesties letter, the indorsement is therfore left to be made by you according to this form heerunder written."

(The form of address follows.)

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 188. Copy of the same.

[Nov.] 302. JOHN CRAWFORD [OTHERWISE WILLIAM CRICHTON, JESUIT, TO MR. BOG] OTHERWISE THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 199.

"Our great merchant in thir pairtis hes bein this lang tyme diseasit and death luikit for to him, quhilk will stay our tread for ane quhyll: bot his master is verie willing to hald forduart his jurnay with great preparacione. Quhen the tread breakis up ze sall hawe zour large pairt of the blok quhither loss quhither vantage, for the multitud off zour offices and infinit meritis hes oblisit mee perpetuallie to zow, sa that I can newer be unmyndfull to do the thing that lyis in me to recompens zow with sic plesure as I dow or may. Off the estate off this cuntrie and how thingis gangis heir the berar quha delyveris zow the litill buik will advertiss zow."

"From Bruxelis." *Signed:* "Jhone Crawfurd." [*In Asheby's hand*]: "Sir I praie you decipher this merchant cypher; whom you thinke is ment by Bog, and other names here set doune."

1 *small page. No flyleaf or address.*

Dec. 1. 303. MEMORANDUM BY BURGHLEY.

"Answer wold be made to hir majestes ambassador to these purposes followyng. He wold be directed to lett the Lord Jhon Hammilton understand that hir majesty will have care to maynteain hym and all parties that shall joyne with hym to suppress the factiouss heades that shall now in the Kinges absence assemble them selves to move troobles at home, ether by receavyng of monny from forreyn partes, or of any forren companyes of men. And theruppon shall require hym to lett it be known to hir majesty who they ar of the noblemen and others that ar lyk to be the heades of this faction, and what he thynketh of ther forces. And it is thought that ther is none in Scotland that is metar to deale herin betwixt the sayd lord Hamiton and the ambassador than Mr. Jhon Colvill whom the Kyng sent hyther for provisions of plate and apparell for his mariadg. The lyk courss wold be taken with the Erle Bothwell, if he be found constant. And in lyk sort the rest of the Counsell that war left ther by the Kyng, specially such as ar known to be sound in religion, wold be animated to apprehend the principall heades of the faction befor they shall assemble any forces, or befor they shall receave any monny from the Low Contries. For doyng wherof they that ar most wise of the Counsell [will advise] how the same may be attempted without daunger, and the ambassador must advise them, consideryng they have good authorite

James VI. 1589. from the Kyng to govern the realm and to suppress the disturbors, that if they do suffer the ennemyes to wyn tyme uppon them, they will fynd the daunger the gretor."

"Lykwise they wold be advised to send for such other noble men as ar soundly affected to come to Edenburgh and ther both to use ther advise and asistance. Great hede wold be had in the west to Dunbarton and in the est to St. Androos: and lykwise Sterlyng, St. Jhonstown, and Dunde wold be garded by sound persons. If Maxwell will be constant ther is no feare for the West Borders, otherwise he may prove daungerouse. And for the comfort of the Kinges party, it war mete that they shold know that hir majesty will cause all the power of the thre Borders to be in redynes to asist the Kinges partye ageynst any rebells uppon the Borders uppon knolledg given to the Wardens."

"Lykwise that the Erle of Huntyngton shall forthwith mak redy a power, both of horssmen and footemen in his rwle, to be redy to come into Scotland to joyne with the Kinges party. And so is it mete that hir majesty shuld presently gyve order both to the Wardens and to the Erle of Huntyngton, who wold be directed to mak redy two or three thousand footemen and five or six hundred horssmen."

2 *pp.* *In Burghley's hand.*

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 171. Copy of the same.

Dec. 3. 304. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 198. "My Lord Hamiltoun came to Peibles upon Setterday the xxix of November, and taried there Sunday and Monday. There convenit with him the Lord Maxwell, the Lord Hume, the Larde of Sesfurd, and sum other gentlemen inhabiting the Marches. But the greatest number written for came not, by occasyoun of the vehemency of the storme, and that there is sundry quarrells and feades standing amongst them, which albeit they be assured to certaine dayes, not yet expired, yet hath no will to cum togedder suddenly in any place. They that conveined declared the state of the Borders presentlie to be in gude quietnes, and hath desyred that the Councell may write to the Quene of England or hir Councell, that the delivery for the billis restinge unredressed may stay while the Kingis returninge."

"The Lord Hamiltoun is deliberat to procede in holdinge of justice courtes in Januarie, according to the proclamacions past to that effect, and is returned againe to Hamiltoun, and the remanent that convenit to there howsses, savinge the Lord Maxwell that is cume to Edenburgh to consult toward his causes in law touchinge the right to the erldom of Mortoun, wherin he would have all process to stay, savinge as this occasioun of stay restes at the Borders. And if the same be not graunted, it is to be feared that the quietnes hereafter shall not be so gude as it hath bene in tyme bypast sen the Kingis departure."

"My Lord Hamiltoun hath send Mr. John Colvile to Edenbrowghe to acquaint the Councell her with his proceedingis, and to crave assistence in such thingis as may avaunce his commissioun, and speciallie to have paiment of the wages of twenty five men intertenit by the Lord Maxwell for the quietting of the West Marche, wherin I am incertaine how he salbe

James VI. 1589. satisfiit; and without the same it is to be feared that thingis sall grow to greater lowisnes by reasoun our Councelloris remaines not so well togedder as the Kinge wished by his will left behinde him."

"We thinke your lordship suld do well to incourage my Lord Hamiltoun to procede and not to wery of well doinge althoughe he receave not every way satisfaction here, and that ye move the Quene's majestie or the Councell to write to him for the same effect. For it wilbe better cheape to interteny thingis in order while they are right nor to amend them when they are once gang wrang."

"If you have occasioun to speake the provost of Edenbrowghe or Mr. Robart Bruce, put them in mynde to crave of the Duke and Councell here that they attend diligently upon the Kingis directioun, and not to leaff the King destitute of a resident Councell, and to send for suche of the Councell as are absent: for if there be not sum face of ordinary Councell still resident here it will geve occasyoun of sundrye inconveniencis. And if you hapen to speake with my Lord Bothwell your self persuade him to continew in well doing, sen the honor of the quiet goverment wilbe geven to him if he continew; and be the contrary if thinges fall in disorder, what harme it may worke both to the Kingis estate and to my lord himself."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Asheby:* "From the Cl. R. the 3 of December."

[Dec. 3.] 305. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO THOMAS FOWLER.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 196. "*Veritas non querit angulos.* If you had regard ether to honour or honestie you would not have dealt with me in suche sorte as you have done, having now I se *aliud in ore, aliud in pectore.*"

"I can hardlie be persuaded the message my man bringeth to be true: for is it possible that on of your yeres and experience would come into his frendes house, to whom you were most welcome, and receaved meate and drinke and lodging for yourself and your men *gratis*, and that with all respect of courtessy that did lie in him to performe; and further within a moneth or tow after your arrivall, being requested by yourself to acquaint the Lord Threasurer of England of your good cariage and readines to do her majestie service, I performed it in such sorte as within few weekes I was willed to give you thankes in her name. Besides, when I did somtimes open to you, as my deare frend, the desire and cause I had to retorne, you alwaies diswaded me from that course, promising me your best advise and counsell in my negociacion as occacion should be offred; which I did most thankefullie accept, and whollie relied upon you, never thinking that you would have dealt thuse trecherouslie with me."

"After this first entrance, and your promisse to me of kindnes and good offices to be looked for at your hands, you opened Roger Aston's letters, and found fault with his uncourtuouse dealing; and you then said that James Hudson did me great wrong to send a copie of the King's letter to Huntley without my privitie; who verie honestlie, I charging him with it, acknowledged his oversight."

"Theise and other circumstances made me to accompte of you as of a wise and faithfull frend, and therefore except you affirme by writing that which you delivered by wourd of mouth to my man, I cannot beleave you will so farr forgett both honour and honestie to charge me with such

James VI. 1589. reportes as are brought to me, and to breath such threatenings against him that haith reported better of you then all your frendes in England haith done."

"To conclude, if this be true that I receaved you into my house with all courtesey, and that I wrought your credit with the best counsellor in England, what maie the wourld judge of this ungratefull and viperous dealing of yours, seking to supplant, as Judas did his master, him whose house you commaunded, and frequented his table, and in the eand departed without bidding him farewell or giving him thankes for the courtesis receaved."

2 *pp. Draft in Asheby's hand. Indorsed:* "Th. Fow."

Dec. 3. 306. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 194. Her majesty being made acquainted with Asheby's letters to Burghley and Walsingham "thought fitt to send thither this gentleman Mr. Robert Bowes, in respect of the good opinion that all the well affected of that realme doe hold of him, to contynue there untill order be taken for the seteinge of a quietnes in that state." Is advised to concur with Bowes for his own credit's sake.

Has charged Bowes to mediate a reconciliation between Asheby and Fowler, "for that it is verie unfitt that particuler quarrells should raigne betweene her maiestes subiectes," since all should join in her service. London. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 3. 307. INSTRUCTIONS FOR ROBERT BOWES.

"A memoriall for Robert Bowes, esquire, being presently sent into Scotland."

"Youe shall immediately upon your arryvall at Edingborow, after conference had with our servant Asby of the state of that contry, send some trusty and secret messenger eyther of that nation, as Mr. Jhon Colvile, or some other whom youe shall thinck meete, unto the Lord Jhon Hammilton, and let him understand that, finding by a letter lately written to our servant Asby from him of some alteration lykely to fall owt in that realme, we have made especiall choise of youe to repayr at this present thether, in respect of the good opinion we know he hathe of youe, and therfore may deal more confedently with youe then any other that we could send."

"Youe shall also let him know that we have appointed youe to acquaint him with our instructions, and to use his advise in the cariage of your self towardes the rest of the noble men and cowncellors to whom the King hathe committed the chardg of that realme in his absence bothe in generall and in partyculer."

"Youe shall especially know his opinion how the Erle Bodwell may be drawn to joyn constantly with him and the rest of the well affected lordes there, and accordingly as he shall advyse youe, youe shall deal with him.

"After youe shall have receaved the advyse of the Lord Hammilton, then we thincke it meet youe shall addresse your self to the whole cownsell —not making them privy of that sending to the Lord Hammilton—whom

James VI. 1589. youe shall let understand that, hering of some extraordinary assemblyes at the town of Edingborow, and under a weke pretence of suche as ar noted to be evell affected to religion and the estate, and also of certein bad instrumentes—most Jesuittes—that are sent abrode to forrain princes by those factius heddes to procure forrain support of men and money, wherby it is to be doubted that the intent of the said assembly and the imployment of suche lewd and dangerus instrumentes is to breede some alteration there, we have thought it agreable with the love and good will we professe to beare to the King our good brother their soverain, especially in the tyme of his absence, and for the care that we have alwayes shewed to have for the maintenance of the said realme in peace and tranquillitye, to let them know according to the assurance we gave them in the last letters we sent unto them, that there shall lacke no care in us to maintain them and all the partyes that shall joyn with them to suppres the factius heddes that shall now in the Kinges absence assemble them selves to move trobles at home, eyther by receaving of money from forrayn partes or by any forrain forces."

"Youe shall therfore requyer them to let her majesty with all speed understand who they are of the noble men and others that are lyke to be heddes of this faction, and what they thincke theyr strenghthe and forces may be, and whether the said governors have suffycyent forces of their own to withstand the said evell affected; if not, what they will requyer to be sent from us owt of this our realme."

"And for that it appearethe the factius and evell affected their have sent certeyn instrumentes to the Low Contryes, to Spain, and the Pope, and do looke for some supply bothe of money and forces from thence, youe shall animate the said lord Hamilton and the rest of the well affected there to apprehend the principall heddes of the factius before they shall assemble any forces; having as we are informed good authoryty from the King to govern the realme and to suppresse the disturbers. For that if they shall suffer them to winne tyme upon them they will fynd the danger the greater, espetially in regard of the support they may receave from forrain partes. But before they shall procead to any such apprehension of the heddes of the said factius youe shall advyse them to consyder well how the same may be attempted without danger; wherin great secresy would be used, and suche of the nobylytye and others of that realme as are know [*sic*] to be well affected would be draun to Edingborow, to the end their advyse and assistance may be requyred for the suppressing of the evell affected. And for that we do here that the lord Maxwell refusethe to be of the party, youe shall advyse the lord Hammilton, who hathe gretest credyte with him in respect of the nearenes of blod betweene them, to seeke by all meanes he may to draw him to contynew his dutifulnes towardis the King in his absence, and to joyn with him and the rest of the cownselors of that realme to suppres the evell affected. They would also be advysed to have an especiall eye unto Dombriton and suche other port townes and castels within the realme as it is lykely may be attemptid by surpris or otherway by the evell affected. And in case upon conference with the lord Hammilton and others of the lords of the cownsell that are best affected there youe shall fynd the party of the evell affected wilbe so great as that without receaving assistance from hence they shall not be able to suppresse them, then youe shall let them know that we have caused all the powar of the Borders to be in a redynes to assiste the

James VI. 1589. Kinges party against any rebells upon the Borders that shall joyn with the evell affected upon knowledg given to the wardens. And that lykwyse there is order given to our cozin, the Erle of Huntington, our lieutenant generall of the northe partes, forthwith to have in a redynes a powar bothe of horsmen and footemen to be sent into Scotland to joyn with the Kinges party if need shall requyer."

"Lastly, for that it is verry hard in so broken an estate as we fere youe shall fynd there to set down suche partyculer directions as were requysyte, we have therfore thought good, as well in regard of your suffycyency wherof we have made good proofe, as also for the long experyence youe had of that nation, to referre it to your discretion to do all suche thinges as youe shall thincke metest to advance our servyce."

6 *pp. Draft.*

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 169. Copy of the same.

Copy of the same.

[Dec. 4 ?] 308. [ALEXANDER HAY] TO [WILLIAM ASHEBY].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 200. "I hard of this letter of before, bot saw it not quhill now. I can not weill desciphre it, bot as I hard conjecturd it seamyt to be writtin be Mr. William Creichtoun the Jesuite to sum nobleman of the lait faction, disguysed under the name of Mr. Bog. The berair appearis to have bene James Knowys that returnit laitly in the boit from Flanders to Abirdene, quha hes caried the credite; the greate merchant to be the Duke of Parme, and his maister the King of Spane; the breaking up of the trade to be sum new interprise."

"I have layed out my moyen to learne quhat I can of this mater, bot it wilbe the mair difficill to me be raison I have na cunnyng to cover me with a papistes garment, althogh sum of my surname have bene ower bissy that way."

"My Lord Boithuile wer the metaist man to try and informe zow planely in the mater of this letter, for this Mr. William Creychtoun wes hamely with him at his being in Scotland."

¾ *p. In Hay's hand. Unsigned. Wafer seal.*

Dec. 4. 309. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 201. You shall receive herewith a copy of a letter lately directed by merchant cipher from one John Crawfurd *alias* William Crichton, Jesuit, to James Bog *alias* Earl Bothwell, "together with a militarie *Enchiridion* sent from the same ghostly father to his reputed sonnes here, of intent to inarme them inwardly with this spirituall armour till such time as their corporall service shold be to be used otherwise." Their great merchant and his master are easily deciphered to be the Duke of Parma and his master of Spain. The bearer is not yet discovered, nor the manner of interception, which is kept very secret; whether procured by Bothwell's privity or not I know not; he foretold me three days or ever I got knowledge thereof that the parties from whom I had it were to resort unto me, and to inform me further than he did.

James VI. 1589.

The other enclosed was sent me "from the man your honour knowes by my former." The unseasonable prosecution of debates at law between persons of such rank and faction as between the Master of Gray and Huntly about Dunfermline, the Earls of Athol and Erroll for the escheat detained notwithstanding the King's late remission, Morton and Maxwell for the earldom of Morton, make us fear that unless the whole proceedings be adjourned till the King's return "theis controversies will hardly be decided but by the ordinary provocacion in use here *a legibus ad arma.*"

No word is come of the King. The council and ministry have written to him and to the Chancellor by a merchant lately gone to Denmark, to advertise him of the dangerous state his absence is like to breed here. "It is now muttered in hugger mugger that his end in enterprising this dangerous voyage was not only to bring home his Quene," but to enter into confederation with the princes of Germany, as the Duke of Brunswick, who, it is said, shall marry the King of Denmark's other daughter, and others, to strengthen himself against all occasions. Such a combination were honourable and Christian, for the maintenance of the cause of religion against the common enemies, as was set down in the Earl Marishal's first instructions for Denmark. Yet I cannot see how her majesty, being defender of the faith, could be pretermitted in the striking of such a league, unless some other design be intended. You shall be better informed of this point elsewhere, "being a matter held here *in arcanis*," and specially concealed from our nation. Yet the silence of the King and his company seems to import some matter of secrecy; "and some suspicion I conceave by this, that at the first appointment of the voyage here were certaine English gentlemen invited by the King in shew to accompany his Chancellour, who after they were provided accordingly, there was found private meanes to crosse all their embarquing, saving only his ould servant Mr. Roger Ashton."

A Frenchman of Calais has continued here three months, a patron of the leaguers, and a special dealer for the transportation of the Spaniards. He purposes to send them shortly in four barks about the Orkneys for Spain, but himself to come with two ships, the *Nicholas* and the *Eagle*, along the coast of England, with experimented pilots of this country, probably hired as guides to the Spanish navy now in preparation. One ship of war maintained at Berwick would clear the coasts of all pirates, foreign "espialls," and practisers.

Her majesty's letters to the Council I have delivered, with such instructions as your letter ministered; how thankfully they were received will appear by their answer ere long. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Draft. Indorsed by Asheby:* "To Mr. Secr. the 4 of December at 5 at night. Riveley."

[Dec.] 310. ANSWER TO BE DELIVERED BY MR. ROBERT BOWES TO COLONEL STEWART'S PROPOSITIONS.

The Queen of England has seen certain articles in writing of the said Colonel Stewart, with overtures propounded by the council of the King of Denmark, with allowance of the King of Scots, for the diverting or the defence of the intended invasions by the King of Spain against

James VI. 1589. England and Scotland, and to prevent the dangers ensuing to other Protestant princes.

Bowes shall inform Colonel Stewart that though the Queen has not heard thereof directly from the King of Scots or the Council of Denmark, yet the probability of the consequences that might have followed if these counsels and overtures had been put in execution before the beginning of this year is so manifest as it ought to have been embraced with good hope of success.

Now, notwithstanding that the time is overpast for this present year, yet considering the King of Spain's mighty preparations and the aid he hath by the Pope and his other confederates far exceeding, by report, actions of his former hostility, the Queen will interpret the overtures, as they be made, to proceed—though late—by God's special order, upon whose providence all depends.

Bowes may require Colonel Stewart to declare to the King his master and to the Council of Denmark, that though the Queen has had throughout her reign proof of God's miraculous goodness for the defence of his religion by giving her victory over all enemies without any aid from neighbouring princes, whereas she has by sea and land aided all her neighbours in the cause of religion, yet these overtures containing great probability of good effect "yf they shall be followed as the weight therof requirith," she minds not to neglect them, but to receive them as proceeding from God's goodness, and most thankfully as from her confederates and good neighbours, depending in the mean season upon God, that hath hitherto held her up without foreign aid. Therefore she wishes that the King of Scots and Council of Denmark, by Colonel Stewart, whose sufficiency she does not doubt, might understand that she conceives by perusing the said articles that they tend to the diversion or defence of the intended invasion of the King of Spain against "the Ile of Britayn" and for the safety of all other Protestant princes and states against the dangers that might ensue to them.

Though this intention be not signified directly from the Council of Denmark, yet the Queen thinks it "proceeded from the honorable princely former mynde and resolucion of the late King decessed,"—who out of goodwill to her and zeal for religion "did enterprise the manner of the purpose now offred" by ambassadors sent to Spain, England, and the Duke of Parma: had he lived he would have followed the course his Council doth renew.

The intention appearing that the King of Scots, and the King of Denmark with his Council, should send ambassadors to the King of Spain to let him understand their misliking of his invasion meant against this isle and the professors of religion here received is to be liked, as proceeding from two absolute monarchs no wise subjected to the King of Spain, although probably his pride, ambition, wealth, and deadly malice to religion will not suffer him to make that account he ought of this signification of their minds. But if he shall give ear to their motions, the said Kings may direct their ambassadors to offer the King of Spain means of honourable peace, with assurance that the Queen will do nothing to prejudice him in his dominions, but that he may enjoy all that he has right unto, so as he permitteth the Queen and her people to enjoy what of right belongs to them, that those countries may live in such amity as they did in his father's time.

James VI. 1589. The Queen has never enterprised anything against him but in self defence against the practices of his ministers to stir rebellion. Her action in the Low Countries was to deliver the people from tyranny and maintain their ancient liberties, whereunto her progenitors had bound her, and also for that the enterprise began by subduing the Low Countries to make ready the invasion of England.

The ambassadors may boldly affirm to the King of Spain "that if these occasions concerning the Lowe Countryes may be well setled, with assurances against any relaips, the meanes of a peace with the King of Spayne concerning our actions in the Lowe Countryes may be to him assured." And if he forbear any enterprise to change the religion or state of England he shall find peace and concord between Spain and England. If this means shall not prevail, but he continue in his presumption "to be a commaundour of the worlde," then the second course mentioned in the overtures seems most probable to take good effect to abase that King's pride and weaken his power.

The resolution of the King of Scots to declare his interest for the defence against invasion of this island and the defence of the Protestant religion is grounded upon good reasons, considering—besides other arguments—his late discoveries of the Spaniard's conspiracies with divers of his own nobility against his own state, crown, and religion.

In like manner may the intention of the King of Denmark and his Council to join with the King of Scots be maintained with reason, as well for their alliance by marriage as for the withstanding of the King of Spain's greatness "whoo seekith to be a cheefe lord and commaunder over all other Kinges both by sea and by land," and also the determination of the late King left by testament to his son and Council for living in strait amity with England as he did in his lifetime. And as these ambassadors may be directed to deal plainly with the King of Spain, to show their determinations to employ all their power not only to the aid of England but also to hinder his provisions by sea "wherwith he furnishith his strenghthes by sea, evin by the courtesy of the King of Denmark," so if both those kings, by reason of the situation of their countries, and, if need be, by aid of their shipping or men, do that which God has given them means to do, with the concurrency of the aid of the princes of Germany, to whom—at the request of the French King—the Queen has sent for succour unto him, being notably injured by the King of Spain through maintenance of manifest rebellion, "the King of Spayn shall fynde himself deceavid in the proude opinion of his greatnes and welth, and in the end shall yelde himself to reason and conteyne himself within his own limites."

To conclude, except the intention of these two Kings, and specially the hindrance which the King of Denmark may give to the King of Spain by keeping from him his furnitures for his wars by sea, shall be effectually prosecuted if he will not hearken to means of peace, the sending of ambassage shall little prevail, but rather make him the prouder.

Bowes may tell Colonel Stewart that in the latter part of his articles it is very well remembered that this matter may with wisdom, secrecy and promptitude be followed, wherof the Queen will show her liking by a private letter to the King of Scots, referring all the rest to the report of Colonel Stewart for that she has had no letters from that King or from the Council of Denmark, but only heard of the matter through Colonel

James VI. 1589. Stewart's articles and the report of Robert Bowes, so that she can only answer through Colonel Stewart.

Bowes is to assure Colonel Stewart that his name will not be touched therein, whereby his interests in the Low Countries might receive prejudice.

12 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie of a secret instruction to Sir William [*sic*] Bowes, Treasurer of Barwik, sent to the King of Scotland."

Dec. 7. 311. THOMAS FOWLER TO WALSINGHAM.

Cf. *Hatfield, MSS.*, pt. iii, p. 446.

Thanks Walsingham for answering in his behalf touching Bothwell, who says now that he and his will do Fowler no harm, and has discarded Wigmore. Bothwell and Lennox are gone to christen a child of Lord Fleming's at the Earl of Montrose's house, "where meetes them the Erll of Arroll, and Capteyn James Stewerd, sumtyme cawled Erll of Arran, with divers others; sum sayes Huntley." Some mislike of this, thinking it a party against Lord Hamilton, or worse.

Trouble is brewing between Lord Maxwell and Douglas Earl of Morton for the earldom; the Hamiltons assist Maxwell. This occasion makes wise men wish for an ambassador of England of good credit. "This man" [Asheby] "hathe no power to speke to his betters here but to theyre lykinge, for he is fearefull, neyther hathe he credit nor never wyll, becawse they say he spake and delivered in wrytyng to the Kinge him selffe that yet was never performed. Then he is not beloved of any. He delivered the Quene's majestie's letter a Tewsday last at the Cowncell borde, where syttinge tyll the secretory had red it, he roase presently withowt any word spekinge but a farewell, which the cowncelours thowght strange of, and wished to have had farder conference, as allso that he shold have used sum speche farder apon the contentes of the letter, Maxwell beinge there and on or two more."

They specially desire a better ambassador, because of the daily advertisements of the landing of Spaniards in these parts. Twenty days past Crichton the Jesuit sent letters to the same effect out of the Low Countries, where he is with the Duke of Parma, whom he commends to have a care of this enterprise, and promises performance soon, weather permitting.

A letter and matins book came to James Bagge *alias* Bothwell "for every pryncypall man hathe a nickname," but he sent both to Robert Bruce the preacher, to his great credit.

The time is set by the Papists here that in March next the Spaniards will arrive. "It standes hir majeste apon in the Kinges absence to place suche a one here hir ambassadour as may crosse the pretences of the evell." A wise man, well spoken, shall work great effects, especially if a nobleman of account lie at Berwick ready to assist the good party.

Fowler writes not this for dislike of the ambassador, but at the desire of his friends, such as his host the captain, a lover of the amity and religion, Sir Robert Melville, the Chancellor, the prior of Blantyre, the Clerk of the Register, Patrick Galloway, the Chancellor's wife, and others.

It is wished also that her majesty would send some one of account overland eastwards to see what the King is doing in Denmark, "if there he be," and to hasten his return, or at least a new commission to prevent

James VI. 1589. the Spaniards landing before his return as the Papists desire; then they make no doubt to rule all.

The councillors before named consider Lennox "a chyld of age, yet for his yeres wyese and wary, yea wyly." He is guided by Papists, his principal servants and his two sisters so, and he brought up so in France. For his companion they know not what to say, but none of the best sort will trust him without further proof, and he has many Papists about him. Lord Hamilton is sound in religion. More will be known at the return of the young governors. "Mr. Patryk Galloway is sent to the place wheare they ar to behold and observe." Edinburgh Castle. *Signed:* T. Fowler.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed:* "xvijth December [*sic*] 1589. From Mr. Fowler."

Dec. [8]. 312. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO LORD CHARLES HOWARD.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 204.

I am requested by Earl Bothwell—your honour's ally in office—to crave redress of a notorious abuse proffered him this last year by an English pirate, Captain Coupland, who after sundry prizes taken from his own countrymen, "having upon some distresse intimated himself into service here," combined with accomplices of this country and stole away with a bark of the Earl's ready victualled and appointed, wherein since then he hath practised his former trade, to the annoying of both countries, and of foreigners trafficking into these parts.

The Earl is so much aggrieved by this damage and indignity that he feels he cannot yeild to any favorable course of justice for relief of our countrymen lately distressed in like case by men of war of these coasts unless he receive reasonable satisfaction for such a wrong, or at least see some care shown for procurement of his contentation. He having of late been more neighbourly to our nation than heretofore, and having protested his devotion to her majesty and her realm, I presumed to move your lordship for assistance herein, for the entertaining of such amity between your lordships as may be profitable for both countries.

Captain Coupland ordinarily lies upon the coasts of Essex towards Colchester, Buckelsey and thereabout, where he and his vessel are known. The apprehension of this one man might procure the like favour toward our countrymen spoiled upon these coasts, and also cleanse the seas of such an encumbrance.

Here is a French Catholic, a merchant of Calais, and a special factor for the league negociations. He purposes to come along the coasts of England towards Flanders with a couple of Scottish barks, the *Nicholas* and the *Eagle*, to transport divers experimented pilots of this country, supposed to be hired for guides to the Spanish fleet now in preparation. One ship of war maintained in Berwick would clear the coasts.

There is little news, and in a kingdom of this nature, left without a king, no news is best news. His majesty's return is as uncertain as his embarking was sudden. As the heat of his lady's love drew him over the seas, so it and those frozen seas will keep him prisoner till the spring. Meanwhile we are in some fear of the fire of the deadly feuds he left at home. "Theare is no lacke of fier worckers, both Spanishe and Itallian, as well to blow the bellowes to these coles, readie enoughe to kindle otherwise of

James VI. 1589. themselves, as also to cast in wild fier of their owne," which could hardly be quenched without danger to both countries. But such designments are half prevented in that they are discovered. Edinburgh. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

1½ *pp.* *Indorsed*: "To the L. Ch. Howard, L. Amirall of England."

Dec. 8. 313. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO CAPTAIN CAR.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 207. [The substance of this letter is the same as that of his letter to Lord Charles Howard of the same date—No. 312.)

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "Capt. Car."

[Dec. 8.] 314. INVENTORY OF GOODS IN BOTHWELL'S BARQUE.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 206. This is the just Inventar of the guidis asseartit within the bark by all hir apparaling. "Tua falcones of brass sauld at Zarmouuth." "Tua robinettis of brass sauld at Birlingtoun." "Sex hagbuttis of found of brass." "Saxtene hagbuttis." "Four muscattis." "Thrie round-asches, thrie corslettis, ane hundrith stane wecht leid, sex hundrith pund wecht pouder, ane dosane pikis, sextene tunnis oill, aucht tunnis birskett, tuentie dosane killing." "Four mairtis, tuentie four muttoun boukes, threscoir stane wecht cheis, ten stanes butter, fyve stane candill, four chalderis coalis."

"I repois me upone hir majesteis courtesie, and luikis to find redress heiroff, or utherwayes that yir townnes quhair my peices ar sould salbe anserable for the haill. And gif na remeid may be had I man lat the same pass and mend my selff as I may." *Signed:* Bothuell.

½ *p.*

Dec. 8. 315. [MICHAEL] THROCKMORTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 209. I received yours of the 25th of November the 5th of December, and delivered the enclosed, and dealt as effectually for you as I durst. "I doe finde him better bending to a milder course then I did the last tyme." I told him you would prove more honest than your "counter currant."

He answered me that he regarded your care and diligence; "but, sayes he, for this matter I have taken order with Mr. Bowes to here and understand the truthe of the difference betwene them; and when he hath advertised me, then will I determine accordinge to desartes my oppinion . . . . In the matter of Dumefermmlyng you must nether be dume nor fearefull." Mile End. *Signed:* M. Throkemorton.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 10. 316. WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 211. By the enclosed letter from Burghley and himself Asheby will see that the Queen is pleased to revoke him. He is to deliver the enclosed letter to the Master of Gray, written by the Queen's command. London. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

Postscript—Encloses advertisements from France.

⅓ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589. Dec. 10. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 214.

317. BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

"You shall understand that her majesty having made choyse of Mr. Robert Bowes to be sent into Scotland, in respect of the longue experyence he hathe had of that contry and the good opinion and confydence those that are well affected there to relygion and to the maintenance of the amytye betweene these two realmes, her majesty hathe resolved that he shall resyde there in these troblesom tymes, which her hygnes pleasure is we should sygnyfye unto youe to the end that yowe may acquaint him with suche thinges as may concern her majestes servyce, and leaving him to supply your place, make your retorn hether with convenyent spede." From the Court. *Signed:* W. Burghley, Fra: Walsyngham.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "Rec. the 16 of De. 89, at Eden. at 9 in the morning."

Dec. 10. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 216.

318. ROBERT BOWES TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Upon receipt of his letters the Queen made choice of Bowes to execute her pleasure. Purposes to be at Berwick tomorrow, and prays Asheby to procure the necessary safe-conduct for proceeding to Edinburgh, and to send it by this bearer with all speed. Morpeth. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "Rec. the 11 of Dec. at Eden. 89, by Hope."

Dec [11]. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 218.

319. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO WALSINGHAM.

"The vth of this present the Duke of Lennox, the Earl Bothuel, and Sir Robert Melvile, deputie Chancellour, with others of the principall Councellours resident, they went over the Forth to Kincardin, a house of the Earl Montroses in Angus, to solemnize the christening of a grandchild of his, the Lord Flemins sonne." Their return was expected ere this, having promised to give immediate answer to both her majesty's letters, which is frustrate by the slackness of their return. The south continues in as good terms as they left it. Edinburgh. 11 Dec. [*sic*] 1589.

½ *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "To Mr. Secr. 12 of Dec. [*sic*] 89."

Dec. [14]. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 221.

320. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday, immediately upon the Duke and Bothwell's return, I moved them for your safe-conduct, which they granted, and ordered the clerk register to draw it up with speed. This morning I sent to him, "presuming upon their assurance geven not to have failed": in answer whereunto I received this enclosed from him.

"Some surmises be here conceaved of I know not what accident befallen their King, wherupon they ground farther jealousies of her majestes inclinacion to beare some swaie by backing of her faction shee shall interteigne here further then they can well brooke." You know the tumultuous spirits of these people. I could wish you to forbear your approach till we be informed of tomorrow's meeting.

James VI. 1589. Sir, yesterday, immediately upon the Duke's [Lennox] and the other earls' return I moved them for your safe-conduct, which they presently granted, and gave order to their Clerk Register that it might be drawn with what speed he might. This morning I sent to the Clerk Register, presuming upon their assurance given not to have failed; in answer whereunto I received this enclosed from him.*

½ *p. Draft. Indorsed:* "To Mr. Bowes."

Dec. 14. 321. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 219. "I can do nothing; bot lett Mr. Bowes cum forewart, sen he is sa far agaitward, and it salbe consultit the morne in counsell how he salbe ressavit, quhairunto all thing is differrit. I can tak na thing zit spokin for conclusionis, quhilk may be alterit upoun better avysement." Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Hay.

⅓ *p. Holograph, also address. Wafer signet.*

Dec. 14. 322. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 220. "There is na delay in me in writing of the saulfconduct for Mr. Bowes, bot the delay is that I find not my lordis zit resolved tharanent; have differrit to the counsell to be convenit the morne befoir noone, quhilk I thocht meit to signifie unto zou, that ze suld not think ony default in my self. Sum seamys to have na greit lyking of Mr. Bowes hithercuming."

"Thair is a rumour that my Lord Hunsdon suld be cuming doun to the bordour with ij^{M} men; that zour lordship suld have gottin sum advertizementis from Dennemark, which yf it be trew I wuld glaidly understand." *Signed:* A. Hay.

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

Dec. [17]. 323. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 222. Received their letter of the 10th instant the 16th, concerning his revocation, "being not a litle glad of so good an occacion to leave this unweldie nacion," and to return to serve and see his sovereign. Communicated it to Bowes, who seemed dismayed thereat, and moved Asheby to forbear imparting it to the Council till he should understand the Queen's and their honour's final resolution, and be better settled in this place, to the avoidance of such sinister surmises as are too rife here. Agreed to his request, for which he craves pardon in respect of the circumstances, and is ready to depart at any moment.

"How he findeth himselfe accepted of here I refer you to our common letter." Some difficulties have been removed, and has acquainted the Council with his revocation, to their good contentation. At their convention on Monday next their resolute answer is expected. Hopes this delay will not put off his return, but be only for the better induction of Bowes into his place; who—though not more zealous for her majesty's service—is more able than Asheby for the performance of serviceable offices. Edinburgh, 17 Dec. [*sic*], 1589. *Signed:* W. Asheby.

* Repeated thus in a different hand in the MS.

James VI. 1589. Postscript—The effect of Colonel Stewart's message from the King, and his majesty's affairs, is shown by the enclosed, written by a councillor here.

2 *pp.* *Draft.* *Indorsed:* "To the L. Thr. & Mr. Secr. the 20 of December" [*sic*].

Dec. 17. 324. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 224.

"Eftir my werie hartlie commendationis: I resawit zour letter thre dayis syne, bot being disesit in sic sort that I was constrenit to keip my beid thir dayis bypassit I could noct guidlie wreit to zour lordship; bot now being sumthing conwalessit I haif wretin thir few lynis to zour lordship, referring farther to the credit of the berar."

"Quhairas zour lordship willit to haif me present in Edinburth with zow at this tyme, I assuir zour lordship be reson of ane fail I gait wpone the ayse I am noct ebil to trawel presenntlie, as I haif willit the berar to schaw zour lordship. Thairfor quhat zour lordship waild haif me to doe, adwerteis me thairof be wreit with this berar and I salbe about to doe it to zour lordships contentment." Hamilton. *Signed:* J. Hamilton.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed:* "Rec. at Eden. the 18 of December, '89."

[Dec. 19.] 325. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [MICHAEL THROCKMORTON].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 227.

As you have shown yourself faithful in the absence of your old friend, as I see by your letter and understand by Mr. Bowes, so I am sure you will continue the same, that Mr. Secretary may still think of me as ready to serve him faithfully. "Sure I am when he shall understand the truth his honour will acknowledg that I am most shamefullie injured."

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Draft in Asheby's hand.* *No indorsement.*

Dec. 19. 326. ARTHUR AGARD TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 226.

Has paid certain money to "Mr. Fowles" through his servant "Angouse." "I have thought good to advertyze you that althoughe I paye never so muche to the Scottyshemen, yet they never bestowed one babye or lyarde on me or pynt of wyne, to th'ende that you might be as lyberall theere on them; wysshinge you not to get a good fame on them that after you be once come from thence you are never lyke to see agayne." Cannot get Asheby's bill signed, on account of his revocation. Has applied to Mr. Dogat for money due from him.

"I perceyve Mr. Bowes shall supplye your place, and withall understand of the disagreament of your adversarye and you." Advises Asheby not to be too open-faced with him; doubtless at his home-coming he can show more than he can conveniently write. "Your welwiller contynewethe his good affectyon towardes you."

"I would gladlye knowe whether there be not a letter come to your handes with this in effecte, viz., 'As for the matter of Dumfarlein, I woulde not have you eyther dumb or feareful.'* Yf yt be come yt suffyseth; yf not, than take light of theis wordes and worke as you shall

* *See* No. 315.

James VI. 1589. have occacyon." Has received three months' pay, and is writing to Mr. Fowles. *Signed:* Arthur Agarde.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed:* "Re. at Eden. the 24 of Dece. '89."

Dec. 20. 327. [ALEXANDER HAY] TO [WILLIAM ASHEBY].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 228.

"Suirly, my lord, I want na guidwill to satisfie your opinioun conceaved of me, quhilk I fand na wyss to excede the boundis of lawfull dewity, and to the increass of the gude amytie betuix our soveranis, and gude nychtbourheid betuix thair subjectis."

"The substance of Colonellis Stewartis credite deliverit to the Counsell is cheiflie to be cairfull to continew the peax and amytie with England, and quietnes within the cuntrie: quhilk I assure zow on my faith."

"To be cairfull for the preparationis agane the King and Quenis arrivall."

"Sum speciall directionis anent the Kingis awin rent, asweill in propirtie as casualities."

"For the outredding of the werkis in Halyruidhous."

"For the preparing and sending furth of sum shippis for the better convoy hamewart of the King and Quene in the spring tyme."

"For prosequuting of his majesties directioun toward the sure provisioun of the ministeris stipendis and levingis."

"For payment of sum thingis appoyntit for expensis maid in this voyage."

"To deale with the Englishe embassadour, in cais any wer here resident, that gude correspondence myct be kept to the officiaris on the Borders; and to learne quhat preparatioun is maid in Spane agane the nixt zeir."

"Suirly I knaw na further, and all thir thingis ar ressonable and necessar, na jote alterit toward the governament beside his majestes will left."

"Concerning sum dissention amangis thame in Norroway tueching the Chancellair. Assurdly I have ressavit na write thairupoun, albeit I have ressavit very speciall letters. It is very likly and possible that Maister Fowlair may have a very particulair informatioun of the haill circumstance of that quhilk wes, quhairof trewly I have not beene curious particularly to inquire, for the litle delite I have to heir of sic newes. Only that quhilk I have hard unsperit for is this. That thair grew sum questioun betuix my Lord Chancellair and the Erll Marsheall, quha suld occupy the first place: the Erll Marsheall having presentit the Kingis persoun in the mariage solemnized at Denmark, and being ane ancient erll; the Chancellair agane laith to yeld the place dew to his office. In end it wes resolvit that the Erll Merschiellis charge wes endit, in respect of the Kingis personall presence; sa his bigane proceidingis wer allowed of be act of Councell and his commission declarit to haif taken end: and the Chancellair occupiis the place."

"Ane other motion I heir thair wes upoun occasioun of sum sute maid to the King for a part of his tocher to relive the chargeis of my Lord Merschaell and sum others of his name, as the Lord of Dingwell and Sir William Keyct. Bot be the Chancellaris moyen the same wes refused, and a conclusioun taken that quhat suld be ressavit in Denmark suld

James VI. 1589. remane untuechit to thair returne in Scotland; as for my part I wishe it suld."

"Trewly, I knaw na uther thing of Mr .Bowes nor your lordship writtis of him, that he wes baith wyss, ready and panefull, and sumtymes I have hard him very mekle lyked of be his majestes self and all about him. Bot he happening to be heir quhen this present Duke of Lennox fader wes at strait, and being reportit to be a freind and weilwillair to the noblemen and utheris of this land that shortly thairefter wer banissed in England, it appearis to be informit to my Lord Duke and my Lord Boithuile that he is a particulair unfreynd to thame. Bot this apperis not the reddiest way to remeid; for neyther can thay weill refuse hir messingers, nor mak chois of thame. I think gif thay beris a freindly part to hir, she will not offend thame to hald a minister with thame quhom thay think thay have just caus noct to like of, bot will fynd honest pretensis anow to change agane."

"In guid fayct I can anser zour memoir na mair specialie. I have bene diseasit, otherwyss I suld have visitit zow." Symons.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In Hay's hand. No indorsement.*

Dec. 20. 328. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 230. "Seing zour lordship thinkis my presens sa necesser at this conventioun, I will God willing be thair on Tyrsday at nicht, for assisting the rest of the nobilitie in ony thing may tend to the benefite of religioun and mantenance of the amitie betuix the two crownis. All particuleris I remite to that tyme, and to the sufficiencie of the berar." Hamilton. *Signed:* J. Hamilton.

$\frac{1}{4}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Asheby:* "Re. at Eden. the 22 Dec. 89."

Dec. 26. 329. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 232. "I shall cum to zow how sone possibly I can. This mornyng I thocht to haif bene with zow, bot the tyme servit not. Haif ze spokin zour self for the Counsellis letter in zour recommendatioun. Gif not, it wer meet to remember it to my Lord Duke, Erll Boithuile, or Sir Robert Melvill alssone as myct be, and to lett me haif zour awin opinioun gif thair salbe twa letters or gif ane for bayth purposes sall suffice." *Signed:* A. Hay.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Asheby:* "Re. the 26 December."

Dec. 23. 330. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 234. "According to zour desyir I have writtin ane lettir to her majeste, ane uther to Mr. Secretare in zour favouris. And in respect of zour luiffing mynd towardes me, quhairin forder I may do pleasur to zow or ony zouris I will pray zow charge and ze sall find me reddy as zour maist speciall and faithfull freind to do for zow to the uttermost of my power." Hamilton. *Signed:* "Zour assurit frinde at pouar, J. Hammilton."

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed.*

James VI. 1589. Dec. 31. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 236.

331. The Council of Scotland to Elizabeth.

"Understanding be zour servaunt Mr. William Assheby, zour lait resident ambassadoure heir, of zour will and pleasoure signifeit to him twitcheing his returne unto zoure hienes, and that zour servaunt Mr. Robert Bowes, thesaurar of Beruick, suld remane in the like charge and service heir for zour hienes; we have ressavit him according to zour majesties recommendatioun, trusting he sall do thay gude offices that may interteny the continuance of the amytie betuix zour hienes and the King oure soverane, and the present quietnes and gude nychtbourheid betuix zour realmes and subjectis. Quhairunto we will not faill to hald hand be all the meanys lyand in ws. And for this gentleman zour hienes servaunt that now returnis, we can not omit to testefie unto zour majestie that during the tyme of his remanyng and negotiatioun in this realm, alsweill befoir the departing of the King our souerane lord to Noroway as sensyne, he hes behavit him selff very dewtefullie and diligentlie to our knawlege in all respectis." Edinburgh.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copy of the Counsellis lettre to the Queen's Majeste of England, 31 Decembris, 1589."

Dec. 31. Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 238.

332. William Asheby to James VI.

Being revoked the second time he is forced to depart, though to his grief, for the desire he had to see the King's arrival with his Queen. Yet he rejoices to leave Scotland in amity with England, and settled in peaceable tranquillity.

Had hoped on the King's return to utter his zeal and honour towards him, but that is frustrate. Craves the King's approbation of his carriage here, and that he will vouchsafe a few lines of favour to her majesty; professing his readiness to serve the Scottish King before all princes, saving his own mistress.

$1\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie of a lettre to the King of Scotland in Norwaie."

[Dec.] Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 246.

333. Articles to be observed by all the Prechers and Office Bearers in the Kirk of Scotland.

"All prechers of the wourd and officers in the kirke, aswell for conscience sake as for there naturall dutie, shall with all humilitie yeld there obedience to the Kinges majestie, and observe and obey all his lawes and commaunde made and to be made, not directlie impugning the written wourd of God."

"Thei nor none of them shall pretend immunitie or priviledge in there allegiance, nor appeale from his majestie to anie other judge or jurisdiccion for the triall, censuring or punishment of whatsoever thing that in whatsoever place thei speake or do that maie concerne his majestie in honor, state, or suertie, and therefore thei nor none of them shall meddle in matters of estate or civill besides there calling. And also thei nor none of them shall publiklie rebuke or in any wise revile his majestie, nor declaime against his majesties person, estate, counsell, or lawes, but shall signifie

James VI. 1589. there greife to his majestie in private, and crave most humblie remedie thereof by ordinarie and lawfull meanes."

"Thei shall in publique doctrine and private speches speak reverentlie of his majesties person, estate, counsell, and lawes, and to there uttermost travell to contein the whole subjectes in there due obedience to his hienes; preach the same at all occacions, and do what in them lyeth to conserve the publique peace, and abstein in all thinges aswell in doctrine as in example that maie publikelie or privatelie, directlie or indirectlie withdrawe the hartes of the people from the due obedience, love, or reverence thei owe to his majesty, or that in anie wise maie disturbe the common quietnes."

"Thei shall abstein from all faccion, privie preaching by the common order in publique or privit places or anie such quiet conventicles thereby to make anie pa[rt of] his majesties subjectes to conceave that anie persecucion is usid or intended against them, nor shall in anie wise move them to mislike of his majesties proceadinges."

"Thei shall not alledg the inspiracion of the Holy Sprite, except so farr as agreeth with the holie scripture, ether when thei are accused upon there factes or speaches, or when thei would do or refuse to doe that wantes expresse warrant of the wourd so to doe or so to refuse; but by the contrarie when thei offend and are attached thereof, not to be ashamed trulie to graunt there offence as men, and humblie to crave pardon as subjectes, nor serve themselves with the coler of conscience to doe or refuse the things that thei want ether good reasons so for to doe or refuse."

"And in token of there consentes the pastours have subscribed to theise articles."

1⅔ *pp. Copy in Asheby's hand.*

334. James Hudson to Walsingham.

*"in 84 or ther abowts the Master of Olyphant, eldest sune to the lord Ollyphant namid Olyphant, with Robert Dowglas, seldest sune and heyr to the lard of Lawghlevin, now Earl of Morttone, with sume gentlemen ther servants—beinge bowin four Franc—ewer in fyght shott under watter and ther ship sunk. But theas gentlemen escapid in the shipboat, and wer takin by a piratt or mane of warr and caryed to the coast of Barbarei and ther sold as slaves."

"And it is credable informid that theas two noble men wer alyke in great servituid in the castell off Allgeris, ther imployd in all baess works as al other slaves ar within the spaece of theas sevin yearis. The ambassadors desyer to your honor is that yow wold be pleasid to procuer favor of theas ambasadors, that he may send a gentleman with theme whome they wil favor with ther meanis and credit, in thoes parts, to searche and inqwyer in al plassis for theas noble men. And that al lawful favor mae be shauid, and that they wil also help and assist to compound and to agrei for reason in ther redempsyon, and that by ther meanis intelygence may be returnid to your honors owin hands from them selves, notwithstanding this gentlemans imployment, for al ther frends better sattisfacsyon,

* First page wanting.

James VI. 1589. wherby your honor shal nott only oblyg this gentleman to your honor but also many noble men, and doe a great deid of honorable pietei."

1 *p.* *In Hudson's hand.* *Indorsed.*

335. STATE OF SCOTLAND.

A copy of No. 576 vol. ix. *Cal. Scot. Papers* (S.P. Scotland, Elizabeth, vol. 44, No. 104).

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 331.

336. SCOTTISH MEN AND WOMEN RECEIVING PENSIONS FROM THE KING OF SPAIN.

" Francis Stewart Earle Bothwell	300 d.	monthly.
The Earle of Pearth as it is informed	300 d.	,,
Mr. George Carre	100 d.	,,
Mr. Andrewe Clarke	40 d.	,,
Adam Cumming	30 d.	,,
Sir James Lynsey in sute for Mr. Curle of Edenbrough	40 d.	,,
His wife Geils Moobray	30 d.	,,
Jane Moobray, her sister	30 d.	,,
Mistress Woodderspon	30 d.	,,
Mr. Patrick Steward, now heere with the Earle Bothwell, received for an *ayuda de costa*	100 d.	,,
The Layrds of Farnyhurst elder and yonger received for an *ayuda de costa*. They are gone out of Spayne with intention to retourne agayne	200 d.	,,
Coronell Symple living in Flanders	100 d.	,,
Coronell Paton living in Flanders	100 d.	,,

½ *p.* *Indorsed.*

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Jan. 1. 337. JOHN COPCOT TO ROBERT NAUNTON.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 40. Thanks Naunton for his letter, which he could not answer sooner, being sick at Lambeth. Encloses a letter from Mr. Bancroft, and prays Naunton to answer his desire, and if any thing be published against the said Bancroft to let him know. From Corpus Christi College in Cambridge.

½ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Richard Bancroft to Robert Naunton).

Though not acquainted with Naunton, Bancroft is beholden to him for the letter he wrote to Dr. Copcot, which letter his friends have considered. Bancroft had written a letter " to the chief of the great Rabbies " but hearing that a book against his sermon has been written and will be printed he has stayed his letter. It appears by Naunton's letter how greatly Bancroft is bound to Asheby; for which the archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor will thank him. Had no intent to offend the ministers there. " We are pressed with examples of other churches to the imbracinge of that most counterfeyt and falsly patched up govern-

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ment which is tearmed the presbitery, a meere humane device devised by shiftinge and sleight, attayned by tiranny and bloud, and mainteyned with untollerable pride"; so he thought good to give warning by the miserable state of the church of Scotland, "least we should fall into the like desolation." Asks for satisfaction on the points enclosed. Is well acquainted with the course held for the erection of that government ever since James V., and has read of the stratagem at Stirling when the King was taken, but Naunton may learn more than is mentioned in the English chronicle of Scotland. Also he conceives that ministers of Scotland—especially Mr. Melvin—have procured letters from Beza and others beyond the seas concerning their ratifying of the church government there established; which letters he would like to see; "for thereby it will appere what very false reportes have been made by them both of the Kinge and of the bishopes there: upon which untrue suggestions the sayd learned men did write otherwise then they wold have done if they had knowen the truth." To accomplish this, Naunton must appear desirous to embrace their devices if he might see the judgements of Beza and other learned men of France, etc. Bancroft would like copies of the ministers' letters to Beza and others, to be sent to him, sealed, under cover to Mr. Ashly of the Privy Council. Lambeth 23 Dec. 1589. *Signed:* Rich. Bancrofte.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.*

Enclosure with the same:—

("Questions to be resolved.")

1. "Consideringe the Kinges edict, 1584, how it came to passe that the bishops were so sone overthrowne agayne, and the presbiteryes so sone reestablished: and of the circumstances of that action."

2. How many presbyteries there be in Scotland; whether one in every parish as of old? How many parishes they have put into one, and whether every parish has a preaching pastor and a catechising doctor?

3. How many elders are in a presbytery, and whether such men as St. Paul requireth a bishop to be qualified: how many deacons, and whether qualified as St. Paul's deacons?

4. If no ministers be allowed but preachers, and that some parishes have therefore none at all; in destitute parishes who christens the children, and what public prayer have they on week-days and Sundays?

5. If many parishes are become one, what is done with the old churches: how far are men constrained to come to their presbytery church, and how often: how are churches kept in reparation?

6. Have the consistories any set jurisdiction: is the King exempt from their censures: "by what authority doe they commaund any man to appere before them?" Are persons accused of adultery or such-like first convicted before the civil magistrate and afterwards returned to ecclesiastical censures?

7. If the person be punished and penitent, do they proceed further by their censures?

8. "If a man suppose himselfe to be injuried by any presbiteriall consistory, whether may he appeale? and whither?"

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9. Is any distinction now kept between civil and ecclesiastical causes ?

10. Is all the canon law abrogated, and every consistory a law unto itself ?

11. Do the consistories proceed in such causes as come before them by number of voices ?

12. " What places have the ministers and consistorian elders there in parlayment ? " Have they voices in all causes ? And what power has the laity ?

13. Have they conferences, dioceses, synods ?

14. If they have synods, may the ministers and elders also assemble extraordinarily, and by whose command ?

15. May the governors of any particular presbytery do what they think expedient for their congregation on their own authority ?

16. What authority has the King in meetings of ministers and elders ; has he a negative voice ; can they proceed against him with ecclesiastical censures ?

17. Also concerns the King's authority.

18. " What maintenawnce for livinge have the ministers ? " Also enquiries as to livings and tithes.

19. As to the pay of " lay or rulinge elders."

20. What account is made of ministers, elders, and the presbyterial government ; " and what great reformation of manners doth thereby appere ? "

21. " What course hath been held by the presbiteries agaynst the archbishop of St. Andrewes ? "

22. " Whether is Buchanan's treatise '*De jure regni apud Scotos*' approved there by the consistorians, and the contents therof allowed for good doctrine ? "

23. How have the ministers dealth with the Kinge from time to time ? "

3 *pp.*

Jan. 2. 338. PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 430.

" We ressavit zour letter of the f . . . * ber be zour servaunt Robert Bowes thesaurare of Beruick . . . his credite deliverit to ws in zour hienes name, perceaving . . . the guid affectioun of zour Majestie towardis zour dearest broth[er] our souverane, and zour greate cair for the preservatioun of thi . . . now in his absence, quhen indeid the frute of trew freindship . . . to be knawen ; quhairof we maist humbly thank zour Ma[jestie]. With sum of his counsellouris and servauntis latelie returnit f[rom No]roway we understand the like gude affectioun in him toward . . . with a speciall directioun to caus gude correspondence be ke . . . bordouris, and to learne quhat preparatioun is intendit in Spain . . . the next zeir : as we looke zour Majestie sall heir fro him [self as] the difficultie of the passage and seasoun possibly will per[mit]. [For] our awin pairtis, na vigilancy dewitie and loyaltie sall . . . ws that may further the accomplishment of the King our ma . . . and directioun left ws, and latelie renewit frome Nor[oway, a]greing in effect with zour hienes awin advise. And howso . . . find ony speciall and certane grundis of any

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589-90. suspitious deal[ing of] quhatsoevir subjectis of this realme, tending to the disturb[ing and] indaungering of the King our maisteris estait and making of . . . in his absence, we salbe cairfull to prevent and represse . . . [prac]tizes and attemptis that sall fall out or that we may haif . . . of, louking as neade sall requyre for zour Majesteis guid a . . . quhilk we doubt not the King our maister sall maist thankfully . . . and acquite: and quhill his returning we sall omit na dil . . . promptitude lyand in our habilitie that may supplie his pairt." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Le[nnox]; Culros; Coldenknois; Parbrothe controller; Ormiston; Dignauall; Barnbarrach; D . . .

¾ *p. No flyleaf or address.*

[Jan.] **339. Concerning debts of François de Civille.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 253. "Abraham Hwme. Johne Edzear* is the man quha suld pay ony det for Monsieur Civill."

Small note.

Jan. 6. **340. Thomas Murray, James VI.'s furrier, to Walsingham.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 247. "This present is to schaw zour lordschip that I had almost become ane Papist, had not the richt virschipfull Maister Asby, the Quenis majesties ambassadour, preventit the samyn be his courtesie and liberalitie, he knawing that zour lordschip had to fore ane gude vill towartis me, zour lordschip maist humbill servand. And in hoip of zour guide vill and favoure I am bauld to writt thir fewe lynis unto zour lordschip to avoyde ingratyde, or at the leist to schaw the purie guid vill I do beare unto zour lordschip, thanking God Almychty that I had in my lyffe the creditt to be in favour vith ane vich is renommed the most vertuous and visest in Europe; beseking zour lordschip to accept this my puire guide vill, and alsua to vritt unto Maister Bowis, quha remanis presentlie ambassadour, to schaw me the lyk favour that Maister Asby hes done, quhilk vas for the favour he beris unto zour lordschip; nott doubting bot zour lordschip vill be myndfull of me and to schaw the guid vill zour lordschip beris unto [*sic*], and to vritt unto Maister Bowis for the samyn effect. Uthirvayis me lord schaw the Quenis majestie I vill become ane plane Spanizarde, and that the samyn be allowit as mekill man that is imployit in our countrey, and mak acompt of me as ane of the nobilitie, for I am asured I sall never be forfaltit in parliament to vritt sua familiar unto zour lordschip."

"Vith my humbill commendationis to zour lordschip bedfallow and to zour lordschip dochter."

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Jan. 9. **341. William Asheby to Burghley and Walsingham.**

The evening before I was to enter my journey homewards these letters enclosed were brought to me by one that the Catholics here meant to have employed for their conveyance to their accomplices in London. I acquainted Mr. Bowes therewith, and meant to reserve them till I could give you more information by word of mouth; but being hindered by the

* Called elsewhere 'Egger'.

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1 *p. Holograph. Addressed.*

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 249. Draft of the same.

(Three enclosures with the same, the two first being letters in cipher, and the third the key as follows) :—

"T.D.R." "*Clavis :*" "*Arma virumque cano.*"

M. de S. "*Clavis :*" "*Apta magis Veneri quam sunt tua corpora Marti.*"

"T. B. is Thomas Barkley, Scot ; he dwells at the furthest end of the falburgs of Aldgate, as ye goe to the Milend Greene, besides the church at the signe of the 'Bull with the Goulden Hornes.'"

"Deliver him both the letters. He will know whom to give the other. John Duncan bare letters before to an Irish gardiner dwelling nere to Clerkinwell, then suspecting no such contentes : his name unknowen ; a grosseman. A glover, a neighbour of his in Smithfield, red bearded ; lately maried an ould woman. A third Scottisman, his nere kinsman, one for whose security he is carefull, as also for his owne. John More, one not unknowen to the rest, strongly suspected by him for accessary, but in conscience he cannot accuse him further then upon presumption."

"That four Irishmen to come out of Irland of purpose, two Frenchmen, and as many Scotts ar to meete and consult in the said Irish gardiners house as upon the 2th of February next, about a treacherous conspiracie against her majestes person, etc."

⅔ *p. Indorsed :* "Letters from Dunkan."

[Jan.] 342. THOMAS MORGAN TO THE BISHOP OF DUMBLANE.

"Yeasternyght late I receved some letters from [the bishop of Dumblane][1] of the 3 of this instant, with some other for his kinsman—who is at Antwerpe as I sayde in my former letters—and annother from [the Duke of Savoy] in favor of him and [Morgan] ; for the which I acknoledge my selfe on the behalfe of [Morgan] muche indebted unto the honor and good memorie that [the bishop of Dumblane] ever conservethe of [Morgan], whose lyfe and labors shalbe ever at [the bishop of Dumblane] his comandement. And so I beseeche your good lordship to assure [the bishop of Dumblane], and further to tell him that I thinke he honorethe and trustethe [Morgan] the more, in that it pleased him to conjoyne his kinsman and [Morgan] in the letter of recommendations from [the Duke of Savoy]."

"But all the letters in the world will litle prevayle with suche as deale principallie in the affayres of [Flanders][2], which goe not forward as it is to be wished, by reason of the jalousie entred betwene [the King of Spain] and [the Duke of Parma] which hathe continued two yeares, to the prejudice of the common good, and [the King of Spain] his service in

1 Names in square brackets in this letter are in cipher. A key is given at the end of the letter.

2 The cipher here is '15' which is not in the key, but Flanders is evidently meant.

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particular. But there is some apparance that they be bothe nowe at better tearmes, and [the Duke of Parma] is well for his healthe, thankes be to God."

"I will advertyse [the bishop of Dumblane] his kinsman of his pleasure in all thinges, and comfore [*sic*] to the same geve him my best advise in all thinges, for I trust and honor all those that apparteyne to [the bishop of Dumblane] as I do those that be most deare to me, and so I take them to be. And when [the bishop of Dumblane] his kinsman comethe hither, we shall conferre how to use [the Duke of Savoy] his letters to do some service; but during his absence I will do nothinge in the matter withowt him."

"We see by experience that the great ones of this tyme, for all ther zeale to do good, are not so forward therin onelesse ther be some cause for ther particular interest to pushe them forwardes. And therfore it was wyselie doone of [the bishop of Dumblane] to bringe [the Duke of Savoy] to apprehend the swetenes of the place and chardge and honor which [the Duke of Parma] howldethe, as in deede a place most dew to [the Duke of Savoy] all thinges considered. And besydes [the King of Spain] cann geve [the Duke of Savoy] no suche honor as the governement of [Flanders]; wherfore lett [the bishop of Dumblane] keepe [the King of Spain] and [the Duke of Savoy] in that humor which I hope will advaunce both the publike and other particulars, and speciallie [the bishop of Cassano] his case, who cann never requite [the bishop of Dumblane] his honor and love towardes [the bishop of Cassano]. It may be well sayd that [the King of Spain] hathe dealt well with [the Duke of Parma] to honor him with the place he hadd so manie yeares in [Flanders], wherby God knowethe what he reapt for him selfe and his. The envye to [the bishop of Cassano] his merites and Godes giftes in him is marvelouse great, and the grownd of the malice that [Cardinal Allen] and his beare to [Morgan] is, for that he is so sownd a frend to [the bishop of Cassano], who is thowght to be one worthie to have a good place, which they cannot abyde at anie hand."

"[Father Holt] playeth filthie playes in [Flanders], and hinderethe [Father Creichton] and others by his persuasions, and devydethe them of [England] into factions. [Morgan] hath alreadie complayned of [Father Holt] to his superiors, whearat he stormethe as one that hadd that opinion of his dexteritie and creditt, and the countenaunce of [Cardinal Allen], as no man durst have spoken agaynst his nawghtie deportementes: but [Morgan] hathe spoken therin, and will say more to others his betters in [Rome]; for the cowrse of proceedinge howlden by [Cardinal Allen] and his is so violent, and ther expectation so great, as all [England] and [Scotland] must obey and serve them, as in all orderlie and Christian proceedinges with indifferencie [Morgan] wowld serve them with the effusion of his blowde."

"It is more then tyme that [the bishop of Cassano], or some other be advanced for the comon good, and to counterpeyse [Cardinal Allen] and his, and to helpe to conserve unitie and conformitie in the handlinge of the affayres, and in preferring and directinge of those over whom they have and shall have chardge."

"Albeit [the bishop of Dumblane] his kinsman and successor be a worthie man, and well occupied in the chardge he hathe, yeat he is not

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able there to yeald that frute and service to the publike and his countrie which he cowld do in [Rome] or in [Spain]: and therfore I beseche your lordship to consider that he may be called to some other place to serve the publike cause, his frendes, and countrie owt of the which ther be few or none—[the bishop of Dumblane] excepted—that travayle in the present and cann so do. And [Scotland] hathe neede of some speciall membre to lyve in [Rome] and in [Spain], uppon whose honor and integritie the same may relye. [The bishop of Glasgow] and [the bishop of Ross] be profitable wher the [*sic*] be, but ther wowld be some one of ther ranke advanced and placed besydes [the Pope] and [the King of Spain]; and I take [the bishop of Dumblane] his successor to be meetest man of his countrie to be advanced and imployed in the comon cause, which he cowld advance if he were in [Rome] or in [Spain], havinge withall the assistance of [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano] to concurre with him sowndlie. [The King of Spain] is able to advaunce daylie suche a man as [the bishop of Dumblane] his successor is, wherin my good wyll and advyse shall not want."

"I pray your good lordship to deale to have a good resolution to bestow [the bishop of Dumblane], [the bishop of Cassano], and [the bishop of Dumblane] his successor in some principall places abowt of [the King of Spain] and [the Duke of Savoy], and to settle in [Paris] some speciall personages, and in [Flanders] some others to entertayne with [the bishop of Dumblane, the bishop of Cassano], and [the bishop of Dumblane] his successor good correspondence, and to do in ther severall places all other good offices."

"Ther be manie able membres of [England] and [Scotland] that will concurre with the travayle and honor of the sayd personages, And in deede [Paris] is a speciall place for manie causes to do service. Iff [the bishop of Dumblane] will procure [the Duke of Savoy] to deale with [the King of Spain] and [the Duke of Parma] to geve [Morgan] licence for ther service to lyve in [Paris], and that [the bishop of Dumblane] will procure his most Reverend Generall to chard [*sic*] his reverend bretheren in [Paris] to lodge [Morgan] by ther discretion amonges them or nyghe them, and to have his diet with them and his pension payed from tyme to tyme in [Paris] as it was heertofore by the handes of [the King of Spain] his principall minister there; heere I offer for the comon good and honor of [the bishop of Dumblane] and all his to returne to [Paris], and from thence uppon this condition I hope to yeald [the bishop of Dumblane] and all his good information of the estate of [France, England] and [Scotland], and to make [the Pope, the King of Spain] and the Duke of Savoy] ther ministers well satysfyed with my labors; and that my frendes shall have honor therby which I desire."

"Wherfore it may please your lordship to conferre of this poynt substanciallie with [the bishop of Dumblane], and desire him before his departure towardes [Spain] or [Rome] to settle this purpose, which is easelie browght to passe by the instance of [the Duke of Savoy] to [the Duke of Parma], and by the labors of [the bishop of Dumblane] to his sayd generall and brethren in [Paris]. And when [the bishop of Dumblane] commethe to [Spain] he may deale with [the King of Spain] to geve ordre to his principall minister in [Paris] to continue [Morgan] his pension ther unto him by the handes of [Don Bernardino Mendoza]

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or suche as shall have his place and chardge in [France]. By this meanes, and by confirminge the Reverend Religious of [the bishop of Dumblane] his ordre in [Paris] in a sownd amitie and intelligence with me, [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano] and all ther dispersed may relye uppon my labours, and by Gode's assistaunce looke for service at my handes."

"[Cardinal Allen] is to come to [Flanders], where as thinges be handled I cann expecte but all hard favour, and so be lesse able to serve my countrie and frendes, which I doo foresee as I owght to do. And this consideration, and especiallie the service I may do to my frendes and countrie, move me to offer my selfe to this condition, which I take in the present to be best to all eventes. Besydes that I graunte unto your lordship I have a particular affection and love to those of [the bishop of Dumblane] his reverend ordre, that I thinke my selfe muche honored and comforted to converse and lyve with theme whose vertuous lyfes and dyet content me excedinglie. And further they participate with the principall of [France], wherby I with them and they with me may be profetable when as we shall lead owre lyves and labors to one end together as we do beinge dispersed."

"And therfore lett [the bishop of Dumblane] setle this matter as shalbe best for us all, and the sooner the better."

"The Duke of Lorayne and his wowld be browght to concurre with [the Duke of Savoy] to honor [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano] and ther labors. And your lordship knowethe that the house of Lorrayne standethe well with his majestie Catholique and all his. And [the bishop of Dumblane] his brethren in [Paris] be able to weighe the Duke of Lorayne and all his to do what they please. But the good brethren want a man abowt them to lay before ther eies the opportunitie and meanes to serve and honor ther Generall, [the bishop of Dumblane], and [the bishop of Cassano], and suche others as they tender and desire to advaunce, which I leave to the grave consideration of [the bishop of Dumblane], and herin attend his resolution with speed; and so I pray your lordship to tell him."

"And seeing it hathe pleased [the bishop of Dumblane] to make [Morgan] known to [the Duke of Savoy], and that he hathe writen as he did in favor of [Morgan], I fynd now that [Morgan] is bownd, as well for the dew acquitall of him selfe towardes [the Duke of Savoy], as also for the honor of [the bishop of Dumblane], to seeke by all agreable meanes to make [the Duke of Savoy] to undrestand by effecte that [the bishop of Dumblane] comended unto [the Duke of Savoy] a gentleman that is thankefull and readie to serve [the Duke of Savoy]; to which end I shall deale with [Morgan] to dedicate his labors, for the considerations above sayd, and for the good and honor of [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano]."

"But to the end that [Morgan] may the better yeald some contentment to [the Duke of Savoy], [the bishop of Dumblane] must deale with him to appoynt some abowte him of the best sort, to whom [Morgan] may write his mynd confidentlie, to be imparted to [the Duke of Savoy] as tyme and place shall require: and the meanes how ther intelligence may be well continued, which cannot be without an alphabet: and therfore lett [the bishop of Dumblane] procure that [the Duke of Savoy] may send me the same, wherby I shall serve him, and by all the meanes I may

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honor [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano] and ther labors. And I am assured that suche as [the Duke of Savoy] is desirethe nothinge more then to be served and honored, which I leave lykwyse to good [bishop of Dumblane] his consyderation, who may also tell [the Duke of Savoy] that [Morgan] is an honest frend to [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano]."

"[The Duke of Parma] his soone showld have beene advanced to have beene [cardinal], but it was differred, I perceve, at this last tyme; which [the Duke of Parma] dothe not take in the best part."

"Monsieur Jean Baptista de Tassis, the veedor generall for his majestie Catholique in this countrie, and a good servant to his majestie Catholique and to the publike cause, is at this present uppon his departure towardes Spayne, where he must be honored and respected for his longe good service. He is lyke to passe by the Duke of Savoy, to whom he is well known, besydes that as farre as I remember his brother or his kinsman his wyfe is attendant uppon the Duchesse of Savoy."

"I wishe that your lordship mett with Monsier de Tassis when he comethe to the Duke of Savoy, because he is a personage of honor, and fitt to take the chardge of anie thinge that wilbe sayd to him on the behalfe of the Duke of Savoy to his majestie Catholique, besydes that I wowld your lordship weare acquaynted well with the sayd personage for your owne and your frendes contentment. He is my good frend and knowethe [Cardinal Allen] and [Father Parsons], [Father Creichton], [Father Hay] and the principall of all owrs and youres in banishement; but [the bishop of Cassano] he knowethe not accordinge to his merites otherwyse then that I have sayde my mynd of [the bishop of Cassano]. Sometyme it weare well that the Duke of Savoy and [the bishop of Dumblane] made Monsieur de Tassis to know [the bishop of Cassano] and suche a membre as he is in deede."

"Iff your lordship have cause to see the sayd Monsieur de Tassis, I pray your lordship to lett him know at your handes that your lordship dothe know that I honor him and acknoledge all his favores towardes me and my frendes. As farre as I heare, Monsieur de Tassis shall remayne in Spayne to serve his majestie Catholique in speciall chardge, which he deservethe, beinge a personage of great service and experience. Iff your lordship meete with him, as I wowld you did, happelie I hope that will bringe fourthe some frute."

"The suddayne departure of the Kinge of Scotland out of his countrie is lyke to bring no smale alteration and stirre ther in his absence, but all for the best, I hope, if he hadd grace to see his estate and the treason of the Queen of England and the heritykes of England and Scotland conjoyned in one for his ruyne, thowghe he be of ther syde: but God may geve him grace to alter, which I pray God may ensew. And ther is no question but if this opportunitie weare well observed by suche as have principall interest in the publyk, ther is good to be doone with the sayd Kinge. We heare that she of England laborethe to advaunce my Lord Hamelton to the governement of Scotland, which the ministers of Scotland desire also; and she præparethe men towardes the Borders, I warrant your lordship to no good purpose."

"The legate entred at Paris the 17 of this instant. I wowld be gladd to have meanes to serve him, and the rather for the consideration mentioned in [the bishop of Dumblane] his letters. [The bishop of Cassano]

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hathe ynowghe to do with his portion, and I wowld not gladlie chardge him, but rather helpe him to the uttermost of my power; yeat for manie causes he must helpe [Morgan] in all he may convenientlie, untill God helpe [Morgan] some other wayes. And so muche I pray your lordship to tell him, that he may leave some ordre to geve [Morgan] some credit in [Flanders] in case requisite. The more forward [the bishop of Cassano] shalbe to helpe [Morgan], the lesse will he take unlesse it be in some causes that importe us all verie muche. And [Morgan] is not owt of hope to recover his awne injurouslie deteyned from him, all which beinge recovered shall ever walke to serve God and suche as deserve well."

"We must suspend owre judgement of [the prior of Carthusians] his sylence all this while, trustinge that he will geve us satisfaction at the laste. As I wrot to [the bishop of Dumblane] it was writen to me that [the prior of Carthusians] was gone to [the bishop of Cassano]. I have borne and do beare not a little for [the prior of Carthusians] his sake, whom [Cardinal Allen] and his so muche mislyke. And unlesse good foresyght be hadd they will remove him from his place, and to that end tendethe the cowrse they have in hand. And ther is great diligence taken to conserve him and his brethren at difference, which is a merveylouse ungodlie manere of procedinge; yeat this I know to be upholden by [Father Holt] his endevoures."

"L[ord Paget] his healthe muche decayethe to my greife. He and the rest your frendes heere humblie salute your lordship, and be gladd to heare of your lordship his welfare."

"Ther is a gentleman of honor of [England] heere, a frend of owres verie well qualifyed, and heere intertayned by his majestie Catholike, and he is worthie to serve anie kinge or prince that lyvethe; but here is no respecte hadd of the qualities or merites of men, but all confounded together. I thinke this gentleman well worthie, having all languages, and qualifyed, as I have sayd, to be in thee service of [the Duke of Savoy], wherof he showld have honour and contentment by his labors."

"The man I meane is [Mr. Thomas Throgmorton], my good frend and your servant to his power. Iff your lordship cann bestow him well with [the Duke of Savoy] he showld have honor and service therby, and [Throgmorton] wilbe profetable in the place to his frendes: but reserve thus muche to your selfe, and lett me know your pleasure for answere as soone as your lordship may convenientlie."

"Ther is not owt of [England], I dare bouldlie tell your lordship, a fitter man of [Throgmorton] his qualitie to be abowt a good prince then [Throgmorton] is, whose faythe and honor I know of manie yeares: and [the Duke of Savoy] shall do well to retayne abowt him some speciall man of [England]; wherin I pray your lordship to do your best, and I am assured that hearafter you shall have honour therby; and if the matter succede well, then I wowld have it known that the same matter comethe to passe by the care of [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano], to the ende that [Throgmorton] in that place may serve and honor them bothe, as he will whether this take effecte or not: but he knowethe not that I say thus muche of him to your lordship; but in truthe I have his honor and merites before myne eies alwayes, and the service of his honorable familie doone to hir majestie of blessed memorie and to his majestie Catholike, for whose service and the publike cause

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his house and frendes most deare weare overthrown by the comon enimyes."

"To conclud I beseeche your lordship to imparte the contentes heerof to [the bishop of Dumblane] with speed, and desire him for the comon good and honor and consolation of his frendes to answere me with speede to the poyntes fullie, and to labor to dispose the frendes and servantes that he hathe to concurre with him and his, wher they may yeald most frute to Godes service and honor of ther frendes."

"I have undre [the bishop of Dumblane] his correction assygned unto my selfe my place which I desire to have with the good lyking and allowaunce of [the bishop of Dumblane], his brethren and superiors in [Paris], and continuation of my pension of 40 crowns by the monthe which shall walke necessarilie [*sic*]. [The Duke of Savoy] and [the bishop of Dumblane] be able to bring this to passe, and [the King of Spain] at [the Duke of Savoy] his mediation and [the bishop of Dumblane] his labors will confirme the matter, which I leave to [the bishop of Dumblane] his wisdome. Albeit I shall some way chardge [the bishop of Dumblane] his brethren and ther howse with my selfe and my mann, yeat I hope to geve them and ther superiors good satisfaction, so that they shall not howld me a chardge, but—I hope—a comforte to them."

"Ther is to depart owt of this countrie under the conducte of Counte Egmond 1500 launces into Fraunce for the service of the Holie League, which I beseche owre Lord to prosper. The warres of Fraunce are lyke to be longe, and by that meanes the publike reformation so muche desired is lyke to be hindred not a litle. We do not expecte that [the King of Spain] cann do anie thinge agaynst England the next yeare."

"The Queen of England bendethe all hir force to assist the Kinge of Navarre, and to kepe Christendome in a continuall garboyle."

"I will do what I cann to entretayne all good membres and subjectes in the service of [the King of Spain] and suche as travayle for him, and to addresse the same to the handlinge of [the bishop of Dumblane] and his frendes; and if he weare once nygh to [the King of Spain] and hadd accesse to him we should labor to dedicate some gratefull service to the handes of [the bishop of Dumblane], thowghe the distance of place betweene us and the occasions of service which is presented, which cannot abyde anie long delay, be a great hindrance manie tymes to the advancement of the good we desire to advaunce."

"Iff [the Duke of Savoy] hadd the principall chardge in [Flanders] he myght store upp all his awne portion, which is honorable, and drawe owt of [Flanders] ynowghe for him selfe and all his with honor, and be well heard of the greatest in the world and respected not a litle. Besydes that which is no smale matter: if [the Duke of Savoy] showld happen to lyve after [the King of Spain], as he may by cowrse of nature, [the Duke of Savoy] wowld goe nyght to carie al [Flanders] to him and his, beinge once in possession of the same; thowghe I hope [the Duke of Savoy] wowld not for anie worldlie respecte do anie acte contrarie to the trust to him committed by [the King of Spain]."

"To be short, ther is no place or dignitie that [the Duke of Savoy] can have comparable to this I speake of, thowgh it be no more but to serve [the King of Spain] and his in [Flanders]: and with this persuasion [the Duke of Savoy] is to be nowrished. And me thinke [the King of Spain] showld lyke well to bestow [the Duke of Savoy] in [Flanders]: and the

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beginninge of this to effecte I leave to [the bishop of Dumblane] his wisdome."

"All they of [Spain] and others would favor suche an alteration in favor of [the Duke of Savoy]; and thinges have goone backwardes longe in [the Duke of Parma's] tyme. God graunte it may be otherwyse, but how so ever it be this is a subjecte gratefull to [the Duke of Savoy], and the secondes of the same cannot want assistaunce, which I hope [the bishop of Dumblane] and [the bishop of Cassano] shall fynd in [the bishop of Cassano] his case and in all other matters. I lyke mervelows well that [the Duke of Savoy] will applye [the bishop of Dumblane] towardes [the King of Spain] for the advauncement of [the Duke of Savoy] to [Flanders], which I hope will bringe fowrthe good service everie way if the busines take happie issue as I will pray that it may."

"I am verie gladd to fynd [the bishop of Cassano] his love so well grounded towardes [the bishop of Dumblane] his frendes, as [the bishop of Cassano] dothe chose to be assisted in [Spain] by the labors of [the bishop of Dumblane] his nephew, who is an able gentleman to take anie chardge in hand; and to say the truthe it is pittie that one of his vertuouse education and good partes showld lyve and depende uppon the uncertayne entretaynement of this estate unprofetable heere, considerinye he may be utill [*sic*] in some other place bothe to the publike and to his frendes in particular."

"And as thinges goe heere the longer a man follow this estate and depende uppon the same, thowghe he be never so able to serve, the lesse accounte they make of him in fyne. And therfore lett [the bishop of Dumblane] do his best to provyde els wher for his frendes; and so I pray your lordship to tell him by penn or els by mowthe."

"I have alreadie writen to [the bishop of Dumblane] his nephew the news I have of his honorable uncle, and advysed him to repayre hither with diligence, and so to præpare him selfe to goe towardes [the bishop of Dumblane]."

"I consider that [the Duke of Savoy] his letters welle writen to his alteze and his secretarie Monsieur Castro Massi will procure me lycence to lyve in Fraunce—as I have sayd—; yeat for the avoyding of all jalowsie—which above al measure reignethe in these dayes in the great and smale ons—I will lay downe heere if I cann some breife memories for [the bishop of Dumblane] for the procuringe of those letters. And that it so be that I be licensed to lyve in Fraunce, as I have sayd, I thinke it shalbe good that [the Duke of Savoy] write his letters in favor of me to him that hathe principall chardge for him in [Paris]. Your lordship or at least [the bishop of Dumblane] knowethe whom I meane."

Note. "Writen in Januarie 1590 by [Morgan] his awne hand, and to have beene sent to [the bishop of Dumblane] selfe, as is playnlie gathered by the tenor; then in Savoya in Chiambrie."

4½ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed:* (1) "Morgan's letter to the bushop of Dumblayne." (2) "By this of Morgan to the bushop of Dumblayne in Scotlande, yow may perceave the implacable division that is betwene Cardinal Alen, Father Parsons, Sir Francis Inglefilde on the one bande, and Morgan, Carls Pagget, Thomas Throgmorton in Flanders, the bushop of Cassana, with his adherentes in Rome, the Duches of Feria, my Lord Hungerforde and theyrs els wheare on the other parte, with the bushops of Glasco, Ros and other Skotyshe busshoppes. The effecte of this letter is that the

James VI. 1589–90. bushop of Dumblayne beinge with the Duke of Savoye showlde persuade hym to procure the govermente of Flanders and remove the Duke of Parma, and take into his service Thomas Throgmorton, and advaunce the bushop of Cassana, whome the contrary parte to Cardinal Alen make theyre hedde."

(*Reference,* Vol. 47 No. 6).

Jan. [13]. **343. THOMAS LAKE TO THOMAS PHELIPPES.**

"Thes two letters in cypher arrived this morning from Mr. Ashby and were delivered to me by my master to decypher according to the alphabett that goeth with them." It is an old-fashioned cipher, and I have forgotten the rules. I am commanded to send it to you, Mr. Secretary being busy in council in the Lord Treasurer's chamber, and to pray you to do it with speed and return answer. Richmond. *Signed:* Tho. Lake.

Postscript—"I gesse the hand to be the Master of Grayes."

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

Jan. 20. **344. WALSINGHAM TO SIR JULIUS CAESAR AND DR. AUBREY.**

Lansd. MSS., 158, fol. 339.

The lords of the Council, hearing of the hard measure offered to "one John Darumple a Scottish merchant and his parteners by a sea captaine called Captaine Best," who spoiled them to the value of 300*li.*, as contained in their declaration here enclosed, have thought meet that order should be taken for their relief. The Lord Admiral has delivered to the Council Best's bond for his good behaviour that the Scottish men may benefit by the forfeiture thereof; and on account of the injustice of the fact, the poverty of the complainants, and the solicitations of the Scottish ambassador, they desire Sir Julius Cæsar to call the said captain or his sureties before him, and by virtue of their bond and this letter take some course for the satisfaction of the Scottish men. From the court at Richmond. *Signed:* Fra: Walsyngham.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Declaration of Scottish merchants.)

"The xvj of December the yere of God 1588 Johne Darumple and Archibald Maxspadene, marchantes of the toune of Ayre in Scotland, being in thair lafull traid of marchandese going to the Rotchell in France, in thair ship called the Nicholas of Ayre, lodenn withe heringes and clothe to the valeue of iij^{c} and xxxv. lib. starling, was taking at the Couckat upone the cost of France be on Captaen Adames a pyrat. The sameine ship and goodes was immediatlie therefter violentlie taken from the forsaid Adames befor anie dispositione wes maide therof by on Richard Best sonne to Edward Best in London, who hes disponed therupon to his owne proper use and commodite. The said Edward and Richart Bestes do stand bound in the court of the admeraltie not to molest nor troble anie of those that be in league with her majestie. Richard Best, notwithstanding of the bound forsaid, hes sould in the Ille of Wycht and

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in uther places therabout the saids goodes conteaned in the ship forsade, which he knew did apperteane to Scottishmen, as in his letter unto Mr. Docter Cæsar, judg of the admeraltie, at more lenth it doeth appere."

"My Lord Admerall, upone the complaint of the forsaid Johne Darumple and Archibald Maxspadeine of such cruell and hard dealing aganest them, hes delyvered the bound of Edward and Richard Bestes into there handes, that by the forfatur therof thay may ressave restitutione of there greit losses. Edward Best, not willing to mack anie restitutione to the Scottish men spoliated, doeth alledg his bound not to be forfet because his sonne did tack them frome a pyrat, and therfor ansuerable for no more nor come to the handes of his sonne."

"It may pleas yowr lordships in respect of the premissis to have some regard to the petifull complaint of the pour Scottishmen, and that this mater may be putt to on end to appoint such other docteres as your lordships shall think most expedient to be joyned with Mr. Docter Cæsar, judge of the admeraltie, in heiring of this cause."

1 *p.* *In a Scottish hand.*

Jan. 21. 345. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [WALSINGHAM.]

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 257.

I send this bearer, my nephew, to acquaint your honour of my arrival in London, praying your honour to command me "time and place" where I may attend you privately, "and impart such intelligences as my desire is your honour shold be first enformed of before my returne hither be further known."

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Draft.*

Jan. 24. 346. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO ALEXANDER HAY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598 fol. 258.

Sends occurrences of France, as received from Monsieur Civille, in grateful remembrance of Hay's good offices. Hopes that the diligence of the common enemies in combining may incite Protestant princes to unite against them. "I cold wish Mr. Coronell Stewarts motive made from his majesty for the ferme colleaguing of our two soveraignis with their ally of Denmarke were speedily prosecuted," that so the threefold cord would be in less danger of breaking. Is sure of the Queen's forward inclination thereto, if it were mentioned to her. Lord Willoughby is returned from France with his men, except four or five who chose to abide there, 24 Jan.

1 *p.* *Draft.* *Indorsed by Asheby:* "To the L. Clark Register the 25 of Jan. 89."

Jan. 27. 347. MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO WALSINGHAM.

"My nephew, Maister Richarde Dowglas, come to me one Satirday verray layte, derected be the Erll Bothewell wyth some matteris to be opinned to hir majeste. I did forbear to crave audience for presenting of him quhill now, partlye be ressone of his weak constitutione of bodye not able to indure long travell, partlye also be ressone the matteris in thaym self appearis to be of greatar moment than I culd upon the sudden geawe him adwise in what maner thay shuld be followed. Zit at this

James VI. 1589–90. present I am resolwed that all shalbe layde oppin befor hir majeste, to the end hir hyenes may mak chois of that whiche shall be to hir best lyking; for performing whearof I wold it mycht pleiss your honour to move hir majeste to be pleased that I may onderstand when her leasure may best serve."

"I am bolde to trowble your honour vyth this farre be resson I onderstand my Lord Chamberlain is not at courte. To my Lorde Tresoreir, to his lordship, and to your self, he hath speciall letteris derected, which he vill present eftir the seing of hir majeste." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 31. 348. PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND TO ELIZABETH.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 434.

"Pleis it zour majestie, be the letters ressavit be . . .* hienes our soverane lord we had speciall commandm[ent] . . . and amytie betuix the realmes be intertenyit be a . . . could, quhairunto we have showen all the guidwill ly . . . meanys, God willing, to continew. We wer alswa . . . be zour hienes ambassadour heir resident or utherwis . . . wes intendit in Spane agane this zeir now approche . . . occasioun of intelligence is laitlie fallin out be . . . Spanish bark in this realme, quhilk we have deliv[ered] . . . ambassadour heir resident to be communicat to zour majestie . . . quhais suffi-ciency we will forbeare to mak lang . . . hienes." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Bothuell, J. Hamilton, Len[nox], J. Mortoun, Anguss, . . .

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Walsingham.*

Jan. 31. 349. WILLIAM ASHEBY TO [HENRY NAUNTON.]

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 259.

Being at length returned from Scotland, he could not return [Robert Naunton] his nephew, Henry Naunton's son, without commendation. He has carried himself to Asheby's good liking, and the spending of his time abroad has been no way prejudicial to his progress in study. Commends him to his father's care, and hopes he may be a support to his father and the younger children. London. *Signed:* W. A.

⅔ *p. Draft.*

Feb. 10. 350. ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

"We have receavid your letters by this gentleman, togither with such credit as ye committed unto him to be delivered to us, and perceave therby how carefull you are to purge your self towardes us of such thinges as were reported to you we had bene infourmid of against you. For which your honourable care and other your lyke offers which have bene declared unto us we wolde not but send you our most hartie thankes, and lett you know the contentement we have for this your desire of our good opinion; the knowledge wherof we referr you to receave more at large by relation of this gentleman, and by such letters as ye may receave from your father in lawe. But wheras upon som wrong informacion given to you it seemith you conceavid that by our letters written to the King, your master, we ment to touche you, surely ye shall not finde that eyther

* Decayed.

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we had or could have then any such meaning without dooing you to much wrong, considering the greate services which at that tyme ye offered unto us; nether did we any waye egg the King agaynst you in particuler. But knowing by our own experyence these many yeeres had the great dangers that growe by the woorking and practizing to bring in strangers, and by the open entring of subjectes into armes against their prince, we did than remember unto the King a maxime that we holde, which is, that what subjectes soever of any prince are to be found coulpable of such an offence should eyther be cutt of or otherwise so wekenid as they might never after have power or meanes to woork the lyke dangerous attemptes agayn. Wherin thinges we seemid to give our advise to the King, knowing what was fitt for him in honour and for his own safety to doo, yet was it farre from our meaning in any sorte to touche you, considering the great and kinde offers which at that tyme you made unto us. And so we pray you to think, assuring you that for our parte we rest perswaded of you as of a parsonage who in respecte of the place and credit you holde, and of your own honour allso, will never enter nor consent to any action that may be prejudiciall to the King our good brothers estate and the amitie betwixt us: whose good and safety and of his relm the more you shall be carefull to procure the more will we be ready to acknowledge your honorable indevors therin, and your offers to us, in most thankfull manner towardes you, as you shall more at large understand by this gentleman and from your father in lawe allso, unto whom we remitt you."

1⅓ *pp. Draft. Indorsed by Walsingham:* "xth of February, 1589. Copy of the Queen's Majestes lettre to the Earle Bothwell sent by Mr. Douglas. The instructions given to me by her Majestes self."

Feb. 10. 351. ELIZABETH TO THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

"Understanding by our servant, Robert Bowes, of your good disposition to the perfourmance of all good offices that may tend to the mayntenance and strenghthening of the amitie between us and our good brother the King, your souverayn, and particulerly towardes our self, we wold not but by these our own expresse letters let you know our contentement and thankfull acceptation therof, and our willingnes allso to acknowledge the same toward you upon any fitt occasion that be aptly offred therunto. With this addition of our furder remembrance unto you, that the more carefull you shall be for the King our good brothers good and of his relm, during the tyme of his absence, the more honour and reputation will redounde unto you therby. And so we doubte not but you will contynue, according to the place you hold there, and the trust commyttid unto you by the King, and according to the good opinion and hope we have conceavid of you."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Walsongham:* "xth of February, 1589. Copy of her Majestes lettre to the Duke of Lennox."

Feb. 10. 352. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 261.

"I thank zow maist hertlie of the Franshe occurrentis, quhilkis I had not sene of befoir, and sall participat thame to other gude fellowes, quhomeunto, and all professing Goddis trew religioun, the knawlege of the weill doyng of this present King of France is and wilbe very joyfull."

James VI. 1589–90. And for the favour and courtessy quhilk I ressavit of zour worship during zour employment heir, and renewed be zour freindlie letter, I sall not be ynmyndfull to acquyte it with all dewitie of a thankfull mynd quhair I may gif ony pruif thairof: and specialie sall still beare a guidwill to further all thing—according to my sober habilitie—that may interteyn and incres the amytie betuix our soveranes and ther guid subjectis lovaris of the same amytie. And sall remember the purpos ze wrait of in the dispatche now making frome this to the King my soverane, fra quhome we haif hard or ressavit na thing sen zour departing out of Scotland, saulffing only a rumour that he sould be past to Dennemark. Little thing worthy of advertisement hes occurrit sensyne heir, saulffing the Spanishe barque that arrived at the Ile of Quhithorne in Galloway. The circumstances is sa lang ago writtin up be hir majesteis ambassadour heir resident that it is not worth the repeting."

"Oure disorderit people on the bordouris hes maid ane or twa attemptatis in England, quhairof I traist redres salbe maid with all speid that may be used. And for my guidwill thairto it sould not want gif it mycht mak the same mair suddane and effectuall."

"Now for my present conclusioun I mon recommend unto zour accustomat favour my auld guid freind and zour awin servand Mr. Kelsterne, quha albeit he hes found zour favour abundantlie heirtofore, zit I can not hald back my rememberance to further him to that quhairby he may have sum stay and relief in his aged dayes, quihilk sall augment my obligatioun unto zow; hoiping that his sute sall not be the wers receptit for my sake." Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Hay.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 10. 353. RICHARD WIGMORE TO ROBERT NAUNTON.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 263. Thanks him for his letter received yesterday. Has saluted Naunton's friends R. and Ed. Bruce on his behalf. "What enchantment zow left behzend zow I wott not: awayes the lady where zow left zower last good nyght is mair then myendfull of zow. Her contynnuall demaundis whether I have no zett heard of zee, and her constant assuerance to be remembred with letters from zee suld testefy this myckl." Sannie* hath left his crow's nest; not that he is delivered of his fear, but in regard of his evil which mightily increaseth: some horrible judgment of God must ensue. "In twa cock-a-laens since zower departure he hath bin very vively paynted. The Lady Chanceller feeles the motion of a barne within her weam."

Mr. Asheby has left behind him affectionate regret, "and mickle done in the hartis of the honestest." Wigmore writes to him all things of moment: "I pray zow lett Mr. Ashby ken that I lippen to the lyke correspondency in him." Has commended both Naunton and Asheby to Bothwell, who assures Asheby of his friendship. "His lordships barn sall no be hoven before the begining of Martch; lyek then to be performed with great sollemnity at Hallyrwdhowse. The cummers heer salbe the awld and zong Lady Seton; gossips the Erls of Atholl and Crawford. For her majesty zow wott whoa must stand."

Is blithe to hear of Naunton's welcome at court, and wishes him success. Promises to write and longs to hear, especially what success

* Thomas Fowler.

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his letter to Walsingham hath found. Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. Wygmor.

Postscript—Since writing this, letters have come from R. Douglas; nothing but words. Wigmore has made an overture how things may be compassed to her majesty's contentment, in spite of those who would cross it.

"Zow wowld lawgh to see how R. Douglass—in the stile of an embassadour—wryteth, that this daye he had audience of her majesty; that his unck[le] Artchibald hath corrected his instructions; that itt wowld please his lordship to wryte often unto him, that therby he myght the oftener gett audience; and dyvars other sick phrases. But as I have sayde, were it not in respect of that furtherance I wish to her majestis servyse, I cowld cawse [him] to cum back agayn with a flea in his lugg. The Erl, I assuer zow, remayneth most constant. R. Douglass wryteth that the Spaniards mean undowtedly to land in Ierland: if so, it will be hye tyem for the Queen to assuer her self of theise partis."

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address.*

Feb. 10. **354. Richard Wigmore to [William Asheby.]**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 265.

Shortly after Asheby's departure a Spanish carvel arrived at Whithorn, in Galloway—her captain called Don Alvarez de Terrida, her pilot one Colvin a Scottishman—with 50 men of all nations with muskets, and five pieces of brass. She has 36 oars, and to deceive can bear a French, Scottish, Dutch or English flag. This is the barque that anchored before Leith, and was chased by Bothwell at the King's command. "The arryvall of this baable at the first did greatly perplex the honestest and wonderfully distracted the dowtfull. The pryor of Blantyre with the lards of Barnbarro and Lowhenvar, by commission from the Cowncell, wer in hast dispatched to discovar the cawse of the Spaniards cumming thether"—with this effect—"that uppon the Lard of Mondorcks band that by the 10th of February they showld in saefty be returned, the capteyn, his lieftenant, and the pylot were contented to make theyr farther awnswere before the Kings cowncell at Edenbrogh." To complete this Council the lords Hamilton, Mar, Morton and others were sent for. The captain and pilot, examined four times, confessed that from the Groin they were commanded to shape their course for England, to learn her majesty's preparations by sea or land, and to take as many pilots as they could. They anchored at St. Ives in Cornwall, and putting forth an English flag, expected some boat to come, whose man they meant to have conveyed away; but a storm arose and brought them to Whithorn. They say they came to Scotland to present wine, spice, and complimentary letters to some here for their kindness shown to the "pooer rakalia," and to fetch away the pilot's wife. Any traffic here with any of the nobility they constantly denied, but it was proved that the captain on his first landing had dispatched to Lord Maxwell a soldier who was drowned by the way; and afterwards wrote letters to him which he showed to Lord Hamilton and the Council. Therefore, till the King's pleasure be known, the captain, pilot, and barque are by the Council put into Bothwell's hands, who certainly will not part with the carvel, which they say "is the most excellent sayled of the world." They report wonders of the Spanish navy, which Wigmore takes for lies. Within

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these three days the captain and pilot have secretly confessed that "they were dispatched hether to discovar the generall inclynation of the people towards the King of Spains procedingis agaynst England; to labor those they myght fyend affected that waye with an assurance of men, mony, and what other support they wowld demaund; that among other nobl men, they were particulerly addressed to the Earl Bothwell, and in the Kings name to make this offer unto him. Colvin the pylott, who is the Earl Bothwel's servant, did with most execrabl oathes avowe this to be trwe, and offered himself to all the torters of the world, if uppon the Erls correspondency with the King in this action he did not procuer 200,000 duckats to be browght unto him within these two monthes at the farthest; lastly, that they were to procuer as many pylottis heer as with thirty duckettis by the month they myght have gayned, for of this sort of people that navy standeth in great want. Both the capteyn and pylot doe faythfully assure the Earl Bothwell that the Spanish army wilbe sooner heer then is looked for." This is a secret not known to the ambassador:—"zow may reddely gess how I cum by itt; with that man I am *totus in toto*."

Bothwell may be wrought presently to send such an instrument to Spain as should discover all things now in hand there. He is devoted to her majesty's service, and may be won to be such a servant unto her as Scotland cannot afford the like: the ministers are confirmed in their good opinion of him. "But I wott not what to saye to the handling of matters. Her majestis saefconduit for the Erls cumming into England is sent hether by my Lord of Hunsdon withowt so mutch as a baer letter of complementis. Richard Douglass hath bin more then three weekes att London, and not one wurd—as zett—is cum from him. Artchknave his unckl had imployed the quintessence of his skill to draw that traffique into his handes, and sum heer doe perswade that if the Erl goeth into England he shalbe suer to be empoysoned." The surest way to draw him to England were for her majesty to ask the Council to send some one for ratifying correspondency between the realms in withstanding the Spaniard, and to take order about the Borders. This motion is looked for from her majesty, in respect of that frankness they have shown in staying the Spanish barque. Thus might something be managed to her contentment; he wishes it were done speedily. "Those enchantmentes which Spanish pistolettis and duobbl duckattis will wurck I howld to be most dawngerous."

Complaints are come from the Lords Warden of England concerning the burning of howses, carrying of cattle and taking of prisoners, especially by Fernyhurst and those of Eskdale and Ewisdale. Fernyhurst answers that Dods of England first reaved him and burnt his stacks; the others that 200 of Lord Scrope's men made a foray upon them on the 3rd instant "and tooke from the goodman of Itch *nomine* Scot 120 neatt"; in revenge whereof 140 of them entered England and brought away forty neat and three prisoners.

Of the Scots, others complain that Sir Thomas Gray has by force attempted to plough their lands, "of which nombar the Laird of Bedrowle is one." Those of Ayr complain that their ships and goods have been taken from them by English. Expresses his readiness to do Burghley service, and to write to Asheby, provided "that my travells be not hid

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up in a napkin." Colonel Stewart has no warrant for his motion for the combination of England, Scotland, and Denmark. But if the Queen would procure this Council's consent to negociate a true correspondency between these two realms—which will be easily compassed—she shall be so assured of this country that all the Papists in it shall not be able to annoy her, and win a noble man able to do her good service; the sooner he were caught the better, for fear of golden persuasions. The ministers would theerby be encouraged; and this knot once made will be very hard to loose. "The ministers by publick concent doe presently dispatche Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. Daniel Chambars unto his majesty" to entreat him to hasten his return, and to acquaint him with their "plott" for placing ministers in every parish church and making provision for them, whereunto they pray his consent. They think that the King resuming into his hands all the tithes of Scotland, by disannulling the tacks thereof, would be pleased to bestow 200*li.* upon every minister and to reserve the surplusage to himself, which would be a large amount. The great lords are contributing frankly, some 100*li.*, the least 100 marks.

Huntly's wife is delivered of a son. "From those parties we heer nothinge; what storme that calme will produce I know not, but doe suspect the wurst." Edinburgh. 10 February. *Signed:* R. Wygmor.

Postscript—11 February. Letters are come from Richard Douglas reporting her majesty's acceptance of Bothwell's overtures, but nothing seems done to draw him into England. Without some public pretence he cannot come. "As for the saefcondwitt he hath receved the same hath bin thus compassed. The Erl talking with the Laird of Lasterick towld him that sutche occasions were lyek to fall owt as might happely drawe him into England so he had a saefcondwitt from her majesty. This Lasterick imparted to Cutty Armorer, and he to my Lord of Hunsdon, by whoem the same was compased. He abydeth still most resolute in his affectionat dyvotion to her majesty."

Wigmore desires to know how Walsingham and others think of himself.

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

[Feb.] 355. DUKE OF LENNOX TO BOTHWELL.

"Wheras we understand of the gratius care yeilded by the Queinis majestie of Ingland to the motions by zow maid on our behalff to concur in suche effairs as by her shall seime necessarie for the King our soveranis savetie frome the practisis off Spanische liguers or disturbars of the setled religioun of boith realmis and amitie with so worthie a princess, for whois better satisfactioun of our sinceir meaning heirin hir majestie requyred—according to our former offer—to have in particular our handis and asseurancis thairto, wherby sche may have cause to trust wnto it, and advysing for concurrance with ws be a menis to the King to use ws to theis effectis or ony uther wiche by hir heines shall seim expedient: for that the distance of place will not suffer our severall repairis to singne any contraict to this effect, nether may Mr. Lok—whome sche haid heirin according to our desyris trusted—savelie repair to ws all without suspect and discoverie of sumthing: I have thairfoir thocht goode, according to the cours held by utheris of this societie on lyke ressouns, and with lyk asseurit confidence of zour lordschips sinceir dealing for and with ws in this cause, to whom our willis and power ar

James VI. 1589–90. knawin and schalbe used, to crave of your lordschip in my name to subscrybe suche a contraict as to this effect sall by zow be drawin and sent to hir majestie for the benifeit of our soveranis trew religioun and amitie of the two crownis as is afoirsaid; for the faithfull and sinceir performance quhairof I heirby ingage my fayth and honour to zour lordschip and the warld during lyff." *Signed:* "Your loving brother Lenox."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 9. 356. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Samuel Cockburn, second son of the Laird of Ormiston, deceased, accompanied Colonel Stewart and John Colvile in their embassy to her majesty, and sent by sea from London apparel and household stuff to his house in Scotland, which was taken by English pirates.

He can get no redress, and by reason of his good services to her majesty Bowes now recommends him and his cause to Burghley. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 4. 357. [JAMES VI.] TO THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 431.

"Right trustie and welbeloved Couns . . .* Sen William Shawes dispeshe from . . . nomber of our contry shipps may be sent . . . vessellis designit for our transport . . . meete to lett the note delivered to our trustie counsallor Collonel . . . shipps be still insysted in, notwithstanding of the fewer . . . other letter to yow with the said William, ye shall therefore lett the . . . in the said note, or failing thereof so many as may with . . . of the burroughs be sent hither with all possible expedicion . . . of wynde and weather serving yow they may be heir before the . . . Aprill."

"Let the thre Spaniardis and James Colvile their pilott be comm . . . . *firmante*, and there retened unreleved, unrelaxit upon ca . . . till our hame comming. Assure likewise their bark that in any wa . . . not till she be sett at libertie by a warrant from our self as ye . . . , us thereupon. Give order likewise for keping of the remanent. Lett the . . . of Hallyroodehouse be hanyte and kept to our use and name [*sic*] be imput, ke . . . out Thomas Chiwre till we come home and be your advises take such order with it as salbe thought convenient."

"Thus remitting frther [*sic*] of our mynde to the order which we have sent by our . . . of work which we doubt not to finde effectuall at our landing." "Coupniahaven."

Postscript—"Assure yourselves if Colvill and the Spaniardis be releved either before or a[fter] receipt of this letter whill my comming, whoever of the Counsell . . . it or consentis thereto salbe the first turne I do to put them owt [of the] Cownsale as papistis and practisers. Faile not also to buite Co . . . sickerly."

1 *p. Copy.*

Mar. 5. 358. [ ] TO JAMES HUDSON.

"Ze sall wnderstand that I ressavit zour letter on the 27 day of Fevruar, and I wuld have wretin to zow sundrie tymes befoir gif I hed

* Decayed.

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gettin convenient caryarris fra Senserffe com away; but I did nocht knaw till thai ver on horsbak and Eduert Jhonstoun and sic utheris. Ze sall understand that I wryt a letter to Mr. secretarie quhairin I wryt a copy of a letter that ves cum out of Spane fra Mr. Robert Bruce, at the leist the effecter of it. There ves money uther letters com at that tyme, sum fra the Kyng of Spane, sum fra the bischopes of Ross and Glascow, and utheris fra the Jesuitis that be in France, smelling all to that effect that I wryt to his honour; and he wryt to me a letter agane of his opynion, geving me thankis for my adverteismentis for sic thyngis as com to my knawleg. But the treuth is—and ze and I wil bayth se it and we leiff—that it will nocht fall out eftir his opynioun that meiter that he wryt to me the answer, for thair is sic cunowndis [*sic:* covenants] betuixt Johne Medena that zeid away in the crownaris schip and our lordis in the north that thai will nocht faill to keip cunound to hym quhen he is abill to performe the thing he tuik in hand; and thai haif gettin letters subscryvit with the Kingis awin hand from Madareill that he sall keip all thingis that wes promeisit be his servand Johne Medena sa sone as wind and vedder may serwe now in the spring. And thai luk that Johne Medina sall haif or be in gret credeit with conducting his forces that he is abill to mak out of Spane, and sall bring sylver or gold to tak upe ten or twentie [*or*] thirtie thousand men in this cuntrie: and gif the gold cum, thai have promeisit to get the men, and I think thai will do meikill to performe it to."

"Ze sall wit that this cuntry hes bene very quyet sen his majesteis departing, till now of lait that thingis is breking up in slauchtteris and trublis, sum be the Erl of Huntlie hes tane Ballingowin and bandounis the north at his pleasour, And giff the Spanzeartis be abill to cum with ony forces heir he is myndit to duell in Arbroth in my Lord Ogilby houss."

"As to wryt ony thing of my maister I will not, for I trow he be now maid coksure, or ellis it will preiff a veray lousblok; but at the leist the maist part of the rest disdanes hym becaus of his honest kymmer. Thai feir ther be a farder mater past recovering."

"I will nocht truble zow with farder letters, becaus I am to cum my selff schortle, for I am nocht at lesar to wryt the tent part of that quhilk I wald wryte wnto zow; but I will requeist zow to follow that mater ernisfullie that I have committit to zour charg, and shaw zour freind and myne that I am to cum my selff shortlie; luking and surlie persuadit that ze sall get the maiter dispatched afoir I cum at his honouris handis, or than I will grow waik in fayth in that respect gif it be nocht dispached shortlie. Efter my awin cuming I will nevir trubull my self with farder suite nor nane of my freindis."

"Ze sall wit that Mr. Patrik Gallavey is send with a commission fra the kirk: upoun the 3 of Marche he imbarkitt toward Denmark; he hes hed a fare vynd; desyring his majestie to haist hym hame, in respect the cuntrie and kirk standis in danger gif he be ony quhyll absent. But the lord that favouris Spane and Frans and [*sic:* is] of that opynion that the Spanzeartis salbe heir afoir his majestie return, or at the leist gold and money to tak up men to serve tham agains Ingland." Edinbugh. *Signed:* "ze vat quha."

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

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Mar. 6.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 432.

Cf., Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk*, Wodrow Soc., v. 45–9, 89.

359. PROCLAMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

"The lordis of secreit counsell hering sundry bruitis and rumours also plattis and preparationis for the truble of the trew and Christeane . . .* this realme and perrilling of the Kingis majesteis estait and standing . . . bayth having the selff same freindis and commoun enemeis subject . . . standing and decay, hes thoght meit for preventing of the d . . . alsweill to the ane as to the uther, that first of all the godlie and his maiesteis gude subjectis salbe knawin and decernit fra thaire dispositioun. And to this effect the saidis lordis hes gevin and gra[nted] gevis and grantis full power and commissioun expres bidding a . . . under writtin all and sundrie erllis, lordis, barronis, fiehaldaris, ge . . . burrowis and utheris his hienes liegis quhatsumevir, of quhat rank a . . . be of, to call and convene befor the saidis commissioneris be thair missive, at quhatsumevir places and dayes thay sall think expedient, and to gif the confessioun of ther faith togidder with thair subscriptionis ther maid and subscrivit alriddie be his hienes and certane of his es . . . maintenance and defence of the said trew religioun, his majesteis person, withstanding of all foreyne preparationis and forcis tending to th . . . in cais any personis swa requirit. dissobey, that the ministeris . . . to admonitionis and finding thame obstinate caus the censur . . . aganis thame as enemeis to God, his majestie and to the commoun . . . cuntrie. And of the same thair proceidingis and diligence . . . prisbeterie of Edinburgh betuix and the xx day of Maij nixtocum [the] same may be presentit to the saidis lordis of his Previe Counsell . . . theranent as appertenis. And ordanis letters to be direct to make oppin proclamatioun at the mercat croces of this realme; and togidder with the said generall band of mantenance and confessioun be [*blank*] to quhome be thir presentis the . . . power and privileg therto, quhairthrow the same may the be . . . to pretend ignorance therof and to command and chairge all leigis to reddilie answer intend and obey the saidis commissioneris . . . as thay and everane of thame will answer to his hienes upon . . . and under all hiest pane ayme and offens that thay may give . . . his majestie in that behalf."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Mar. 8.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 190.

360. RICHARD DOUGLAS TO [MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS].

"*. . . I arrived in this towne . . . health, the third of this . . . that [ma]de my journey soe longe, partlie by evil weather but most by the foulnes and monstrous deepenes of the day [*sic*: way ?]."

"It was my chance to come to the endeing of this banquett maid by the Earle Bothwell for the baptiseing of his daughter, wherein, by reason of the honour done to him by her majestie, by her ambassadour being a witnes therunto, he exceeded himselfe in magnificence. Upon the morrowe after my arrivall I delivered his Lordshipp her majestes lettre, with the other lettres I had, aswell from my Lord Chamberleine, Mr. Secretarye, as from your selfe, and thereafter delivered all such answeres as I had, aswell to such instructions as I carried from him to her majestie,

* Decayed.

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"His lordship indeede receaved her majesties lettre verie kindlie, thancking her hyenes verie humblie that it pleased her soe graciouslie to thinck of him, but after that by longe conference he had perceived and viewed all my answeres I had to deliver, suppose they were favoureable and the advises verie well grounded, yet he did not perceive, as he plainelie confessed to me, that honourable and franke dealeing that both he looked for and I gave him hope of; which I must confes made me to feare that both my travell and paines had not onelie bene lost, but that was worse, produced evill effectes; that in place to wynne the noble man to the course that both your lordship and I liked of, I had rather more alienated him from that, nor given him occasion to followe it forth. But before we ended, upon the assurance your lordship gave him, and I confirmed to him, of the resolved intention of her majestie upon his honest behaviour and followeing forth the courses and advises given him to use him friendlie and honourablie, which I gave him to understand particularlie as yow informed me, he resolved, as I believed indeede, whatsoever shew he made, he was never in doubt, both to followe the honest course he had begunne, and by useinge in his dealinge hereafter the forme prescribed to him by her majestie, give therby a sufficient proofe howe willing and able he shalbe both in that suite donne to him and all other matters he may understand to be helpefull to . . . fullie bent . . . Therefore upon grave an . . . and weyeing the advises and answers I brought him, he hath concluded, first by himselfe and me, and then with the advise and likeing of her majestes ambassadour here resident, to followe both in that and in all his after actions this order following."

"First, accordinge to her majestes direction, he is to write an effectuall lettre to the Duke of Parma, according to the substance and forme sett downe in my memoriall. But bicause a lettre carryes noe replie, and then not certaine when anye answere may come, he hath resolved to send, and is presentlie in sending, a gentleman called James Graham, brother to the Lard of Fentrie, whoe shalbe the carrier of this lettre to the Duke, instructed particularlie with all the order sett downe, aswell in England for resisteing the King of Spaine and his designes and attemptes against that countrye, as alsoe the order taken in this countrey by the councell and estate, moved by the Queene of England and stirred upp by the ministers, both to resiste the comming of anye strangers therein, as alsoe to be vigilant over all such as are suspected to be favourers of that course, whoe are upon the appearance of anye commotion to be apprehended and made fast unto his majestes returne: tending in end to desier his altesse either to take in tyme such order that by stronge forces and spedie succours able to resist both their enymies here, and there stronge helpe they are to have from England, he and his confederates to that faction may be hastelie relieved, which he hardlie believes can come in tyme, or els to be contented that they, by their peaceable behaviour and breaking of for a tyme anye further dealinge, may provide for their suertie at home, and soe preserve themselves and faction in both the countries to a better and fitter . . . [s]aid Duke for the s . . . are [jo]yned the lettres of Fentrie to them . . .

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both to knowe the veritie of their preparations, and the newes thereof. But nether Fentrie nor his brother, whoe is the bearer, knowes anie thing of my lordes meaning, but that he means in verie dead that whereof he makes a shew."

"This bearer is commaunded to retorne with all expedition, and if he find not the passage readie by sea, to come into England and addresse himselfe to yow, to whom he carries a lettre to yow for that effect to be his saff conduitt. But bicause my lordes familiaritie with the Englishe ambassadour, principallie the baptisme, might bring him in suspition with the other faction, as indeede it hath bred some jealousie, he hath resolved to frequent noe more the Englishe ambassadour, but when he hath to doe, to use my mediation; and in like manner to give out in all his speaches that at my returne from England he had receaved noe contentment nor satisfaction in that he was putt in hoope of, but onelie wordes which tended to noe other end but onelie to cosen him; and that for his part he would have noe more to doe with that false and deceitfull nation."

"Some other meanes are alsoe devised to putt awaie that suspition of him, as the takinge of a packett which shalbe made purposelie to come out of that countrey, contayning some hard enterprise against him, which shalbe caused to fall into his handes. This dealing will easilie move them whoe are alredaie verie earnest to seeke him to be out of suspition and use him as they did before."

"The like course that he haith taken with the Duke of Parma he meanes to take with Spaine, if soe it shall please her majestie, for by the commodious occasion of this Spanishe barke, that he thinckes he hath sure at his devotion, he mynds to send one into Spaine instructed in like manner as the other, with commaund to retorne to him in all haist. But he . . . ."

"As to the oth[er] . . . instructions, my lord is even this day gone . . . the water to speake with some of the princip[all] . . . of that faction, and by their advise to appointe some day verie shortlie when they may meete privilie to conferr and resolve upon such matters as may tend to the benefitt of their cause, whereunto he is to use himselfe as he is directed, and to learne what he can of all their intentions and resolutions; whereof he shall, by me, from tyme to tyme advertise her majestie. And if he see their intentions like to come hastelie to anye dangerous effect, then he will cause appoint a generall convention of the whole nobilitie in this towne, whereupon the complaint and griefes given in by the borrowes and mynistrie, upon the apparance of some dangerous practises against the religion and present state, he shall cause the most dangerous to be apprehended and putt in sure custodie, and himselfe alsoe wilbe contented to be complained on and enter in ward for a space, till, by her majesties mediation by her ambassadour, he be sett at libertie; and for recompence of that favour he will openlie declare himselfe friend to that state, to the amitie betwixt the twoe countries, and enemy to all strangers and their favourers whoe would supplant religion and present state established by his majestie at his departure, and left to him in speciall chardge to maintaine. And then

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plainelie and openlie, with all his friendes, oppen himself to all dangers that may disturbe the present quietnes or diminishe the amitie betwene the twoe countries."

"This is in effect the some of my lordes resolution, whereunto noe man in the earth is privie, saving the ambassadour, Mr. Robert Bruce, and my selfe. Yow see my lord his intention, and I doubt not but he myndes sincerelie and honestlie to persequute, whereof yee may give assureance to her majestie and others . . . my lord opened . . . nothinge that he knowes, but nowe at this presente convention he will learne farther of it, aswell from whom they were directed as to what end further then I advertised. The names of the twoe that came hither were Bodstonne and Richmond. I have alsoe, by the other meane I told yow, good hoope to learne further of that dealing, whereof I shall advertise yow as I shall understand the truth."

"There is alsoe of late arrived at Dunbarton from Ireland a popishe bishoppe of that countrie, a base man whoe was once quietlie in this towne. His errand, as I understand, is to drawe a league and confederacie betwixt our iles and hylandes and the rebells of Ireland, and for that cause, it is thought, he is gone alreadie to Mull and Tyntire [*sic*]; but others saye he is over as yet in the north with Huntley and that faction. My lord hath promised to learn soe farre as he can of the same lords, and advertise me thereafter; as by my selfe and other meanes I have I shall doe my best to understand the truth of that and all other practises tendeing to the disquieting of her majestes estate, whereof I shall advertise yow in tyme."

"The Erles of Angus and Morton, with other your friendes yow writt unto, wilbe verie bent to imploy themselves and all they have for preservacion of quietnes and good amitie and intelligence betwixt the twoe realmes, and for defence of this ile against the invasion of whatsoever strangers."

"The present estate of this countrey continues as it did verie quiett in outward shewe and apparance, butt never moe practises and privie dealings, both by papistes and other malecontents, for altering of the state att the first sight of forreine forces, whereof their are divers bruites comes dailie to the eares of the provost and ministrie of this towne, watchfull above other for preservacion of the religion. But their is such order taken, that except the coming of forreine forces their is noe apparance of anie trouble; which if they be looked for shortlie my . . . the councell interponed the . . . strait artes made against all excomm . . . openlie professed wilfull papistes and their resetters and maintainers whatsoever, commissioners appointed in everie shire to search and enquire for such persons, and power to apprehend them and bringe them to this towne."

"The disorder that was upon the Borders is appointed to be redressed by the lievtenaunt, which ere nowe in that and all other matters had taken sufficient order, if first the storme had not staied his appointed journey, thereafter the lettres of Sir John Foster and Selbye, untill their next advertisement that matters were in readiness for his cominge."

"Maxwell is become more obstinate then he was, and the opinion conceaved of before of his quiet and peaceable behaviour is changed, for at the first sight of anie uproare he will not faile to sturre."

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"As for his majestis retorne we have noe certaintie, nor is their yett, since Januarye that Coronell Stuart retorned, anie certaine word came from him. Their are certaine divers bruites that he should be gone to Denmarke over land, but soe uncertaine as I darr nott affirme them; they come from Hamburghe and Flanders. Mr. Patrick Galloway tooke saile towards him the same day I came to this towne, so that we expect some good newes from thence verie shortlie."

"Coronell Stuart is to goe thither, but expectes the reiking forth of a nomber of shippes appointed by the borrowes for the bringeing home of his majestie, which I thinck shalbe readie to make saile about the twentieth of this month."

"This is all I can write touching the affaires of this countrey, wherin if anie thing shall occurre either importing his majestes service or the state of the countrey, or of anie alteracion or appearance thereof shal fall out, I shall not faile with diligence to advertise your lordship as I doubt not ye will communicate the . . . they may both . . . [int]entions are, and the cou[rse he] myndes [fa]ithfullie to followe, with whatsoever he maie doe els for the benefitt of this service, whereunto as they shall thinck most expedient he will frame accions soe farr as in honour he may doe, whereunto he doubtes not but they will have principall regard; in the mean tyme requesting yow, as his principall trust is in yow, to travell soe with them that honorable consideracion may be had both of his good will and abilitie which wilbe a spurr to contynue in this honorable course."

6½ *pp. Copy.*

Mar. 16. 361. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

On Saturday the 7th instant Bothwell passed to the house of the Laird of Balwery in Fife, where he found Fentry, and has since met with Huntly and Erroll; what is done is not yet known. He has written to Richard Douglas to such effect as will appear by his letter enclosed, which Richard Douglas thought meet to send to Walsingham.

Looked for Bothwell's return on Saturday last, but he has not come, and it is not known where he is. He has only one servant with him. "By his letter he seemeth to be purposed to lett the capten of the Spanish bark privilie escape with suche intelligence and trafick [with Spaine] as shalbe thought meete." Bowes had wished him to seek the stay of the captain, bark, and company until her majesty's pleasure should be known, according to the order of Council, "or els suffer them to depart [with] suche course as should be advised and directed for the discoverie of the preparacions and deseignes in Spane."

Walsingham's letter to the Chancellor of Denmark Bowes has delivered to Colonel Stewart, exhorting him to hasten his voyage. Bowes showed him his own letter from the Chancellor of Scotland, and told him that by other letters from Copenhagen he perceived that he is already looked for there. He promises to take the next wind and opportunity. Sends the Chancellor's letter enclosed, asking for its return, with direction as to his answer. The Justice Clerk had his dispatch for England on the 3rd instant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1589–90.

Mar. 16.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 353.

362. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

"This convencion assembled this last weeke to provide shipps to bring home the King and Quene have with some difficultie accepted [the] offers of the burrowes to rigg and sett fourth at their severall chardges sex shi[pps] agreable to the note inclosed; expressing their particular offers and protestac[ions] annexed. Order was given to furnishe and putt in readines these shipps w[ith] expedicion. And thereon the convencion and Counsell dissolved on Saterdaie the xiiijth hereof." The next day William Shawe, master of the King's works, arrived at Leith with the King's letters to his Council to set forward the ships for his transportation, and to be with him in the beginning of April; with other affairs. These letters be reserved to the meeting of the Council on the return of Sir Robert Melville, now at his house in Fife, and looked for tomorrow.

"The King came to Elsonare in January last, and f[rom] thence to Coupnahaven in Denmark, where this messenger left him the . . . hereof, with purpose to hasten his retorne hither with the Quene with all the spede he can; for th'expedicion whereof a convenient fleete is prepaired alr[eadie] and in readines in Denmark. And keping secrett the tyme to be appointed [for] th'imbarking of him self and the Quene, he intendeth to give the first war[ning] of his retorne by his owne arrivall in this realme, and before he shalbe lo[oked] for."

"Sundry about him think that he will imbark in the beginning of the [next] monthe. And by letters sent hither by the Lord Chancelour I perceive that the [King] is advised to prevent by his tymelie departure out of Denmark the excesse of chardges and troubles growing by the repaire of personages of great honour; whereupon it is thought that as muche emulacion as proffitt should spring upon the interview betwixt the King and them."

"The mariage of the Duke of Brunswick is deferred untill Trenitie Sonday next. Amongst the discourses of the great honours done to the King of Scottes and Quene [his] wife by the King of Denmark, his mother, brother, sister, the regents and nobil[ity] there, this messenger retorned hither giveth out very confidentlie tha[t the] Quene of Scottes is alredie discovered to be with childe." The report of this and other matters I leave to Justice Clerk, addressed to her majesty by the King, who shall be with you before the receipt hereof.

"It is looked that sondry of the nobilitie of this realme will spedelie provide [and] sett fourth to attend upon the King and Quene in their homecomming. And Sir [Robert] Melvill in this last Convencion perswaded the burrowes that the Lords Hamilton, Huntlay, Arrell, Marre, and others wold do this honour to the King. But I do not understand of any preparacions of vessells or other furniture in readines for their voyages."

"That you maie understand aswell the peticions presented to the Counsell by th'assemblie of the Churche gathered at this tyme, as also the consent of the Counsell to the same for th'execution of one former Act of Coun[sell] against Jesuites, seminaries, preistes, and excommunicates, I have se[nt] to yow the copies of the said peticions, the roll of the parsons named to be commissioners in every severall countie, and the proclamacion given fourth by the Counsell."[1]

1 See No. 359 *supra*.

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It is hoped that the papists, and all seeking to draw foreign forces into this realm, shall be defeated by the inquiries of the commissioners, assisted by the Council, who have promised their best aid therein and in all affairs of the Church for the maintenance and discipline of religion. Most of the Council have personally attended the assembly, and promised their aid in the execution of these commissions.

The session is also now ended, so this town is provided with few of the nobility or Council, yet is it in such calm as hath not been since the King's entry to his reign.

"Th'erles of Huntlaie, Arrell, and the rest latelie convened are sondered. The[y are] verie curious to kepe secrett their resolucions, for th'erles have intertay[ned] secretaries for that purpose, and whilst their causes be in hand [they] will not suffer their pages or any other to be present. Arrell hathe late[lie] received Mr. David Harvy a great papist for his secretarie, and put awaie George Kinman upon suspicion that he should give intelligence of [his] doinges."

The Duke of Lennox intendeth to visit Huntly his brother-in-law, but the wise about him dissuade him. Hitherto they cannot draw him from it, yet they will [not] leave to stay him from his journey.

The Irish bishop of Derry ["Darie"] continueth in the north; "he hath ben with Arrell, and seketh to draw inte[lligence] betwixt the Spanish faccion in this realme and the frendes of Spain [in] Ireland. His appointment made to meete with the Ladie of Kintire in this towne is broken, for neither he nor the ladie came hither as some [of] there frendes looked for."

"I have bein with the Counsell assembled calling for redresse in the Bills of Sydewood and Wyndram now filed by the Warden of the Myddle Marches [of] Scotland. They have taken bond of Fernyhearst to be answerable, and promised to do the like with th'others filed, and to see execution of justice [with] favour and expedicion, desiering very earnestlie that the like may be done to them. Farniehearst hath sought to me to acquite him self of any evill intent to breake th'amitie, shewing the causes moveing him to attempt the roade at Sydewood, and offering all good offices in his powre to please her majestie."

"This daie I was informed by Mr. David Black, late scolemaster in England, [that] in his passage betwixt th'isle of Man and Glasco in a Scottish vessell the Spanish bark came to them and assailed them, so as they looked to have [been] sonck by the bark, untill she discovered them to be Scottishmen, and then she spaired them, saieing that if they had bein English they should all have sought the bottom of the sea. The bark held her course to the west, seming th[at] she sought to come about the isles. And the Lard of Barneburrow saith that she is comed to th'isle of Ryen in the waie to Dunbarton [and] is like to come about." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 17.

363. BOTHWELL TO [THE DUKE OF PARMA].

Cott. Calig., D.I., fol. 187.

". . .* esta . . . [h]ave receyved effectes agreable to the good pleasure of the Kinge of Spaine, and for the advancement of his

* Decayed.

James VI. 1589–90. service undertaken by his friendes in this countrey. But haveing hitherto noe resolution for progresse of the same, I doe presentlie fynd the cause distressed with manye impediments, and soe farre endangered as the present condicion of this tyme and of theis affaires cannot suffer noe delay in the expedition either of sufficient meanes to be immediatelie applied for prevencion of the dangers incurred, or els of tymelie stay to awaite better opportunitie hereafter, for the saftie of the cause and the parties interested therein. And that your highnes maie understand both the great preparacions in England by sea and land to defeate the designes of the Kinge of Spaine, and hastelie to stirre upp and joyne with this estate to route out all persons devoted to the said Kinges service and alsoe the decrees and . . . of the councell and state of this realme, with the support of England, to suppresse and ruynate all men attempteinge the alteracion of this estate, or draweinge forreyne forces into this countrey, which hardlie can be brought hither in tyme and without which the powers of your friendes here suffice not to withstand the forces prepared and to be spedilie imploied against them; therefore I have thought good to instruct this bearer in all the particularities of the matters mentioned, and therewith to addresse him to your highnes to informe yow fullie in the same, righte hartelie praieing yow to give him firme creditt therein as to myselfe, and uppon your good deliveracion thereof that it may please yow to retorne him spedilie to me with your mynde and resolution how the dangers appearinge may be prevented, and what myselfe and your other friendes in this accion shall certainlie looke for, to the entent we may prepare our selves to proceede in the cause, or otherwise provide for our safgardes by the tymelye stay of our . . . ."

"High . . . shall at more large . . . by the bearer in the meane season . . . your highnes that for my owne part I shalbe readye to doe therein as I shalbe directed soe farr as in anye way I may, my dutye onely reserved to his majesties my soveraignes person."

1¼ *p.* *Copy.*

Mar. 17. 364. BOTHWELL'S MESSAGE TO THE DUKE OF PARMA.

Cott. Calig., D.I., fol. 187

"A Copie of the instructions from Bothwell to the Prince of Parma."

"Firste, to recounte to his altesse the effectes of my former and present letters addressed to his highnes, lettinge him knowe that by my former I certyfied that with great difficultie and danger the affaires of the service of the Kinge of Spaine in this countrey were prepared and brought to such estate as the successe was evident to have bene to his majesties contentment if the service had bene pursued as the opportunitye offred."

"By the delay of resolution and order to have bene directed for the progresse of the cause the execution ceased and was stayed. In the meane tyme sundrie matters of the plott, chieffly in the travell of the Jesuits and like instrumentes for intelligences, have bene discovered to the Queene of England, and the estate in Scotland. Whereby great jealousies being conceaved againste the principall sorte of the party for the Kinge of Spaine, the Queene hath stirred this Councell and state with large offers of aid, and they accorded and resolved to seeke the

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hastie overthrowe of the Spanishe confederates, and this estate is still readye with the supporte of the Queene of England, prepared by sea and land, to proceede in the enterprise. So as the King of Spaine's friendes heere are in danger of immediate destruction . . . the offer . . . behaviour and deserveing, my course of necessitie must be taken for preservation of the cause and parties for better opportunitye, in case his highnes cannot give reliefe in season."

"The Queene of England, as I am certainlie advertised by some of my freindes their, for the increse of her navye, hath not onelie repared her owne shippes, and caused all her subjectes to repaire all their vessells serviceable for the wars, but alsoe she hath builded manye newe shippes of great strength, and contributed with some of her richest merchants to build other stronge vessells. All thes wil be readie to discend into the seas in the end of this month of Marche. She hath alsoe chosen and appointed a great number of the best of her other subjectes shippeinge, and given order to stay in all havens and portes within the countrey all shippes of strangers, as well as her subjects. Soe that the navie to be imploied in the service this yeare will farr exceede the other that was sent againste the Duke of Medina."

"The officers, souldiers, marryners, provisions, and all manner of furnitures, are provided in large manner and readie to serve, and the chieffe governours and commanders have directions to attend their severall chardges, wherein the admiral the Erle of Cumberland, the Lord Henrye Seymour, and manie other noblemen and gentlemen, experimented on the seas and of great courage, shalbe imploied."

"It is thought the Queene shall have a stronge navye to encounter with the navye of Spayne and besides to imploy sundrie other fleetes to attend on the coast of France, Flanders, Ireland, and chiefflie the coastes of Scotland; for which purpose one speciall fleete is desired and appointed, and the same is to be readye upon the sight of anie fier or trouble kindling in Scotland or upon the . . . of the councell [*sic*] and estate there . . .* [h]ave noe . . ."

". . . For the armye of her subjectes by lande . . . is taken that in everie severall countye in England a certeyne number shalbe armed and trayned. Theis are all in readines with armour and weapons, and the numbers are such as they be able to make and compleat three severall armies, haveing of footemen and horsemen in everie armye thirtie thowsand. Theis have their captaines appointed and are readye to marche upon a daies warneing, by the commandement of the lieutenaunt in severall limitts of the realme."

"The rest of the realme are commanded to arme themselves on horseback and foote, according to the lawes of the countrie that appointeth everie one, accordinge to his qualitie, to have armour, weapon and horse; soe as the whole realme is drawen to armes and in verye great strength."

"The Councell and estate in Scotlande, being provoked by the earnest meanes of the Queene of England and the vehement and continuall exhortations of the mynisters, seekes to putt all the banished Jesuits, semynarie priestes, and all professed catholikes, together with all that are knowen to be instruments to drawe into this realme anie forreyne forces for the chaunge of religion, state, and governement established

* Decayed.

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by the King in his absence. And they are partelie soe jealous of some practice against theis thinges, as they will take armes against such as they suspect: soe as the favourers of Spaine must either declare themselves to have abandoned such courses indeede, or els they shalbe continuallie subject to many soddeine dangers."

"According to the contents of my present letters you shall shew him the effectes of the matters mencioned, and lett him understand in how dangerous estate his friendes in this realme doe stand; whereupon you shall requier him either to send to them . . .* is not likelye that he can send forces and succour in due tyme, ye shall then, uppon sight of his disabilitye, deniall or delay, perswade that his said friends may, with his favour, seeke their best helpes, and that thereupon he doe then forbeare to send forces into anie parte of this ile to kindle a newe fier against his friends aforesaid."

"Lastelie, that yow procure and gett both a perfect notice of his full resolution in theis things, and alsoe his letters to informe and satisfie me in the same."

3 *pp. Copy.*

Mar. 20. 365. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Cott. Calig. D.I., fol. 357.

"Upon the breaking up of the Kinges packett at the retorne [of] Sir Robert Melvill, there were found in the same two generall letters to the counsell, the copies whereof I send inclosed, with the copie of th'instructions delivered to William Shaw—and committed onelie to his owne handes, one particular letter against Alexander Scott—procurer of the troubles of the Scottes men staied in Spaine—sondry letters severallie addressed to divers noblemen, counsailours, officers, and others, together with one to [my]self, which also I send inclosed to you, with humble request to retorne it to me af[ter] the reading thereof."

The overture offered by Colonel Stewart was motioned to the King before his departure out of Scotland, and embraced in Denmark since his coming thither, with advice that the cause might be so carried by the King and Denmark and so brought to her majesty's knowledge, as the motion for the treaty might proceed from her, as may be known to Burghley and Walsingham by Justice Clerk now coming with this negociation and further requests to her.

Justice Clerk desired to make his first repair in this journey through Scotland and the report of his errands to her majesty, and then, in company with such as she might send, to resort to the Duke of Saxony; but by the Chancellor's advice he is directed to go first through Germany to the Duke of Saxony and Duke Maurice, and thence to her majesty.

The King is advertised from England that Colonel Stewart shall bring him notice of her majesty's mind in this behalf. Bowes has acquainted the Colonel that the King looks for him, and calls daily upon him to hasten his voyage. He promises to embark on Sunday next, praying that his business committed to Mr. Richard Douglas, who goes shortly to Burghley and Walsingham, may be furthered by her majesty.

The griefs lately fallen between Earl Marischal and the Chancellor are rather outwardly smoothed than inwardly reconciled. "And albeit

* Decayed.

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the former drynes betwixt the Lord Chancelour and Justice Clark before their depa[rture] out of Scotland was likewise by the Kinges meanes taken awaie, yet the skar appeareth againe to threaten a new sore."

Sundry in the realm are so set against the Chancellor as it is to be feared that after the King's return the calm shall be turned to storm. Burghley and Walsingham may minister to quietness. Has seen the affection of the Justice Clerk to her majesty's service, and wishes he may now receive comfortable entertainment.

"The Kinge hathe reformed th'order of his chamber, allowing ordinarily but iiij[er] gen[tlemen] therein; th'others be now extraordinarie; and he professeth to use all frugalitie, carefull to be able to intertaine the noblemen of Denmark comming hither [with the] Quene with like honour as hath bein given in Denmark to suche as be with [him]; wherein he trusteth muche to be releived by her majestie, as by Justice Clark [will be] made knowne unto you."

"The yonge Lard of Whittingham is sent to the Dukes of Brunswick and Mickleb[urg] to excuse the Kinge of Scottes departure before the mariage of Brunswick, [and to] intreat them to come into Scotland at their good tyme."

The Spanish bark still lies off the coast at Whithorn, and not likely to be stayed, notwithstanding the King's letters to his Council, and his protestation in the postscript to his last letter, written with his own hand.

Huntly, Erroll and others of that faction have been at Buchan ["Boughen"] They had meant to have convened next week at Montrose, but their conference at Buchan and the news of the King's speedy return may defeat that. They often come together to do their devotions at a common mass rather than to deliberate of matters of state: yet foreign forces are still looked for.

"The Duke of Lenox jorney to mete Huntlay his brother at Montrosse is stayed by th'advice of his good freindes."

"[I] have seene some letters severallie addressed by Mr. Edward Forster at Newp[ort] and by Stephans Legarata the capten of Newport to the Lord Harri[es], Andro Karre, Mr. Alexander King and others suspected to be of the Spanish faccion. I finde litle matter therein, other then occurrentes passed of late tyme, and advertisement that the corselettes to have bein prepaired can not nowe be gotten [and] sent; that the virginalles can not be made readie, and other like matters prooving—as I thinck—that the forces to have bein imploied and sent hither are staied. But this is onelie myne owne conjecture upon conceit of the saide wordes in the letters mencioned."

"It is also certified that the Kinge of Spaine hathe readie and will send lxx. shipps into Ireland. That in Biscayne the Kinge hathe made l. gallies, light and of the fashon of En[gland]." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 20. **366. Robert Bowes to Walsingham.**

"321 [*Bothwell*] is not yet retorned hither," nor any advertisement come from him since his last letters to Richard Douglas: he is looked for

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this night or tomorrow. He has been with Huntly and Erroll at Buchan, and is said to be "farre entred into a course with them."

The news of the good success of the King of France against the Duc du Maine has greatly troubled the Spanish party. Fentry sent a messenger to learn the truth of it, who said that if it were given out by Bowes they would know it to be true, and would meet sooner than they had appointed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Mar. 24.

367. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 355.

"On Soundaie last, the xxij[th] hereof, I r[eceived] your letter of the xvij[th] of the same,* finding thereby bothe her majestes mislikinge of [the] course taken by th'erle Bothwell, and expressed in the letters of Mr. Richard Douglas to Mr. Archbald his uncle, and also her majesties pleasure to change the same co[urse] to suche latter advise as her majestie hath given and imparted to Mr. Archbald, which he then well liked and promised to have certified and sent hither viij [or 9] daies before the addresse of your letter to me."

"Understanding that James Grame, brother of Fentre and prepaired to be imp[loyed] and sent by Bothwell to the Duke of Parma, was readie to have imbarked and made sale the next daie following,† I did therefore imediatelie after the receipt [of] your letter call for and conferre with Mr. Richard herein. And opening to him [her] majestes mynde in the same, I have with his helpe readelie staied and broken the dispatche of James Grame. And the next daie, so soone as I could gitt the Erle at leisure, I did acquaint him with the causes moving her majestie to alte[r and] drawe his former course intended into a waie of more suertie and stan[ding] more agreable with the direction of the King committed to him self, and better concurring with her majestes owne opinion appearing in the memoriall de[livered] to Mr. Richard. And albeit that Mr. Archbalds letters and advertise[ments] of her majestes latter advise was not yet commed to his lordship, Mr. Richard, [or] myself by the negligence of the carier or other accident, yet I let [him] knowe that the somme and effect of her majestes said latter course advised and de[livered] to Mr. Archbald was, that he should directlie and plainelie notifie his disposition to be to answere the chardge and trust left with him by the King, which [was] to kepe the realme in quietnes from all forraine faccion and practise, [and to] kepe good peace and amitie betwixt her majestie and the King, notwithstanding [his] absence; for I finde this direction given me in a sommarrie manner by your letter for my informacion of her majestes meaning in the latter platt."

"These I [so] enlarged and perswaided, and Mr. Richard did so ioyne therein with me,‡ as that the Erle willingly consented to staie and leave of his form[er inten]ded course in the imployeng of Grame and otherwise, and to be readie to follow her majesties ad[vise] and to make open declaracion of his determined resolu[cion to] sett him self w[ith all] his powre against all persons and practisers seeking to draw into a[ny] part

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: . . . "ayes sence my letter was sent."

† *Marginal note by Burghley*: . . . "good hap to prevent the" . . .

‡ *Marginal note by Burghley*: "Reasons urgd in particular manner, enlarged, and my . . . sion . . . ath conceaved."

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of this isle any forraine forces, or to attempt th'alteracion of the rel[igion], state, or peace in this realme, or breache of th'amitie betwixt these two cr[owns]. And for the quenching of th'intelligence with Parma, to be done in suche good and sure sort as shall acquite him self and honour from the blemish of any dishonour, and work most suertie to the common causes, he thincketh it convenient for him to give up the said intelligence with Parma by some fitt person to execute the same with the privitie and counsell of her majestie. And therefore he hath resolved that within two or three dayes after that he shall have received the letters from Mr. Archbald Douglas, he will againe imploy and send to her majestie Mr. Richard Douglas, to th'intent he may by him understand her majestes good pleasure and mynde in th'effects and meanes of his courses to be holden with Parma, and others in Scotland, in the publick declaracion of his owne resolucion; and also that Mr. Richard may repaire to the Duke of Parma—if her majestie thinck it so convenient—to do such offices with him as her majestie shall direct and advise. For he hathe very francklie affirmed that for the manner of the breaking up of th'intelligence with Parma in honora[ble] manner to him, and for his dealinges with others, and to preserve the good estaites and quietnes of this isle, chefely in the Kings absence, he will follow her majesties good counsell. And [if] she so please, he will ether abandon and leave this realme and all service and doin[gs] therein for suche tyme as she shall thinck good, or els to serve her majeste in his per[son] on sea or by land as she shall appoint him, as Mr. Richard Douglas shall at [his] comming have power to signifie more at lardge; and at which tyme also Mr. Richard will discover to her majestie suche intelligence as th'erle knoweth to c[oncern] her majestie and th'estaites of these realmes. The report whereof he reserveth to the coming of Mr. Richard, that he maie advertise the same with better certaintie then ye yet can do."

"Albeit that th'erle wrote to Mr. Richard that he had appointed to mete the lordes [at] Torray nere Bochen, and that sondrie have informed me that they were comming together as before I have certified by my former, yet he assured me that h[e did] not meete with Huntlaie or Arrell in all this tyme of his absence, but was occupied to knitt a fast band with Athell, Murray, and others Stewardes to wyne against Huntlaie.* For conclusion of which bond he is gone againe ov[er the] water, with many of his frendes, pretending to make up this band among[st the] Stewardes and sondrie Hyeland men against Huntlaie, and to enter into accion against him. Howsoever it be, there is preparacions of great assemblies, and the most of all these noblemen suspected, Maxwell and o[thers], have all their men under warning, and also chardged to have in readines armour and weapon."

"Bothwell, newlie retorned on Saterdaie last, was advertised that the Spa[nish] bark [was c]ommed about from the coast of Whitehorn to the back of May in the mouth of this Firthe; and verie late in the night he sent me not[ice] aswell of the arrivall of the bark at the May, as also that the capte[n of] the same bark being in his chardge intended to escape secretlie and pass awaie that night with the bark, advising me to deale with the Duke [for the] apprehension of the capten; which advise I followed, and found the Duke v[ery] willing to send to the

* *Marginal note by Burghley*:—"I feare this band rather ageynst Lord Hammilton than [Hun]tley."

James VI. 1589–90. provost of this towne to staie the captaine: whereupon the provost sending that night to Leithe where the captain was clos[ely] lodged, and whereof I gott knowledge, did take, and now kepeth him in his custodie untill the Counsell shall determyn of him."

"Th'erle thincketh that [the] bark, upon knowledge of the apprehencion of the captaine, will passe her way to Dunkirk: yet he will seke to staie her by all the meanes he can, and at least to recover into his handes James Colvill the pilot that is in her, who the King hathe directed to be kept and booted. Th'erle Bothwell thincketh that he was in a house where the Irish Bushopp was kept close during his aboade there. He is in hope to take him in cas[e he] shall hold his jorney to the Hyeland as presentlie he is purposed. But I doubt of the successe thereof."

"This estate contineweth in good quietnes, and presentlie the most part of all the counsellours left here are readie to depart for some tyme. Whereupon this towne and others well affected, thincking it meet to give good regard to matters, are purposed to take some order therein; so as I trust this peace and quietnes shalbe preserved, or at least th'estate shalbe warned of the danger arising." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

1590. 368. JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

Mar. 31. "Goode Bowis, since this is the last messinger that is, God willing, to be sent to Skotland before my owin cumming, I have thocht goode to writt unto you thir few lynis with him, but the faithfullness of the bearare knowin to you will make me the shorter."

"Since the writting of my last unto you I receavid youre lettir, quhairby amongest other thingis I perceave thaire hes bene sum roadis on the borderis by sum on my syde. Well, quhat is possible to ane absent man to do thairin I have gevin ordour with this bearare to the Counsall thaire. I do still continew in matteris of justice and keeping of amitie twixt the two realmes in that same mynde that ye have found me of before tymes."

"I have lyke wayes harde of the releif of those that waire aprehendit in the Spanishe barke, quhairof I wounder not a littill; but quhat direction upon the first advertishement of thaire aprehension I sent thaire I trust or now is cum to youre eares. Alluayes care not how evill any thaire against thaire promeise do behave thaime selfis, for ye may assure youre self my goodwill is tyed to no man in Skotlande anie longer then he swervis from following me in that course and profession that I wrotte of in my last lettir unto you."

"I pray you trust the bearare—for thairfor have I chosin him—in suche thingis as I have directid him to deall with you into concerning my state, ather in generall or particulaire, for I dowbt not of youre forduartness in my affaires. From the staitlie castell of Crouneburge." *Signed:* James R.

Postscript—"Quhat is amiss in absence I assure you shall be repairid in presence."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590. Mar. 31.

369. JAMES VI. TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

"Sen this beirer now is the last messinger that I mynd, God willing, to send before my owne arrivall, I have chosen him the rather for that cause bicause he is ane of that nomber and swa wil have the better creditt and authoritie amongst you for seing put in execution sic directions as I have given concerning my honour at this tyme. Therefore seing I have made choise of sic a bearer, I will absteyne from writing any forther, nocht doubting but ye all in generall and every ane of you in particuler according to your powre and office will leave nathing undone of my commandementes so farre as lies in you, and so drive fourth the inche as ye have done the span. For now they who would have perfect thanckis will continew whill they end thir few daies quhill my retorne, as I can not surely but praise all your behaviour in tyme past."

"Remember then that not the gait but *finis coronat opus.* I praie you assure your selves that whatsoever this bearer dealis in it is by my command, and therefore as preciselie as ye can follow my directions; '*nam obedienciam mallem quam sacrificium.*'" "From the castle of Croneburghe."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Brought by the Lard of Carmighell."

Mar. 31.

370. "DIRECTION TO THE LAIRD OF CORMICHALL AND ANSWERS THERTO XX^{o} APRILIS 1590."

1. "To travell with the Counsell that the ordour set downe and sente by William Shawe may be effectuat in everie pointe."

2. "To require the Counsell to deale with the towne of Edenburghe for the uplifting of two hundreth hagbutters well armed and in good arraye to keepe the same and serve his majestie as the salbe comaunded induring the remayning of the strangers."

3. "To levie and take up ane hundrethe horsemen and ane hundrethe footemen for a standing garde unto his majestie."

4. "That the horsemen for there ordinarie service in attending one his majestes person be provided of gilt holbardis after the fashion of suche as were taken up by the Erle of Huntlie; and be in good array and men of service."

5. "That everie hagbutter of the foote gaird have a morrion with his hagbut and flaskes well mounted and in good ordour."

6. "To see that Thomas Fowlis have the remaines of the seaven hundrethe poundes sterling appointed for the cheiners forth coming in cheine worck so soone as he can possible, wherof his majestie understandeth there is as yet no more received nor four score and ten pounds' worth."

7. "To see the ordour devised before for his highnes banquettis be still followed forthe and all thingis appointed therfore at that time commanded anew and prepared againe his highnes landing."

8. "Speciallie that the Flemishe sugerman may be comaunded to have in redines all suche confections and sweet meatis as before he toke in hand for the said banquettis."

9. "That the ordour set downe before toward the furnishing of sheepe and nolt be still followed forthe, and the comptrolleour and others intro-

James VI. 1590. metters with so many as were received to that use have them in like readines against that time."

10. "To see the fyre worck prepared of before be now forth comaund."

11. "To require the Counsell to write to James Cheiseholme that he will have the fyve thowsand markes geven him for preparacion of interteignement of ther stra[n]gers of before forthe comming at his highnes landing."

12. "That by missive letters the counsell will give ordour that none of the nobilitie be present at his highnes landing except the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Hammelton, the Earle[s] Bothwell, Atholl, and Mar."

13. "That the Countisse of Mar and Lady Thurlesten be written to by the Counsell, to adrese them to Edonburghe and to awaite upon her highenes landing, accompanied with suche other ladies of honour and yong gentlewomen as they shall chuse to attend uppon her highnes service."

14. "That his highnes rentis and victuall of this last yeare be converted in silver and had in readines against his highnes home cominge."

15. "That seeing the comptrolleour in his lettres to the Chancellour takethe allowance of the feris and dewties owinge this yeare by gone to the pulformeirs, laques, and others inferriour officers in his hignes house, the same be satisfied and payed accordinglie, forbearing anye payment of fees to Mr. Houshaleis [*sic*] or Mr. Stabularis till his highnes home cominge."

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1. "*Item*, to remember to cause dresse Thomas Lindseys house."

2. "*Item*, to remember to take lodgingis for all the gentlemen in case they remane there all night; and that you be prepared to the same effect."

3. "*Item*, to remember to take ordour with the water gate at the abbey and the port."

4. "*Item*, to take ordour with the poore folke."

5. "*Item*, to make straight proclamation that all men beare a good countenance towardes all the Denise nation that is to come here."

6. "*Item*, to see at Edonburgh the Cannogate and Leyth be in there armes as was set downe before, ranked one both the sydes of the waie from the shoare to the inner abbey gate to beare of the pres of the people."

7. "*Item*, that no noble mans servaunt come within the ranked foote men except two at the most to waite upon everie counsellour."

8. "*Item*, that ther be a portour put to the utter gate to keepe of the presse of the people."

9. "*Item*, that his horse in the cury be in readynes with all his furnitours and well treit with bootis and sockis to his majestie."

10. "*Item*, that speares be made to run at the ringe with potentes to the same."

11. "*Item*, that his howndes be sent for to put in breath."

12. "*Item*, to nomminate gentlemen to waite one everie house and serve in the same."

3 *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Directions given by the King to the Lard of Carmighell. Ultimo Marcii 1590."

James VI. 1590.
April 3.

371. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Forsamuch as Lord John Hamilton, the Earls of Angus, Mar, and Morton, the Master of Glamis, Mr. Robert Bruce and others have commended the good behaviour of Richard Wigmore, at their request Bowes now recommends him to Walsingham.

Accompanies their report with like confirmation by his [Bowes'] own sight of his good carriage. The said Wigmore offers himself and his whole services to be employed as Walsingham shall command. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½*p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 3.

372. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Has already certified that upon receipt of their letters he stayed the dispatch of James Grayme, whom Bothwell was sending to the Duke of Parma, and persuaded the Earl to break with the King of Spain and Parma, and to follow her majesty's advice given in their letters and signified afterwards by Archibald Douglas, showing that the Earl was willing to stay his purpose and give manifest declaration of his zeal for the peace of both realms.

Now answers their letter of 24th March, and signifies that he stayed the employment of Captain Hackerston into Spain; has drawn the Earl to cut off his intelligence with Parma and Spain, and to seek the possession of the Spanish bark, to be kept till the King's return; whereof Richard Douglas, who is ready to depart within a few days, will further acquaint them.

Bothwell seeking to possess himself of the Spanish bark, which was behind the Isle of May and ready for Dunkirk, persuaded the captain to put her into his hands, for she wanted victuals, pilots, and mariners. The captain had given secret direction to the master and two of his fellows to depart speedily for Dunkirk: Bowes being advertised of this, told the Earl, and the said master and two fellows were suddenly taken at Leith before they could get boat. "Now the bark is brought in at Ely nighe unto Largo in Fife, and this daie shalbe delivered at Leith to the custodie of th'erle, who hathe promised to kepe the bark safelie, and dispose the companie in the townes of that coast to be releived untill the Kinges retorne." The captain continues in the charge of the provost of Edinburgh, with order to be delivered to Lord John Hamilton. And James Colvile the pilot—commanded by the King to be kept strait and booted—sailed for Denmark with Colonel Stewart on Sunday last, March 29th.

Bothwell, having prepared one or two vessels of good burden and well furnished, intends to employ them under Captain George Lockhart, his servant, against the King of Spain's subjects in Spain and the Low Countries and against the Leaguers. He prayeth her majesty's letters of mark or reprisal in this behalf, with "libertie to bring into dischardge and make sale in England all suche prizes as shalbe taken. Mr. Richard Douglas will present and follow this peticion to her majestie at his comming for th'erle." But for the better expedition the Earl required Bowes to commend his suit.

James VI. 1590.

For these causes has attended the Earl these six days, and deferred his letters. Bothwell has now passed over the water to reconcile Atholl and Montrose, and Erroll and Atholl, and to complete the band amongst the Stewarts against Huntly. "But Montrosse hopeing to compound the greefes betwixt Huntlaie and Murray, to the good contentment of the Stewardes, therefore Huntlaie is sent for to meete Bothwell and th'others." Huntly is so sick, as it is thought he will not be able to meet them. The end of feuds and entry into bands are often the beginning of great actions.

By means of a Catholic instrument whom he employs Bowes discovered the coming of the bishop of Derry into Scotland, and has since sent a person into the north to spy out him and his doings, and has "travailed to lay for him" by means of Bothwell in the Highlands, Angus in Fife, the Master of Gray on the coast, Auchinleck in Kintyre, the prior of Blantyre at Glasgow, John Colvile in the north and some Catholics in Edinburgh. Nevertheless it appears by their letter of March 24 that her majesty notes in Bowes "some want of care to lay for him"; he desires them to acquaint her with his actions that she may be better satisfied. The bishop is passed to Angus Mackonell, where if he make any stay Bothwell hath promised to take him, but Bowes fears he is so far passed as he can hardly be recovered.

"Sithence the departure of Colonell Stewart as is before mencioned, Mr. William Fowler was readie to have passed to the King in an other ship, but the wynd and storme hath staied him. The rest of the shipps for the King's transportacion are readie and will sett forward with the next wynde."

William Fowler received a letter from Stephano Legorata, captain in Newport, with two others enclosed directed by Gabriel de Riza to the Earl of Erroll and Assuerus painter; copies now enclosed. These two letters Fowler delivered to the provost of Edinburgh to show to the Council; they cannot understand the cipher, nor who "Assuerus painter" may be. Bothwell was taken to be the party, but assures Bowes that he does not know the cipher or matter, nor has he any cipher with the person sending these letters. Gave notice before of like letters sent to Lord Herries and others, and his Catholic instruments have seen others purporting that the King of Spain will this year send forces into Ireland and Scotland; but the latest advertised that he will employ all his preparations for France.

Here some sudden trouble is feared by the bruits spread that Erroll would come to Callander, Huntly to Dunfermline, Maxwell hither, and the rest to places near this town. Erroll is now at Callander and will meet Bothwell shortly, but the others stir not and the state is quiet.

As to redress on the Borders the Council have written to Cessford. Sir John Forster certified Bowes of a day foray run in Riddesdale by the Elliots and others of Liddesdale under Bothwell: he has procured the Earl's letter to Thomas Trotter his deputy to cause all prisoners and goods taken in England to be immediately delivered, with such redress as shall satisfy the wardens. This letter Bowes has sent to Sir John Forster, that he may take order with the deputy, to whom Bothwell has written to meet Forster's deputy on the 13th instant. Bowes has

James VI. 1590. sent Cessford the Council's letter for the execution of justice: the Council is ready to do all in its power for quietness on the Borders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 3. 373. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Bothwell promises readily to run her majesty's course. Bowes has also been advertised by Catholics and persons little beholden to him "that in his laite being beyond the water he hathe delt with sondry of the Spanish faccion to disswaid them to cast of their course for Spaine, whereby he hath purchassed suspicion." The factions continue their plots, only fearing the return of the King, "which by old prophesies they thinck wilbe ether long deferred or els not at all."

The said Bothwell is wounded with English doings and the last advertisements from Archibald Douglas, but seems constant, and hopes for better contentment by Richard Douglas.

Here lurketh in Northumberland John Boast and one Rockwood, "sometymes towardes th'erle of Arrundell, and suspected to be about evill offices." Offer is made for their apprehension, either in England or quite near; "and Rockwood is offered chefelie to be catched." Bowes awaits directions, doubting much of the arrest of Boast, but thinks Rockwood might be taken.

Fears some change towards himself on account of his disability to take the bishop of Derry. Would gladly yield to revocation if he may be seasonably forewarned. Will be right diligent to take order immediately after the return of his son. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 4. 374. JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Since the closing, goode Bouis, of this other lettir unto you, Coronell Steuart is arryvit heir, quho hath deliverid unto me a lettir of the Quenis youre mistress, with another of youres. I perceave scho hes goode lyking of that ouverture I causid be maid unto her. Be sure I never inploied my self in any thing uith bettir uill and forduartness then I will do in this. I stayed onlie upon a uarrande all dealing in that matter quhill now. Ye may assure the Quene I shall leave nathing undone in that matter that the schortness of the tyme of my abode heare uill permitt, for I trust by the tyme of this lettiris cumming to youre handis uynde and ueather shall make my dyett." "From the same castell." *Signed:* James R.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 5. 375. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY AND WALSINGHAM.

Is advertised by a Catholic, who heard it from a Jesuit haunting the Spanish faction, that the bishop of Derry, pretending to be an English Jesuit, is still with James Gordon the Jesuit and thereabouts, and so secretly that it is difficult to speak with him or get letters to him, "for

James VI. 1590. he is stricken withe suche feare to be apprehended as he will not trust to shew him self to any other then to Mr. James Gorden or suche like," and hasteth to return to Ireland. His errand was to acquaint the Catholics and confederates for Spain in this realm that many Irishmen of quality and some Englishmen in Ireland were ready to stir a commotion there, if they may be sure of succour from Spain and the aid of such forces as may be drawn out of the isles and other places in Scotland. He says that O'Neil being old and weak and not willing to deal in this matter, his friends—offended therefore with him—will hazard themselves in the enterprise. And at the persuasion of O'Neil and his friends the Laird of Loughnell—one of the house of Argyle, having great interest amongst the islands in Scotland—shall be brought to raise all his forces and take charge of the action

The lady of Kintyre purposes to come hither as soon as she shall recover her health, to entreat Bowes to commend her petition to her majesty on behalf of O'Neil her husband. If it take effect before Bowes receives direction, he will seek to withdraw her husband and her friends, in Ireland and Scotland, from this action.

For this practice it is purposed that the Catholic lords, and others having credit in the isles, shall travail with the clans there to levy as many as they can get and arm for Ireland, and to take up so many horsemen in the west and south of Scotland as can be gotten. The bishop advises them not to transport horses, which would be troublesome and discover their plot: he will furnish horses in Ireland. Huntly shall be entreated to move Claude Hamilton his uncle to draw the gentlemen of Lennox and other friends to set forth all the horsemen they can, and Huntly himself to send as many footmen as he can, with fit leaders for the same.

"The busshop perswaideth that Angusse Mackonell and the Lard Loughnell shall suffice to have the chefe chardge of all the footemen and horsemen to be imployed and sent out of Scotland in this journey. That the Master of Angusse being intreated to have taken a principall chardge herein hathe refused."

"Instrumentes" are appointed to travail with Maxwell, Herries, the abbot of New Abbey—wherein Bowes will give warning to Lord Scrope—the Master of Eglinton, the Laird of Bargany and others for the levy of horsemen. After the report of the success of this business, and resolution taken thereon, one Englishman shall be sent into Flanders with the bishop of Derry with advertisement of that resolution, whereupon they look that forces shall come to them from Spain by the west seas.

Will do his best for the further discovery of these practices and the prevention of danger, and asks for directions.

"This daie the Spanish bark is brought to Leith, and now so well in the possession of th'erle of Bothwell as he may well answere for the safe keping thereof." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 5. 376. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

Encloses letters from the Master of Gray to Walsingham, to Gray's servant Edward Johnston now in London, and to Bowes. The Master

James VI. 1590. desires expedition in the convoy of his letter to Walsingham, and the progress of the cause for Captain Hackerston; and the messenger who brought the letters pressed for haste.

"The matter in the letter to me ys nott only strange butt also so hoolle [*sic:* holy] to be touched by me as I dare aventur no further then to send all to your selfe to be disposed as you shall think best. Att this presentt th'erle Bothwell and Mr. Richard Dowglas are absentt. I can nott therfor lerne or assure you whether th'erle ys pryvye to this corse, tendyng —as I verely thinke—to shake of Mr. Richard Dowglas and his frendes frome further dealinges in those behalfes. And yt ys evydentt enoughe frome whence this advice commeth, and to whatt ende ytt ys dyrected." Leaves it to Walsingham's consideration, praying to be delivered from the danger that may fall on him by busy and undutiful offices, and asking for direction as to Mr. Douglas, and for accomplishment of the honest offices to be done to the gentleman interested in this matter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 5. 377. MR ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Having occasione to send this bearar to my Lord Chambrelain be him to knaw hir majesteis pleasur when the Lord Justice Clerk ambassadour from the King my soverayn may haif accesse to hir majesteis presence, the present necessite that I am reduced in to doethe compelle me to wesite your lordschip be these fewe lynes hartlye to pray you to mowe her majeste to haif consideration thayrof at this tyme. Wthervys it vill appeir to manifestlye to the sayde lorde and to all wtheris that I am not onelye debauched bot also owt of all gud graice wyth hir hyenes, whiche, God willing, I shall nevir deserve."

"I pray your lordschip to pardon me that I am so earnist in this mater, wherwpon will depend my hoill reputation, gud or ill fortune at my maister the Kingis hand, which shall newir serve vthirvise bot for hir majesteis service and veill."

"I wold be glayde also to onderstand from your lordschip hir majesteis pleasur what sche wold vysch the Erll Bothwell fordar to do besidis the staying to send Mr. Richarde Dowglas in ony voiage; for that effect I haif alreadye vrytin to Scotland." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

April 7. 378. THE CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Having advysed the King my sovereynge to make choyse of this gentleman, the Laird of Carmichaell, to carye his highnes directions to the counsale and others there, knawing him to be sincerelye devoted in religion and course, and weill affected to ws bothe, I have also imperted to him my conceptions, whiche I doubt not he will faithfullye delyver unto yow."

"I intend not to use anye more intercourse of letters, bot in fewe dayes be Goddes grace to be my owen messinger, at what tyme yow shall have more effectuall tryell how I doe rest devoted to the happye amitye of our twoe sovereyngnes, whiche I shall doe all my endevour be all the good offices I can, and faythfullye concurre with yow to nurishe and encrease

James VI. 1590. to my uttermost. In the meane whyle I doubt not bot yow will have watchefull eye in that state, whereof the present calme dois not proceade of the resipiscence or toward disposition of the factiouse and unquyet, but that everey man leaning at his owne garde, leaning to no public protection, is thereby the more assured, and the worse affected ar lothe by there privat actions to irritat his majestie or to move him to hard concept of thame, expecting his speadye returne; lest also they should detect thame selfis by ineffectuall broylles when as they may not possesse his majesties persone or care, nor remove suche as are the most impediment to theyre desseinges, and of chiefest credit about him; whereof nather can be effictuat in his highnes absence, so thay ar moved rather to surceasse, then altogether leave off there practizes. Forder in this, and toward the ouverture lately mocioned be Colonell Stewart, I remitt to the relation of the bearer." Elsinore. *Signed:* "Your vearye looving friend Jo. Maitland."

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 7. 379. COLONEL STEWART TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Be his majesties awn letter, as also be my Lord Chanslaris, ze uill understand what is thought and farther intendit to be done in that matter I brught with me, boothe nowe and before my comyng, derectted toward her majestie be the Justys Clark."

"Thaer salbe na gude devoiris, God willing, omytted heir, albeit no thing cane be sertyfyett before we see howe matteris salbe takin and semethe to frayme with this counsell or governoris, wha is presently convynet at Copmanhovin, and one derectted expres from his majestie to understand whare confarrence with our Chanslare and tham is most meit or convenyent to be hade."

"This is all that zett can be done. Be the next, faelzeing his majesties self, your lordschip uill understand farther."

"Your lordschips letter to his majestie was dyffyssill, albeit I brought ane other with me that was na les dyffyssill to be weill redd. Allwais the one and other is well understand, and evin so thought of. God grant that the event or effect of that gude matter may be alse happie as the begynnyng is zett lyket and effectted of sic as knowethe the same."

"The rest with all the newis in theis parts I most remyt to the suffycyenssie of the berrare your lordschips gud frende." Elsinore. *Signed:* William Stewart.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 8. 380. BOTHWELL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in *Letters to . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 249.

"Finding that I could not so quikli repair to Edinbruch as I loukit at depairtur, I thocht guid to send for Mr. Jhone Coluing that be him I micht aquent you[r] lordschip with my procidings heir; quhais sufficienci and credit is at both our handis sic that it schould be onnessesar I schould fache your lordschip uith longer letter bot remit the samming to his declaratioune." Kinghorn [Kinghairin]. *Signed:* Bothuel.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590. April 8.

381. JOHN ARNOTE, PROVOST OF EDINBURGH, TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 268.

"At zouir being in this cuntrie I spak sumquhat to zoure warschip that I wes of mynde to put in rememberance of new to hir majestie and counsale how that of lang tyme byganne I wes verray ewill misusit be sum ewill disposit persones Inglismen, quhilkis reft and spuilzeit fra me the haill guidis and geir quhilkis I than had upone the sea. Quhilk wrang donne to me, with mony uther wrangis, reiffis and spuilzeis quhilkis wer at that tyme done to Scottismen, wer cravit at hir majestie and counsale to haif bene redressit; and than thare wes ane fyne to haif bene lifted upone the cuntrie for to recompance the saidis skaithis; zit upone sundrie occasionis that fell out thairefoir the same tuke litill or na effect."

"Now becaus I persave that this generale ordoure is nocht lyke to tak ane end sone, becaus it is estemit as forzet be ressone of the lang protracting of tyme, thairfoir I am counsallit be my freindis to mak sum litill particulare sute for my self. And sua I am of mynde to caus ane of my sonnes in law, quha is now in Londoune awaittand upone ane persute of his awin, to present ane supplicatioun in my name to hir majestie and counsale to this effect: praying zoure worschip thairfoir that my ressonabill sute may be convoyit be sik freindschip as ze may ressonablie mak, as I dowte nocht bot ye will. This berare will informe zow mair at lenth in this mater." Edinburgh. *Signed:* J. Arnote provest of Edinburgh

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

April 9.

382. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Monday the 6th I received your letter of the first instant, with the copy of Mr. Windebank's letter to yourself, and signifying her majesty's direction upon view of my letter to you shown to her by him. I find by his report and your letter to myself that her majesty thinketh it not convenient that Bothwell should stay his letters to the Duke of Parma till Richard Douglas return to her to follow her mind in the further carriage of the matter with the Duke, but rather that he should without delay execute her advice made known to him by Archibald Douglas and myself. The Earl had passed over the water into Fife before the receipt of your letters, appointing with me to return hither yesternight, Wednesday the eighth instant; nevertheless by letters received this morning from him and Mr. John Colvile, I perceive he is this day gone to Dunkeld to compound the griefs betwixt Atholl and Montrose, and Erroll and Atholl, and to confer with Atholl, "whose aide maye greatlie prevaile," for the apprehension of the bishop of Derry; in which causes he is like to expend some few days. Therefore, that her majesty's pleasure may be accomplished with expedition, I have procured Richard Douglas to write to the Earl, persuading him either to come hither with all speed or to write to Parma, as her majesty advised, "for the indelate quenching of th'intelligence with the Duke, and tymely staieing of forces to be sent by him into any part of this isle," and to dispatch his letters to the Duke with all haste. For this last point the greatest difficulty will be found, for there is no ship ready to carry these letters; therefore it was thought

James VI. 1590.

meet to send them by Mr. Douglas to London, that all may be done with her majesty's privity and advice, and that the letters might be sent thence to the Duke with all speed. There is small traffic hence to Flanders except through England, and they will get to him more speedily and at less charge from London; "nevertheles suche meanes as can be found here shalbe assaied to hasten the convoy of th'erles letters to the Duke, and to follow the course standing most with her majestes pleasure and contentment."

By sundry ways I have espied that Bothwell has noted some change of her majesty's mind towards him; he appears deeply wounded, but continues his devotion to perform his promises and do her service, as upon my conference with John Colvile, sent by him to be with me to-morrow or soon after, I shall more particularly do your lordship to understand.

For prevention of the "draught" said to be laid by the bishop of Derry to carry horsemen and footmen hence to stir rebellion in Ireland, I have sought the help of the few well-affected councillors assembled here in the cause betwixt Lords Hamilton and Sanquhar and Dumlanerigg, and procured letters to the lairds of Cadder and "Arkyndesse" and Neil Campbell, bishop of Argyle, tutors to the young Earl of Argyle, both to dissuade Angus Mackonell and the Laird of Lougheneill, and to stay all under their rule from attempting anything in Ireland.

Besides my letters to Lord Scrope to cast an eye to Maxwell, Herries, and the abbot of New Abbey to see what the ministers—employed to raise horsemen for Ireland—shall do, I have enquired by my friends here what shall be sought at the hands of the Master of Cassillis and Bargany, and travailed with them and others in Lennox and thereabouts, so that the labours of these evil instruments to trouble Ireland shall work little effect in those places, in case promise shall be kept with me.

This day I am informed by my friend lately returned from the north that James Knowes, "excommunicate for papistrie, and accustomed to transport to and fro Jesuites the letters and advises of the Spanish faction" hath ready "at Findaughtie nere the mouthe of the ryver of Spaa" a small barque laden with corn for Flanders or France. But they say he purposes to sail for Dunkirk within 6 days, and that his chief freight is the Englishman that accompanied the bishop of Derry and other practisers, with letters for Spain. I have procured some of the Council's letters to stay and search this ship. "But doubting the successe wished to fall out in the boundes so nere unto Huntlay" I choose rather to commend it to your knowledge.

Lord Hamilton is on his way to Jedworth to do justice in Border matters. He finds the greatest difficulty of redresses to be made to England to be for the attempts done for Liddesdale under Bothwell's rule. Bothwell has written to his deputy to give satisfaction to her majesty's Wardens, yet the better to prick him and his deputies forwards in the same I have procured the Council's letters as by the copy here enclosed. I have advertised Sir John Forster, and Sir John Selby thereof, and of all my doings with the Council and the Lord Lieutenant of the Borders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

James VI. 1590. April 9.

383. ROBERT BOWES TO WALSINGHAM.

"Your last of the third hereof I received this daie, and delivered th'inclosed therein agreable to the direction thereof." Received a letter from Burghley on the sixth instant. He now writes to Walsingham in substance what he has written to the Lord Treasurer this day. In Mr. Colvile's letter now enclosed, a violent mean is thought of against the Bishop of Derry. Bowes dare not agree thereto, neither shall her majesty by his consent be ever touched with any such thing unless he be so commanded. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same :—

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 249.

[Mr. John Colvile to Robert Bowes.]

"Pleis your lordschip, the 7 of this instant at my lordis Bothuellis desire I went to Kinkarn althoct werey ewill at eiss. His lordschip began to regret that he fand sum alteration in hir majestes mynd concerning him, and maid gret protestations of his sincerite sen his promiss. I wes indeid sory and so I remane to see him ony way discouragit, wnderstanding his courage and good qualites, and how good a instrument he may be in the co . . .* amite. Yit in end his lordschip hes fayctfully promisit nocht to chang his mynd except sum grete occasion wer offerit to him on hir majestes sy[de], whiche I hoip in God nether he sall mereit nor hir majeste offer to him wythout just causs. For declaration of his sincerite his lordschip assuris me he will direct out tuay or thre schippis for the persuit of siche as servis for the Legue or King of Spain : and I am commandit to say sumquhat farder in that matter to your lordschip, whiche I remit to Fryday if my helthe may serve me to trawell ; wyth suche other matteris as I can nocht writ."

"As to the Irische bischop, he knawit whar he is and what he is about to do. Althocht it salbe difficill to cary him levand avay out of the boundis whar he resedis, yit he may be killit as I sall schaw your lordschip at meting."

"My Lord Bothuell wyth th'erll Montross the 8 of this instant ar gon to Dunkell, partlie for that matter, for it is by my Lord Athollis meanis that the bischop must be had. Bot thair cheif erand is that Atholl and Montross may be of new reconciliat, for thai haif never agreit sen the dethe of Gowry. Whatsoever bruittis be giffin out to the contrary, this is thair principall erand. Thai think also to deill sumwhat betuix Atholl and Arroll, bot thai haif na hoip to speid."

"Arroll had bein in Callender at his sister the mestres of Levistoun, and the saxt of this instant returnit home He wes in Kinkarn as he came, bot nocht as he returnit."

"My lord Montross had him werey hartly recommendit wnto your lordschip, and hathe also giffin me sum commission wnto your lordschip whiche I continw to meting." Stirling. *Signed:* Jo. Coluille.

Postscript—"As Mr. Diksone went to Edinburgh he mett my man be the way, and prayit that I suld excuss his silence, for he protestit he knew na thing of effect sence he departit fra me."

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

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590.

April 11.

Lansd. MSS., 63, fol. 82.

384. Earl of Bothwell to Burghley.

"I have so certane pruif of zour lordships gude will and affectioun being towartes me in all suche effairis as I had to do in that cuntrey that I can nocht bot think my self soe obleist to requite the same with quhatsumevir gude offices may be in my hand to be performed. This assurance has embaulded me at this tyme to recommend to zour honors favourable help certane merchandes of this townne my verie gud freindis and sum of thame my servandes, in quhois behalff one Archbald Jhonestoun is presentlie suter to hir majestie and zour honors off hir counsale, praying verie hartlie zour lordship that sence their sute is verie reasonable, as being be storme of wedder drevin upone the coast of Norphoke and thairefter pilleit be sum of ye cuntrey men thair, zour honor will have cair to sie zame according to justice satisfied, and that the rather becaus thai appertene to me and I have some [enteres ?] thairin. Thus nocht dowting of zour honoris gude will in this mater as the parteis thame selffis hes alreddy maid honorabill report thairoff." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Bothwell.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 16.

385. Elizabeth to the Queen of Scotland.

I have never been so little faithful to my friends as not to treasure their memory even after their offence. And hence you may be well assured of my affection, as adding thereto the honourable alliance lately concluded between a prince whom I hold so dear and a daughter of my much honoured brother; to whom I shall not fail to show in good effect the warm love that I bear him. And I beg you to believe that it will afford me singular pleasure to gratify you in whatever manner I may know to be agreeable to you, and I desire nothing more than to hear the happy news of the return of both of you into Scotland, in order to be able to hear news of you more often.

½ *p. French. Copy. Indorsed:* "Copie of her Majestes lettre to the Queen of Scotland in answer of hers to her Majesty sent by Mr. Justice Clark, written the xvjth of Aprill, 1590."

April 16.

386. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

On Monday last the thirteenth hereof I received your lordship's letter of the eighth instant, certifying the decease of Sir Francis Walsingham—to my great sorrow—and answering my letters of the third hereof addressed to your lordship and him, for my great help and furtherance in her majesty's service.

Before the receipt of your letters I had sent other letters to you and Mr. Secretary, which I trust are brought to you. I shall send to you only until otherwise directed.

Bothwell, on receipt of Richard Douglas's letter to him—which by my last I showed should be sent to him—returned hither on Sunday last, the twelfth, at night. On the morrow Lord Hume came suddenly to him, and entertained him with the reconciliation betwixt them. Soon after he came to me, agreeing to send with all speed to the Duke of Parma to

James VI. 1590.

cut off intelligence with him, and to restrain the sending of any forces into any part of this isle, agreeable to her majesty's advice signified. Finding no ship in readiness for the Low Countries, he purposed to send Richard Douglas to her majesty to convey his letters that way, but because I have found by your letters that her majesty likes not Richard Douglas's return to her, I have persuaded his stay till I hear her majesty's pleasure touching his repair to her, "and also of the manner of his staie to be made, without danger of alienacion of the mynd and devocion of th'erle to her majestie and her service," wherein I desire direction. The earl still protesteth to honour and serve her majesty next his own sovereign, and faithfully to perform his offers. Nevertheless he is greatly troubled with conceit that her majesty holdeth him in suspicion, she having been informed "that he offered to deliver Barwick to the King of Spaine, and promised to do him effectuall service. Wherein he acknowledgeth that before he entred into this course with her majestie he had made liberall offers to the King of Spaine." Since he tendered his service to her majesty he affirms constantly that he has not dealt any way with the King of Spain or with any one for him. But he conceives that her majesty is informed that he has promised his services to that King since his offers to her: he is very earnest to know the author of this report and to clear himself from the guilt thereof.

He declares himself so to stand at this present as the timely experience of her goodness towards him shall fully satisfy and win him, and the long delay of her goodwill shall hazard to wound and estrange him. How I shall proceed with him, and whether Mr. Douglas may still be sent to her majesty by him, it may please your lordship to direct me.

On Monday morning last Lord Hume came to Bothwell, "and so well agreed betwixt them-selves as their late and earnest feade is turned into tender and familiar frendship." Albeit this reconciliation was suddenly effected by Sir John Carr, William Leslie, and Thomas Tyrie, with the assent of the parties, and without the privity of Lord Hume's friends, yet it is deemed it was drawn on by others of greater credit, with secret intention to work the hurt of the Chancellor soon after the King's arrival here. At present Bothwell professes great goodwill towards the Chancellor, his wife and friends, but it is thought the Chancellor's adversaries will seek to tempt him to change his mind. Of which plot against the Chancellor I have already given warning, wishing that while Justice Clerk is at London his griefs against the Chancellor—if any such be—may be removed, and the evils threatened prevented by his good advice.

By such enquiries as Bothwell made he is persuaded that the bishop of Derry is already departed to Angus Mac Onell, yet I am informed that he continues in places near to Mr. James Gordon. "Th'erle thinketh that he can not be apprehended in the hye land and brought hither alive. And th'erles frendes in the hye landes have offered to cutt him of in case he be there; unto which violent course I dare not consent." I trust he shall have little power to work great hurt or levy many men here for Ireland but that warning shall be given thereof; wherein I have liberal promises from persons of credit, as by my former letters will appear.

"On Mondaie last it pleased God to call Mr. Thomas Fowler out of this world." The King's advocate informed Bothwell that Fowler had sundry jewels and writings that—by his own confession made to the

James VI. 1590. advocate—appertained to the King, and prayed they might be stayed: which the earl executed, taking into his custody jewels estimated by Fowler's servant at 600*li.* and bonds from persons in this realm amounting to 300*li.*, as Fowler's servant has informed me. These jewels and bonds the earl promises to redeliver as by order shall be appointed. Other goods of small value he has delivered to Fowler's servant.

"Whilst th'erle Bothwell was beyond the water he hathe compounded the greefes betwixt th'erles of Atholl and Montrosse, and hath not delt in any other as he had purposed, but left them to better opportunitie." Because you would know the grounds of the feuds among the northern lords, and to have been reconciled by Bothwell, I enclose a note thereof.

I thank you for the advertisements from France, and pray that I may have such from time to time as Mr. Secretary used to send me; for the exchange of such news often gets me better intelligence than I could have for money, and serves towards her majesty's service.

"The Lord Hamilton is presentlie at the Borders for execution of justice and redresse to be done there. In his waie through Dalketh—the house of th'erle of Morton—he entred into the stable there, to see a gelding of the Master of Glames his brother in lawe, which he liked so well as he wold have taken him with him; but the gardinar there havinge some chardge of the gelding offered to stopp him, whereuppon one of his men dischardged his pistoll upon the gardiner and killed him. One other of Morton's servuantes is hurt in that ruffle, and two of the Lord Hamilton's servauntes sent to fetche his cloke left in the stable were deteyned. To stirre debate betwixt the Lord Hamilton and Morton, and that the Lord Hamilton might be stayned with bloode rashlie drawen by him, his adversaries give out that he killed the man with his owne pistolett."

"Yesterdaie morning before the finishinge of these presentes I was advertised that the lard of Carmighell was arrived at Leith with letters from the King to the Counsell and myself, whereupon I thought it meet to staie these untill I might speake with him, and give your lordship full advertisementes in all thinges. Sone after the lard sent to me the letters of the Lord Chancelour and Colonell Steward, appointing to bring and deliver to me this morning the King's letters and creditt committ to him. Th'effectes of which letters will appeare by the sight of them inclosed. And for report of his creditt mencioned, he shewed me that the King understanding by Colonell Stewart—comming to him after the departure of Justice Clark—that the factious and disquiet subjectes in this realme, finding no tyme in the King's absence to attempt their desiers, ether to possesse the King's person or care, or to remove from him suche as have best creditt with him and be chefe impedimentes of their evill designes, and best instrumentes for the publick wellfare of all good causes and courses, have therefore chosen rather to suspend then utterlie to cast of th'execution [of] their practises, which they purpose to interprise at the King's retorne, and afterwardes to mayntayne and sett forwardes to th'uttermost of their powers. For the prevencion of these dangers, touching not onelie the person and estate of the King and this realme, but also the common causes of religion and this wholl isle, and to establish suche a governement to be continewed hereafter in this realme as the sedicious sort shalbe bridled, the well affected comforted, and whereby the common perills may be avoided, the King is advised and driven of

James VI. 1590. necessitie to raise and kepe a gard about him of one hundred horsemen and one hundred footemen, and hathe appointed the Lord of Carmighell to be capten of this gard and with all spede to levie the same. And bicause the powre of the King sufficeth not to defray the paie unto and kepe this gard without the ayde of her majestie—by whose relief he onelie trusteth to be supported in this good purpose tending to bothe their suerties and wellfares—therefore he hathe required me to commend the Kinges mynde and desier in this behalf to your lordship, to be imparted to her majestie in suche tyme and manner as to your lordship shalbe found convenient. For he thincketh that the Justice Clark shalbe retorned homewardes before the receipt hereof: and upon the King's owne retorne into this realme his purpose is to seeke her majesty herein by other and especiall meanes from him self. In this I have not onelie recounted to the lard the exceding chardges that her majestie dailie endureth for her owne defense and safetie against the King of Spaine, and by the aides given to the Frenche King, Lowe Countries, and many other waies, but also laide before him that the mocion of this great matter should be done rather by an especiall chosen minister of the King's owne then by my self or penn: yet he urgett the matter with suche necessitie, as he affirmed the King and this estate should be put to extreame hazard and danger except the King might herein be releived by her majestie."

"And albeit we have referred this matter to further conference with the King and the Lord Chancelour, against which tyme I trust to be instructed with her majesty's pleasure for my further course therein, yet having passed over thus farre in the discoverie of the King's mynde and desiere in the same, I have thought it my duetie thus at lardge to report it to your lordship, commending the prosequting of the same to your lordship's good consideracion and wisedome, and humblie praeing to be directed to guide my doinges to please her majestie."

"The letters addressed by the King to the Counsell shalbe delivered this daie at their assemblie, which wilbe very small. The chefe effectes thereof are to appoint them to put all thinges in redines against the King's comminge, which is looked shalbe within tenn daies, for he was determined to imbark yesterdaie and the Quene his mother in lawe hasted him forwardes."

"The Lard of Carmighell assureth me that the King his soveraigne having in his hand before his departure this platt for the league motioned by Colonell Stewart, will bend his wholl wittes and powre to advance the good successe thereof, and that the King and state of Denmark are likewise resolved to sett it forwardes with all they can. Wherein he commendeth chefelie the care of the Chancelour of Scotland in the advancement of this cause."

"It is ordered by the King that the Duke of Lenox, the Lord John Hamilton, th'erles of Bothwell, Atholl and Marre, the ordinarie and secrett Counsell and the Lords of the Session shall onely attend upon the King at his arrivall. And to prevent sodaine troubles to be moved at that tyme, all others are restrained to present them selves nere to the place of the King's arrivall until further order shalbe given and published."

"The Duke of Miclebroughe hathe apointed to be with the King at Elsinore the tenth of this month; and the King of Denmark will send with his brother in lawe in Scotland his Admirall, Brade Ranson and

James VI. 1590. Stephen Brave, to be commissioners for th'execution of the great honours to be given to the Quene, which commissioners shalbe accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of Denmark of good qualitie. The opinion that the Scottish Quene should be with child is not so generallie imbraced as before it hath ben."

"The King takeing displeasure with Sir William Keith that he was noted to have bein more riche in his apperrell then the King, to th'offence of sondrie great personages in that assemblie, hathe removed him from his place in the King's chamber and office of wardropp, and given the same office to George Hume sonne of Alexander Hume of Maunderstand."

"It is muche merveled that none hathe bein imploied and sent by her majestie into Denmark, for at the departure of the Lard of Carmighell none for her majestie was commed thither."

"That I do not committ any errour to offend her majestie to take the precedencis of any that shalbe imploied and sent hither by the King of Denmark, it may please your good lordship to direct me spedelie therein, otherwise I shall take this place." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginal notes in Burghley's handwriting.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Discords in Scotland].

"The beginninges and groundes of the perticuler greefes and discordes risen amongst these parties following, viz. betwixt" "Th'erles of Atholl and Montrosse."

"After the death of th'erle of Gowrie—late Threasurer of Scotland—th'erle of Montrosse succeded in that office, with great suspicion of Gowries frendes that he had bein an especiall instrument and meane to bring Gowrie to that violent end, which suspicion was increased by the conceipt of Gowrie conceaved upon th'accion and advises of Montrosse against him in his life tyme."

"Atholl maried the daughter of Gowrie, and with her he entred into the feades of her father, which feades have continewed untill the same were compounded th'other daie by the mediacion of th'erle of Bothwell."

"Atholl and Arrell."

"Th'erle of Arrell maried the sister of Atholl; soone after the mariage she died, and Atholl and his frendes thincking that her husband had intreated her unkyndelie have bein slowe to paie her porcion to Arrell, being 9000 *li.* Scottes. After at the late journey of the King against Huntlay, Arrell and other confiderates in th'accion and band of the brigg of Dee, the escheat of Arrell was graunted to Atholl, who entred into Arrells houses and possessions, and—as Arrell alleadged—willfullie wasted and defaced the houses, to the great hurt and dishonour of Arroll."

"These matters are continewed untill the Kings retorne, for Bothwell thincking that the composition thereof should offend the Lord Chancelour of Scotland, thought it good to suspend it untill he might conferre therein with the Chancelour."

"Atholl and Huntlay."

"Atholl intertayning George Drummond of Blare—an old servant and very secrett with his father—imploied him in all his chefe affaires,

James VI. 1590. finding him at length so entred into practises as he put him from his service. Whereupon Huntlay intertayned Drumond, with Atholl's great displeasure."

"After, Drumond being in the conspiracie with Huntlay for th'accion of the brigg of Dee, Atholl obtayned his escheat, and thereon did cast downe Drumondes houses—as Huntlay thincketh—in dispite of him. For Huntlaie was perswaided that Atholl at that tyme did shew him all the displeasures in his powre. This cause also resteth not compounded."

"Huntlay and Murraye."

"George Douglas late busshop of Murray did graunt and assigne in fee simple to James late Earle of Murray and Regent of Scotland, the fisshinges in the river of Spaie, which discended to th'erles doughter, now wife of th'erle of Murray sonne of the Lord of Downes. Huntlay hath not withstanding after the death of the said busshop both entred into and still holdeth the said fishinges, and also the castle of Spina, and all the goodes of the busshops aforesaid, whereunto Murray maketh clayme, as also Bothwell pretendeth some interest in part thereof."

"These discordes are not yet reconciled, but left to the King, who is at this present purposed to shew Murray—being a Steward—all the favour he can, notwithstanding that Huntlay maried the Duke of Lenox sister."

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

April 16. 387. THE JUSTICE CLERK TO BURGHLEY.

Land. MSS., 63, fol. 84. "Gine my abyding heir might advance the King my maisteris and hir majesteis service I vald nocht werrie how long so evir I suild remaine; bot sence my long tarye efter taking guid nicht may perchance be imput to my negligence, for exonering my deutye redar than douting of zoure guid rememberence, I have taking this present bauildnes of importunitie to hartlye requeist zow, seing it is nocht my fortun to do that guid service heir quhilk in hart I wiss suild content boith thair majesteis, that so soun as hir majesteis laser may permit I may be sent home, quhair I houip my mein credit sall serve them boith for better effect." London. *Signed:* Justice Clark.

½ *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

April 21. 388. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Having directed our weilbelovit George Mar, borrow maister of this burgh of Elsingure and merchant to ws in thir pairtes, to by to our and our darrest bedfallowis behove sic furringis and other necessaire provisioun baith for our personis and our houss as in thir eastern pairtis be interchainge of Englishe claith ar mast commodiouslye recoverable; we have therefore thought meit to requeist zow be this present that following zour favorable disposition in our effairis ze will let our said merchant have zour frie grant and licence be him selfe and his factouris in his name to by, carye and transport furth of zour realme twelfe hundreth peace of Englishe claith frie of all usuall imposition and custume; the ane halfe thereof this present zeir and the other in the zeir nixt ensewing, to be interchaingit be him to our said use, according to our directioun gevin him thereanent, as ze may be asseurit to have quhat-

James VI. 1590. sumever commeditye our countrie zeildes furthcummand to zour lyke requeist; and the said graunt thereof accompted be ws in a speciall favour." Elsinore. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 21. 389. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Yisternicht I ressawed this lettir from Scotland which I thocht expedient to send to be preusid be your lordschip. I beleawe the ambassadour thayr resident hath vrytin moyr particularlye of the contentis thayrof, whearbye your lordschip may and for dyvers respectis in knawledge gewe bettir answer than I can for satisfaction of the Erle. Bot whatsoewir your lordschip shall think expedient that I shuld vryte ather to his lordschip or to my newphew, upon information resawed from your lordschip I shall be readye to do it."

"Such newis as the Larde of Carmihill hath gevin owte of the King his returning I leawe to the ambassadouris letteris. He now lewyis som forcis that ar thocht rather to be for preserwation of our Chancellar than for the Kingis seurtye; and the rather it is beleawed be resson it is knowin that by his procurment Sir William Keyth who was in the Kingis gud fawour at departure is now bannisshed the court and from ony return to this yle." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Richard Douglas to Mr. Archibald Douglas.)

"As I vrotte to you be my last that itt vold be verie harde for me to shift my comming to London, both that my lord att his hither comming vold neidis heve me to folloue itt furthe, even so the other day quhen he arryved heir he desyritt me to mak my selff readye vithin a day or tuo att the fardest to beginne that journey, and vold heare no reasson that I culde allege unto him in the contrair, bott he vas resolutt to heve the last answer he shuld expect, and vold no longar disgest delayes. Quherupon indeid I vas, thought unvillinglie, making me readie for the journey, quhen these soroufull newis of the deathe of Mr. Secretarie, that hes greved me verie far for monie respectis, and amongst others nocht the lest for your cause, vere brought unto this toune. Quherupon I tuik occasion and vith all moved my lord ambassadour also to persuade my lord that since so greatt ane accident culd nocht bott breade some alteration in that state, as also some delay in the resolution upon his lordschip's affaires, that he vold be contented to differ my going untill bothe the ambassadour might heare from my lord Treasurar and I from your lordschip, quhilk ve doutitt nocht shuld be vithin eight dayes."

"In the meane tyme bothe his lordschip and I tuik upon us to adverteis, he my lord Treasurar and I your lordschip, of his lordschip's villingnes and forduartnes to folloue furthe that course layed doune to him be her majestie, and of his resolution to vrytte to the Prince of Parma as he vas desyritt, quhilk is alreadie done, and if the commodite beis offered

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shalbe sentt auay presentlie; if nocht, itt must be sent to London and their some expedient found for the convoy of itt."

"All other matters my lord vill leave to my comming, att quhilk he vill deale verie roundlie vith her majestie, and if he can be assured of her hienes goud affection, then he vill leave of all other freindshipp quhatsomever ether att home or abroade that may ony vayis be prejudiciall to the veill of her majestes roilme and the quyetnes betuixt their majesteis and cuntreys. Otheruayes he vill crave to be dischargitt of that promise he hes made to her majestie, and be att his advantage to do quhatt best shall pleas him herefter: in quhiche peremptorie resolution he is so satled that longar for no persuasion he vill nocht be contentitt to delay."

"Att my lordis being over the water last he hes done litill of that he ventt aboutt, for in steid of agreing of Huntley and Murray, Arroll and Atholl, he hes left itt vorse nor he founde itt, and hes onlie agreitt Muntross and Atholl. He hes layd a platt for apprehension of the Irishe bishop, and hes him sure if he come in these feildis as he is undoubtedlie luikitt for. If he gett him as he luikes for, he vill nocht deliver him bott under condition that hes lyff be savitt, for he thinkis itt dishonorabill unto him to deliver anie man to the bucherie."

"As for that vas suspectitt of the meting of some of our malcontentitt lordis, I think it shall produce no greitt effect, for a mistrust that is amongst themselves; yett I am crediblie informitt that they heve resolved to meitt his majeste att his returning vith forces, and sease upon his person; and suche as vill oppone them selves unto them to putt them outt of the way, namelie the Chancellar: bott this course semes harde and I suspect they shall lack courage."

"Oure state in all other things is vonderfull quyett. Huntley is sick att Spynie, and manie thinkis of his old disease. The Erle Bothuel and Home are agreitt this other day by manie mens expectation, quhilk vill tak auay all occasion of trouble from this part of the cuntrey."

"Yesterday your freind and myne Mr. Foular departed from this lyff efter a long and grevous sicknes, intestat so far as yett appeares. The Erle Bothuel be command hes seasitt upon his papers and jeuellis for the Kings use: by thom itt appearis nocht that he hes bein so vealthie as vas thought. I heve for some quhat concerning him the greattar desyr to sie you shortlie."

"Itt is marvelled heir their comes no vorde from my lord the Justice Clerk, and I long to heare somequhat from you concerning him and his journey."

"I spake vith my lord anent his barke, quho vill nocht ressave her bott vith her furniture as she vas taken auay; and so he dessyris you to cause her be brought about from Plimmouthe to anie part about London, and he shall send to ressave her: for he vill nocht be contentitt that Blanerres brother or anie other their shall intromett vith her to go to seas." Edinburgh, 14 April 1590. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

April 22. 390. THE LAIRD OF COLDENKNOWES AND OTHERS TO ELIZABETH.

"Upoun knawlege of the miserable and pietifull estait of twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsoun, Scottisman precher, and the uther Johnne

James VI. 1590. Willokis, discendit of Scottishe progenitouris, now baith lying in prisoun at Leycester, convicted be a jury of robbery, a cryme deserving seveir punishment, gif thir personis wer indeid gilty thairof: bot the trewth being—as we ar credibly informit—that thay ar clene and innocent of the same cryme, and wer aucht myles absent fra the place the tyme of the committing thairof, as we traist salbe cleirlie testifiit be precheris and utheris personis of gude credite: we ar moved for the respect of thair said innocency to interpone our humble and eirnest requeist unto zour majestie for saulftie of thair lyffis; maist humbly beseking zour hienes to grant unto thame your gracious pardoun of the said cryme, quhilk they stand in daunger of zour lawis for, be occasioun of thair convictioun, notwithstanding thair said innocency; quhilk we doubt not salbe pleasing to God, and we sall acknawlege it as a speciall benefite quhensoevir we may gif pruif of our thankfull myndes thairfoir." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Coldenknoes; Dignauall; Robert Meluill; Carmychaell; P. Young.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 24. 391. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has delayed answering his letter of the 14th instant, receivcd on the 20th, looking to have matters of importance to write. Will endeavour, according to Burghley's direction, to send the Bishop of Derry into England, as her majesty wishes, but he is at this time so surely guarded that he (Bowes) despairs of either entrapping him or taking him by any authority. It is again promised that his levies for Ireland shall be so encountered as the numbers levied shall be small and that he (Bowes) shall be advertised of any forces to be gathered.

"In this th'old tutours of Argile, by the meanes of good instrumentes for her majestie, are willing to do the good offices in their powre. And the younge earle having nowe accomplished th'adge of fourteen yeres, and presentlie at Glasgo with his frendes to chuse new tutours, is purposed to make choise of th'Erle of Marre and others of his owne bloode, which I trust to drawe to yeld to her majestie their good willes. And the like is also promised to be done for her majestie in the highe-landes, Lenox, West Borders and other places, where the forces for Ireland are sought to be levied."

According to direction, has stayed the sending of Captain Haggerston. Bothwell and Richard Douglas cannot learn of any ship for the Low Countries to take Bothwell's letters to Parma, so as they still think those letters may be sent with best expedition from London. The earl desires to send Richard Douglas to her majesty with those letters, to be in all things guided by her. Desires direction in this behalf, and also touching the earl's request to have her majesty's letters of mark, and leave to discharge in England, having as yet only heard Burghley's particular opinion therein and not her majesty's pleasure.

Sent Walsingham a letter addressed to him by the Master of Gray for the employment of Captain Haggerston; that letter is called for to be delivered again to Gray; Bowes desires to have it and other letters returned.*

John Penry, a Welshman, named in Burghley's letter, was resident in Edinburgh before Bowes going thither, and published lately a book

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "They are returned."

James VI. 1590.

without the privity of the ministers there, who have hitherto well entertained him, but Bowes thinks he shall not long remain there. He no longer comes to public assemblies, but keeps himself secret, with purpose to remove shortly.

Crawford and Sanquhar desired leave of her majesty to pass through England to parts beyond the seas. Walsingham advertised Bowes that her majesty granted them leave and it should be sent shortly. Bowes is pressed by Sanquhar either to procure her majesty's letter for his leave or to commend him to her with a letter for his passage. He craves direction for Sanquhar alone, thinking Crawford will not go out of the country as he pretended. The well affected can well spare them out of the country.

The state continues in great quietness, for the daily expectation of the King's arrival stirs the best sort to provide for his welcome, and stays the attempts of the seditious. "But the nomber of malcontentes are so increased by the conceipt taken of the Kinges resolucion to reforme th'estate of his governement, to the prejudice of the generall and ordinary votes and presence of the nobilitie in counselles and matters of estate, and the preparacion of a gard to shoulder and mayntayne this innovacion to be established, together with the late discourting of Sir William Keeth—all which are deemed to be wrought by meanes of Lord Chanceluor of Scotland with promis of th'assistance of th'estate of Denmark—as it is verie likelie that some fier shalbe kyndled shortlie after the Kinges retorne and satling." Has warned the Chancellor's friends hereof, and will warn the King and Chancellor at their coming.

The captain of the Spanish bark is in safe custody, the company discharged, and the bark and furniture seized by Bothwell. James Colvill the pilot was arraigned in Denmark and adjudged to be beheaded for bringing in the bark in seditious manner, but is respited on promise of confession. At Carmichael's coming away he had not entered into his confession.

By means of the Master of Glamis, Erroll has renewed conference with Morton for marriage of Morton's daughter, but Erroll likes the younger daughter, and Morton presses the marriage of the elder. Sir Robert Melville is willing to set this match forward to draw Erroll from Huntly.

"The King of Scottes hath had longe disputacion in Latyn with Hemingius in Denmark, tarieng with him one night, and found him conformable in all th'articles of religion, saving onelie in predestinacion: wherein the King hathe hope that he shalbe reformed. And many of the learned in Denmark—as it is certified—do acknowledge their errours in the reall presence of the sacrament, images, and other like thinges: nevertheles the reformacion is said to be staide untill the King shalbe able to reforme and establish all thinges in th'estate; in which tyme it is looked that the nobles and gentlemen being adversaries to this reformacion shalbe dead or converted."

It is credited in Denmark that the King of Spain, intending to be monarch of Europe, has given his daughter in marriage to the emperor, with the Low Countries for her dowry. Sundry of those with the King in Denmark write that the Muscovite has invaded Sweden.

James VI. 1590. "That your lordship may know th'effectes of the King's letter to the Counsell and his directions to the Lard of Carmighell, I send inclosed the copies of the King's letter and direction mencioned." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Marginal notes and indorsement in Burghley's hand.*

April 29. 392. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Finding it your lordship's pleasure to be advertised what Bothwell looks for from her majesty upon his offers made to her, and what is meant by the words in Richard Douglas's letter to his uncle Archibald Douglas, "that th'erle wold deale francklie upon sight and triall of th'assurance of her highenes good affection to him; otherwise that he might be clearly discharged of his promis made to her majestie and remitted to his owne course and advantage," I have sought to know the earl's mind therein, and also conferred with Richard Douglas. Albeit the earl has stood upon very honourable terms with me, pretending that no hope of mercenary reward drew him to those offers to her majesty, but only the considerations expressed in my other letter with these, "yet he trusteth that her majestie will of her owne benevolence extend her bountie for the releif of his estate, and to supplie some part of that which he might have at other princes' handes. Wherein some motion hathe bein made before to Sir Frauncis Walsingham for the manner of his good contentment in this behalf. The particularities whereof Mr. Archibald Douglas can deliver to your lordship in case the same be not alreadie knowne to your lordship."

Furthermore, when he was persuaded that her majesty retained some hard opinion of him and his intention, and had little regard of his necessity, and charges to be sustained in her service, he thought it expedient either to be assured of her affection to him or to withdraw himself in time with least offence to her and honour to himself. Touching her good opinion of him he is satisfied, nevertheless he looks to be relieved with her further favour and bounty, which employed with expedition will bind him and his service to her.

"The report of the successe of Justice Clark in his late negotiation with her majestie for the King his soveraigne hathe put some feare in the heades of sondry well affected here that the sediciouse sort shall labour to pick out some advantage therein. And I have hard of some thing to be in brewing therein which I shall travell to remove by the meanes in my powre, being readie to do further as I shalbe directed." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 29. 393. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 27th instant he received Burghley's letters of the 22nd. He conferred thereupon with Richard Douglas, but could not speak with Bothwell till this day. According to Burghley's direction he has stayed Richard Douglas's journey and obtained the earl's promise to send his letters to Parma by the next ship that shall sail for Flanders, to cut off intelligence betwixt them.

James VI. 1590. Bothwell also promised to deliver to him (Bowes) a copy of his letters to the Duke of Parma—to be forwarded to Burghley—at his return from Dunglass, whither he rides this day with Lord Hume to compose the feud with Alexander Hume of Maunderston for the slaughter of David Hume—called David the Devil—son of said Alexander, slain by Bothwell. To remove all doubts of her majesty's acceptance of his offers, has let him know that albeit he understood by advertisement from a councillor that letters from the King of Spain to Parma and from Parma to that King have been intercepted and brought to her majesty, whereby sundry practices in favour of the King of Spain betwixt persons in Scotland and the Duke of Parma have been discovered; and amongst others that Bothwell had offered that King the delivery of Berwick and other services: "yet her majestie so distinguishes the tymes of his offer mencioned to the King, and of the tender of his good devocion and services to her self, as her highness hathe found and dothe interpritt that he had made his first offer to the King whilst he was offended with England, and upon his reconsiliacion and change of mynde had afterwardes shewed francklie his good will to her majestie," which she accepts, retaining no suspicion against him, and assuring herself of the faithful accomplishment of his offers to her. Herewith he was well satisfied, promising to proceed constantly according to his offers. Because Burghley would be advertised what the said Bothwell looks for from her majesty—to the intent that upon experience of her good affection he might deal roundly with her, or else be discharged of his promise and left to his own course agreeable to Mr. Douglas's letter to his uncle—therefore when telling him of her majesty's favour, and her readiness to prove it by all thankful means, Bowes let him know her willingness to cause his bark to be restored to him, and to grant him letters of marque and leave to discharge in England prizes taken at sea of the goods of Spaniards; and sought to feel what other especial matter he desired. Hereupon Bothwell entered into discourse of his former life, and his course with her majesty and other princes; and that now he saw the King his master so greatly affected to her majesty, and her good will so beneficial for the King, for religion, and for both realmes, he had resolved to leave all other princes "howsoever they might yeld particuler profittes to him self"—and to devote himself to her service, in hope to find favour with her agreeable to his service. He added that albeit his estate needed repair, and that from other princes he might have more than he would receive, yet he would not "indent with her majestie in any suche sort," neither should the hope of mercenary reward bind his services to her, but that, next his own sovereign, his services shall be at her commandment. He attends her majesty's pleasure as to any good offices in his power, and her answer to his requests for his bark, letters of marque, and leave to discharge in England.

"By suche order as I tooke with John Montgomery, servant to Mr. Thomas Fowler, all the papers of notes and intelligence left in his house are safe in t'handes of the said John, to be ordered as your lordship shall direct."

Carmichael's motion for aid towards levying a guard for the King has not been renewed to him (Bowes); it will not be further stirred till the King's coming. He did not put Carmichael in hope of the commendation

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of it by his letters, or the success by her majesty's bounty, but told him that her other great charges for the common causes would not suffer to hear of any such burden to be sustained by her.

Had thought the bishop of Derry would be found at one of the houses of Huntly or of the lairds of Aughendowne and Grant, where he had been secretly kept; but he passed over Tweed near Kelso on Saturday last the 25th instant "with purpose to ride as farre as Durham, and within ten daies to retorne into Scotland by the west or myddle marches of England," or else from some port on the west of England to embark for Ireland. Looks rather to come again into Scotland, yet is afraid to travel in that realm. Bowes awaits his return, and has written to Lord Scrope to advise him thereof, and sent fit persons to the bishopric and Northumberland to hunt him out, but knowing no certain place doubts the apprehension of him; yet he has sent to pursue him in such secret manner that it may fall out better than is looked for.

The lady of Kintyre, wife of O'Neill, comed to Glasgow and not able by her sickness to travel forth, has written to Bowes—as by the copy enclosed—to cause her three letters to be conveyed to her majesty, Burghley, and Sir John Parrett. Her messenger said that her letters contained the complaints of O'Neill against the Earl of Tyrone for spoils, burnings, and slaughters committed in harvest last, for withholding O'Neill's lands without rent, and for hanging Hugh, son of Shane O'Neill; also her petition to her majesty for a yearly pension, agreeable to the letters of the Lord Deputy of Ireland, brought to her majesty by Mr. Fenton, secretary in Ireland. The three letters were closed, and no copies showed to Bowes, neither was the messenger known to him. Finding that the lady and her messenger had power to do her majesty service—chiefly touching the bishop of Derry—he put off sending the letters till he could do so with better warranty, that he might receive order from Burghley and also draw the lady and the messenger to Edinburgh, thinking thereby to draw likewise the bishop of Derry.

"Before the retorne of the Justice Clark to this towne, it was bruted and given out here with great confidence that her majestie had rigged and made readie eighteen shipps to be spedelie imploied and sent into the east seas to surprise the King of Scottes in his retorne."

This troubled many, and he (Bowes) sought to find the authors of the rumour, and to satisfy the Council of the untruth of it. The bruit was suppressed, but revived by some who came from London with the Justice Clerk—who is greatly grieved therwith—with such certainty as the report received credit among the Council, and some wished to set forth a pinnace to warn the King; but others conferring with Bowes and distrusting the tale, advised to stay the pinnace lest it should work evil to the amity between the sovereigns and their realms and delay the King's return.

"To increase these jealousies it is this daie given out that the towne of North Barwick discovered tenn shipps—which they tooke to be Inglishe—bearing with that coast and plieing northwardes, and afterwardes put into the seas. Moreover it was crediblie told th'erle Bothwell that my self was hastelie and secretlie rydden to Barwick upon the rising of these brutes and discoverie of the shipps. And dailie newe tales are forged and devised to give credit to these rumours, which are spred so farre

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and be so well credited as my powre sufficeth not to staie and quenche them." Prays order therein.

Many noblemen are grieved at the commission given by the King to Carmichael to levy two hundred footmen in Edinburgh for the King's landing, and to restrain the nobility and ladies from attending the King and Queen at their arrival. It is bruited that the King purposes to establish a new form of government, "which they thinck shalbe drawen nere to th'order used in Denmark, and that thereby the wholl nobilitie shalbe prejudiced in their auncient priveledges for their free accesse to the King's person, and vote in Counsell and matters of estate."

Montrose said openly that he deserved punishment that advised the King to raise a guard and put his people in arms when no need could be seen, and when the King, Queen and company ought to be received with great joy. It is said the Chancellor has ordered Cessford, Farnihurst, and others of his friends to be at the King's arrival with their friends and servants well armed, so as this offence, grieving this sort of the nobility and the Chancellor's adversaries, is like to be laid wholly on him, who shall hardly escape some evil to come "peradventure to rebound against the King" except it be prevented.

The Master of Glamis has heard that the Chancellor in Denmark has declared himself a greater adversary to him than he looked for, and by his mean the office of captain of the guard is turned over from Glamis to Carmichael.

Glamis by special messenger solicited Bothwell to join others of the nobility for redress of these evils, chiefly on the Chancellor. "But Bothwell hathe refused, saieng that he wilbe free of all bandes at the King's retorne and ready to serve him. And being reconciled with the Chancelour, with promis to enter into no band or societie against him before he should speake with him, therefore he will not assent to joyne with any companie before he shall first speake with the Chancelour and finde that he hathe not kept promis with him."

Lord Hume has acknowledged to Bothwell that the Chancellor only set him on to seek Bothwell's life, and now persuades him to join others to discourt the Chancellor; yet Bothwell still refuses.

"The Master of Glames procedeth diligentlie to sett forwardes the mariage of Arrell with the doughter of Morton to drawe Arrell to that partie, and hathe latelie found meanes to procure an interview betwixt Arrell and the mayde. Hereupon Huntlay hath sent to Arrell a gentleman of creditt to diswade him from that mariage."

Montrose, the Master of Leviston, Fentry and others met with Erroll at "Meggins" the 21st instant to persuade him to keep bond with his old friends, and not enter into any new association for the love or beauty of a woman. "Arrell was readie to agree to continew frendship with th'old frendes, saieng that he would ether be able to drawe his wife's frendes to his owne course, or els he wold not deale in the matter. This faccion with Marshall and others are thought to be lincked against the Chancelour."

Huntly has sought leave of the Council to depart to foreign countries, but the Council answering that they have not hitherto meddled in such matters have referred it to the King. Many think that had he obtained leave he would not have gone out of the realm.

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"Th'erle Bothell lett me knowe that Maxwell and Jonston are agreed; likewise that Buckcleugh shall agree with Fernihurst, and that th'assurance is alreadie taken. Sondrie other feades are latelie compounded by the Duke of Lenox at his late being at Glasco, at which tyme he was invited to the Lord Claud Hamilton's house, where he was muche wellcomed. Th'erle Bothwell hathe discovered that the capten of the Spanish bark hathe counterfaicted all the commissions given to himself, and the letters addressed to Bothwell, Maxwell, and the lard of Maye."

The little bark of James Knowes loosed at Aberdeen the 21st instant, and put out with the ship of that town for the King in Denmark, but soon changed her course and is departed for Flanders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Anna Campbell, wife of O'Neill, to Robert Bowes.)

"Forsomuch as if your lordship will call to remembrance the letters which your lordship did carie out of Sterling from my chefe th'erle of Argule in favour of my husband and me to her majestie, by the meanes of which letters we received great favour and creditt at her majestes handes, for the which we render your lordship many thanckes, for I ensure your lordship that we have nought received of before suche favorable letters as we did at that present. And now, my lord, seing that your lordship hath shewed us suche frendship in tymes past, we beseche your lordship to be so good as to cause these our letters directed to her majestie, my Lord Threasurer, and Sir John Perratt to be caried from thence to the court: and also your lordship to write in the companie of these our letters, desiering of her majestie and the rest to whom the letters is directed to hast their gracious answere back throughe England into Ireland to my husband Onele; who as I doubt not but your lordship knoweth and hath had intelligence that he is a duetifull and a loving subject to her majestie, and is nought presentlie delt withall as equitie and justice dothe require. The which if her majestie knewe of, would nought thinck good of the same, weigheng how her majestie knoweth his good and duetifull service towardes hir highnes, the which shall ever be sure to his lyve's end as knoweth God. And, my lord, because we have none at this present that hath knowledge in carieng suche letters, and also because we have in tyme past received suche a gudelie answere of our former letters caried by your lordship, it maketh us to be bold upon your lordship, as nought acquainted with your lordship, to will and beseche your lordship to carie or cause carie these our present letters. Thus being done we are bound to indevour our selves to pleasure your lordship efter our powre in any tyme comminge, the which by the grace of God shalbe performed if your lordship require. And, my lord, my husband being thus delt withall by th'erle of Tyrone hes thought expedient to write his letters to her majestie and Counsell."

"Your lordship shall understand that I am here in Glasco sore troubled with sickenes, and if I had bein so [*sic*] I would have commed and spoken with your lordship my self, of the which I would have bein very glad.

James VI. 1590. It will please your lordship to give creditt to this bearer my servaunt in lesum matters." Glasgow 25 April 1590.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 30. 394. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King of Scots, the Queen and his company embarked at Elsinore on Tuesday the 21st instant, keeping together till they lost sight of Norway and until Tuesday last. That day Colonel Stewart and the provost of "Clenclowden," shipped in several vessels, left the King, and the Colonel arrived this day about two o'clock in the afternoon at Leith. The provost and Mr. George Yong are in sight, and it is looked that the King and Queen will be at Leith this night or tomorrow morning.

The Duke of Lennox and Earl Bothwell—being with Lord Hume at Dunglass—are sent for, with other noblemen appointed to be here at the King's landing. The Council—being very few—are presently together to provide the King and Queen lodgings at Leith and Holyrood House. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April. 395. [ ] TO [ ].

Yesterday evening I received letters and news by way of Flushing, which concern without any doubt one named Charles Bally, being an extreme papist, who was living with the Queen of Scotland at the time when the King was murdered, having also been a prisoner in this town of London at the Tower twenty-two years ago at the same time that the bishop [of Ross] was taken on Easter Day, and at the time that the Duke of Norfolk was taken and executed. The said Charles was twice in Scotland a little time ago, and has said in Antwerp that he found many sympathisers there, having been sent thither by the Prince of Parma, and as I understand shall very soon return thither, or perhaps is now there.

I know the man as if he were my brother in face and form. He is of middle height, walking a little lame, his face rather ruddy, the nose hooked or crooked.

½ *p. French. Indorsed:* "Apr. 1590. Charles Baily, abyding with the Quene of Scotts at the tyme of the murdringe of the Scottishe Kinge."

May 1. 396. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Be letteris from Scotland I haif resawed information that the worst dewoted to quietnes in that realme gewis owt speachis that some of the Spanishe forcis ar to be luked for to be thayr before the end of May; and this report is nather trusted nather luked for of the best sort: which gevis me occasion to pray your lordschip if anye such advertisment be cummed to your handis from any part, that ather your lordschip may singnifye the samin to your ambassadour thayr resident, or than to lat me onderstand of it, to the end that suche as ar trustye and weill affected may be mayde acquaynted wyth thayr awin perrill and prepair for thayr deffence so weill as thay may."

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"I am forced also to pray your lordschip to mowe her majeste to haif consideration of the debtis that I haif contracted of layt in hir hynes and for hir hynes service, and that thayr rested now no longer tyme to the forfaltour of the bondis that I haif gevin furth than the eighth of May instant. If wythin that space I shall not be helped be hir majeste I shall be uttirlye undone."

"If the disposition of your lordschip's persone may not serve to sea hir majeste in that tyme, and I durst so far presume, I wold most hartlye pray your lordschip to mak my lord Chancellar acquaynted vyth the state of my case, who lamentis my present state as your lordschip hath hitherto done." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

May 2. **397. PROCLAMATION CONCERNING THE DANES.**

Printed in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 478-80.

"At Leith the second daie of May the yere of God 1590."

"Forasmuche as the Kinges majestie our soveraigne lord hath now by the favour of the Almightie God accomplished his late voyage with happie and comfortable succes, and hath saiflie returned in this his realme with his dearest spous and queene, honorablie accompaned with divers persons of honour and credit, counsellors and commissioners to his dearest brother and allayay the King of Danmark, and sundrie other gentlemen his familier servauntis and loving subjectis; it becomes his highnes therfore to continewe most thanckfull in his dutie to God for so great a profe of his mercie and favour speciallie at this time, and all his loving subjectis hath cause to thinck ther prayers effectuallie hard and there wishis satisfied. And not only for his allayayis, such being the principall meane in this life to renewe, augment, and confirme frendshipp, speciallie where it hath beene long since planted and sincerelie heretofore observed, but for the manifolde honours, curtassies, and offices of humanitie and hartelienes which his majestie and all his companie hath receaved, as well in the court as over all where the dominions of the crone of Denmark where his majestie hath jorneyed and repaired, it becomes his nobilitie and people to shewe ther good wills to imitat the same and to acquyt the honorable personages and others of that natioun repaired and come with his highnes and presentlie remayning in this realme with like honour, curtasie, and humanitie, and to eschew all occasions to the contrarie, as they regard his highnes honour and good lyking and will underly his indingnatioun at ther owne perrell if anny shall presume to minister cause deserving the same. And of this his highnes will and pleasure ordaines publication to be maide at the market crose of Edenburgh, shore and peir of Leith, and other places needefull, that non pretend ignorance therof, comaund and charging all and sondrie his highnes leiges and subjectis that non of them take upon hand to offer or do molestatiown, harme, greife, or injurie to the said counsellors, commissioners, and gentlemen of Denmark and others beinge in companie with them or there servauntis, or to make them provocatioun of displeasure by reproche, scorne, or any other waies in word, deede, or countenance, but to shew them all frendshipp, curtisie, hartines, and give interteignement under the pane contenid in this his highnes will and declaratioun, to be seveirlie used and extended against

James VI. 1590. the offenders, if any—as God forbid—shall happen, in example of others. And seeing his majestie, his counsellours, and such as hath beene in his companie hathe seene justice, good order, quietnes, and a love and a reverence of the soveraigne prince amonge the people wher his majestie hath remained and travelled since his departing forthe of this realme, and hath also good experience of the love of his nobilitie and people by ther keping of good rewle and quyetnes at his majestes admonitioun in his absence; therfore comaunding all his highnes owne subjectis, of what estate, degree or conditioun that ever they be of, that they continewe them selves in quyetnes, modistie, and comelie societie amonge them selves, and in no waies take in hand to persew, invaid, molest, quarrell, or offend others ether for olde feid or newe, by worde, deede, or countenaunce, speciallie during the remayning and continewance of the frindes strangers in this realme, under the paine of deathe, specialie during the remayning aforesaid; certifying all suche as shall presume anny waies—neglecting this his highnes commaund—contemptuouslie to do in the contrarie it shalbe no other waies esteemed and punished nor willfull slaughter and as doune gainst his highnes owne persoun."

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

May 4. 398. PERSONS APPOINTED TO BE AT THE CORONATION OF THE SCOTTISH QUEEN.

"Duke of Lenox, Lord Hamilton, Marre, Marshall, Angusse, Morton, Montrosse, Crawford, Rothuss, Atholl, Murray, Bothwell."

"Busshop of Orkeney, Paisley, Landours, Cambuskeneth, Dryburgh, Melross, Bushop Dunkeld, Bushop of Brechen, Culrosse, Altree."

"Edenburgh, Dundee, Perthe, Montrose, Aberdene, Glasco, Aire, Dumfreis, Jedwourth, Couper, Carraill, Anstruther."

"The coronacion on Sondaie xvij° Maij."

1 *p. Indorsed.*

May 4. 399. NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN OF DENMARK IN SCOTLAND.

"Peter Monk, admirall, Stephen Brave, Brede Ranzon, the counsell; Nicholaus Theophalus *utriusque juris doctor.*"

"The gentlemen of Denmark."

"Owe Loung, Jerwein Brave, Hanniball Gudlingsterne, Heming Gor marshcall, Andreis Thot, Stephen Biter, Jacob Krabbe, Eric Caas, Cristern Frize, Cirsysest Tinshome, Bekis Linffinkit, Hemyng Renninclow, Pachin Webenn ane Briounswik gentilman."

"Gedeon admirall, Stephen Matzon lieutennent. Josaphad vice admirall, Henry Gudlensterns, Hans Concellour, lieutennent."

"*Raphaell:* Alexander Duram, Claus Bold, lieutennentes. *Gabriell:* Nelis Skink, Jacob Trugard. *The Dowe:* Hans Rostok, Owe Winshour. *The Blew Lyoun:* Kild Bauld. *The Little Sertoun:* Herwick Broun. *The Mowse:* Hans Symonsoun. *The Roiss:* Captein John Syde. *The Falcon of Birren:* Jerwein Mowst."

1 *p. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590.

May 4.

400. Mr Archibald Douglas to Burghley.

"I have understoode by report that Roger Wyndam who spoyled the Scottesmen marchandes of Edinburgh is after long delayes come to this town. His remayning absent so long tyme hath so wearied the saides marchandes that they earnestlie presse me to move your lordschip that the judges appoynted for hearing of their cause may be commanded to assemble themselves for tryall in this mater according to suche direction as hath byn heertofore given to Doctour Cæsar by direction frome the honorable counsayll."

"The judges now appoynted ar Doctors Herbert, Abra, Cæsar, and Maister Beall. I hartely pray your lordschip that the berar may have your lordschip's favorable letters to the saydes judges for this effect."

"I am also pressed by a Scottesman called George Padye to request that ordour may be taken anent wronges done to him, which I am driven to recommend to your lordschip's fatherly and accustomed care to the furtherance of justice. The particularities of his cause will appeare by divers supplications of late presented to her majestie and to her honourabill Counsayle." *Signed:* "Your lordschip's at all powar to be commandit, A. Douglas."

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 9.

401. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Albeit he has daily sought conference with the Chancellor, agreeable to the address given him by the King and certified to Burghley by his letter of the 4th instant, yet the said Chancellor has been so occupied with the affairs of the Queen, the Danes, and other matters as Bowes only spake with him yesterday. After long discourse of the ambassage to the King of Spain, and league to be made by her majesty, the Kings of France, Scotland, and Denmark, and sundry princes of Germany, they found such imperfections in the course intended as the Chancellor thought it expedient to advise further and to take the King's pleasure therein, that her majesty might be advertised with best certainty. The Chancellor rested to know the King's mind, and today has sent Carmichael to Bowes to confer further with him at court tomorrow afternoon. But Bowes thinks the meeting will be deferred till Monday, that the King may deliberate with others and afterwards give him order thereon.

Yesterday he (Bowes) recounted to the Chancellor the effects of the overture motioned to him by Colonel Stewart and renewed to her majesty by the Justice Clerk by the King's commission, with her answer. Bowes showed that albeit her majesty saw no warrant from the King to Colonel Stewart to deal therein, yet he was to signify her good liking of the motion, as proved by her letter sent to the King with Colonel Stewart.

Although her majesty had no disposition to stoop to the King of Spain—against whom God hath sufficiently armed her—yet for love of Christian peace she let the Justice Clerk understand that she liked the motion, wishing the King might know her mind therein. "And nevertheles she thought it not honorable for her ether to be seen to the world to send any especiall persons to procure the matter, or yet to prescribe to the King and other princes any particuler manner for the entree and progresse thereof." Howbeit a gentleman of credit acquainted with

James VI. 1590.

the princes in Germany was sent with the French King's ambassador to require succours for the French King against the invasion of the King of Spain, and to move those princes to form a league for defence of religion, " which might be solicited by some prince nere to Demnark ; and with the same this ouverture recited might well come in consideracion at the recepcion of the Duchesse of Brunswick into Brunswick about Trenitie Sondaie next."

Her majesty was ready—upon knowledge of the course to be taken by the Kings of Scotland and Denmark—to give her opinion in the approbation of the same ; " therefore she wished the King to use th'advise of his most wise counsellours, how he and the King of Denmark and the rest wold intymate to the King of Spain these motions, to forbeare th'invasion of this isle and come to condicions of peace."

The Chancellor in a long discourse showed Bowes that in the treaty of marriage betwixt the King of Scots and the King of Denmark's sister, the commissioners demanded what aid Denmark would give against invasion of any part of this isle, and it was answered " that for the defence of Christian religion and the contries in this isle the Danes wold take part against the invaders, and let 30,000 men die in their shooes in one daie in that quarrell."

The Chancellor being in Denmark, in conference with the Danish Chancellor, Ramelius, and others, laid before them the present preparations in Spain, the Catholic League, the danger to France, by the overthrow of which state the reformed religion every where and all the protestant princes in Germany should be endangered, with other perils to be foreseen by them, by the sovereigns of this isle and France and by the German princes ; urging a league between England, Scotland, Denmark, Brunswick, Saxony, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Hesse, and others, as motioned by Colonel Stewart.

The governors and councillors of Denmark, loth to entangle their King with wars in his tender age, asked what her majesty would do therein and feared to deal in matters of league and peace concerning her, " seing their successe before in like cases had not been prosperous." He answered that she had already signified her liking thereof by letter to the King his master, who would undertake that her majesty would proceed in the same. They wished she might be first in league with the French King, and after to join altogether in this confederation, thinking she should thereby be so straitly tied to the common cause as always to yield aid when needed.

The Chancellor said that her majesty was in firm amity with the French King, and had already required by Walsingham's letters that the French King might be comprehended in this league. He found them well inclined to this motion, but they urged that the embassy to Spain should be finished before the conclusion of the league for their common defences. Upon any refusal of peace by Spain he trusted they would readily agree to the league defensive. " And he so preswaded the Dukes of Brunswick, Miclebrughe, and Pomer as they francklie agreed to joyne with the rest."

The Chancellor told him (Bowes) that the Queen mother of Denmark, the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Pomerania would go with the Duchess of Brunswick at her reception into Brunswick about Trinity Sunday next, and the Duke of Saxony, Marquis of Brandenburg and Landgrave

James VI. 1590. of Hesse with other princes will be there, so that time and place shall suit to treat of these matters.

Thinks those princes will choose fit persons to be sent jointly from them all to the King of Spain to negotiate peace, and that upon his refusal, "which he and the counsellours of Denmark think he will not do," the league among the princes shall be made defensive and offensive; but he referred all such things to conference with the King, promising to give Bowes further knowledge by Carmichael on the morrow.

After he (Bowes) had reported the success of the Justice Clerk in his negotiations with her majesty, agreeable to Burghley's letters, the Chancellor seemed pleased with the same, saying that the King depending wholly on her favour, and standing presently in need thereof, would send some fit person to inform her of all particulars concerning this overture, to give thanks for her liberality, and to acquaint her with his present state.

Yesterday he (Bowes) received Burghley's last of the 3rd instant. He cannot proceed in the apprehension of the bishop of Derry till he know what the persons whom he sent into England have effected, or learn of the bishop's entry into Scotland, whereupon the Chancellor has promised he shall be taken.

"By th'occasion of the present absence of th'erle Bothwell passed over the water to give up his kyndenes with Fentrie, by the sharpe check that the King gave him upon suche accidentes as by my next shalbe signified to your lordship, I can do nothing with him."

"For the banishement of Penry and restitucion of the jewelles late in the handes of Thomas Fowler I shall upon my next accesse to the King travell to execute your lordship's directions given me." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

M[ay ?] 14. 402. SAFE-CONDUCT FOR THE EARL OF CRAWFORD AND LORD SANQUHAR.

Cott. Calig., D. I., fol. 300.

The Earl of Crawford and Lord Sanquhar having desired to pass through England with their company and horses brought out of Scotland into France and other foreign parts, the Wardens of the Marches and all other English subjects both by sea and land are commanded to assist them from place to place. Greenwich.

1 *p.*

May 16. 403. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By his last, of the 9th instant, he advertised Burghley of his conference with the Chancellor and his appointment to be at court the next day to know the King's full mind therein. Has since received four letters from Burghley, of the 5th, 7th, 10th, and 11th instant.

On his attendance at court on the 10th instant, he was referred to speak with the King on Tuesday the 12th, on which day the King—accompanied only by the Chancellor—by long discourse confirmed the Chancellor's report touching the league. Asked for the King's resolution in sundry articles he had put together for understanding the King's intention as to the execution of that league. The King said he would write to her

James VI. 1590. majesty in that and other matters, and that the Chancellor should deliver to Bowes in writing the note of his advice for the advancement of the league, praying Bowes to stay till he could get leisure for these things; which Bowes looked to have received within two days next following. Cannot as yet get the same, though he has laid before the Chancellor the greatness of the cause in hand and straitness of the time. It is answered that the King has been this week so occupied with the Queen's feoffment, and disposing of all things for the coronation, and so encumbered with accidents working changes in his orders and those of the Council "as he is muche disquieted in bodie and mynde, appearing in his face," and could not have time to perfect his letters to her majesty and give Bowes the notes requisite to be sent. All which are again promised. "But seinge that the coronacion shalbe solempnized tomorrowe at th'abbay at Holyroodehouse, and not in St. Gyles churche in Edenbrughe as was appointed, and that the Queen's entrie and reception into Edenbroughe shalbe on Tuesdaie next the 19th hereof in Edenbrughe, I do not therefore thinck that the King will take any tyme for the finishing of his letters and notes expressed before Wednesdaie next, about which tyme it is looked that the commissioners shall depart if the winde serve theim."

Upon receipt of Burghley's letters, told the King that her majesty was informed of his and his Queen's happy arrival at Leith, and how joyfully she accepted the same; for which he gave great thanks, promising to deserve her affection. Reminded the King of the false bruit spread in Denmark and Scotland that her majesty had sent ships of war to impeach him in his returne on the seas, praying that the author might be sought for and punished. He readily agreed that if it could be found that any Scottishman had raised this wicked slander on her majesty he would make an example of him. He protested that it was far from him to think that her majesty could be induced to offer any such hurt to him, acknowledged that some Scottishmen coming with the Justice Clerk had spread this rumour in Scotland, and other Scottishmen come into Denmark from London had done the like. He promises to examine thoroughly, and to acquaint Bowes with what is found out. Because the Justice Clerk was with the commissioners of Denmark, Bowes could not speak with him as directed, but will answer by the next, as they are now returned hither.

"It is conceived by the King, Chancelour, and others that this brute was raised by subtill practise devised and hatched in England to staie the expedicion of the Kinge's retorne into Scotland: for one Milner a Scotishman comminge to Elsinure from London gave it out for certaine that he sawe both her majeste's shipps readie for the east seas to mete with the King of Scottes; and also that Westminster Hall was prepared for him. And to confirme the matter it was perswaded that one Gray an Inglishman—sonne of Mr. Gray having charge in her Majestes shipps—lieng before Elsinure in marchantdize, was commed thither to espie and carie to her majeste's fleete the King's readines to imbark and purpose to make sale. Yet it was seen that Graie in the morning following kept his course for the Narve, so as Milner lost his creditt in that tale. By inquirie at London Milner's lodging, behaviour, and doinges may be happelie found out."

James VI. 1590. In conference with the King touching the negotiation of the Justice Clerk with her majesty, Bowes found that the King had been too much occupied as yet to hear about it; nevertheless he holdeth himself right well pleased. Bowes will entertain the Justice Clerk to his satisfaction, agreeable to Burghley's order. Hes told the King of Penry's being in this realm, and that by publishing books for the alteration of the government in England he is fallen within the case of treason, praying him in her majesty's name to banish Penry. The King is ready to satisfy her majesty herein, purposing to enquire of Penry's doings and to give order for her contentment. Moved the King for the apprehension of the bishop of Derry; the King and Chancellor acknowledged that he had been in this realm, and thought he was still here, being a person of wicked practices. Bowes told them he was not now in this realm, but would return hither shortly. The King agreed to apprehend him, and the Chancellor promised to see the execution thereof, trusting to get hold on him in the highlands. Such as Bowes sent to the bishopric of Durham to hunt him out are returned and cannot find him; "yet they have hard that one apparrelled as I have given note of him passed latelie over the bridge at Newcastle into the busshoprich, and I have some still attending in Northumberland to watch for his retorne that way."

"The Lord Bothwell hath delivered to the King the bondes made to Mr. Fowler for the monie owing to him by Thomas Fowlis and others in this towne; and the King calleth likewise for the jewelles in his handes; wherein the King will give me shortlie his answer and order."

The King continues his favour towards the Chancellor, purposing to advance him and Alexander Lindsay of his chamber to higher degree, and to bestow on him and his heirs part of the King's own possessions; the Chancellor stiffly refuses to take any of the King's heritage, seeing it is so greatly diminished.

Since the Chancellor's return many who were thought to be grieved with him have sought his favour, and many are reconciled with him. Bothwell yesternight entered into good terms with him. But they fall in sunder so often that it is doubted how long this kindness shall endure. Marishal is to be agreed with him, and the Master of Glamis is become very familiar.

Montrose and others are sent for and offer all good will. Huntly and Erroll have secretly some here for them to deal with the Chancellor if they find it convenient, but Bowes is informed that they intend his overthrow. The Chancellor offers his whole devotion to her majesty for the benefit of religion and of both sovereigns and their realms, promising faithful service without expectation of any benefit for himself, with all concurrency for the furtherance of all good causes.

"By th'occasion of some speache mirrilie uttered by the Duke of Lenox in the presence and hearing of Bothwell and touching Mr. Fowler, the King entred so sharpelie to chardge Bothwell as well with his hastie dealing in those causes of Mr. Fowler as also for the maintenaunce of Fentrie, sondrie murtherers, excommunicate and wicked parsons, as th'erle was muche greved therewith, thincking that the same proceded by the meanes of the Chancelour." Thereon he passed over the water to give up with Fentry, and soon after resorted to Kincarn, Montrose's

James VI. 1590. house; whereat the King was little pleased. At his return the other day to the King he told him that he had given up with Fentry agreeable to his pleasure, "and pretending that the King was purposed to committ him, he required to know where he should be warded."

The King told him in gentle sort that he had no suche purpose, and soon satisfied him: yet upon the King's direction that he should deliver to him Mr. Fowler's bonds and jewels he conceived new griefs, chiefly against the Chancellor; wherein his passion so far prevailed as he was purposed with other noblemen to leave the realm.

Had dealt with Richard Douglas to get a copy of Bothwell's letter to Parma for cutting off intelligence with him, that he might send it to Burghley to be forwarded, but Bothwell seemed for that present so stirred, and to think he was so evil thought of for his course with her majesty, that by advice of Richard Douglas Bowes referred the matter to his next conference with the earl, trusting soon to remove this heat from him. Now he is pacified, and at peace with the King and Chancellor, and Bowes purposes shortly to broach him for the copy and letters, and also for restitution of the jewels and bonds of Thomas Fowler.

The King bears great affection towards Bothwell, and upon his good carriage will advance him. He has promised the King to do in all things and embrace such persons as the King commands him; the King now looks for his steady performance, otherwise his favour towards him will be abated.

"The coronacion and th'entrie of the Queen were appointed to have been solempnized tomorrow in St. Giles churche in Edenbrughe. But bicause some of the ministers thought that the pagions and devises for th'entrie should partlie prophane the Saboth daie, therefore they perswaded that it might rather be on some other daie in the weke." Upon this motion, and also because all things were not ready, the King and Council took new order to solemnize the coronation tomorrow in the abbey church at Holyrood House, and the entry in Edinburgh on Tuesday next.

"The provost and burgesses of this towne of Edenbrughe found them selves greatlie disapointed and greved with this sodaine change, turning their offence to the Chancelour and the ministers here, and laboring to procure th'order for the coronacion at the abbay to be revoked. The matter for a while was something sharp and muche encombred the King and others, but it is now indifferentlie appeased, and yet not cleare quenched."

The King has drawn up articles to be resolved at the convention to begin in this town on Monday next. Encloses a copy.

"The senodall assemblie of the churche in this province have presented to the King sondrie peticions for th'establishment of the discipline of the churche, for th'appointment of convenient portions for the lyvinges of the ministers, for banishment of Jesuites, papistes, excommunicates, and their aiders and abbettours, and sondrie other like causes: in all which the King hath put theim in good comfort to be well satisfied, and agreed to commend the same to further consideracion."

The commissioners for Denmark have viewed this week Falkland, Dunfermline, and Linlithgow, appointed for the Queen's feoffment. They

James VI. 1590. think these possessions much under the value they looked for, and the houses in some decay. They press the feoffment to be as great as that of Margaret, wife of James IV., daughter of Henry VII. The King purposes to give them contentment so far as he can.

It is thought here that the confederates of the bridge of Dee—against whom the King went in person last year—keep the same course, attending some fit time to attempt the overthrow of the Chancellor, by whose defeat this court shall be altered. It is feared that many of the nobility have lately without just cause conceived such discontentment as they may be drawn to join the confederates, and that others will rather "stand at gaze" than aid to suppress any attempts.

The party formerly joined to maintain the common causes of religion, the estate of the King and realm, and amity with her majesty, is shaken in sunder by private quarrels, and by the readiness of sundry in court to advance their adversaries before the well effected.

For the remedy of all inconveniences likely to grow thereby, sundry peaceable persons are chosen to travail to remove all particulars among the well affected, and to knit them together in friendship. The King promises his aid, "and with assured constancie to run fourthe the course with them," for comfort of the good and chastisement of the evil; if he perform this the dangers threatened shall be prevented, otherwise this estate will not have long peace.

The Chancellor, Treasurer, Earl Marishal, and others to be reconciled have submitted themselves with solemn protestations to the order of the mediators. It is hereby hoped that the troubles likely to follow the departure of these strangers shall be quenched, and care will be taken for the same. Yet some of good experience are persuaded that this remedy shall not suffice to cure the disease in this state, whereof Bowes has given sufficient warning, which is lately proved by intelligence gained through Carmichael; this may so quicken the King and Chancellor that those inconveniences shall be avoided.

Dr. Theophilus and other Danes under the commissioners came this day to present to her majesty the good devotions of all the commissioners and themselves, and to visit Bowes. Tomorrow he will return their compliments. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—Desires news from France or elsewhere, as it helps him in her majesty's service.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 23. 404. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since his last has daily solicited the Chancellor for the King's resolution to be sent to her majesty "what course he wold take to sett forwardes the cause with the King and estate of Denmark and princes in Germanie touching th'ambassage to be sent by them for the treatie with the King of Spaine, and the league to be accorded upon the King's refusall of the condicions of peace."

The King was so occupied on Sunday last the 17th instant at the coronation of the Queen, and so grieved with pains and swelling in his hand the two days following, as he could not write. Therefore on Wednesday he gave order to receive of the Chancellor articles and notes

James VI. 1590. for her majesty's satisfaction, and Bowes looked for them every hour. But at length the King resolved to write to her majesty with his own hand, and has to-night sent his letter to be conveyed to her. By this letter enclosed he has partly signified his purpose, and Bowes has very earnestly travailed that he would more fully express the certainty of his intended course. Whereupon he will speedily send a special person to her with his whole mind on every article and to receive her advice in the same; and thereupon that person to address himself with all expedition to the princes to convene at Brunswick in the end of June, and there to do as by his instructions to be showed to her majesty, and as he shall be directed by her advice and order, "whereunto he will whollie referre the disposition of the cause."

The King intends to send an instrument into Denmark to be there before the departure of the Queen mother for Brunswick, to solicit the King and estates of Denmark to travail with the princes of Germany to advance this cause; and purposes to write to the Queen-mother, the Chancellor, and Ramelius to use their endeavours for the advancement thereof. This person employed into Denmark shall meet the other sent to her majesty, and proceed with the princes as shall be thought expedient and allowed by her. Colonel Stewart desires this journey into Denmark and the King is in mind to give it to him, yet he is not found meet for some respects, therefore it is wished that her majesty's pleasure might be known therein.

Ramelius is to attend the Queen into Brunswick, and the King has special affiance in his diligence in these affairs, but he should be quickened by a letter from the Queen or Burghley. Colonel Stewart reports that Ramelius has conceived some jealousy that his former labours in the treaty with the King of Spain were not well accepted, nor himself free from suspicion; yet he professes himself wholly devoted to her majesty and ready to do his uttermost for her contentment.

In Bowes's late conference with Bothwell, on his asking for the copies of his letters to be sent to Parma, Bothwell said that the King misliked that he should have any dealing in such matters, so now he may not send those letters or keep any intelligence with him or any foreign prince or person whatsoever, neither can he proceed further with her majesty in that behalf without the King's direction, resolving therefore to give up all his intelligence with Parma, and to depend upon the King's direction for his course with her majesty, to whom he professes great devotion.

Has delivered to the King sundry obligations appertaining to Thomas Fowler for payment of 300 *li.* The residue of the bonds and writings, and all the jewels, he will deliver to the King, who, he says, will take them to his own use. Bowes moved the King for delivery thereof to Fowler's son here present, "that suche jewelles as appertaine to the Ladie Arbell may be restored to her." But the King referred the matter to the Chancellor, who has hitherto given no full answer.

Yesterday Bothwell departed from the court pretending to ride to Fast Castle with Lord Hume to baptise the daughter of the Laird of Restalrig; and after to retire to his own house at Creichton.

"He appeareth to be muche discontented in that he was holden at the King's chamber doore twise or thrise when he sought to have entred." He has heard that the King has been partly persuaded by the Master

James VI. 1590. of Glamis "to putt at him and others for the late rode of brig of Dee." The King intended to pardon all, especially Bothwell, but is now otherwise persuaded.

Bothwell is much grieved with Glamis, charging him that he first drew him and other noblemen into that action of brig of Dee, and suffered him to fall into the hands of Huntly, Erroll, and the rest, "thincking that the successe in that rode should have been to their contentmentes." Bothwell offers to prove this either by testimony of two witnesses or by single combat.

Bothwell has several times reconciled himself to the Chancellor; and on Tuesday the 21st instant he and Montrose were so reconciled to the Chancellor as it is now looked that they shall remain in friendship, and Montrose is become pledge for Bothwell, who has opened to the King many practices touching noblemen and others; "chefelie that Huntley by his letter had latelie sought to stirre Montrosse to joyne with others against the Chancelour."

Openly Bothwell pretends to retire from court, and that his friendship with the Chancellor is shaken, but he will return and run his course with the Chancellor. He has sought leave of the King to travel abroad, but it is neither granted nor liked of.

The Master of Elphinstone has presented to the King Huntly's letter declaring his good behaviour in the King's absence, hereafter to be continued, and desiring to kiss the King's hands. "He taketh knowledg that the King had entred into Dunfermling which before he had given him with his wife in part of her advancement. And therefore he praied that this promocion might be taken from her with his honour, and not by force"; yielding himself therein to the King's pleasure.

The King answered that Huntly's letters "were ever coted or full of impostomes"; while he was in his practice of the bridge of Dee he wrote most humbly to the King and yet proceeded therein; so now having lately by letter stirred some noblemen to new practices, he sends to the King these fair offers by the Master, whom the King sharply checked for his boldness to deal therein. The Master denied that Huntly had written any such letter, or practised anything to the King's displeasure in his absence, protesting that if he had he would never trust and travail for him. The King had been informed by Bothwell that Huntly's letter was to Montrose, and requires the letter to be produced. It is thought he has other intelligence of Huntly's doings through Huntly's secret friends; but in the end he will probably receive Huntly to favour.

The King had given the castle of Spina to Alexander Lindsay, and process is awarded and sent to Huntly to deliver possession, which grieves him; he seeks Lindsay's favour, being in the King's chamber and in special favour with him. It is said that Lindsay shall sell his interest to Huntly.

Since the King's return to Holyrood House his chamber is kept more private than before. Lord John Hamilton knocking at the King's door was answered by Mr. Sandilands that the King was quiet. Hamilton—not pleased—willed him to tell the King that he sent for him and he was ready to serve him, trusting that he and other noblemen should have access to him freely as they were wont to have "adding that this newe order wold offend all men and might not be used"; and departed,

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minding to pass out of town; nevertheless upon better advice he stayed. The King, much grieved, has commanded the doors to be kept close, suffering none to have access to his chamber without his pleasure. Lord Hamilton has been with him and with humility satisfied the King, "who saith that it doth not become the Master—meaning the heire apparant—to be angrie with th'old lorde." This novelty and bar of free access to the privy chamber discontents some, and also serves many for their private courses to draw others to greater discontent than the matter deserves.

"In the reconciliacion betwixt the Chancelour and th'erle Marshall it is sought that the Chancelour should be meanes that Sir William Keith should ether be restored to the Kinges favour and suche place as the King pleased to bestow on him, or els that he might have his triall in all thinges to be objected against him." Whereupon Marishal and all his friends will promise their full kindness to the Chancellor. Otherwise, at the King's command, Marishal would shake hands and drink with the Chancellor; but except the latter should show some kindness the ground of this displeasure will not be taken away. This agreement has been shaken by late accident, that Robert Bruce travailing with Marishal to compound all things betwixt the Chancellor and him, returned to the Chancellor to acquaint him with his success; whereupon the Chancellor told the King that Marishal sought his friendship, which coming to Marishal's ear hath much grieved him.

Upon quarrel fallen out betwixt Hume and Fleming, they were agreed by mediators, but are again in displeasure. These reconciliations "wrapped upp to please the King" are not so fast sewed but that the threads readily break upon new offences. The Justice Clerk is ready to search for the author of the wicked bruit that her majesty had sent ships to impeach the King's return. He heard part of that rumour in London. He had in his company four gentlemen and two servants; he offers to deliver to her majesty any that shall be found guilty of raising this bruit; acquitting them to his knowledge.

The commissioners for Denmark purpose to depart with the next wind. They have desired Bowes to recommend their devotion to her majesty.

The coronation was solemnized at Holyrood House the 17th instant. The signification of the anointing and other ceremonies was explained, to let the people know that their use was civil and not ecclesiastical. That day the Chancellor was created Lord of Creighton, and fifteen persons named in the enclosed schedule were knighted. On the Tuesday following the Queen made her entry into Edinburgh. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

"The names of the gentlemen knighted at the coronation of the Queen of Scottes, the 17th of May, 1590."

"Drumlangrig	Sir James Douglas.
Jonston	Sir James Jonston.
Cesford	Sir Robert Kar.

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Bawcleughe	Sir Walter Scott.
Garleis	Sir Alexander Stewart.
Young Loughenvarne	Sir Robert Gordon.
James Melvill of Halthill	Sir James Melvill.
Ormeston	Sir John Cockburne.
Ballwerg	Sir James Scott.
Laweris	Sir John Campbell.
Glenurquhy	Sir Duncane Campbell.
Master of Glames	Sir Thomas Lyon.
Carmighell	Sir John Carmighell.
Constable of Dunde	Sir James Skrymgeour.
Tutour of Cassellis	Sir Thomas Kennedy."

" Sir John Mateland Lord Chancelour was created Lord Crighton."

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 23. 405. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that great labour is taken to compound the griefs among the nobility and towards the Chancellor, wherein sundry reconciliations are made, as appears by his (Bowes') other letter, yet this day some chief instruments about sundry noblemen—seeing the general discontent—are purposed to draw many noblemen and others into a strong party to provide that the King may govern with his nobility in wonted manner, and not by private persons hated, nor by order of Denmark, against the ancient rights and privileges of the nobility.

This party is meant to be gathered of noblemen and others "associated at the rode of Sterling" who are now endeavouring to maintain religion and the good estate of the King and commonwealth, with the amity of her majesty, and also sundry of the confederates of the bridge of Dee, who are thought still to seek the alteration of religion and the state. It is pretended that this plot is too strong to be defeated, but the Chancellor and others purpose so to encounter it as it shall not work any great troubles.

The King, purposing to establish his government for the public wealth and his own profit, thinking that some of the confederates of the bridge of Dee shall conspire again to hinder him, intended to commit Huntly Erroll, Bothwell, and Montrose to ward, or have such surety of their behaviour as to be out of peril of their troubles, and was to carry out this intention soon after the departure of these strangers, for during their abode he will not "hasard any troublesome stirres in this realme." But now hears the King will not so proceed, "but rather seeke to kepe two faccions, or els by faire meanes to unite all togither; nevertheles he had promised in Denmark and sence his retorne so to deale with the confederates of the brigg of Dee as he should breake that plot and associacion, wherein manie well affected will put him in memorie to execute his promis."

"The Justice Clark hathe acknowledged to me that he was sufficientlie contented in all his negotiacions with her majestie, saving onelie in the Kinges request for the monie desiered, wherein he seemeth that her majestie by her answere to him bothe doubted of the certaintie of the somme accorded to be given to the King, and also that the payment

James VI. 1590. ought not to be made whilst he shewed him self discontented with her majestie for his mother's death and during the tyme of his absence in Denmark: so as the matter was left without parfect answere or certayntie."

"The Chancelour moreover told me that her majestie said to Justice Clark that she sawe no cause to give the King that monie, adding that the yerelie payment to him was not above 4,000*li.* These thinges are reported to the King by Justice Clark, wherewith he is something moved, wishing—as Justice Clark told me—that he might perfectlie knowe her majesties will and pleasure in the same." Bowes has rather fled the matter, seeking only to hold the King in kindness with her majesty.

This state and the great personages therein are so subject to daily and strange alterations that he is troubled how to write, being often advertised of new changes even while writing, so that until the state settle he can give little certainty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 28. 406. SUMMONS ISSUED AGAINST THE EARL OF HUNTLY AND OTHERS.

See *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 484.

"Forasmickle as be act of perliament halden at Edenbrugh in the month of Julie 1587 it was statute and ordayned that whatsoever professed and avowed Jesuites or seminary preistes should be found in any part of this realme within the space of one monthe after the publicacion of the said act they should be taken, apprehended, called, pursuit, and incurre the paine of deathe and confiscacion of all their gudes moveable, and whoever willinglie and wittinglie should ressett or supplie any of them thereefter by the space of three daies and three nightes together or severallie at three tymes upon certain knowledge that they are of that profession and beis lawfullie and orderlie convict of the same should incurre the tynsell of their life rentes as in the said act at mair length is conteinit: notwithstanding it is perfectlie understand to his majestie that Mr. James Gorden father brother to George Earle of Huntlaie ane avowed Jesuit hath continewally sence the makeing of the said act remanit within this realme occupied by publick and privie reasoning in alluring and perswading of his highenes good subjectes to decline from the true religion presentlie professed within this realme, like as he at all tymes hes bein and presentlie is resett and supplect by the said George Earle of Huntley [ ] Earle of Sutherland, Sir Patrick Gordoun of Auchendoun, knight, and others their freindes and dependers within their dwelling places and houses and upon their landes, rowmes and possessions be their knowledg, allowance and tollerance be the space of three daies and three nightes togither and after, upon certaine knowledge of that he was a parson of the profession foresaid, expresse against the tenour of the said act of perliament, and in hie and manifest contemption of his highnees his authoritie and lawes. And therefore his majestie, with advise of the lordis of his secrett counsell, ordaines letters to be direct, chargeing the said Mr. James Gordoun to compere personallie, and also the said Earles of Huntley, Sutherland, and the said Mr. Patrick Gordoun, to enter and present him personallie before his majestie and lordes forsaides at Holyroodehouse, or where it sall happen

James VI. 1590. them to be for the tyme upon the 20th daie of June next to come, confirme to the said act and under the paines conteined therein, and forder under the paine of rebellion &c.; with certificacion to theim and they faile they shalbe denounced rebelles &c.; and with certificacion also that they shalbe decernit to incurre the tynsell of their life rentes; and letters shalbe directed for uptaking thereof to his majesties use in forme as efferis, conforme to the tenour of the said act, laweis of this realme, and justice."

¾ *p. Copy.*

May 29. 407. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Asking for a passport for Joachim de Veltheim, servant to the Duke of Brunswick, and sent hither by the Duke from Denmark, that he may return through England to Brunswick. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 30. 408. BURGHLEY TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Wednesday 27th instant he received Bowes' letters of the 23rd, being two of the same date: "and in them a letter to hir majestie from the King of Scottes superscribed in Frenche and inwardlie in Englishe." In answer to those written to himself, wherewith he has acquainted the Queen, he perceives Bowes has "been diligent in soliciting the Lord Chancellour to gett the King's resolucion to be sent to hir majestie for the matter to be delt in with the King of Spaigne for peace, and also for a league uppon refusall of the peace. And notwithstanding your solicitacion and lack of awnsweare from the Chancellour, the King hath written his owne letter to hir majestie, whearein thowgh he doth in sum perticuler sort showe his meaning, yet in vearie deade, he dothe by the same his letter signifie to hir majestie that he hath very perticulerly delivered unto yowe his whole purpose and intent, soe as hir majesty did by reason of his letter conceive to find in your letters a perfect and perticuler direccion of his whole meaninge and purpose. And yet by your letter it is written that the King will send a speciall person to hir majestye with his whole minde in everie article and circumstance, and by him to receive hir majesties pleisure in the same: and theareuppon the said person shall addresse himself to the princes of Germanie in the ende of June next, accordinge to such instruccions as he shall showe to hir majesty, and agreable with hir majesties order. Besides this yowe write that the King intendes to send an other into Denmarke from thence, to be theare before the Queen of Denmarkes departure to Brunswick. And finally yowe write that Collonell Steward desireth to be used in that journeye, althowgh he be not thowght fitt for the same. Nowe what hir majesties opinion is uppon thes pointes yowe shall understand."

"Hir majestie findeth noe such perticularitie in the Kings letter as yowe did suppose, but she wissheth that sume speed weare used for the comminge of him whome the King mindeth to send hither, for otherwaies yt will be herd fer him that shall comme hither, which will aske sume time, and to goe into Germanie, to be theare by the ende of June as yowe

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doe write; althowgh hearetofore yt was written that the meatinge at Brunswick for the mariage showld be on Trinity Sondaye, which will be as wee accompt the 14th of June: and if the mariage and convencion be soe soone it will be impossible for the Kings minister first to comme hither and from hence to goe thither, to be theare before that daie: of which matter yowe maie doe well to make the Lord Chancellour theare acquainted, that the King may consider for the hastening of the partie to the purpose intended."

"Yowe shall inwardlie deale with the Lord Chancellour, in whome hir majestie hath greatest confidence, for direct dealing betwixt hir majestie and the King; that this matter maie be soe used to the sight of the worlde that in noe wise hir majestie maie be thowght to seeke peace at the King of Spaignes handes, althowgh as a Christian prince she wissheth peace as the blessing of God, and abhorreth warre: but soe yt hath pleased God to blesse hir estate, as she findeth hir realme not wearie of the charges for defence of Godes cawse, hir self and hir realme. And in trewthe she understandeth howe wearie the King of Spaigne and his whole nacion is of the losses theie doe dailie susteine by hir majesties power uppon the seas. And for this purpose yowe shall move the Lord Chancellour to gouverne the honnourable intencion of the King his master, that the world maie see this purpose of moving the King of Spaigne to peace commeth of his owne naturall princelie disposicion, and of other the princes his confederates. And hir majestie dowbteth not but the Lord Chancellours wisedome will soe use this matter as hir majesties honnour maie be saved in not seeking the peace, and the Kings honnour advaunced in the seeking of yt."

Bowes writes that the concords and discords amongst the lords there changed so often that before he can end a letter his later advertisements must differ from the first: her majesty was pleased to see his right judgment of that country's action. He is to endeavour with the Chancellor or other confident counsellors to provoke the King to suppress the offenders at the Brig of Dee; "and to that ende to procure the noblemen that tooke the Kinges part in that action to further and cumfort the King to overthrowe the said northerne faction: which surelie hir majestie thinketh if the King will constantlie attempt, yt will make him to be the better obeied whilest he reigneth; and thearein *faties* [*sic*] *hominis* is *faties leonis*."

"Hir majestie alloweth the King in makinge his chamber more privatt," but would wish him not to seek reformation suddenly or violently, but to follow her example: sometimes she suffers much liberty for noblemen and others to keep her company, at other times she permits neither noble person nor other to come into her privy chamber, "if theie be not sworne to attendance, or be not of her privie counsell: and by that meanes the greatest persons doe knowe that theie owght not to cume thither withowt license."

Encloses the Queen of England's answer to the King's letter: she wills it to go by post, and not await the Earl of Worcester, who departs hence in two or three days. "Hir majesty would have yowe to deale ernestlie with the Justice Clarke to bolt owt the lewde awthours of the shamefull lie, that hir majestie showld have prepared shippes to have intercepted the King of Scottes; for she is desirous that the King might perceive

James VI. 1590. howe much yt dothe offend hir for soe unnaturall a repourt of a deare sister to a most lovinge brother." He (Bowes) is to find out about Fowler, as to the jewels of the Lady Arbella, and his own goods, for the relief of his wife, who complains that she is left in hard estate by him, and asks Burghley to write about it.

2⅔ *pp.* *Indorsed :* "M. of a letter to Mr. Robert Bowes."

Enclosure with the same :

(Elizabeth to James VI.).

"My conceyte I perceave, my deere brother, hath no whit swarvid from your good intent. For now I well see Coronels Steward's negociation was not framid of his owne brayne, but proceedid from your ernest affection to so laudable a cause ; and by your last letters I finde your ernest motion made to the twoo dukes, togither with their good and loving consent. All this mooves me to finde you a redevable prince to a carefull frend, and doo prayse my judgement to have chosen so gratefull a king on whom to spend so many carefull thoughts as since your peregrination I have felt for your suerty and your landes welth : and as my thanks are manifolde, so shall the memoriall byde perpetuall. And for the action, at the arrivall of such a one as you are sending me, I will at large imparte plainly my resolution therin, and count it not your leste regarde of me that you be heedefull to deale no other wayes than as may best content me ; and doo assure you that as I will never my self enter into it the first, yet I will aske nothing that shall not fitt a king to demaunde, nor pleade more innocency in all the cause than my guiltles conscience well shewed by my actions shall ever testify. And so may you be assured to gett most honor, and never blot your fame with dealing in an action where so greate injury shall appere and no just cause to inforce it."

"That I perceave the gouvernors of Denmark like well that other princes of Germany shuld send their good consent with joyning their message, I must needes say the more the better that desyre such thing as is best for all Christendom. Although I had thought that you with the King of Denmark would have sufficed, yet if the rest doo make the knott the greater, I must think my bond to them the more, and trust the pact will be the surer. In the choyce of such as you minde to send, I hope you will cheefely regarde that he be none such as whose owne cause or affection to the adverse parte may breede a doubte of perfourmance of the sender's will, but be chosen evin such a one as whose honest and wise indevour may much advaunce the end of so good a begynning. My good brother, I write this the playner that you might cleerly see what one I wish, and that may suffise for all. And for that the tyme requirith speede, I doubte not but you will use it."

1 *p.* *Indorsed :* "29° May, 1590. Copy of her majestes letter written with her own hand to the King of Scottes, sent to Mr. Bowes."

May 31. 409. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since his last letter the King told him "that he was so occupied with the dispatche of the Commissioners for Denmarke, and with the dailie

James VI. 1590. —or rather nightlie—entertaynement of them, as he had not leasure to rest three houres in his bed, or deliberate of any other affaires, promising me upon their departure to enter into consideracion of the choise of the ministers to be imploied and sent to th'assemblie of the princes at Brunswick, and to informe her majestie of his intencion and course in that cause." It has been doubted whether her majesty could allow that Colonel Stewart should be used in this negotiation, and some well affected have advised to commit this charge to a person "void of any crack" in former behaviour or suspicion in dealing with this matter, and also of greater experience in Latin and the penning of treaties. About this choice longer time than needed has been expended; Bowes has called daily for resolution thereof, and expedition of the persons to be employed.

The King has to-day made choice of Colonel Stewart and John Skene for this journey, "shewing me that the Colonell had travailed in the matter before, whereupon he had promised to use his further labours in the pursute of the same. And knowing Mr. John Skene to be religious, learned, and honest, having the Dutche and Latine tonges, with great acquaintance with sondrie princes in Germanie, and the chefe lerned men about the princes there, therefore he thought it mete to joyne him with the Colonell, trusting the same should well content her majestie, chefelie upon her majesties knowledge of the sufficientcie and good affection of Mr. Skene."

Those who impugned the employment of the Colonel, and all others, approve of the choice of Skene. The two shall be sent to her majesty before Thursday next, and will show her their commission and instructions, to be altered as she shall direct. Want of money to furnish these commissioners has troubled the King and hindered their despatch. Probably the King will seek to borrow of her majesty for them.

The King has reserved a barque to carry his letters to the Chancellor of Denmark and Ramelius for this cause, rather than send them by the commissioners of Denmark, who are little acquainted with this matter. The barque is ready, and will sail when the wind serves.

The King intends to send to her majesty in his own affairs Sir John Carmichael, captain of his guard, before the 8th of June. He shall renew some of the requests lately presented to her majesty by the Justice Clerk, chiefly for the money; for without her help he cannot compass the intended reformation in his realm. Lack of money compels him to discharge his guard of horse and foot, much against the advice of the best affected, that wished this guard to be kept till after the next convention ended and the Papists taken and committed as is purposed, for the King cannot carry out this reformation without great dangers, and these perils by want of force to suppress the seditious will be found the greater.

On Sunday the 24th instant, upon the end of the sermon in St. Giles's, "the King did publicklie bothe give thanckes to the provost, burgesses, ministers, and people of this towne for their great love shewed by their praiers and fasting for him in his absence, and for their great charges susteined at th'entrie of the Queen, and by th'entertaynement of the strangers commed with him out of Denmark; and also promised to requite their goodwills with all kyndenes; signifieing that according to the present advise given him by the preacher out of the word of God, and, upon th'occasions offered to him, he wold reforme th'abuses in his realme

James VI. 1590. to the comfort and benefitt of his good subjectes, and for the chastisement of the disobedient."

On the Tuesday evening following the commissioners of Denmark embarked at Leith, and on Wednesday afternoon sailed for Denmark. The King bestowed 4500 crowns in chains and other gifts upon them, and refreshed their ships with victuals, wines, and other necessaries to his great charge.

Before their departure on Wednesday last the King and Queen rode on hunting, in view of the commissioners then being at their anchors. But the King being determined to prosecute all persons attainted of murder, and hearing that the Laird of Niddery—one familiar with Bothwell—was near, withdrew secretly to have taken him; but he was departed, so the King dissembled his riding thither, keeping the matter secret for better opportunity.

The King, according to his public promise, is resolved to reform his house, Council, and sessions, and to banish all Jesuits and Papists; also to resume into his hands sundry of his own possessions now in the holding of others, and "to advance his revenewes with some porcions of ecclesiasticall lyvinges, and to draw to due obedience all parsons attainted, at horne, excommunicate, or otherwise disobedient;" in which he will find no little difficulty, for many will seek to defeat his course, and sundry of the sessions will stand in law to hold their places when ordered to avoid them.

"The chefe officers of Counsell in the Kinges house, and some other especiall counsellours, entred on Fridaie to reforme his house, dischardging at the first all his servauntes therein: and after the remove of the suspected, unfitt, and superfluous nomber, they received and placed againe suche as were found meete and necessarie, but in farre lesse nomber then had been used, appointing his chamber to be served with four gentlemen in ordinarie and two verlettes, which before had nere twentie gentlemen and others attending therein, and placeing onelie two masters of houshold, two cuppers, karvers, stablers, &c. in other severall offices, which before were occupied by manie more. It is thought that Sir William Keith shall recover the Kinges favour, and in tyme obtaine his place in the Kinges chamber."

The reformation of the Council, sessions, and inferior courts is referred to the convention to assemble on June 10th. Missives are sent to call the same lords that were called to the coronation, and the Earl of Erroll is sent for. This assembly of the nobility is called that they may be privy to the King's proceedings for change in his Council and sessions, and give their consent, so as the burden may not be laid on one man's shoulder, as hitherto on the Chancellor's. All Papists and suspected persons in Council or sessions shall be displaced, wherein Sir John Seaton, the prior of Pluscarden, Mr. John Graham, and others shall be removed.

"Th'erles of Huntlaie and Sutherland and Sir Patrick Gordoun lard of Auchendowne—being chargit to have ressett and intertayned Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit—are commanded by letters to bring hither the xxth daie of June next Mr. James Gordoun to answere to suche offences as shalbe objected against him, and as by the copie of that chardge hereinclosed your lordship may more plainelie understand."

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"The Lard of Auchendowne should have been also chardged to have brought in the band of the brig of Dee," but it was doubted whether he would present himself on that charge, therefore he is called upon smaller causes: whereupon he shall be driven to produce that band of the brig of Dee, for the King is purposed—or at least pretendeth in Council—to call that action, with other late practices, into examination, and to take such order with the chief parties as to break that association and prevent such-like attempts; and in due time he will make a journey into the north for the execution hereof. The like processes are to be sent for the apprehension of other notorious Papists.

Bothwell departed from court without taking leave of the King, and has sent for his stuff in his house here, purposing to remain in the country at his own houses. The King is displeased, and motion has been made for his warding, "but his good behaviour and the Kinges love continewing yett towardes him may staie the progresse thereof." He continues on good terms with the Chancellor, to whom he offered his son and all friendship. But if he shall not reconcile himself to the King his case will be the more dangerous. He has agreed with Alexander Hume of Maunderston for the slaughter of Davie Hume and for the priory of Coldingham. Lord Hume is in nearly the same condition as Bothwell, but before leaving town he offered to Mr. Robert Bruce to subscribe to the religion, with promises to amend his course.

After the King shall have established his house, Council, and sessions as is to be resolved at the convention, he will attempt to reduce the Isles to obedience, thinking thereby to increase his yearly revenue more than 4,000 *l.* sterling, and to draw the rude people to civil order.

The manner of the coronation, set forth by Mr. James Carmichael, minister at Haddington, is enclosed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 31. 410. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"Where by myne other with these I have certified the Kinges intencion to reforme and establish his secrett Counsell with th'advise of the next convencion, assembling here the xth of June next, it is offered to me by the Lord Chancelour that suche religious and fitt persons as her majestie liketh to place therein shalbe planted in the same."

In conference with the King he (Bowes) found him—owing to the Justice Clerk's report—in some doubt of her majesty's mind to continue the payment of the money he thought was to be yearly bstowed on him by his league with her, and of the certainty of the sums to be paid. He is perplexed, chiefly in the care he hath to keep himself in her good opinion, "affirming that albeit this league is not consummate by othe as it ought to be, and as he is and hath been readie to accomplishe, yet he hathe both faithfullie performed his covenaunts accorded therein, refusing all other princes and moyens whatsoever, and will constantlie runn his course with her majestie, and with her advise and best contentment." His present condition pressing him to crave relief of her majesty, and to know her intention as to the continuance of this payment, he purposes to solicit her, and to seek Burghley's help and that of others,

James VI. 1590. protesting upon experience of the continuance of her favour towards him to be ready to be employed for her surety and contentment to the utmost of his power. Some about him, seeking to estrange his mind from her majesty, "have urged this matter to be stomaked," and the Garter refused, but his answer so sharply pricked that councillor as he will not again attempt that advice.

It is reported here that the King is chosen Knight of the Garter, and that the Earl of Worcester with sundry noblemen shall be sent to him; who being in readiness were suddenly stayed, so as it is now doubted whether they shall come or not, and jealousies have arisen, fostered by advertisements from unknown persons in England.

Mr. James Murray—one especially devoted and well known to her majesty—is suitor to the King to be restored to his office in the wardrobe, taken from him, as he saith, by courtiers hating him for her majesty's sake. He prays her to give order to the Earl of Worcester to move the King in her name for his restitution to that office, which, having long experience, he used to the great profit of the King. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May. 411. "HEADS" FOR THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

"Provision of defence, in case of forraine invasion ether by sea or land, and to consider the present estate of our strengthe and munitions therein."

"Treating for making and preservacion of forraine amitie, and eschewing of the occasions of the breake thereof, and dealing for forraine intelligence."

"The occasions of the greiffis of the nobilitie and people, as well against us as the governement of our present resident counsellours, and the likeliest meanes to remove the same and to avoide the imminent inconveniencis."

"To travell for intelligence of the true estate of our Realme in all quarters and contries, of the ettling and disposition of our nobilitie and others of any powre or creditt, and who are affected to the true religion, or otherwise caried awaie by the perswasion of the Jesuitis and papistis, and of the best remedies to eschew the apparant dangers by diversitie of religions and faccions, and how quarillis and feades may be pacified."

"To consider the true cause why the rentis of our Crowne are so farre decaied in quantaty and become of so little valour."

"How the Actes of our last Parliament may be sichtd and published and put in execution."

"To declare what properlie belonges to every office of our estate, and that they may have our direction to attend thereupon, whereby we may knowe whome to blame in case of negligence."

⅔ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

[May]. 412. ELIZABETH TO QUEEN ANNE.

The goodness of our Lord having been so manifested toward you that after many misfortunes you have escaped the mercy of the waves, and it has pleased him at length to bring you safe and sound to the realm

James VI. 1590. of the King your spouse, the news whereof has been very acceptable to us, on the one hand by reason of the trouble we were in on account of the doubtful hazard of the sea and on the other by our great desire to hear of your arrival in safety; for which we render infinite thanks to his divine goodness. Also we would not fail to give you a friendly token thereof by our own letters, and by the same means to let you know how infinitely we rejoice at this nuptial union between the King our good brother and you, deeming his happiness so much the greater that he has chosen a princess, the daughter of a prince to whom during his life—the King your late father—we bore all friendship and honour, as well for the merits of the truly kingly virtues with which he was endowed as much as or more than any other prince in the world, as for the singular sincere affection which he bore to us in particular, which will serve as a spur to us to continue our friendship and affection, as hereditary, towards his daughter, as to a princess who may expect all good and honourable effects and offices on our part, assuring ourselves of reciprocity on yours. And thus, referring ourselves to that which our cousin the Earl of Worcester will say to you more fully, we beseech the good God, *etc.*

1 *p. French. Draft. Indorsed.*

June 3. 413. [WILLIAM ASHEBY] TO [ALEXANDER HAY].

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 270. Your letter of the 10th of February came to my hands the 15th of May, which made me think my letters had miscarried, being sent hence in January upon my arrival in this court, and that and other occasions which this bearer shall impart caused me to delay writing. He will acquaint you of his suit and what has stayed it. He is bound to you for your care to do him that pleasure that hardly otherwise would be obtained. I would I had occasion to show how much I account myself beholden to your honour; you may command me for yourself and your friends. I pray you continue your courteous correspondence "to the service of both our soveraignes."

1¼ *p. Draft in Asheby's hand.*

June 4. 414. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received yesterday Burghley's letter of May 20th, with her majesty's to the King. He immediately acquainted the Chancellor with parts thereof, as directed, and prayed access to the King, which was appointed for this day.

Because the King had signified to her majesty that he had delivered to Bowes his intent in the matter to be moved to the King of Spain for peace, therefore Bowes recounted to the Chancellor all things which the King and the said Chancellor had delivered to him in this behalf, and how earnestly Bowes had pressed him to move the King to advertise her majesty particularly as to his course therein; reminding him that he and the King had left the advertisement thereof to the King's letter, and to the report of the messenger going to her majesty on his way to Brunswick. The Chancellor acknowledged the truth of all this.

Finding the Chancellor occupied with the draft of the instructions for Colonel Stewart and John Skene, Bowes entreated him in the Queen's

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name to use expedition therein, and in the dispatch of the ministers to the assembly of the princes at Brunswick, and also so to dispose the course "as it might be manyfest to the world that her majestie had not sought or procured this mocion to be made to the King of Spaine for peace, but that the same proceded whollie from the King and th'other princes confederate with him." Having previously dealt with the Chancellor on this behalf, Bowes found him ready to accomplish his request therein.

"Further, I travailed with him to perswaid the King to suppresse th'associates of the rode of the brigg of Dee, laieng before him the great benefittes to the King and the suertie to himself that should come by the due chastisement of that faccion; wherein he appeareth to be well mynded."

Lastly, showed him how confidently her majesty trusted in his sincere dealing betwixt her and the King, "concluding with request to kithe the same" in the good ordering of present affairs. Wherein he promised to endeavour to advance all things to her contentment, and advised Bowes to deal inwardly with the King for the same.

"This daie I delivered her majesties letter to the King, and accompanied the same with significacion of her kynd affection towardes him, and how well it pleaseth her majestie to behould as well his princely and thanckfull behaviour towardes her self, as also his honorable care and regard for th'advancement of this cause, for the glorie of God and his churche, and the common benefitt of all princes and realmes in Europe. In which respect albeit her majestie nedeth not and will not seeke peace, yet she will not willfullie intertaine a warre encombring so greatlie all staites, and she will nether demaund anything unjust, nor yet denie any mocion equall; so as his labours herein are like to be crowned with great honour." Moved him to hasten the matter, which had suffered such delay as time scarcely served to execute all things; and pressed him to have special regard to the choice of the person employed in this negociation, that it might answer her majesty's expectation appearing in her letter to him. Bowes pointed out sundry causes of suspicion in Colonel Stewart, "chefelie his former defection from the lords well affected, and his late intelligence with Colonell Simple in the Spanish course." Her majesty had plainly told the Justice Clerk that the King might trust the Colonel in this action but she would not.

The King was much pleased with her majesty's letter, yielding hearty thanks and promising to be found thankful for all her benefits. "Secondlie, he agreed to sett forward to-morrow the parsons imploied in this cause, trusting that this night their commission and instructions shalbe readie." But he (Bowes) hears from the Chancellor that they cannot be dispatched so soon, but that all three ambassadors shall start on Saturday or Monday next.

"Thirdlie, touching his choise of Colonell Stewart, he shewed me that bicause the Colonell had greatlie traveyled in this cause, and was well acquainted both with the matter and also the parties that must be used in the furtherance thereof, therefore he appointed him to negociate the cause, and had made his mynd and doinges therein knowne in Denmark, and to the Colonell, who had furnished and prepaired himself for it. That he had latelie imparted to the Colonell his wholl mynde and full effectes of th'instructions to be given herein."

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With some excuse of the Colonel's former defections, he promised so to deal with him as he should faithfully accomplish the charge, adding that he was accompanied by a wise and honest associate, who would look so deeply into his doings as the Colonel's misbehaviour would only work his own overthrow and not defeat the cause. Therefore he resolved to send him and John Skene with all possible speed. All which Bowes showed to the Chancellor, who promises to take order with John Skene to be watchful. The commission and instructions are not yet ready, and there is want of money to furnish them. This place and time, after so large expenses about the Denmarkers, do not well serve to remedy this disease, the cure whereof will be sought at her majesty's hands.

Has dealt with the King and Chancellor, that upon the resolution of the King and princes assembling at Brunswick to send an ambassage to the King of Spain to treat for peace, they should likewise send fit persons to her majesty to seek to persuade the same at her hands, and that the French King may also be comprehended in the motion for peace. He has also, as of himself, made suggestions for the draft of the instructions, "letting them knowe that her majestie may nether seeke or procure this mocion, nor yet advise the course thereof," but on understanding the King's mind she will deal plainly with them at their coming.

Redoubled his labours with the King to move him to suppress the band of the Brig of Dee. The King promised so to proceed as that band and association shall be broken, and the parties brought either to obedience, or to such places as they shall have no power to disquiet him or this realm. He said he had commanded the Laird of Auchendown, by special messenger, to bring the band to him. He thinks Huntly will send the band and bow down to him, and also reform himself: otherwise he will deal roundly with him.

The King has sent for the Earl of Erroll, trusting to win him to follow his advice—seeing he has now concluded to marry the daughter of the Earl of Morton—and looks to be well informed by him in all things; so that by drawing him from that association and finding out their designs, he may more easily bring them to quiet course with him, or put them in safety to be unable to do any hurt. Bowes has stirred him up to go forward herein, and in the reform of his house, Council, and sessions.

This day, before Bowes speech with the King, Mr. Robert Hepburn had been sent to the King by Bothwell that the Earl might be admitted to his presence. He answered that he had advised the Earl to put from him the lewd persons about him, yet the Earl still retained persons known to be wicked. "Therefore he wold now commaund th'erle to put them awaie, and if he should disobay that commaundment he wold then provide remedie for him: for as he had resolved to be a reformed King, so he wold have him to be a reformed lord." Hepburn reported the King's answer, and persuaded the Earl to forbear seeking his presence before he had reformed himself to the King's advice. But the Earl, with Lords Hume and Sanquhar, in the afternoon "came to the court seking to have spoken with the King, which was denied untill he shall better harken to the King's advise, and obay his commaundment and reforme him self. Hereupon th'erle departed with litle contentment."

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Before this the Earl had moved the Chancellor to be the mean to the King for his leave to depart out of the realm and remain in Germany at the King's pleasure, offering to the tuition and trust of the Chancellor his son and livings. He pretended to be moved thereunto because the King's countenance was turned from him, and that he could not with honour rid himself from his associations except he withdrew out of this realm: also that he had wasted his living, and by remaining in place of small charge and not suspected might repair it. The Chancellor is not sure he will depart if the King grant leave.

"The Lord Hume is likewise a suter for the King's lycence to passe out of this realme in companie with Bothwell, and he also offereth to leave his family and landes in trust with the Chancelour. But he sheweth him self well pleased to tary in case Bothwell shall staie here still." It has come to the hearing of Bothwell and Hume that they shall be warded, and they are greatly moved therewith.

Albeit he (Bowes) wrote before that Bothwell was agreed with Maunderston—indeed the articles of agreement were assented unto—yet by especial means known to great personages that agreement is stayed.

It is much lamented by many that the King should be driven to discharge his whole guard, since troubles may grow out of these discontents. "I have bothe letten the King understand how depelie her majestie is offended, and can not yet be pacified, with the shamefull lye and report given out that she his deare sister had sent her shipps to surprise him her most loving brother; and also earnestlie intreated Justice Clark to bolt out th'authours of this slander." The King seems very desirous to know the said authors, that he may punish any that raised that false rumour, whereunto he never gave ear. The Justice Clerk promises diligence, but cannot yet prevail therein.

"Sundrie tymes I have moved the King and Lord Chancelour that the jewelles late in the handes of Thomas Fowler, deceased, and appertayning to the Lady Arbell, might be restored to her; and that the mony, plate, bondes, and writinges of Mr. Fowler's, and lately taken by th'erle Bothwell, might be delivered to Mr. Fowler's sonne here present and readie to give bond for the redeliverie and imployment of all suche thinges as he shall receive, to the payment of Mr. Fowler's creditours, releif of his wife, and suche uses as by th'order of our lawes and to justice appertayneth." The only answer given is that upon sight of the Lady Margaret's will the King will take order therein. Bowes will endeavour to get further resolution before the departure of young Mr. Fowler, which shall be in two or three days' time.

For preservation of the Borders in quietness has often moved the King and Chancellor that the wardens might keep their accustomed meetings, according to the request of her majesty's wardens of the East and Middle Marches. The King and Council have referred all Border causes to the provost of Clenclowden (*sic*), the Laird of Coldenknowes, Sir John Carmichael and the Clerk Register; encloses copy of the order.

Has sought redress for piracies of Scotsmen against the Queen's subjects, wherein the King and Council appear very willing. They intend to make the like request to her majesty by the Laird of Carmichael, who departs on Monday next. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

James VI. 1590. Postscript—Letters brought from Denmark this night certify that the Queen Mother would take her journey towards Mecklenburg on the 27th of May, and be with the Duke of Brunswick on the 24th instant.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

June 6. 415. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"I have nou, hou soone the depairture of the straingeris coulde ministrat any laisaire, imploied my self for directing in Germanie to traivell in that negotiation quhiche I maide the Quene youre souveraigne aquainted uith allradie as to the choice of the personis. Althoch I knou the principall of thaime, bearare heirof, hath bene not a litle suspected amongst you thaire, yett hath his actionis and behavioure so clearde his pairt since, besyde his fittnes for this earande, as I trust in the Quenes lettir I have lairgelie satisfied her in that point. I hope I neid not reccomend unto you the haistie expeiding of thaim thaire, as one that is uyse aneuch to considder the schortness of tyme and uorthiness of the earande. The particulair instructionis uill be shouin to the Quene, that nothinge uithout her advyce and consent may be done thairin." "From my palleise of Holyrudhouse." *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley:* "6 Junii 1590. The King of Scottes by Colonell Stuard."

June 7. 416. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, William Fowler, son of Thomas Fowler, deceased, has sought unto the King for his father's jewels, bonds, writings, and apparel, which Bothwell seized after Thomas Fowler's death. He is ready upon receipt of those goods to use them, or part of them, to pay his father's debts, "for the releif of his mother-in-lawe" [*sic:* stepmother], and other uses according to English law. Has supported his suit, to the end that such jewels as appertain to the Lady Arbell might be rendered to her, and the rest of the jewels and goods be delivered to the parties who ought to have them, but has as yet got no answer.

"The King hathe charged all the debtours of late Thomas Fowler in this realme, being his subjectes, to bring in and pay imediatly unto him all suche somes as any way they ought to paie to Mr. Fowler if he were alive." Bowes has spoken with the parties to stay the money in their hands, and they are willing to do it, but are in such fear by the said sharp charge as they are minded to obey and pay the money to the King out of whose hands it will be hard to recover it. The King will claim it because Fowler died intestate in this realm, but Bowes will seek to get it restored to the parties to whom it appertains.

Such papers as remained in Fowler's house at his death his servant John Montgomorie will shortly bring to Burghley. All else concerning Fowler's goods he refers to the report of this bearer. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590.

417. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

June 9. After many difficulties about the drafts for the commission and instructions for Colonel Stewart and John Skene, all things at last are ready, and this day they start for London, purposing to be this night at Berwick. Their commission to the princes of Germany is very general, and they are addressed namely to the Palsgrave, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Pomerania, Lüneburg, John Duke of Holstein, Prince of Anhalt, and the Landgrave. "All which or the greatest part thereof are thought shall assemble to be togither at th'entree of the Duchesse of Brunswick into that contrie." The heads of their instructions are to lay before those princes the great inconveniences rising by the wars maintained by her majesty and the King of Spain: and for pacifying the same, for the surety of religion and benefit of Christendom, to send fit persons to her majesty, the French King, and the King of Spain "to perswaide joyntlie in the name of the King of Scottes and all th'other princes an honorable peace amongst them"; declaring to such as shall refuse equal conditions that they cannot but hold them perturbers of the common peace, and to be left to themselves without the aid of the princes, "which threatninges are rather sett downe to disguise the matter, then of intencion to prosequte the same: adding that upon the refusall of the King of Spaine, it shalbe further declaired to him that these princes must and will bynd themselves together for the maintenaunce and preservacion of the common cause of reformed religion and the safetie of themselves and their confederates, and restraine and barre from him the commodities in their severall dominions. And that upon the same refusall of the King of Spaine suche league and confederacion shalbe made betwixt her majestie, the Frenche King, the King of Scottes, and the princes joyning in this accion as shalbe convenient."

Because the commission and instructions are to be showed to her majesty by the King's order, and the commissioners desire to be the first to acquaint her therwith, Bowes refers the matter to the view of the said commission and instructions, which the King desires her majesty to reform at her pleasure; for which cause the last clause was added to the instructions, referring the execution to the discretion of the commissioners, so as they have power to embrace such course as she shall deliver to them.

Albeit the King has chosen Colonel Stewart in this negotiation, and by his letter to her majesty sought to clear him from suspicion, yet it is at her majesty's pleasure to allow or disallow of him. Therefore it is provided that the commission shall be joint and several, and that order shall be given that, if the Colonel be sick or otherwise stayed, John Skene shall execute the charge committed to them, as by Sir John Carmichael will be further made known: who will also satisfy Burghley as to the sufficiency of John Skene, whom Bowes now commends to him, together with John Geddy, appointed to be secretary to the commissioners.

Wishes the King to know that he has commended these two, and also, upon her majesty's acceptance of Colonel Stewart, to understand that he has omitted nothing for their good contentment.

After the attempt of sundry means to defray the charges for these commissioners, the King is driven to seek aid of her majesty, entreating

James VI. 1590. her by Sir John Carmichael to furnish them so much money as shall suffice for this voyage, which he will promise to repay thankfully at such time as she shall please to appoint. Bowes has told him that her majesty will not be seen to be privy to this cause, neither haply will like that Colonel Stewart be employed or acquainted with her actions therein, whereupon she can hardly be induced to disburse money to him in this matter; yet the King, finding no other help, and desiring to go forwards in the cause, has determined to rest wholly on her favour, requiring Bowes to give her knowledge of his necessity, and purposing also to signify his request by Sir John Carmichael very shortly.

For the expedition of the commissioners by sea they are desirous to have a vessel in the Thames—bound for Hamburg or other place on the Elbe—prepared for them, and pray that Burghley will give order for the same.

The assembly of nobility at this convention appointed to begin to-morrow at Holyrood House is like to be very small and far contrary to the King's expectation, for sundry noblemen have sent excuses, and it is thought some will remain at home without excuse. This general discontentment spreads so far as many well affected look for sudden troubles here: the danger shall be hardly avoided without seasonable remedy. Bowes has admonished the Chancellor, "who well seeth the perriles over his owne head and to this estate."

Distrust occupies the minds of the seditious, making them think that their counsels, once opened to any of their faction, shall be shortly revealed to the King; and in regard of the danger thereof few dare attempt to lay down the plot for any enterprise, or consult with others for the execution thereof.

"Yesternight verie late in the night th'erle Bothwell, Hume, and Sancker came to the port of this towne to have commed in, and to speake with the Lord Chancelour. But the port was kept untill the day was bright, whereupon they are entred and presentlie remayne in their lodgings with verie small nomber."

The amity lately knit betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis is much shaken: the sight whereof shall stir sundry busy heads to more hasty enterprise than otherwise they would have attempted.

Thinks Sir John Carmichael will start in two days' time. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—The King complains of discords among his Council, saying "they spring from the devill that seeke the defeat of all his reformacions," wherein he finds many difficulties and terrors.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 9. 418. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"To my no small greafe of mynd I did forfeit ane bonde to my host Maister Harvye upon the eighth day of May last bypassed. The dayngeir whearin I am lyk to fall upon the ellevint of this instant to forfeit another of ane thowsand *l.* sterling, if Sir Francis Walsinghame of gud memorie or his executoris shall not see fyve hundreth and fifteyn *l.* payed at the day forsayde, constrins me to pray your lordship be so faworable as to

James VI. 1590. mowe hir majeste to be myndfull of hir princelye and liberall promisse mayde anent the diffraying of my chargis during the tym of my aboade be hir hyenes commandement."

"I put no doubt bot that your lordship is able to satisfye her majestie anent the removing of the opinion consawed that evir I did ressawe ony uthir sowmes of money from the sayde Sir Francis than those above mentionate that I am obliged to repaye."

"I am not in dispayr bot that I shalbe able before I die to do hir majeste suche service as hir curtesseis bestowed upon me doethe require or crawe of me, and nevir to be moyr chargeable to hir majeste in onye tyme heirefter if my debtis contractid in hir majestes service, sen that tyme it pleased hir hyenes of hir gudnes to gewe hir worde, war once satisfeid, whiche may be done wythe no grit charge to hir hyenes; that uthirvayss of my self I am not able to performe, to my uttir undoinge, whearin I can not persuade me self that hir majeste vill sea me fall." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

June 10. 419. [MAITLAND] TO [BURGHLEY.]

Add. MSS., 23, 241, fol. 37.

"My veary good lord, understanding by Mr. Robert Bowis, the Quene your sovereygnes ambassadour resident heer, what freendlye conceipt your lordschip hes allwayes had of me, I shalbe vearye lothe to frustrat or deceave your opinioun, and sall do all my endeavoure by all the good offices I can to asseur and confirme the same, cheiflye tending to the nurissing and encreas of the amitye and good intelligence happelye begoon betuene these tuo crounes, as my actions have partlye [yeelded] and by God his grace shall yeeld effectuall proof at all occasions."

"I have communicat to this bearar Sir Johne Carmichaell some thinges to be imperted to your lordschip, which I doubt not he will faythfullye delyver and have such credit as his fidelitye shall deserve: whom and his negotiatiouns I am bold to recommend to your lordschips faveur, for that he standeth sincerelye devoted to the amitye, particularlye well affected to your lordschip and my looving freind." Holyrood House.

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

June 10. 420. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL.

Add. MSS., 23, 241, fol. 31.

"Instructions to our trusty and welbeluffed Counsellour Sir Johne Carmichaell of that ilk, knight, our ambassadour towardis our deerest sistar the Queen of England, x Junii, 1590."

"Efter ze have presented our hartyest commendations and lettres to our said darrest sister, ze sall in our name delyver her maist hartye thankes for the continuance of that motherlye affectioun scho hes allwayes effectuallye uttered toward us, and for her sa liberall and kyndlye dealing with us; and speciallye for the luffing caire scho had of us and our state in our absence furth of our realme, and the guid and quyet correspondence keeped be her officiars at her directioun and commandement, for the quhilk we can not bot accompt our selfis greatlye bound to her, and sall thankfullye endevour our selfis with gratefull acquittall at all occasiouns. At our first arryvall we intended to have geaven her immediat knawlege

James VI. 1590. thairof be sum speciall of our counsell, as also of our dealing and proceadeur in Denmarc, and haill progres of our voyage, which during the abod of the strangears heir we war moved partlye to remit to be signifyed be her ambassadour, partlye will appear be the dispatch sent be Coronell Stuarde and M. Johne Skein; the residue yow sall imperte to her, who having attended on us all the quhyll can mak sufficient relatioun thairof. The rumours of busye practesing and advertisment geaven us of earnist travelling of some Jesuistes and utheris for a band and associatioun of papistis and factionaris in both the realmes moveth us to keep a more vachfull ee, and to explore the more narrowlye both the erand and travellars, vherof yow sall also give warnyng to our sayd darrest sistar that the more diligent researce may be maid in her realme, whair we heir the practisars ar presentlye in dealing."

"We ar also moved heerby to inquyr the more diligentlye what hes been the particulair behaveour in our absence of such whose actions hes randered thame suspect in religioun and cours, and to us them allwayes as we sall hy thay have deserved."

"Finding also what harme and inconvenientis ha growen upon such abuses and corruptioun as divers occasiouns have broght out in our state, and meanyng be the grace of God to do all our endevoure to remove and reforme the same, as well for the wealth as seurtye and better settilling thairof, that we may be the more abill to concur with our sayd darrest sister to the benefit of the hole yle: yow sall earnistlye crave her liberall ayd as we have enformed yow, her assistance and correspondence of her officiars as wilbe requisit for the effectuating of sa godlye and necessarye a propos, which all the factionars and wors affected in both the realmes will withstand to thair uttermost for the better maintenance of thair projectis and indemnitye of thair partisans, which onles it be tymouslye provented will breed us the more difficultye and some parrell. If our lenitye used toward such as war culpabill of the late conspiracy be misconstrued or objected to yow, and that thair impunitye will not onlye encourage thame, but also the exempill ministrat occasioun to others to attemptat the lyk, ye sall ansuear, it is trew we ar naturallye enclyned to clemencye, abhorring rigoreuse extremitye onles we be by justice and mere necessitye enforced thairto, and that in our state and pepill both we and our progenitours have tryed be experience a rigoreus proceadeur hes often rather moved nor repressed rebellions and uproares, as also our present state movis us to yeeld to tyme and necessitye, having latelye moved against us a deathlye wrayith of myghtye foreyne princes for participating the cours and fortune of our sayd darrest sister, and driven to dispaire all such within our kyngdome, as affected thame, thair religioun, and desseings; and having no full and firme assurance of our sayd darrest sister, we are moved the more to abstean from hard proceadeur, which yf we fand our selfis so ayded and assisted be her as our behaveour and sincere meanyng deserves, myght be better put in executoun and breid more seurtye to both our estates and kyngdomes."

"Sen we have in actioun and proceadeur so plainlye and sincerelye uttered in tyme of most apparent danger how kyndlye we war affected and how inuardlye and fully devoted to our sayd darrest sister and her state, we will no more now obscuir or dissimull our thoghtes, but mon needes schew and plainlye declaire the same."

James VI. 1590.

"We can not bot find strange that, seing our sa freindlye careing our self and luffing dispositioun, we have not bein so respected as we both merited and expected, and albeit we have in deid at dyvers tymes—as last be Colvill and uther tymes befor—veary tymouslye resaved such soomes as hes advanced our affaires, yet not in that sort nor quantitye as was promised, besydes thinges spoken to us in her name be her ambassadours, in that onlye disavoued, yea the ligue and contract of amitye between us yet unaccomplissed or perfyted. Which althogh it randeris us more lent and slaw in our proceadeur, yet ar we not so greeved by lackyng our commoditye as we ar both sorye and eschamed be reproch and upbrading of our ennemyes, who ar the more bold both to practise and attemptat, mocking and douting of the firmitye of our ligue and amitye which they scuif, saying it will litill annoy thame yf it be no freinlyar observed then it speedelye performed. Ye sall therefore crave of our sayd darrest sister to yeeld such assurance both touard the ligue and ammitye that we may knaw what to expect, and such full certaintye as nather freind nor ennemy dout thairof, to the contentment of the one and mislyking of the other and that both the a [*sic*] certane some of the anneutye as was aggreed upon, and tyme and seurtye of payment therof, be so set doun as no questioun or difficultye aryse in tyme cumyng; as also that be a reciproc correspondence both we and all uthers rest assured of a firme intelligence and inviolabill amitye betuene us. As to our part, we sall continue and kyth at all occasions as great a proptitud and devotioun as yf we war the naturall sone of her body."

"Ye sall declair to our sayd darrest sistar how far we ar moved with the pitiefull complaintes of sa mony our miserabill subjectis, wraked by pyracyes and depredations of such her unnaturall subjectes as by law of nations suld be accompted ennemyes of all mankynd. Speciallye lament to her the pitiefull cace of Archibald Johnstoun and his feloues, who efter thair naufrage war cruellye spoyled, to whom upon commiseratioun our sayd darrest sistar ones commanded redres to be made, which is now relented and lyk to be frustrat—as we beleve certainlye—besyd her knowlege, and we houp upon your signifying therof wilbe fullye effectuat. And deale also for redres to our cousing the Master of Orknay."

"As to mutuall redres and ordre taking on the bordours, yow can best informe our sayde darrest sistar in what sort it is maist expedient it be prosequuted, having bein commissionar and ever since our officiar therin. We sall omit nothing that may serve for repressing of the insolence of disordred persones, and maintenance of the peace and amitye the realmes."

"At your first audience deale earnestlye with our said darrest sister for a speadye dispatch to our ambassadouris toward Germanye, and for a lon of so muche as may serve for thair honorable furnituir and chairges during thair negotiatiown whiche our so great chairges made of late may not permit to furnishe as we would."

"Assuir also our said darrest sister upon our honour and conscience we ever estemed the bruittes dispersed of her intentioun to lay for ws at our returning from Denmarke wer fals surmyses malitiouslye geaven out, and that it nevir entred in our hairt to suspect any suche thing.

James VI. 1590. And yf it may be tryed the authour thereof wes onye of our subjectis, sall see it punished with all rigour and extremitye."

"Declaire the occasioun moving ws to insert the last article in Coronell Stewart his instructions, as we have informed zow."

5⅔ *pp. Draft in Maitland's hand. Indorsed by Maitland.*

*[June 10]. 421. INSTRUCTIONS FOR [? JOHN COLVILE].

Add. MSS., 23, 241. fol. 35.

"Efter ze have saluted our darrest sistar the Quein of England and recommended us to her in our hartyest maner, ze sall in our name render her maist hartye thankes for her sa luffing caire had allwayes of us, and her sa freindlye and liberall dealyng with us be our late ambassadour the laird of Eisterswemys, as alsua for the offre mayd to us be her ministres of forder ayd of treasour, forces, and schippes as the necessitye of our effaires suld requyre. Ze sall in our name fullye assuir our sayd darrest sistar that lyk as we have heirtofore geaven effectuall pruif in tyme of greatest strait and apparent parrell of our sincere meanyng and entier gudwill touard her and her state, respecting nather hazarde of our crowne or persone, the lose of our foreyne freindes and narrest kinsfolkes, or houp of commoditye offred, sa sall we allwayes continue in the same dispositioun as lang as we sall fynd reciproc correspondence on the pairt of our sayd darrest sistar according to our kyndlye behaveour and desert."

"Ze sall alsua signifye to our darrest sistar that as probablye the lose and schame latelye resaved be the proud and malicious ennemyes to God and her state will rather enflame thame to desyre of revenge and repairing thaire harme then quenche thair malice, and divert thame from prosequuting thair desseings, sa have we bein certifyed—and we dout not our sayd darrest sistar hes the lyk intelligence—thay ar making new preparations and doing all thair endevour to attemptat againe quhareunto be lykly heid they will be forder encouraged be the late execrabill mourder perpetrat on the persone of our unquhyll darrest brother and oncle the late King of France, to quhom it was mocyoned before his death as the onlye mean to unite the Catholiques be a commune and generall entrepryse against the realme of Englande, quhilk thay termed the cheif source and only nourrice of all heresye: being allwayes led be ane spreit and stirred up be schame and thrist of revenge, and—as thay conceave—favored be sic incidentis, it seims thay will rather hasten then retard thair projectis, asweill for occurring to the establissing of thes King as for the prosequuting of that thay have of lang tyme proposed. As these dangerous desseings dois requyre to be as weill spedeelye as substantiouslye [looked ?] unto, sa we dout not our sayd darrest sistar will have sic due consideratioun thairof as the danger threatned bayth to God his treuth and hir oune state may be tymouslye prevented; quhilks as we hold no les deir then our croune and lyf, sa will we spair nather of them in mainteanance and defence therof."

"Ze sall signifye to our said darrest sistar that accordinge to the advyse geaven to us be her a lang tyme syne be the abbot of Dumfermeling, and reiterat to uthers our ambassadours, we have resolved to joyne in allyance with the realme of Denmark and indelayetlye marye the sistar of Christian now King thairof; quhairunto we have enclyned the mair willinglye, knowing the amitye and guid intelligence of lang tyme continued betuix our said darrest sistar and that croune."

* Misdated and misplaced. It should be August, 1589.

James VI. 1590.

"Ze sall alsua declair to our sayd darrest sistar we can not but thankfullye remember her kyndlye dispositioun touard us beginnyng at our vearye byrth and continuyng from tyme, with a motherlye caire over us. And hearyng how glaydlye and honorablye scho assisted our baptesme be ane of guid calling in her name, sa we . . .* not our mariage being ane of the cheif and maist respected actis of our lyf, scho will lykwyse assist and favour us be her messinger, as weill to signifye her guid lyking of that matche, quhairof scho was the first autheur, as to testifye to the world scho will not abandon us at any tyme, quha have preferred her amitye to the haill world, having maid onlye choyse therof and it war renunced all uther therfor."

"Ze sall in our name crave her freindlye and liberall ayd in thinges requisit therto, as we have particulairlye informed yow."

"If ze fynd remises or delayes used, give us advertisment with all speid and retourne with all expeditiown, that be protracting of tyme and omitting uther provisioun, we be not frustrat and dishonored."

"Yf our clemencye toward our subjectes in the late conspiracye be misconstrued, ze sall ansuear as naturallye we ar inclyned to mercy, vissing rather the resipiscence then wraik of our subjectis, sua we have bein moved to resave the late offendars to our obedience; and zit not upon foolisch pitie but wechtye and guid considerationns to [count them the ?] dangerous practises of foreyns, be quhom bayth thay have bein delt with and we ourself earnistlye sollicited, as we have particulairlye enformed yow, yet we have sa delt thay sall not be abill be corrupting this estat to parell ather of the realmes."

"Ze sall alsua signifye to our said darrest sistar we sall sie sie ordre for justice and redres on the marches as we have declared to Mr. W. Ashbe and particulairlye imported to yow."

"Ze sall use yourself touard Mr. Archibald Douglas as we have commanded yow, and according to our late directioun geaven to James Hudsoun, quhairof we have geaven yow a note."

"Ye sall at lenth impert to the Lord Thesaurair and Mr. Secretarye the proceadeur and reasons moving us to the match with the realme of Denmark, quhaironto we have the mair willinglye enclyned for that we was advertised thay did lyk thereof, and wold have advysed us to mak that choys."

4 *pp.* *Draft in Maitland's hand.*

June 10. 422. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Trustie and wellbelovit cousin, I have sent nou at last unto the Quene youre Souveraigne for my ouin particulaire effairis my servant, the bearare heirof, to procure a direct ansoure of suche thingis as I gott but a delay in at my last sending thaire. I desyre nothing but a certaintie if promeises will be keipit. It is best for us both that thaire be a reciproke meiting in all oure turnis, for so sall mutuall amitie be suirliest conservid as to requeist you to assist by all the meanes ye can. I thinke I neid not use any longe harangue for that matter, nor also to trust this bearare; ye knou his honestie so uell. He hes direction to use youre advyce in all my effaire." *Signed:* James R.

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590. ½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley,* "10 Junij 1590. The King of Scottis by Sir Jhon Carmykell."

June 12. 423. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday he received Burghley's letter of the 6th, and with the advice of the Chancellor immediately "let the King understand that her majestie did not allowe of Colonell Stewart to be principall in that commission." Suggested that if the Colonel should be visited with sickness, or found by her majesty not fit to be employed—notwithstanding such excuses as he shall make—he might be stayed and return, and John Skene proceed alone. The King earnestly defended the Colonel, acquitting him fully in his former actions, and said that he desired this service that he might obtain help of the Protestant princes in Germany for recovery of debts owing to him and his companies by the States in the Low Countries for service in their wars.

This Bowes turned to be a just occasion to her majesty to mislike the more of his journey, as being offensive to the States, whom she might not grieve. Finding the King's earnestness to satisfy the Colonel, Bowes said he thought the said Colonel, seeing her majesty's misliking, would of his own wisdom give up the voyage and retire with credit. Hereupon the King was pleased that if he should be stayed by any occasion coming of himself, then order should be given to John Skene to prosecute the service by himself, and agreed to signify the same to Sir John Carmichael, who yesternight received his despatch from the King, and departed to his house at Fenton, having parted from Bowes before his access to the King and purporting to be at Berwick this day.

"Amongst all th'articles in th'instructions given to Sir John Carmighell toucheing piracies, the Borders, combinacion of Jesuites in bothe the realmes, the purpose of the King in his reformacion of the state, the reasons of his former doinges and present intencion against th'associates of the brig of Dee, Papistes and suche like matters, yet his cheif earand to her majestie is to seeke some monie to strengthen and enable the King to procede in his reformacion intended." For without her aid he cannot pass through the difficulties which daily meet him.

Sundry about him say that he shall find small relief from her majesty, and—leaning to their friends of the brig of Dee—seek to estrange his mind towards her, and to draw him to call in question the rode at Stirling rather than that of the brig of Dee. He seems to be stedfast, and to trust in her affection, but seeks her answer as to payment of the yearly portion accorded by the league to be given to him.

Has again earnestly sought that the jewels of Lady Arbella and other things late in Thomas Fowler's hands might be restored; but the King answered yesterday that he detains them not only in recompense of legacies bequeathed to him by Lady Margaret Douglas, left in Fowler's custody, "whereof he is not hitherto satisfied for any part, but also that all these jewelles and parcelles being the goodes of Thomas Fowler and in his realme at his deathe appertaine to the King, for that he died intestate and was a stranger here."

Reminded him of the protection he had given to Fowler, wishing him to weigh this matter with his honour. "Whereupon he finallie answered that albeit his protection reached to the parson of Mr. Fowler, and not

James VI. 1590. to make him denizen; yet he wold committ the matter to the consideracion of his counsell, who after th'end of these present and weightie affaires shall deliberate thereon and give me answere."

Sought to stay the money of Fowler's creditors, but Sir Robert Melville, vice-treasurer, so presses them that they deliver it to him for the King, upon delivery to them of their own bonds by Bothwell. He will renew the matter with the aid of the Earl of Worcester.

"This convencion being hitherto small—and yet this daie something increased—hathe not delt with any of the weightie matters to be reformed, but is purposed to enter into the same tomorrowe; whereupon it is ment that the Counsell and Sessions shall come in consideracion, and that some parsons of godly and zelous behaviours shalbe called and placed on the Counsell with th'others that shalbe fitt to be continewed."

"Albeit that Bothwell hathe been with the King, and received good countenaunce and lessons, yet hitherto he hathe not sitten with th'other lords assembled; but he is looked to come to them tomorrowe." The King desires to purchase of him the inheritance and keepership of Liddesdale, to draw the inhabitants to better order and get redress for England. Mediators are to be appointed for the King and Bothwell: the King has named the Justice Clerk, Sir Robert Melville and the Clerk Register; and Bothwell the Chancellor and Alexander Lindsey, whom the King would not allow of, so the Earl must choose others.

The King and Council have been much occupied with the complaint against the Master of Glamis for commanding some men that in riotous manner pulled down his ditches to be whipped in a pin-fold. This matter was followed by some of especial place because it was suspected that Glamis chiefly drew on the marriage betwixt Erroll and Morton's daughter, which is nevertheless stayed by Morton's consent and by means of the Master of Glamis, "so as the rent lately made in the frendship betwixt the Lord Chancelour and the Master is ones againe sewed up." Discords amongst the Council burst out daily.

Erroll's coming is deferred till further order be taken for his marriage, and his reconciliation to the church, and promise to leave the fellowship of the brig of Dee and run a better course.

"The King is informed that an Inglish pirate lyeng upon this coast with a dubble flyebote hathe robbed th'eldest sonne of th'erle of Orkeney, three shipps of Kirkcaudie, and six or eight others that as yet are not commed to complaine. The crueltie used against the poore men of Kirkcaudie to compell them to discover where their gold or silver was is very barberous and the tormentes extreme." There are daily new complaints, as Sir John Carmichael can testify. This flyboat is consorted with another barque and a pinnace chasing all Scottish ships between Lynn and Shetland. Desires that Burghley will inform the Lord Admiral thereof. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

June 12. **424. Proclamation against Persons at the Horn.**

Printed in *Acts of Parl. of Scot.*, iii. 524-5; see also *Reg. of Privy Council*, iv. 490.

"The Kingis majeste, his nobylytie, Counsell, and estatis presently convenit, understanding the great contempt and inobedience entered and contynuing in all partis of his realme, through the multitud of persons

James VI. 1590. contemporably lying at the horne, aswell for criminall as civell causes, to the dishonor of his majestie and great prejudice of complayners; and yet no wayes willing that such as hath satisfied partes and obteyned themselves orderly release from the horne in dewe tyme before ther escheitis fell so [*sic:* be] trobled or systeyn skaith, although ther names be standing in the regesters as denuncit; therefor ordains letters to be derect, charging all such persons as are or shalbe found in registers or adjornall stand and denunceit rebells and at the horne, whose names shalbe spedely expressed in the said letters, to appere personally before his highnes and lordis of Secret Councell or lordis audituris of Chekker at certeyne peremptour dayes, to answer and underly such order and punishement as shalbe appointed for ther contempt and wilfull remayning at the proces of horne, led by vertue of his highnes other letters raised at the instance of such persons, as also shalbe spedely expressed in the foresaid letters to be direct for their apperaunc in manner above mencioned under the payne of rebellyon etc. With certificacion and they fayle, letters shalbe direct *simpliciter* to put them to the horne, and to eschete etc. Yf they appered not the certificacion shalbe graunted, and letters directed incontynent to denunce them to the horne and to intromell and uptak ther escheites, or the sam escheitis shalbe granted for composicion to what soever person will offer most therfore."

"They so [ ] the parties one or mo at whose instant thay are denunced as accordes and finding suerty to that effect to the thresurers deputie if they appeer and showes relaxation orderly past ther names show [*sic*: salbe] deliet out of the carthalogue of horners and an act made theruppon, wher through they shall not be farther trobled for that hering [*sic*: horning] in tyme commyng."

"Gif they shew not relaxation but be fownd still standing at the horne, in case the horning be for hie and odious crymes, or that they hav bin at the horne over the space of a yere and day, they shalbe presently comitted to ward in the Tolbooth of Edinbrough or som of the Kingis castells, according to the quallyty of ther person, ther to remayne till they have sufficed the cause one or mo for which they were denunced and have obteyned themselves relese and payed for ther escheitis."

"And if the horning be for other common cawses, and the yer and day over past, they shall also be comitted to ward within the said Tolbooth or in som of his highnes castells, according to the quallyty of ther persons as said is, while they find suerty to remayne in suer ward within the brough of Edinbrough, and not to schap forth of the same while they be lawfully and orderly released and have payed for their escheitis, and satisfied likwise the persons one or mo at whose instance they are denunced as said is."

"And that letters be directed to mak publicacion herof at the mercat crose of the hed boroughes of this realme and all other places nedfull."

"And also to warne the persons his highnes rebles inhabiting shrefdome of Edinbrough and constabularie of Hadington and other underwretin, they are to say, etc., whieh wer charged of be fore oftin tymes caled and not appered at the dyet appointed to that efect, to appeir personally before his majestie and the said lordis at Halyruidhowse or wher it shall happen them to be for the tym, uppon Fryday next the xix day of June instant, to answer and underly the forsaid order conforme to the tennour

James VI. 1590. of his highnes [ ] letters direct to that effect, and under the paynes conteyned therin: [ ] them and all others which shalbe charged herafter to this effect; and they fayle to appeir and render ther obedienc in this poynt, that the certyficacion of the letters directed and to be directed shalbe graunted."

"Further, they shalbe persued therafter with fier and sword with all rigor and extremyty in insample of others, etc."

1 *large page. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 14. 425. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Haiffing already forfetted two bondis, the one of sexteyn hunderth *l.* upon the viij of May to my host Mr. Hervye, and another of a thowsand *l.* upon the xj of this moneth for payment of five hundred,* for whiche Sir Francis Walsingham of gud memorye did remayn obliged; in dayngeir also to incurr the penaltye of mo, and not able of myself to put any remedy to these inconvenientis that ar lyk to incresse upon me, I am forced as of before to pray your lordship to move hir majeste to put to hir helping hand, accordinge to hir princely promisse that my debtis or necessarye chargis contracted in hir majesteis service sen the gevin of hir hynes worde may be satisfeid. And I shalbe contented to tak upon my self to discharge the remanent, and nevir to be any vise chargeable to hir majeste in any tyme heiraftir; remaning alwayis affectionat to do hir majeste service so long as lyfe shall remayne." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

June 15. 426. THE EARL OF WORCESTER TO BURGHLEY.

Arrived at Edinburgh on Saturday the 13th instant, conducted by the Earl of Mar, who was appointed to meet him by the way. Lord Hume was to have met him on the Borders, but came not, for which it is thought he will be "shent." His men made Worcester's men affeared, for betwixt Berwick and Haddington there suddenly appeared a band of one hundred horse, and galloped about the cart where the stuff was, without a word. When they had viewed sufficiently they rode away.

On Saturday night Bowes sent to the King to know when he would grant Worcester audience "who awnswered, when I wowld; the next day yf I wear not weried with so long a jornay." So he had audience on Sunday.

"After some fewe wordes of her majesty's joy for his safe return, I delivered her letter. That being red I delivered the other, with some wordes shewing her majesty's further affection in chusing him to bee of the honorable Order of the Garter together with the Frenche King. His awnswer was he was glad to bee joyned with so honorable a companion. Then hee wrapped bothe the letters together and gave them to the Lord Chancelor, yelding her majesty conding thankes; and after a fewe speeches concerning the brute of my stay, and her majesty's ships liing in wayte for his retorn, I requested to have accesse to the queen, unto whome likewise I had bothe letter, token and messadge to delyver

* "For payment of five hundred" *inserted by Burghley, who writes in margin*: "lent by a gent of Yorkshire by Purvess."

James VI. 1590. from her majesty; but hee sayd shee was not well in her tothe. I towld him, for that shee myght thanke him, for yt was a saing in England when the teethe did ake yt was a token of breeding child: and after some speeches more I departed for that tyme; and thus far I have hethertoe proceeded, hoping to have accesse uppon Teusday."

There is at this time a convention of the nobility for the reformation of divers matters, wherein the King is mightily withstood. Encloses particularities.

"Matters referred untyll Monday the 15 of June."

That the coin current in this realm may be reduced to as fine silver as that of England, "wherin the Lord of Makeston and others of the mint have promised to gyve in there ouvertures this day."

The reformation of Lords of Sessions. John Lindsay, for them all, sought to preserve their privilege given them by act of parliament to examine and try any of the lords of Session accused of bribery, corruption or other default. Nevertheless he offered that any of them charged with any offence should be tried by twelve persons chosen out of the nobility, barons, boroughs, and church.

"The fourteen articles presented by the ministers to furnishe everye parishe churche with a minister, and provide a convenient stipend for them; wherin the most of the articles ar assented to, but the possessors wyll not lose theyr takes or leases, unless that uppon the surrender of some part of the tythes in theyr howldinges for term of ye[ars] they may have the residewe in fee simple for ever. Montross and Justice Clark did chefly withstand this mat[er]; wheruppon some warm speeches grewe beetwen Justice Clarke and Mr. Patrike Galoway a famose preacher."

"Matters ordered."

"All suche as bee at horne shall appere on Friday next for there disobedience and with the partees pursuing them. Suche as shal not appere then shalbe agayn denownced, and the King to intromit with there gear and aprehend theyr persons, and keepe them in sure firmance untyll they shale geve obedience and agree with the partees compla[ining].

"Border matters."

Coldenknowes, Clerk Register and Andrew Carre are working for redress to be made on the Borders.

Erroll will not come, for the letter appointed to be sent to call him was omitted by some accident, partly through the sickness of George Young, deputy secretary, in which office he has of late done very little by occasion of strifes between the Chancellor and him.

"Arroll hathe no wyll to come hether or to reforme and reconsyle him self to the churche, where in the Earle Morton agreethe to perswade him by all the means in his power to satisfye the churche, but he cannot compell him, nether can he breake the contract of mariadge that is now fully concluded betwyxt Arrell and his dowghter."

"Huntley hathe sent hither Jhon Drummond to solicyte his cawses in cowrt. Dromond came yesternyght, but with what condition is not yet knowen." Bothwell is this day come to the King to proceed in exchange for Liddesdale. Bowes tells Worcester that the articles by

James VI. 1590. the ministers are adjourned to a larger assembly. The Chancellor has endeavoured to remove from sessions some noted for papistry, but could not prevail.

Encloses the articles presented in this Convention. Gives thanks for Burghley's favourable letter to Bowes. Edinburgh. *Signed:* "E. Worcester."

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Articles agreed upon at the Convention.)

"First. That every parish within this realme be provided with one minister, or two where the multitude of the parishioners and rentes of the churche may suffer and requires the same."

"Secondlie. That every minister of ilk parishe churche within this realme have ane competent stipend of the dueties [*sic*] which growes on the grounde assigned to him furthe of the frutes of the parishe kirk where he serves, according to the abilitie of the place, notwithstanding whatsoever rentes or impedimentes to the contrarie."

"Thirdly. That speciall teindes of particular landes and townes of the parish be assigned to the minister for payment of his stipend, to the effect he may have ane relacion [*sic*] therefore. And in the first end the vicarage to be compted where the same vakes or may vake by the lawes of the realme, together with the manss and gleib."

"Fourtlie. That all the ministers be provided in title to the parishe kirk where they serve; by vertue whereof they sall uplift the said locall stipendes and remanent frutes of the said parish kirk to remaine with the auld provided tenauntes and takesmen during their life tymes and rightes: and thereafter to accres to the ministers title to be distributed *ut infra;* and that the haile stipendes and superplus of the teindes be free of all taxacions, in respect his majestie hath temporalitie of the benefices."

"Fiveftlie. That for expedicion of the premisses, it is necessarie to make a valuacion of all teindes and speciall townes and landes thereof to be expresslie nominate thereintill, which valuacion salbe made by two ministers to be nominated by every presbitery and reported to the lordes of the Chekk[er] by the said presbitery betwixt [ ] and the [ ] of [ ]. And the said valuacion to be in victuall and not in monye."

"Sixtlie. That it sall not be leesum to any minister to sett in tack, dispone in pencion, make factours of any part of his locall stipend, nor to putt in ony in possession thereof, nor yet to alter the estate of the same presentlie valued and assint to him."

"Seavently. That provision be made in favours of ministers in case of nonethanckfull payment of their locall stipendes within fifteen daies efter the terme, that then the minister sall have *actionem spolii* and *juramentum in litem* upon his inhibicion, or *actionem dupli*, for the estimacion of that yere. And it salbe lesum to the said ministers the next yere thereafter and sicklike yerelie in tyme comming therefter to leede the teindes of the speciall townes and landes assinit to them.

James VI. 1590. Providing allwaies that gif they make thanckfull payment thereof within the said tyme they salbe free of all [ ] spuilzie [ ] of their teindes and others inconveniences."

"Aughtly. That it be provided that all tackes and other rightes of teindes lately sett and made to whatsouever person or persons be na waies prejudged by the said locall stipendes, which salbe allwaies preferrit to the said tackes and rightes of teindes. It salbe lesum to the said minister's provided [ ] to the said kirkes to renew the said tackes and rightes of the superplus of the said teindes by and attour the said locall stipendes, by the advise and consent of the presbetery where the said ministers makes residence and na utherwaies. Consideracion being allwaies had of the old kyndely possessours of the said teindes, who salbe preferred to all other extramantis [*sic*]."

"Nintely. If it fall out that the said locall stipendes be whollylie assigned out of any man's tacke, that take salbe releived thereof *pro rata* by the rest of the takismen of the parish in [*sic*] if their be ma and by the remanent possessours of the teindes of the said kirk and dueties thereof, which releif shalbe somarely tried by the lords of the Checker. And in the meane tyme the ministers stipendes not to be deferred in payment nor put to *actionem* therfore.

"Tenthlie. That the remanent of the teindes by and attour the saids locall stipendes, giff any sall happen to be presentlie vacant, salbe presentlie assigned to the sustentacion of the colledge, satisfaccion of the senatours of the college of justice, wha sall happen to be interessed by the said locall stipendes, payment of the fees of the commissioners and others ordinarie servauntes of the kirke, repairing of the ministers part of the fabrik of the kirk and others godlie uses and common affaires of the kirk; and that by the said lords of Checker to be appointed for the modification of the said locall stipendes. And giff the rest of the said teindes sall happen to vake at any tyme hereafter by the expiring or reduction of tackes or rightes of the teindes, then the same salbe imploied to the uses above written by six commissioners yerelie to be nominate by the generall assemblie; whereunto they salbe allwaies subjected to make yerelie compt and reconing of the same and distribucion thereof."

"xj. That the superplus of all the teindes of all colledge kirkes non vacant, whansomever they sall vake, sall retorne to the said colledges to be used by them as their owne patrimony."

"xij. It is thought good for eschewing of fraudes and debates, which commonlie uses in takes and other rightes of teindes, that all the said rightes and tackes of the teindes made or to be made salbe registrate in the bukes of the collectorie, and notit to be registred therein by the collectours clark upon the back thereof, betwixt [ ] and the [ ] daie of [ ] utherwaies the same to make no faithe."

"xiij. That commission be geven to certen discrete men to sett downe the locall stipendes at every parish churche, and to subscrive the bookes and modificacion thereof, and to judge the relief of the takisman and others that may be interest by this work, and to assigne and imploye the remaynent of the said teindes by the said locall stipendes to the particular uses above written; and to cognose and decide all difficulties and questions quhilk sall result upon the interpritacion of this act; and unite and devide parishes where the same hath not been

James VI. 1590. commodiouslie erected of before. And to convene all burrowes for production of their guiftes and all annuells given them and their hospitalls or poore. And for makeing of compt and reconing thereof; and to see the same profitably bestowed in tyme comming."

"Finallie. That these articles be formed in a generall act, which craves to be established as a lawe by the estates and ratified by the lordes of Secrett Counsell, Session, and Chekker, who shalbe sworne to judge according thereto. Wherein salbe likewise conteined ane ratificacion of the commission made to the lordes of Checker for perfecting of this work and of the locall stipendes and others assignations of the said teindes to be made by them in maner above written; with a promis that the same salbe ratified in the next parliament. And in the meane tyme to be inviolably observed as a lawe."

2½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "14 June 1590. Articles at the Convention at Edenborowgh."

June 15. 427. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to Burghley's letters of the second instant delivered by the Earl of Worcester, he has acquainted that Earl with the present state of this realm and the disposition of great persons here, and the doings at the Convention.

Sundry times he (Bowes) has moved the King for the execution of justice on the Borders. This day this Convention have resolved to choose a greater number of commissioners for Border causes, at whose hands he hopes to get redress for former attempts in England and the late spoil at Mindrum and detaining of prisoners, for which causes sundry prisoners are now attending upon Worcester and Bowes.

"Th'erle Bothwell was sent for [to] procede with the King in [th'] exchange for Liddisdale, but rather to give his consent that sondrie marchantes latelie spoiled by English pirates might presentlie sett fourth to the seas at their owne charge shipps to take the pirates that had before robbed them. And that thereon they might reteine and kepe to their owne uses so muche of the goodes to be founde in the pirates shipps as should amount to the value of their goodes taken by the pyrates, without delivery of any porcion thereof to Bothwell as admirall: and that the residue of the prize to be taken by them the due porcion should be given to th'admirall. But Bothwell hathe refused to give any part of the duetie belonging to him: whereat the King after longe debate did leave him with some offence: so as Bothwell departed, pretending to ride againe this night to his owne house, but he is not as yet departed."

Has acquainted the Chancellor with Burghley's esteem of his wisdom and constancy, whereof at this Convention he has given good proof. He gave great thanks, and has by Carmichael signified his affection to Burghley. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 15. 428. RICHARD WIGMORE TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 271. The 7th of this instant I received your letter, dated the 15th of May, whereby I perceive how slowly mine posted towards you, taking three

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months to find their way to St. John's. Whether the cause rests in Captain Carvell or the posts, God knows. My letters to her majesty came never near her highness.—"Untill therfore I may meatt with a more assuered convoy for my letters then the present doeth afforde, I must entreatt zow not to attende other then ordynary matters from me."

"Concerning Mrs. Foulers laett husbandes estate, and zower request to me in her furtherance, zow must understand: first, that Mr. Fouler dyed intestate; secondly, that the ackownt of his welth, so farr as is zett cum to knowledge, amownted to no greatt matter; thirdly, that the King, in regard of that intestation, pretendeth to be his heyer."

Touching his wealth—that wherewith Bothwell intermeddles—take here the true particularities: a cross of diamonds, a tablet with a diamond, a ruby and an emerald, a tablet with an agate of either side, a ring with a fair diamond; in coin, twelve shillings in single pence and thirty four silver counters; obligations of debt from Thomas Foules for 3000*li.* Scotch, from [P ?] Jussy for 600*li.* Scotch, from Da. Clappan of Leith for 500*li.* Scotch, and from Roger Asston for 400*li.* sterling.

"Now zow may if zow lyek believe that he whoo had to furnish other men, whose present condition was to be charged with phisitions, potecarye, sand surgions, besydes the necessitye of howsold expences to be supplyed, at the hower of his death had but twelve shillings in singl pence; but my opynion is that Jhon Mongommery hath very handsumly helped himself, whoe only hath delt with the howsold stuff, the vallue wherof imported not greatly."

"Amongst his wrytinges ar fownd certen discharges from my Lady Tabot for jewells receved to the Lady Arbellase use, and Archibald Douglass his obligation to Mr. Fouler, which arryseth sumwhat hygh." I was a stranger to his life, except since his coming hither, wherewith I was too well acquainted: "suerly his death was very prophane to the world," full of miserable torments. To the inheritance of his wealth he had destinated first the King, wherewith he charged Patrick Galloway at his going into Denmark, secondly the Laird of Coldenknows, thirdly old William Hume, "fourthly Mr. William Fouler, and fiftly William Fouler." Every one of these were strongly guided with this hope, but he dealt evenly with them all, not bequeathing to one of them the value of a "plack," notwithstanding that some in person and the wives of others were present at his death, and he was urged to make his will. He ever answered that his will was made and in the custody of a sure friend, whom he would never name. "Yea, this was his awnswere to Mr. Jhon Brand the minister not half an hower before his deathe, and zett now it can not appeare, eyther by his son whoe is cum hither to demawnd his goodes, or by any other, that evar he made any testament. How unchristianly he behaved himself toward the minister even at that tyme I forbeare to wryte bycawse that he is dead. But this I will confydently affirm, whatsoever hath bin hoaped for to the contrary, that both her majesty and this King by his death ar delyvered from a most dangerus instrument. Heerof more at tymes more convenient." What his secret course in state matters was cannot appear by any writings left behind him, all of which were either committed by himself to some other trust, or since his death by some handsomely embezzled; which confirms my opinion of Montgomery. Fowler would never hear of death or look after

James VI. 1590. the consequences that might ensue. His son has earnestly busied himself about his father's goods. He could not pretend right of testament, for himself confessed that his father did not make any; he is therefore returned in hope to join with his "mother in lawe" [*sic:* step-mother] in the administration of his father's goods. The gentlewoman shall never better her estate by one farthing by anything here, for the debtors are charged on pain of horning to bring all money due to Mr. Fowler to Sir Robert Melvin; and the King pretends a double right thereto, first because he died intestate, "next in regard of certeyn legacyes bequethed unto him by the Lady Margaret his guddame." Mrs. Fowler's friends should dissuade her from a pursuit which will yield nothing but travail and expence.

I dare not write of this state, *ratio quæ supra*. It standeth in a most dangerous state. "In the Kings howse a strange metamorphosis: in himself a greatt alteration."

"This Convention did begin the 10th of this present: not many wer called; of those fewe have appeared. In this tyme the King hath carryed himself with greatt gravity and moderation. Many thinges have bin propownded: as zett not any one concluded. This daye a reformation in the session is expected." Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. Wyg . . .*

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

June 20. 429. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Doctor Josephus Michaele, to your lordship knawin, that hathe this longe tyme remaned wythe me in cumpanye, is presentlye for some pryvate effectis to repayr towardis Holand, of intention to returne wythin the spaice of one monethe. He hathe prayed me to mowe your lordship for ane pasport to him, whiche I must pray your lordship to lat him hawe." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

June 20. 430. EARL OF WORCESTER TO BURGHLEY.

Having ended all that he had in charge he awaits the King's despatch. The Convention has given order for persons at horn, as appears by the enclosed note. They have committed to the King's pleasure the choice of his secret Council: the King purposes to call men of good religion, wisdom, experience, and good behaviour. "They have left the reformation of the Sessions to th'examynatione and order of them selves, with th'advice of the Lord Chancelour and consent of the King." Concerning the coin, Borders, and petitions of the ministers, they have appointed commissioners severally for every several cause, at whose meetings the King is to be present. All other things are referred either to the King and Council or else to the next Convention; "and yesterday taking order for matter of customes and sondrye other lyke thinges, they disolved this Convention untyll a newe warning."

Huntly has sent John Drummond and Alexander Duff to sue the King's favour upon delivery of the Earl's letters, and to solicit his friends to

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590. travail with the King, that seeing the King has taken for the Queen the house and lands of Dunfermline, that in recompense he will let him enjoy the tack or interest lately granted him by the bishop of Moray of the temporalities of that see, granted by the King since that bishop's decease to Alexander Lindsay: otherwise that he and his wife may be licensed to depart out of this realm and there to remain.

The King thinks James Gordon the Jesuit will come in by the day appointed, so as he may have the King's promise to depart without harm: and that Huntly, Auchendown, and others will obey him in all things. It is purposely bruited that James Gordon is already gone to the seas, but he remains in John Duff's house at Craighead, and will not come to the King except he be assured to return without hurt.

Auchendown also is said to prepare for flight, and will not appear except he have assurance for his safe guard. The King looks to be informed of these by the Master of Elphinstone, who is looked for today or tomorrow.

Erroll has sent to his father-in-law Morton, and to the Master of Glamis, to travail with the church for gentle dealings towards him, and written to Robert Bruce to give no credit to bruits against him and his religion; "wherin hee wrytethe as hee is presently disposed he wyll not shewe what religion he is of, nevertheless he wyll in tyme geve proofe of his honestee."

"The marriadg of Morton's dowghter to have been solemnysed of Tewsday next is put over untyll farther day." The King and Bothwell grow near to agreement for the exchange of Liddesdale, as by the enclosed note appears. Bothwell has three grievances: first, that the King presses over much for the exchange of Liddesdale; secondly, that he offered to prejudice him in his office as admiral by granting all the goods taken of the English pirates that robbed the Master of Orkney, who are to be pursued by the merchants spoiled, to those merchants in redress of their losses, without recompense for the portions due to the admiral; lastly, that Bothwell being chief gentleman in the King's chamber before the entry of the Duke of Lennox, is not now admitted to any place in the chamber. He (Bothwell) is departed not well content. Whilst here he sent for Lord Compton and other English gentlemen to see pastimes on Leith sands, "for yt was foreseen that neyther the King showld bee greeved for the company geeven nor hee styrred to ayny hard conceyt by refusall of his request in this beehawlff."

Andrew Clarke is to be sent by the Spanish faction to the Duke of Parma, but knows not yet what his commission shall be. Edinburgh. *Signed:* E. Worcester.

2½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Articles accorded between the King and Bothwell).

"That the Earle Bothwell sall resigne the lordship of Lyddisdale in the Kings handes and *remanentiam*, which is presentlie esteemed in yerely worth and value to [ ], on condicion that my lord sall not be subject to answere for nane of the inhabitantes of Lyddisdale dedes

James VI 1590. preceding the daie of his resignacion, saulfing for the performance of his band made in the King's majeste's absence; and that he hes not nor sall not do any thing that may hinder the true and effectuall relief of his highenes and his wardaine for his bygaine offensses of the inhabitantes of Liddisdale agains them selves. For quhilk cause his majestie sall seeke and procure that Rory Makcloyer [*sic*] of the Lewes and Torquill Maccloyer his sonne may be forfalt in his highness next parliament be lawe for sic crimes of treason as they have committed, upon the said Earle Bothwelles labours and expences: and quhill the said forfalt sall graunt no respitt nor remission to the said Torquill, nor other thing that may impeid the said forfalture: and sall also graunt to the said Earle Bothwell the escheit and life rent of the said Rory and To[r]quhill."

"Whereupon the said Earle may sute and acquire the possession of the landes and goodes and appertening to them for sic cause as they stand denounced to the horne for, as the lawes of the realme will allowe; with condicion that the King's majestie sall warrant the disposition of the landes of the Lewes and others, all being in the possession of the said Rory Mackroyer and Torquill his sonne in this manner: that in case it sall happen the said landes to be evicted from the said Earle Bothwell, his majestie and his successours salbe halden to warrant to the said Earle and his heires asmuche and as gude lande as the lordship of Liddisdale is estemed presentlie worthe by yere by him self, or sall reintegrat gif he sall so require the said Erle Bothwell to the said lordship of Liddisdale before the end of yere and daie after the date hereof.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "June 1590. Note of the order to be accorded betwixt the King and the Erle Bothwell for exchange of Lyddisdale."

June 21. 431. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Leaves all information as to this state to Lord Worcester, except something of which he has been this morning informed, as follows. The Lady of Auchendown, by the advice of Huntly's friends in court, came yesternight to this town, to excuse the appearance of her husband by his sickness; for he was charged to appear yesterday, and bring in James Gordon and the band of the brig of Dee. So many of Huntly's friends have dealt with the King in his favour, and that of others charged to appear yesterday, as they hope to find grace at the King's hands, "yet the King pretendeth to be resolute to procede with a sharpe course against them." Auchendown is ready to pass over the seas if he cannot get the King's favour.

James Gordon is brought hither secretly, and is in this town very close, purposing to depart again quietly if the King's goodwill may be gotten to Huntly and him. Otherwise he will put himself in the King's hands, trusting thereby to remove the King's offence from Huntly, who shall thus get his liberty.

"I trust my lord of Worcester shall this daie sett suche an edge on the King to cutt of these practises as this matter shall not be thus lightlie passed over, as it is looked for." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590.

June 22.

432. Queen Anne to Elizabeth.

Printed in W. Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, ii. 47.

Among all the favours which our Lord has granted us since, by His holy grace, having passed through much misfortune and weariness by sea, we have been happily led to a good haven, nothing has given us more contentment than that it has pleased His divine goodness to move you to visit us by your letters, rejoicing both in our alliance and nuptial union, and also in our happy arrival in the realm of the King our most honoured lord. In truth, it is impossible for us to express sufficiently how agreeable to us is this friendship which you having begun with the late King our father of eternal and happy memory, it pleases you to continue and to make hereditary towards us: which appears evidently, as well by your letters full of courtesy and good affection towards us as by your very rich and truly royal gifts; which we being unable worthily to remunerate except by an affection and goodwill like unto your own, we desire rather to manifest it by good effects when occasion shall offer than by writing. And if it please you to do us the honour to employ us in any thing which may turn to your contentment, as you may freely do, as well in respect of the near neighbourhood of the kingdoms wherein God has established us, as of the sex which is common to us both, and likewise of the courtesies whereby you have obliged us, we shall endeavour by all good and honourable effects and offices to show you the desire that we have, not only to entertain, as hereditary, that friendship begun between the late King our father of happy memory and you, but to increase it and render it closer and more assured, for the universal good of this island and our particular contentment: as we have prayed our very dear cousin the Earl of Worcester your ambassador to give you to understand more fully. Holyrood Palace. *Signed:* "Vostre tres affectionnée soeur et cousine Anna R."

1 *large page. French. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28.

433. James VI. to Burghley.

"Richt trustie and weilbelovit cousing we greatt yow hairtlie weill. Upon the sute of this berar Johne Montgomerie, lait servand to Mr. Thomas Foular, deceissit, quha be the suddane death of his said maister is frustrat of the rewaird expected for his long service and paines, as alsua of the great gude he promised him a lytill befoir his deceis, as we have bene crediblie informed, we ar mowit heirby to interpone our requeist for him, quhilk salbe in desyring zow to bestow wpone him ane office of waitter in the poirt of London, the nixt that fallis woid and waikand. Quhairby he may have the occasione and meanes to do als gude service thairin as his fader, quha of long tyme hes and presentlie dois execute the same; quhilk we understand to be at zour dispositioun and gift. And lykwyis we ar to desyre zow to giff him licence to transport fyftie tunis of beir frome London to Scotland as we have appointed. Quhairanent we luik zea sall schaw him suche favour as this oure requeist may prove effectuall, as we have had large pruife thairof heirtofoir." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590.

434. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

June 29. The Earl of Worcester meeting at Alnwick Burghley's letter to himself of the 21st instant, sent it to Bowes, that he might execute such part of it as concerned him; which he has done, signifying to the Chancellor Burghley's acceptance of his friendship. The said Chancellor promises all good offices.

On Saturday 27th he (Bowes) received Burghley's other letter of the 21st to himself, with the packets sent from the ambassador for Scotland; which he has delivered.

Has showed the King and Chancellor the times of audience granted by her majesty severally to Colonel Stewart and Sir John Carmichael, as also their success: letting them know how inconvenient it was for her to furnish Stewart and Skene with money for this voyage, as he had informed them before the departure of those ambassadors: "and that your lordship had nowe delivered to Sir John Carmighell for the King five hundred pounds, which Carmighell had put over to the Colonell and Mr. Skene, who at this tyme were passed forwardes in their voyage towardes Germanie." The King is greatly pleased, and will provide two commissioners to be sent to her majesty, the French King, and the King of Spain, at such time as shall be needful for the mediation of peace. As her majesty by letter to the King, and Burghley by letter to Bowes, have little allowed of the King's mild proceedings against the associates of the Brig of Dee, so Worcester and Bowes pressed the King to hold his course against them and in his intended reformation.

Reminded him of his promise to her majesty in this behalf to be delivered by the Earl of Worcester, and laid before him how deeply his honour was engaged to perform the same. He answered so well as nothing can be added in words to assure performance in deeds. And he and his Council have quietly motioned that Huntly, Erroll, Bothwell, Crawford, and Montrose shall be shortly commanded to such ward as shall be convenient and give best assurance of their obedience in times coming. The execution of this is doubted, because of the great offers they make to the King, and the force of their friends about him and in Council; for of late the King and Council have not consented in sundry causes in question amongst them. They have all lately sought the King's favour by their friends in court, and prevailed so far as the King has shown signs of good countenance towards them upon their good behaviour.

Huntly has offered to the King to surrender his estate in Dunfermline, and to be loyal and obedient. Also largely to compound with the Chancellor, seeming now willing to do all that shall be enjoined. "He seekethe leave for him self and his wife to depart out of the realme in case he can not obtaine the Kinges good opinion towardes him."

Has sent James Gordon, the Jesuit, as commanded, to be at the King's pleasure.

The King has not yet accepted his surrender of Dunfermline, because he has already compounded with the Master of Gray for his interest therein; yet his surrender will be received for the extinguishment of all titles.

The Chancellor refuses to trust his promises, seeing he has so often broken with him. "But the Duke of Lenox and other frendes so travell with the King, as it is ment that Patrick Murray shalbe sent with the

James VI. 1590. King's letter and advise to Huntlay, to counsell him to agree with the Chancelour, and thereon the King wilbe favorable to him." Huntly hopes to get licence for himself and his wife to depart out of the realm, but if the King continue in his course professed, Huntly shall not pass away so soon. It was thought that Huntlaie, Sutherland, and Aughendown should have been put to the horne at this tyme, upon their default in the chardge given them to appeare and bring in *Mr. James Gordon; but the processe of horning are hitherto staied."

"Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit is readie to depart out of this realme at the King's pleasure, and provision is made for his transportacion into Flanders, with chardge that he shall not retorne."

"The Ladie Aughendowne is retorned well contented. She is willed to perswaide her husband to bring in the band of the brigg of Dee, and thereon he shalbe received to the King's grace. She obtained in courte the greater favour by the shewe of her doughter with her, that is sole inheritrice of the possessions of the lard of Geethe hir father, and first husband of the said ladie: for George Hume a principall gentleman in the King's chamber is like by the King's commendacion to gitt the good will of the maide and her frendes to marie her."

Erroll coming secretly hither was brought to the King by Morton, Mar, and the Master of Glamis, without the privity of the Chancellor; yet they had before sought his goodwill. The King has addressed him to satisfy the kirk and to reconcile himself to the Chancellor, and he will the better accept of him. Erroll has written to Robert Bruce offering to satisfy the kirk, yet nothing hitherto is performed. He has also made means by his friends before named to agree with the Chancellor, who requires to be satisfied for former defaults, and assured of good behaviour hereafter. At this the matter still sticks, but the friends labour earnestly with liberal offers, and it is like shall come to agreement.

"The mariage betwixt Arrell and the doughter of Morton is appointed to be within few daies. But it is now intended to be done quietlie and without suche open solempnitie as before was prepaired.†"

The jealousies betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis as to Erroll breed great hindrance to the common causes.

Bothwell is passed towards Caithness with great discontentment that the Chancellor stayed the holding of his court at Dediston as he had appointed. In this journey he will probably speak with Huntly, and meet at St. Johnston's Lord Hume and other noblemen. If this tryst hold, matters of great importance will be stirred up: but Hume shall be advised to break that appointment. Many marvel at Bothwell's taking this course, when he ought rather to seek to recover the King's grace.

The Spanish barque, suffered to depart with captain and company before Worcester's passage hence, has cruelly spoiled sundry English ships about Hartlepool, "cast out sundry men from their ship, letting two barkes fleete emptie on the sea; and they are presentlie in the rode before Anstruther in Scotland, with a ship of Mr. Vernon's laden with malt for Barwick, one other of Lynn with beanes, and other of Clay with pease for Newcastle." Which three ships they took before Hartlepool, and having brought them to Anstruther, offer to ransom the men and

* *In margin in same hand*: "It is told me that his licence is already past, and that Huntley or his wife will not depart."

† *In margin*: "At the makeing hereof I am credibly informed that upon feare that the mariage should be staied by the King's chardge, the mariage is secretly selibrated on Saterday last 27 Junii."

James VI. 1590. their freights. They offered sale of these prizes, which was refused by the town, "and where they sett on land with one of the Inglish botes the masters of the shipps of Mr. Vernon and Lynn to fetche the ransomes appointed, the towne of Anstruther tooke and detaine two of the Spaniardes, and reskewed two English boies: whereupon the captaine of the Spanish bark immediately—as the boyes escaped have told me—hanged one of the Inglishmen." It is suspected that this barque was set forth by some of this nation to take the English pirates that robbed the Master of Orkney and sundry merchants of Scotland; and if they should miss the English pirate, to take such other ships of England as might redress those losses; for many Scots are in this barque besides the Spaniards, and the master of the ship of Lynn says that he saw another Scottish ship consorting this barque.

Peterson, lately in prison here for taking Mr. Arnold's ship and others, is in this Spanish barque. It was promised to Bowes that though he was set at liberty with others upon the Queen's entry into Edinburgh, he should be taken again; but he passed away quietly with his company and was cruel to the English as he threatened.

Has shown the King and Chancellor these causes of offence, and they go about to set forth ships to take this Spanish barque and rescue the prizes, and the merchants of the coast seem ready to seek the apprehension of that barque for her majesty's contentment, fearing it shall otherwise fall to their great hurt. Will pursue the matter, but fears the barque will escape, sail for Spain, and go about the isles.

It is said the Earl of Orkney has taken sundry English fishermen in Shetland, and brought them to Orkney to recompense the spoil of his son by an English pirate. Bowes prays direction, in case it be true.

It is called again in question whether the King's Council established before his passage into Denmark shall be altered, but the King and Council intend to appoint for this Council six earls, two lords, and four barons, agreeable to the note enclosed, as was motioned before Worcester's departure.

The commissioners for the Borders are directed to resolve as to measures for redress and preservation of the peace, that their resolutions may be signified to Sir John Carmichael and he may deal with Burghley and the Council upon a course to be taken.

"The peticions of the ministers will not be graunted: but in the end something wilbe done that every parish church may be furnished with a minister with reasonable stipend."

"Mr John Grame one of the lords of the Sessions hathe been sore charged with corrupt behaviour in that place by the King's advocate, before the King and Counsell. He is suspected to be found fowle herein, and hathe impeached the advocate of great corruption in his office: so as the matters for reformacion of the Sessions fall into further examinacion then was looked for."

The King purposes to resort with the Queen to Dunfermline, and after to Falkland for his pastime, with some chosen councillors. The Chancellor and other councillors shall be left here, and let the King know if his return is needed.

At the motion of sundry well affected to the Chancellor and Archibald Douglas, Bowes has approached the Chancellor to make reconciliation

James VI. 1590. betwixt them, but finding him " verie nice to allow of Mr. Douglas course in the common cause," has suspended his labours and awaits direction. He commends Douglas for his former services to her majesty—which Killigrew, Randolph, and he have avouched—and for his good offices to be done hereafter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[June]. Cott. Calig., D. ii. fol. 1.

435. JAMES VI.'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AMBASSADORS TO DENMARK AND GERMANY.

" . . .* [Ger]many directed from . . . of June 1590."

" . . . that celeritie is required in your negotiation, ye shall omitt no [dil]igence in prosecutinge youre chardg, and use all speed possible in [your] jorneyes and voyage, abstayninge from all unnecessarie aboad by the waie or divertinge anie wheare but where the necessitie of youre erand shall carie youe."

" Presse by all meanes—if convenientlie youe maie—to be in Denmarke before the departure of the Quene our deerest mother from thence, that by conference and deliberacion had with such of that state well devoted to our erand and sincerelie affected toward us, aswell residinge there as that are to accompany her, you maie the more resolutelie travell in youre negotiation."

" After youe have delivered our letter and hartiest comendacions to the Lord Chauncelor, Regentes, and other most zealous and kindliest devoted toward us of the counsell of that state, youe shall call to remembraunce the motion made to them first by our Chauncelor in our behalf, thereafter by our self, desiringe them to consider deepelie of the moment and daungerous sequele of the unkindlie warres betwixt the Quene of England our deerest sister, the Kinge of Fraunce our deerest brother, and the Kinge of Spaigne; howe manie inconveniences maie growe [th]ereby, what effusion of Christian blood, and what unquietnes to all [E]wrope, they beinge all so mightie Princes and havinge so greate [a]llyaunces, so stronge confederacies, and so straight conjunctions with [so] manie princes and potentates that almost all Christiandome shall [parti]cipate thereof, but cheifelie all that sincerelie professes Christ have carefullie . . . ert, to foresee theire perill and to provide diligentlie for theire . . ."

" This beinge no private quarrell founded on particulare injur . . ld project decreed in the Counsell of Trent for subversion . . . ion and overthrowe and utter exterminion [*sic*] of all s . . . sacred intencion to destroy and re . . . of Spaine entituled Catholique the he . . . and confederacie, not onelie for zeale of . . . monarchie; whereunto—havinge such wealth . . . domynions in the occident—he hopes to attaine . . . maie either possesse overthrowe or dissolve the . . . it in the power of one of his clientes, or parti . . . England; and consequentlie that restes of the K . . . shold possesse the seas and assure his naviga[tion] to him."

" The Emperoure his nephew, the Duke of [Savoy] in frendship with the most part of the Swyses, . . . Baviere and all the ecclesiasticalles

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590. in Germanie . . . kingdome of Pole destinate to one of his nephew[s] . . . afflicted, and alwaies likelie to be possessed by . . assotiation."

"By theise and manie other evident i . . . this warre in outward shewe directed against Eng[land and] to the rebelles of Fraunce is intended against all . . . Christ his truth, and all such as for maintenaun[ce] . . . and states wold mislike or withstand his monarch . . . the progresse thereof will breed the troble and . . . part of Christiandome, but the event and sequ[ele] threateninge subvertion of true religion and over[throwe] of all states truelie professinge the same."

". . . desired them, aswell for the publique respect . . . of peace and true religion, as for our private . . . owne estate wold not be void of perill in the . . . not onely wold participate the universall . . . perticulerlie touched bothe for religious caus . . . wold rekon with themselves the infinite pe . . . likelie to fall out, which wee sawe noe . . . hazard of oure states but one, to witt, . . . to make remonstrance to the . . . of the whole, that they being Christian prynces . . . ses and states, have longe contynued not only in suer peace, . . . [str]aighte amitie and ould confederacye, and often, and of late in verye . . . [a]llyance, no suche cause offred nor injuryes donne by anye of them to other as may justlie move so hotte desire of so cruell revenge, as so deadly a warre may produce, or that might provoke any of them to attempte so highlie againste the person or estate of other: and to laye before them the offence of God, whose highe displesure may be kyndled thereby, the greif of their consciences, the greate and many inconveniences that may growe thereon, the disturbing of the comon peace of Christendome, the effusion of Christian bloude, the harme and danger of their subjectes, frendes, confederates and domynions; the perillous sequells and doubtfull eventes, the assured domage and uncertein commodities. And therewithall to entreate them by all good meanes to give eare to the godlie and juste motion of so many well affected prynces to them, to reverence their Creator who is a God of peace, whose livetenantes they are, to dispose their hartes thereto, to shew themselves conformable, not to disdayne the honest petition nor frustrate the travailes of so freindly intercessors, and suffer their differences to be amitablie composed by a firme peace, suer and honorable for them both and all their freindes and confederates. As also to signifye to the Kinge of Spayne that this so harde dealinge againste the Quene of Englande and Kinge of Fraunce ministers no smale occasion of jelousie to all the prynces Protestantes, that in respect of the decree of the Counsaile of [T]rent, the Holye Leage, and other late proceadures, this may seame [ra]ther a generall project againste them all then a private quarrell [or] particuler revenge, whiche by his conformitie and enclyninge [to] peace wilbe fully cleared and removed. And on the other [par]te to declare to the Queene of England that hir contynuanc[e in wa]rre will argue in hir not only a disposition unsemely for hir . . . [al]so will move and encrease against hir a generall mislyk . . . in danger thereby."

"Synce the Kinge of Spayne is of so g . . . person, having lately had so greate losse which . . . repaire, his domynions so distant and sparsed . . . his state is cheiflye mayntayned, the lesse prof

James VI. 1590. . . . he is enforced to exorbitant charges to kepe a s . . . suertie of entercourse to and from the same, or s . . . and his navigatioun be stayed or intermitted by ly . . . enclyne to quyettnes, settle his state, assure his domyn[ions], . . . young sonne who is not accompted of stronge bodie . . . suertie, and harken to honorable and suer condicion[s], . . . private quarrells be componed and transacted; onle . . . upp by ambition to aspire to a monarchie . . . in the subversion of trewe relligion and professo . . . so be we all wilbe enforced either willfully or sh . . . or sincearly joyne our selves together in a firme . . . countreleage, and with joynt myndes and forces . . . obviate to the cruell desseignes and forces and ungodlie . . . adversarye, which if it be offensive and defensive . . . to mayntayne his Indies againste all our power . . . which his estate might neither consist in securi[tie]. We therefore desyred them carefully to en . . . and not onlie to joyne with us therein, but . . . meanes and creditt to persuade the prynces . . . of their friendshipp and allyance, with whom . . . deale particularlie to this end, and would dea . . . as were to repaire in that realme; whereun[to] . . . willinglie as well for themselves, as to joyne . . .'

". . . with all convenient expedicion addresse you to Bru[nswick] . . . ther part of the assemblie of the prynces, and delyver [to eve]rie one of them our severall letters with our hartiest commendacions, and [in] our name signifie to everie ane of them, cheiflie the electors of [S]axony and Brandenbourg as we have sett downe before: that we dealt with the chauncelour and cousnaile of Denmarke, laying before everie one of them what dangerous sequele, what effusion of Christian bloude, what troble to all Europe, and how manye inconveniences, whereof all Christendome is lykely to participate, appeares to ensewe on this unchristian warre moved by the Kinge of Spayne againste our dearest sister the Quene of England and our dearest brother the Kinge of Fraunce; as also to desyre them to call to mynd the bloudye decree of Trent against all that syncerlye professe the ghospell, the contynuall preparations of forces, the craftye dealing to committ the Protestantes amongst them selves, the Holy Leage amongste all Papistes, their cruell executions and massacres, the murders of so many prynces and persons of accompte, some attempted, some essayed, and some yett intended."

"What practises, what devises, what enterprises, all tending to that end and manifesting evidently the warres professed againste the said prynces are intended againste all that syncerely professe the evangile, and with tyme [wi]ll tend to the subversion of relligioun in everie severall place, [and] particuler overthrowe of their estates and domynions."

"The [Kin]ge of Spayne beside the cause of relligioun proposing to him [self] a monarchie, encoraged by his power and large domynions [in d]yverse partes of the earthe, having the Pope, the Emperor, so . . . prynces in Germany and confines thereof so farr addicted . . . smale impedyment but in the states of Fraunce and Engl[and] . . . obviate to all those m . . . Christendome, is to compose the dis . . . foresaides at peace."

"The fittest exp . . . by a conjoynt legation dyrect from a ne . . . from us, our dearest brother the elect King of Sax[ony], Brandenbourg and Palsgrave, the . . . Mehelburgh, Pomer, Holstein,

James VI. 1590. Lunenbourg, pry . . . and others zealous of peace and God his glory, f . . . authorised by us all to deale and remonstre as . . . Which if it be yelded unto, then shall the trewe re . . . in securitie, and Europe for the mooste part re . . . quiettnes. Otherwise, if it be refused, and the . . . of so well affected prynces frustrate and disd . . . shall proceade from the part of the Quene of Eng[land] . . . Fraunce, preferring particuler revenge to com . . . will deme their quarrell unlawfull, them selves . . . and distorbators of the publicke peace, yeald up . . . freindshipp with them during their obstinacye, and . . . commodities of our domynions be used to the . . . of their adversarie. And if the King of Spayne . . . reject so godlie a mocion, and obstinately ref . . . condicions, as by lykelyhood he will not for th[at] it argues playnlie a covert meaning and w . . . intention against relligion and all that s . . . : which as it concernes all moste highely, both . . . so we muste we [*sic*] sincerely joyne our selves in a . . . obviate to his pernitious desseignes and pro . . . offensive and defensive would be the more . . . harme and grevance. As we by our selves at our late being . . . dearest brother and father in lawe . . ."

". . . deale severallie in the like sort with everie one of [the] said princes, and if youe find them frankelie disposed spare noe . . . . mocion it publiquelie to them all at one tyme."

"Travell by all meanes that the legation be spedelie directed specyallie to Spaine, and all celeritie be used, for that delay maie breed a lett, and give us tymelie warninge of the persons and tyme shall be appointed. The like must also be directed toward England and Fraunce, to intreat those princes in the sort; lett the tyme be signified to us that wee maie joyne one from us to deale conjunctlie with theirs."

"Lett your cheife travell be that a league—at least defensive yf forder maie not be obteyned—be firmelie promitted in case the Kinge of Spaine contynue obstinate, reject the legation, give flatt refuse or use shiftes, delayes or remisses to frustrate the effect thereof."

"Yf the tyme of the assemblie at Brunswick be prorogate to a longer daie, or hold not at all, youe shall deale with them severallie, and if youe find them well affected, deale ernestlie for a meetinge in some convenient place so soone as youe maie move them thereto."

"The like if before your arrivall the assemblie be dissolved. Yee shall also travell by all meanes with the said princes that after the retornynge of the legation from Spaigne, Fraunce, and England, howe and where they shall be convenit for takinge farder resolucion what shall be most expedient to be furder done in case of refuse or [y]eldinge to peace."

"[If pe]rhaps ye be so streited with tyme that conveniently [ye ma]y not goe by Denmarke and come tymously to . . . some be tymously sent to joyne . . . was agreed unto when we first mo . . . All other thinges fitt to be done for the adv . . . of youre negotiation wee remytt to your better . . . shall fall out, keepeinge alwaies the effect . . ."

7¼ *pp. Copy. Marginal notes in Burghley's handwriting.*

James VI. 1590.

436. Observations on the instructions to the Ambassadors to Denmark and Germany.

[June ?]

Cott. Calig., D. ii, fol. 5.

". . .* meth not possible for the ambassadours to be at Brunswyk [before] the end of this month of June, which shall be within [twelve] or thirteen days, if they shall mak ther voyadg first [to] Denmark and than to Brunswyk, or that they do [n]ot mak great spede to pass by sea from hence ether to Hamburgh [o]r Staden, from ether of which two places ther jornye [s]hall be shorter to Brunswyk than from Denmark to [B]runswyk. [Ther] for where they ar commanded to be in Denmark befor the Queen [of D]enmark . . . towardes Brunswyk, and that also they have letters to [the] Chancellor of Denmark and to the regents ther [to] whom they ar willed at ther arryvall thyther to remembre to them all that befor . . . bene declared ther first by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and after [by] the King of Scottes hym self concerning the daungers of the continuance of the [war] betwixt the Queen of England, the French King, and the King of Spayn [and the] remedyes therof, to be a joynt legation to those three [princes to] move them to peace, and in case of the refusall . . . then be meanes of a conterleag to withstand the attem[pts] of the refusor, w[ith a] very large decla[ration] . . . both to induce the sayd three princes to peace, . . . in a leage defensyve and offensyve if it . . . the refusors."

"All these matters may be sent in [Denmark] by these two ambassadors with the King of Scottes letters, and to . . . of thes ambassadors not comming thyther to be by reason of the lack of . . . , yet to require of the Chancellor of Denmark and the regentes that some persons mete for this purp[ose be] sent from Denmark to Brunswyk, to joyne with these ambassadors to procure the joynt intended legation to . . . now at warr, and the prosequution of the commen leage."

" Item, whan these ambassadors ar come to Brunswyk, if the ass[embly be] ther, but ether it be not begon or that it be past, than . . . . ar directed by ther instructions with the severall letters of the King of [Scots] to all the princes severally, and to move them to a . . . metyng togither for this intended purpooss. By . . . process of this action, which requireth spede, . . . such length as the fruit or benefit therof will . . . this sommar nor a long tyme after. Therfor it semeth better that presently . . . the King of Denmarkes regentes and the [Duke of Mecke]lburk ar all redy had . . . be spent by these two ambassadors . . . so manny princes as ar named, beyng in nomber ten, as the Elector of S[a]x[ony], the Palsgrave, Mar[grave] of Brandenburgh, Dukes of Brunswyk, [Meck]ellburg, Pomerland, Holsten, Luneburg, Anholt, and Landsgrave, [which] ar manny hundred myles and manny dayes jorneyes [a]sonder. But for remedy of that inconvenience it may [be required] that havyng the consent all redy of the King [of] Denmark, the Dukes of Brunswyck and Meckellburg, who also, as it seemeth, have determined to impart this intention to other princes ther neighbors of ther [mi]ssion, it shall do well first to understand of these two dukes whyther they have imparted this purpooss to the other princes, [to] how manny, and what

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590.

hope they have of ther consent; [and] if they have any such hope, than to require those [two] dukes, that is, Brunswyk and Meckellburgh, to send [their] own privat letters joyntly with the Scottish Kinges letters to them, and to . . . them of the arryvall of the Scottish ambassadors to Brunswyk, [and] by all good meanes to procure the coming of as manny of those princes, ether [person]ally, or to direct ther agentes well authorised to come thyther and [in] ther names to conclude with the ambassadors of the two kynges uppon the sendyng of such a [decla]ration to the three princes beyng at war; and furder . . . upon a comen leage for mayntenance of publyck p . . . the breakers and . . . and to defend all such as a . . . in any sort invaded or off . . . meanes the ambassadors shall sonest coun . . . But if the sayd two dukes of Brunswyk . . . have not delt to tast the myndes of any . . . or that they have found them th . . . or that the ambassadors shall otherwise unders[tand] . . . they may by some intelligence to be had, eth[er through] Palavicino hir majesty's ambassador in Germany [or the] French King's ambassadors de Saucy and de Fres[ne that the] princes ar not willyng to joyne in this . . . two Kings of Scottes and Denmark, nether for the legation nor for mak . . . , than it s . . . to reveale the cause to any such as . . . so unwillyng; for so by ther refus[al] to the requestes . . . Spaynes faction in Germanny will . . . And therfor it may seme sufficient . . . conjunction, to have the two Kynges and [Dukes of] Brunswyck and Meckleburgh, addyng [only] Holst and Pomerland, which two by bloo[d are] joyned to the King of Denmark, and . . . be made, of ther assent both to the . . . conterleag; and if mo princes can be had . . . the better . . . be sent to the three princes, and . . . of the sayd princes to harken to conditions of peace, than it s[hall be con]sidered how and wher a convention shall be for furder procedyng ageynst the refusors."

"[Th]at order will bryng great delayes, but it is better [tha]t at the tyme whan the legation shall be now determined to be sent the princes that shall send to the three princes do presently combyne themselves in a present leage to conserve peace amongst them selves and ther allyes, with clauses both of offence and [d]efence ageynst ther adversayres; and by the same [le]age to comprehend by speciall names the Queen of England, the French [K]yng, and the King of Spayne, if they three will [a]ccord to peace, or with as manny of them as shall [as]sent to conditions of peace uppon the legation. [A]nd in lyk sort to bynd them selves to relinquish the [ami]te with the Queen of England and King of France if ether of them shall refuse to . . . ce, and also to obviat the pernitiooss deseynes of the King of Spayn if he will not yeld to peace, and so consequently to joyne togither in a leage offensyve [and] defensyve ageynst the invader or violator of [peace; a]nd this leage to begyn to tak effect . . . ageynst any prince refusyng conditions . . ."

"*Item*, for the legation to be mov[ed] . . . It may seme mete for avoydyng of charges that the same consist not . . . , and therfor it may be compounded of . . . , on for the King of Scottes, on for the King of [Denmark], and on for the other princes of the empyre; and these three may com from Hamborogh or Staden to se . . . to France, and ther to speak with the French Kyng, and so to . . . from whence by ther retorn the King can know how furder to procede."

James VI. 1590.

"As for the place of treaty to which the [Queen of] England and the Spanish King may send com[missioners] . . . be for some fourteen dayes at some place n[ear] . . . , some other fourteen dayes neare Gravelyng; and for the honor of the Queen [of England] it may be accorded that all the ambassadors may be shipped over to Do[ver] . . . fourteen dayes treaty. And to avoyd all . . . entry into treaty, the ambassadors may move it . . . for the three princes; wherin the severall names . . . small cedules inclosed in a bullett of wax indifferently molded with a muskett wold . . . To avoyd all kynd of fraud, that bullett that shall be first taken out of a secret bag by the King of Scottes ambassador, beyng the first of the mediators, shall serve to declare the place to be first apoynted for that King whose name shall be found ther inclo[sed]. . . . prince of the empyre . . . [pe]ace, [sh]all be assitent with the commissionars that shall be sent from the three prynces that ar in warr, and shall do ther endevors to reconcyle the controversyes to a fyrm peace."

"*Item*, it semeth necessary that for the more expedition to bryng this action to a good end, that wher by the King's instructions no mention is made for the nomination of such as shall be sent from the King of Scottes in the intended legation, but that as it semeth these two ambassadors shall first retorn into Scotland after they have concluded uppon the legation and the leage, to advertise the Kyng of ther doynges, and than the King to apoynt such as he will send in the legation [joint]ly with the ambassadors of the King of Denmark and the princes, the effectyng wherof will require a long tyme both for the tyme of ther retorn and for the tyme of the preparation of the King's ambassadors and for ther passyng also into Germanny to joyn with the others: and therfor it is thought more mete that those [ambas]sadors here present, consideryng they meane befor ther departure . . . being in hostillite, and thereof . . . uppon knowledge to be had from Bronswick . . . of the full conclusion made with the princes . . . nes to send theire ambassadours, the King may . . . by waye of England, and theare-uppon such as he hath cawsed afor[time] to be . . . maie come thorowgh England and meete with [those] of Denmarke and the princes at theire landing [in] Germanie, withowt expecting altogither the personall reto[rn of the] ambassadours out of Germany, althowgh theie maie also retorn . . . to Scotland by sea, or hither withowt anie . . . in Germanie, after they have concluded theire . . . committed unto them by theire instructions."

"It is also thowght meete that when the a[mbassadors] have done theire messuage to the three princes . . . them all inclinable and willing to have the . . . to be treated and concluded, because they shall . . . King of Spaine, if the sayd King be theareto wil . . . move him to yeld to send his commissioners to be . . . within forty daies after to meete with the . . . shall cum both from the French King and . . . England, who may in very short tyme send thers to . . . And by this meanes the more . . . made without procuring of any newe con . . . sending of ambassadours. These observations war made by the Queens majestes commandment . . . of the instructions, and hir commandment . . . hereafter named."

8 *pp. In Burghley's hand, except most of the last page.*

James VI. 1590. July 2.

437. PAYMENTS MADE IN ENGLAND TO THE USE OF JAMES VI.

"14 Aug. 1588. To Sir William Reade to be carried to the Erle of Huntingdon to be issued as his lordship showld have direction 6,000 *l.*"*

"27 Ap. 1589. To Mr. Robert Bowes to be imploied for the said Kinge. 3,000 *l.*"

"9 Dec. 1589. To John Colvile the Scottish ambassadour in monie 1,000 *l.*, and for plate and silkes 2,000 *l.* 3,000 *l.*"

"21 Junii 1590. To his ambassadours that went into Denmark 500 *l.*"

"2 Julii 1590. To Sir John Carmichell to the said King's use 3,000 *l.*"

½ *p. Indorsed.*

July 3.

438. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

"I sei the matters of Scotland is not lyk to goe so wel as was lookid for; for now the Earl of Hunttly offers hime self to tryal for bearinge armes agaenst the King at the brige of Dee, and his unkle Mr. James Gordon haeth lyssence to depart the cuntrei. What moar disorder can be then plaen rebelyon to be avowid and that thoes that doe so dar offer them selves to the tryal of law, and that a notabil Jesuit and wikid papist shal have lyssence to goe wher he wil with owt farther?

"The Chanceller haeth delt most instantly and earnistly with the King, affirming to him that nether his frends and neychtbors wold regard him if he swerve from a notable refformacyon at this tyme, and that ether now or never he must recover and get estemasyon by his owin acsyons, affirminge also the lyk disgrace to him at hoam by his owin subjects; and the best sort begin to fear his over great clemenssy."

"If the Queen's majeste with hold hir pretended good at this tyme from the King, it wil utterly disgrace and overthrow the Chanceler and this man hear and al the good faxsyon, and strengthen the bad and maek them moar insolent, and the King unable to do any thinge amongest them. And if the King gett it I fear it breid moar caerlessnes in him, so that under corecsyon in humble sort I think it were nocht a miss that your lordship and my lord Chanceler should taek knowledge of evil aperance of matters at hoam, and sharply to reprehend the King's clemency and caerlesness, and to threattin loss of the Queen's majestes favor to the King if he howeld nocht a good and justiceable cowrsse amongest his people of al estaetts."

"The imbasador is desyrus to speak with your honors and to taek his leve, spaer not to frae him in this sort. I saw the Chancelers letter to him, but he tuchith noan of this, but it is of trewth that I wryt, and every one amongest them befrendith other, parsyaly, with owt regard to the comon welth or the King."

"I mean, if so seam good to your honor, to goe with this imbasador to do my dewte to the King, otherwysse nocht. Wherfor I humbly crave your honors pleassuer hearin, and to know if it shal pleas your honor to comand me any service ther."

2¾ *pp. Holograph but not signed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "Whereof 3,000 to the King of Scottes."

James VI. 1590.

439. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

July 4. This day Colonel Stewart has been with him, greatly grieved with some reports made against him, and praying that they may be brought to her majesty's knowledge: she will know the truth of them, so Colonel Stewart prays her to vouchsafe such declaration of his true part therein as may please her, and make his innocency known to the King and others in this realm. Stewart says it has been reported to some noblemen about the King that when he went to England he had direction from the King to travail with her majesty on behalf of the Duke of Lennox and Earl of Arran; wherein he earnestly laboured, and found in the beginning her majesty's acceptance; but in the end she misliked the matter, and he was driven to seek other means. And labouring with the help of a person in that court to further that cause, he delivered to that person the heads or articles of his desire, which coming to the hands of John Colvile, his colleague, were by him shown to the lords of the Council, who condemned the articles and the intention of the suitor. Stewart also said that Archibald Douglas, the young laird of Whitingham, has written to David Collace, as appears by the double of the said letter enclosed, "and as tendeth to his slander and disgrace"; he prays that those reports and that letter may be considered, and the truth signified, that the lords and others may be satisfied; otherwise they may think the Colonel has not done his duty entrusted to him. St. Andrews. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

July 4.

440. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

In order to understand the doings of the Spanish barque, he sent William Walker, a pensioner in Berwick, to Anstruther, and is informed that on Monday June 22nd the Spaniards and Scottishmen in that barque, "being consorted with a little fliebote, wherein one Cuningham—brother of the lard of Barnes and the Isle of May—and Captaine Rig do commaund," took six English ships off Hartlepool, whereof five were bound for Newcastle and one for Berwick with malt to Mr. Vernon. Four of them belonged to Lynn, one to Cley, and one to Yarmouth. Out of three of these ships the Spaniards took all the men prisoners, spoiled the tackling, and left the ships floating on the seas. The other three—two of Lynn and one of Cley—they carried to Anstruther, where they anchored on June 26th, and compounded with the masters of the English ships for ransom of men, vessels, and goods.

On June 27th the Spaniards lying before Anstruther put forth a boat with some Spaniards to seke fresh victuals, and two English boys to help them to row, with the two masters of the ships of Lynn, to return with the ransoms on the 29th. The bailiff of the town stayed the victuals, whereupon a Spaniard struck him, and in the fray one Spaniard was taken; the rest escaped and recovered their barque. The two English boys with the help of the townsmen escaped. "Soone after sondrie fishermen sawe the Spaniardes executing some Inglishmen on the hatches."

James VI. 1590. On Sunday 27th June the Spaniards hanged an Englishman by the head and feet together on the main yard of the ship of Lynn: and stowing other Englishmen under the hatches, they fired the ship, with the men and her freight of beans. The townsmen attempting a rescue were repulsed by Spanish muskets.

The Spaniards afterwards put one Knightson of Pittenweem into the ship of Cley as captain. That day they hoisted sail, taking with them the other ship of Lynn sent to Mr. Vernon, and that night lay under the Isle of May. The next day they started southwards, but on the following day were seen to come northwards again. The Spaniard detained says they intend to seek the English fishermen in the north seas, threatening to drown all they can get. It is thought they will make to Orkney and tarry there, especially the Scottishmen, to utter in Orkney the corn from the English ships, and to abide there.

Has sought that fit vessels may be sent to pursue them, and to rescue the English ships, or at least put them out of the seas to protect the fishermen. It is promised that all shall be done that may be; but finding few ships here fit for the purpose he doubts the success unless remedy be provided.

With these Spaniards are twenty-two Scottishmen, besides the men in the fly-boat. It is suspected that some of the merchants lately spoiled by English pirates have in revenge helped to set forth this barque; though this is denied, as the laird of Carmichael will make known.

On Wednesday last the King and Council, at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, had conference with his commissioners for Border causes. It was declared that the delay of redress in the bills filed by the late commissioners at Berwick stays the meetings of the Wardens and the execution of justice, "and also holdeth the pledges in England thus longe for the satisfaccion of the deliverie for these bills." Whereupon the Clerk Register was sent to Bowes to deliberate for some remedy, persuading that all bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick not yet redressed should be sworn on one day, that the full quantity might be known. And that thereon either prince shall discharge the other for like value and quantity, and also satisfy their own subjects for the redresses to be made unto them. The surplusage remaining to be answered by the prince chargeable with that surplusage.

Commends the matter to the consideration of her majesty's Council: Sir John Carmichael will move it to them and to Burghley. Upon his calling for redress for Mindrum and other attempts in England the King has written to Bothwell for surety of his redresses for Liddesdale, and for his resolution as to exchange with the King for Liddesdale, as by the copy of his letter enclosed will appear. The messenger sent to Bothwell in the north is not yet returned. Bothwell is expected at St. Johnston's next week at the tryst already mentioned by Bowes. The assembly will not be so great as appointed, as some of the parties are stayed, but Hume is gone this night to the tryst.

"The King at his being at the Tolebooth had sommoned the presbiterie of this towne to appeare there before him and his Counsell: whereupon he chardged them, that contrarie to their owne act of convencion they had suffered one minister to preache in that churche, notwithstanding he was before suspended for evill speache uttered in

James VI. 1590. his sermon against the King and his honour. It was answered that this minister had submitt himself and was thought to have bein reconsiled to the King and churche : yet bicause the King appeared not well content therewith, it was ordered that the minister should remaine suspended and enjoyned to yeld him self to the King's will and pleasure. Wherewith the King was well pleased."

Alexander King, accompanied with John Stewart, was summoned before the sessions of the church for obstinacy and papistry. He abusing the assembly, the King ordered them both to ward, saying "that he wold have no other to beat ministers then him self ; but that they should be reverenced as their estate required."

At this assembly of the Council the King, thinking himself often prevented by them in his course desired, sought their advice whether any of the bridge of Dee—offering to accomplish the order set down for them, to answer for all things done since that time, and hereafter to be of good behaviour—should be received to his grace, and that such as refused might be called upon to do their duties; "and that his doing herein might be the better knowne, he uttered these thinges in the hearing of the ministers there gathered for the cause recited. It was generally agreed that suche as should come in and submit themselves agreable to the order proponed by the King might be well received, and that the others ought to be called upon as the King had moved ; and thereupon suche act is made as by the copie hereof enclosed will appeare to your lordship."

Showed the Council that he had restrained the marriage of the Earl of Erroll with Morton's daughter until he and the church might be satisfied, and had sent his charge in writing on Monday last for the same ; "but Arroll had prevented him and consummated the mariage on Saterdaie last, noting therein muche evill dealing in him and others in that behalf." Morton shall be charged, upon pain of rebellion and horning, to appear before King and Council on Wednesday next at Holyrood, to answer this matter : which charge is gone forth.

Through this marriage new griefs are sprung betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis. Sundry of their friends have travailed to reconcile them, but such jealousies remain as may wreck one of them and hazard the alteration of this state.

Sundry noblemen are sent for to be present on Wednesday at the appearance of Morton ; the assembly will be greater than is meet to convene at this time, in the entry of the King's progress. Particular offences are reconciled, for the better strengthening of these two parties. Such agreements are too fast and loose to be described, and hasty troubles are feared.

Huntly will probably come shortly to the King's presence, though some of the wisest in Council seek to keep them asunder. The King desires to draw all to peace and concord. The Master of Glamis offered on Monday last to find a way for all his noblemen to come and submit themselves, and the King has accepted his offer gladly.

Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit is at Leith, pretending to be ready to embark at the King's command, yet hopes "to finde ether some favour to remaine secretlie in the realme, or els some meane to retire shortlie

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into this countrie [*sic*]. The lard of Aughendoun is said to be in Netherie, the house of the Lord Seaton, seeking his peace with the King by the meanes of his freindes in the chamber."

"The master of Angusse is readie to reconsile him self to the churche and to his father, and I have bein partlie assaied to travell in the same, but I attend some signes for my suertie to do good offices therein."

Maxwell seems disposed to keep the Borders in peace, and by letters to Bowes offers devotion to her majesty; but some say he purposes to send David King, a papist and excommunicate, into Flanders, either for the surety of this wicked fellow or with other evil intent; yet he protests innocence. It is thought that David King is now with Huntly, and is to be sent by him to the Duke of Parma—offended by Huntly's slackness—accredited by Maxwell.

The other day a Dutch gentlewoman from Lubeck arrived at Leith. She had sought the King of Scots at Elsinore, but coming after his departure took her voyage hither. She brings a Latin letter, declaring that she is sent to the King to discover to him his good fortune. She had conference with the Queen in her own language, "having no other tonge then the Duche," showing that learned magicians of the east had met and found noble acts to be done by a prince in the north-west of Europe, having a mark in his side, whom they noted to be the King of Scots.* She would not tell who sent her, but prayed that one having the Dutch tongue and in credit with the King might confer with her in the King's presence. The King and country think her a witch; yet he is purposed to hear her.

The King is gone to see that Dunfermline and Falkland be prepared for himself and the Queen by the end of next week; he returns on Monday next the 6th instant.

Is persuaded that Worcester moved him on behalf of James Murray rather through request in this town than by direction from her majesty. Sir John Carmichael should be told that this motion for restitution of Murray to his place in the King's wardrobe was by her majesty's order. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(The King to Bothwell.)

"Right trustie cousing and councellour we greit yow hartely wele. We were occupied yesterdaie, being the first of this month, principallie about the Border matters, whereof craving to be particulerlie informed we finde yow decernit and adjudgit to be put to the horne for none relieving of us and our warden of that bill of Mindram, for non finding of seuirtie in landismen according to the remanent landislordis having landis on the Borders, and we have gotten no resolute answer of the memorie [*sic*] delivered to yow at our commaund and by your owne desier touching Liddisdale and the Lewes. In thir thingis we are put to our great straitis and on force must have an outgate. Therefore we desier yow effectuouslie to send us ane answere in writt with this same bearer what we sall lippen unto in these pointis: for gif your men filed in the

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "A Mockery."

James VI. 1590. bill of Mindram be not presentlie here to us, we will not bid sett a new meeting without yow finde suertie. Others will do what they can to cast of the like burden, and for the matter of excambion lett it be ether effectuallie followed out or left, giving us in every point sic a speciall and direct answere as it sall not appeare that other matters goes wrange be the preparacion of this, as ye respect us and your owne honour." Holyrood. 2 July.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Second Enclosure with the same :

(Act of the Secret Council of Scotland.)

Printed in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 501-2.

"Forsimekle as the Kinges majestie, with advise of the lordes of his secret Counsell, hes though gud to signifie and declaire to all his gud subjettis and uthers whome it effeireis, that as his highnes of his owne free mercie and grace hes extended his clemencie and favour to a great number of persons quhilk hes made defection and tak armes against his majestie and his aucthoritie at the brigg of Dee, in the month of Aprill the year of God 1589 : even soe his majestie intendes na wayes to enter in quarelling or pursuet of anye of them quhilke either hes resavit his highnes remission, respett, or other pardon, be word or writt, for the said crime, or that repaired to his majesties presenc, and resaivet his highnes gud contenance for any thing depending upon the said action preceding the tyme of the granting pardon, presenc, and countenance, but to use this common and indefferent order to them all, namelye, that they shalbe answe[r]able and abid triall before his majestie and sic of his Counsell or uthers as his highnes shall thinke meet to nominate and appoint for all thingis done be them synsyne, to the troubling of his highnes estate and the relegion presentlye professed within this realme, and sall compeir before the presbetarie of Edenburghe or others as sall likewise be apointed be his highnes at all tymes as they sall requier it, and reconcile them to the kirke be acknowledging of their offence committed against God and his majestie in manner foresaid, and submitting themselves to the discyplyne thereof : and that they in like manner fynd causion to underlie and followe furth that order and derection for the quiet setling of the present estate, savetye of the religion, and their gud behaviour hereafter, as be his majestie alswe salbe prescrived. And in speciall that they sall do nor attempt at nathing to the hurt or prejudice of hes majestie, the presenc estate, nor the said trew relegion in tyme comming, under certaine pecunniall payns to be modifiit be hes highnes and the said lordis, according to an act and ordenance made by them at their being at Aberdein in the month of July last by past, quhilk act they califie [*sic*] and aprove in all pointis, and ordains letters to be derect to this effect as oft as need beis, as alswa to make publication of the premisses at all mercat croses, wharthrow nane pretend ignorance of the same." Edinburgh, 1 July 1590.

¾ *p.*

July 6. 441. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

"Greater promises, more affection, and grauntes of more acknowledgings of receavid good turnes, my deere brother, none can better remember

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than this gentleman by your charge hath made me understand; wherby I think all my indevors well recompensid that see them so well acknowledgid; and doo trust that my counsells, if they so much content you, will serve for memorialls to turne your actions to serve the turne of your safe gouvernement, and make the lookers on honour your worth and reverence such a ruler. And lest faire semblance that easely may beguile doo not breede your ignorance of such parsons as eyther pretend religion or dissemble devotion, let me warne you that ther is risen both in your relme and myne a sect of perillous consequence, such as wold have no Kings but a presbitery, and take our place while they enjoy our priviledge with a shade of God's word, which none is judged to follow right without by their censure they be so deemid. Yea, looke we well unto them, whan they have made in our peples hartes a doubte of our religion, and that we erre if they say so: what perillous issue this may make I rather think than mynde to wryte. *Sapienti pauca.*"

Printed in Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.* (1877 edn.) iv. 178; *Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI.* Camden Soc., 1849, pp. 63-4.

"I pray you stopp the mouthes or make shorter the tongues of such ministers as dare presume to make oraisons in their pulpitts for the persecutid in England for the Gospell. Suppose you, my deere brother, that I can tollerate such scandalls of my sincere governement? No. I hope howsoevir you be pleasid to bear with their audacitie towardes your self, yet you will not suffer a strange King receave that indignitie at such caterpillers hands that instede of frute I am afrayde will stuff your realme with vennom. Of this I have particularised more to this bearer, togither with other aunswers to his charge, besecching you to heare them, and not to give more harborow to vacabond traytors and seditious inventors, but to retourn them to me or bannish them your land. And thus with my many thankes for your honorable intertaynmentes of my late ambassade, I commyt you to God."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

July 7. **442. Bothwell to James VI.**

"I received your letter, and agreable to the desier thereof I sall travell to put all the inhabitantis in Liddisdale under your highnes obedience, so that throughe their default nathing shalbe attempted in ther boundis. As annenpt the excambion of the Lewis with Liddisdale I am well content that the same take effect, your majeste finding securitie how I salbe satisfied anent the peaceable bruiking thereof. For, God willing, I sall ever endevour myself to dischardg my dueties as effeiris. And sen I am upon the continewance of my jorney, will request your majestie to shaw your favourable countenaunce and assistance in my absence to my wife, barnes, and servauntis, as I sall ever continew your highnes most obedient and loving servaunt to the end." St. Johnston.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

July 11. **443. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

The griefs betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis have increased beyond reconciliation, working general inconveniencies. Glamis thinks the Chancellor "hathe bound up firmelie with Bothwell for his distruction," and the Chancellor is persuaded "that Glames is

James VI. 1590. banded with Arroll and others for his overthrowe." It is true that the Chancellor has entered into great kindness with Bothwell and Hume, and Hume has offered thirty able men to defend his person, and to bring him five hundred armed horsemen if need be. Yesternight the Earl of Mar and the Master of Glamis were with the Chancellor to compound the matter between him and Erroll.

The King, desiring a quiet state, and to bring his noblemen to his obedience and to concord among themselves, is pleased that the associates of the Bridge of Dee shall be received upon the conditions set down in the act of Council of the first instant. He has sought to employ the Master of Glamis to bring in Huntly, Erroll, and the rest, showing herein better countenance to Glamis than formerly.

Glamis found fault with the draft drawn up by John Andrews, the clerk, for the remission to be granted to the associates of the Bridge of Dee for that action, and caused him to draw another draft covering all offences up to the day of the act of Council. Bowes pointed out how this differed from the course pretended by the King and advised by the Master himself, and how dangerous it should be to the common cause. Glamis answered that the first draft was more to the hurt of Erroll than of any other, for which he desired redress. He assured Bowes that he had not had any dealing with Huntly and his party, nor would deal with him, notwithstanding that the King should press him in the same. But the Chancellor and others show that he had intelligence with these parties before they entered into arms or took him, and that he has now " moyen " amongst them. All which Glamis denies.

These discords threaten the overthrow of the Chancellor or Glamis, " with dangerous welter in this estate." Bowes has warned the Chancellor, who thinks the King will remedy these matters, and chastise and bring in the fellowship of the Bridge of Dee and others seeking to disquiet the state : the Chancellor holds himself safe against all attempts.

Put the King in mind of the good advise her majesty had given him by her letter and by the Earl of Worcester touching his course against disobedient subjects ; and his promise given to Worcester : so endeavouring to draw the King to action against the " Briggers of Dee " and others. The King answered that he remembered her advice and would keep his promise, but there is no surety of the accomplishment of his promises.

Morton, appearing on Wednesday last before the King and Council, was put over till their sitting yesterday. " Before his appearance the provost of Linclowden, the abbott of Newbottle, the priour of Blantire, and the Comptroller sought the Chancelour's favour to be shewed to Morton. Whereupon the Chancelour sent them to the King, with an especiall token and earnest request for his goodness to be shewed to Morton." The King paid no heed, purposing to ward Morton, charging him with disobedience to his commandment restraining him to agree to the marriage of his daughter with Erroll till the latter had satisfied him and the church. The Justice Clerk and the whole Council sought to excuse Morton, urging his former services and his weakness in old age, but the King pressed them to vote directly whether it was disobedience or not. " They resolved that it was disobedience to him, but not to be punished so farre as to be warded for the same ; committing nevertheles the punishment of him to the King's pleasure. The King is pleased to

James VI. 1590. advise with Linclowden, Newbotttle, Blantire, and the Comptroller for the qualitie of the punishment to be inflicted upon Morton. Whereupon he hathe libertie to retorne home."

The Earl of Mar and the Master of Glamis hereupon resorted to the Chancellor, who is grievously diseased with a pain in his right arm, causing him to keep his lodging, and many times in the day his bed, and is prayed for in the churches. They sought to compound matters betwixt him and Erroll, who was secretly come to this town with one man to see what would become of Morton his father-in-law. "But Marre and Glames could litle prevale with the Chancelour: whereupon Arroll passed awaie this morning, and may not se the King before he satisfie the churche and the Chancelour. All which he seemeth to be readie to do, and to take fast part with the well affected and fellowship of the roade of Sterling: which parties togither with those of the religion are presentlie in no litle jelousie and feare with the sight of the condicion and state of these courses presentlie holden. The ministers conceiving some good opinion of Arroll's reconsiliacion, and desierous to pacifie those matters, have intreated the Chancelour to deale favorablie with Morton and Arroll, and that he and Glames may be reconsiled; whereupon the Chancelour hathe invited Morton and Glames to be at dynner with him tomorrowe at the baptisme of his doughter."

Bothwell is passed towards Caithness. He has been at Dunkeld with Atholl, and seeks to draw Atholl, Murray, Caithness, and others to strengthen his band with the Chancellor. Erroll was with him at St. Johnston's. Others have essayed to get him to their party, but he stands fast with the Chancellor. The assembly purposing to have met at St. Johnston's was stayed. Bothwell still pretends to prepare to pass over sea, but none will believe him till they know him to be gone.

The King purposes to ride to the Borders shortly to take order for the peace thereof. Letters shall be awarded commanding all men to attend upon him upon six hours warning, with furniture and victuals for six days.

"A generall convencion of all the estates shalbe called, to be at Holyroodehouse the 27th hereof, to delibereate in the matters had in consultacion the last convencion for reformacions to have bein taken in the estate, and for other like causes."

The King was informed the other day by William Cockburne, burgess of Edinburgh, that English pirates had robbed his ship in Yarmouth road, in sight of the inhabitants, and used great cruelty on the sailors. Bowes encloses the information, subscribed by said William, the master and mariners. The King is exceedingly grieved, for the other day the provost and burgesses of this town exclaimed to him on the daily piracies that the English made on them, both in the main seas and the roads of England where they trade.

David Alexander, burgess of this town, also complains of spoil done upon him at sea by the same pirates that robbed Cockburne and other Scottishmen. They affirm that there are three flyboats and two barques of English pirates consorting together, as the inhabitants of Yarmouth can make known. Except remedy be provided, sundry of this nation will attempt their own redress, "as they stick not in their passions openlie to protest."

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The Spanish barque, with Captain Knightson in the ship of Cley, is passed to Orkney, intending to set upon the poor English fishermen about Shetland; they threaten to cast into the seas all that they can take. Their relief must come by her majesty's order from England, for here is no ship fit for the same. The King offers to appoint some to put them off the coast, but it can hardly be executed. Sundry coming from the north coast of Scotland did not see the barque, but think they have put into some haven about Caithness, Orkney, or the Isles to sell their prizes. The King has promised that if the Earl of Orkney has taken any English fishermen he shall make amends; but Bowes cannot get any proof thereof.

Is told that Huntly has leave to come to the King's presence at his pleasure, but will not hasten so to do; also that James Gordon went northwards on the 4th instant; "yet the King still pretendeth that he shalbe openlie imbarked at Leith to passe out of this contrie to content the churche"; that Auchendown has the King's remission for the Bridge of Dee and all other offences till the 4th instant.

The Lady of Kintyre bringing with her to Glasgow her husband's letters to her majesty, Burghley, and Sir John Perratt, sought to have them conveyed in Bowes's packet; but finding disorder in their address he wished her to procure her husband to write them again. Yet her sickness continuing, and the Justice Clerk and other her friends entreating him to send them as they are, he now does so. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Declaration by William Cockburn and others.)

"Mr. Williame Cokburne, owner of the schip in Leyth callit the *Thomas*, David Fluker merchand thairof, Richart Richesoun, skipper, Peter Edmeit, Richie Fillane, James Wallange, Georges Robertsoun, Gilbert Scolay, Mathew Sinclair, David Strauchane, William Sinclair, and Alexander Elcheonde, marinellis of the said schip, be thir presenttis testefes the piracie and injureis done to ws, ilk ane of ws for oure awin pairtis, be the Inglis pirrattis as followis, videlicet: that we the said merchand and maister of the said schip with oure haill cumpany being cumand hamewart fra Kaleis in France, quhair we had dischairgeit oure laiding, to oure awin native cuntrie of Scotland, quhair we peccablie without ony impediment maid to us be ze seyis arryvit quhill we come anent Zaermout raid in England. At the quhilk tyme and raid upoun Sonday the 28 day of Junii anno etc. fourescoir ten zeiris, about tua houris eftir noune in the day, thair forgadderit with ws in presens of the toun of Zarmout, Lestow, and Jalstoun, ane Inglis schip and pirrat, quhairin as appeirit thair wes fyftie men, or thairby, pirratis; quhilk schip and pirrattis had ane consert and marrow within the said hewin of Zarmout well intertainit, and thair the said pirrat maist crowellie set upown ws, and burdit us within the said raid of Zarmout, neir besyid and in presens of ane schip cumit out of Londone to Beruick, and pat ane tow about the heid of me the said skipper with ane irne bolt, and tuik me the said David Fluker, merchand, and tirrit me naikit as I wes borne,

James VI. 1590. heissit me upe and down naikit at the schippis starne, and raiss upe my mouth and pat ane quhinger thairintel; and tuik me the said Mathew Sinclair, ane of the marinelles, and hangit me upe with ane tow upoun the owirloft of the schip quhill I wes almaist deid, lyk as sensyne I am unabill to continew in this lyf as is noterlie knawin. And at last tuik ws ane and ane upoun the owirloft, and tirrit ws nakit and kist ane seck owirburd stuffit with stray and luit us see the samin and said, athir tell ws quhair the gould and the money is, or we suld be cassin owirburd as our morrowis; and desyrit us to behuld quhair we sobmit in the same; and in the menctyme [*sic*] spulyet and reft fra us the quantitie of gould and silver following, videlicet:"

"Thre hundreth and fyftie doubill pistollis of gould, three hundreth and fyftie crownis of the sone, three hundreth and fyftie caser dolouris, schip, ger, and wittuallis of our schip worth tuentie pund strewling, our kystis and claytis worth 16 *lis* strewling, besyid sundrie uthir wrangis and injureis done to us be thame."

"And this we testifie to be of treuth, and sall abyd thairat be thir presenttis." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Williame Cokburnn, David Fluckar, Richart Richesoun; by James Estoun notary. *Witnesses:* Andrew Lamb, Archibald Lamb, Mr. Eistoun.

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

[July 11.] 444. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sir Alexander Stewart—knighted by the Earl of Leicester in the Low Countries—is minded to serve the Duke of Parma. The King of Scots and Bothwell have commended him by their letters to the Duke, with request that he will accept him as a gentleman desiring to serve in the field and to get honour. And Bothwell has required that in secrets he may be trusted as Colonel Sempill has been.

The Duke of Lennox has the King's leave to write also in commendation of the said Alexander Stewart to Parma, and will accompany him; but Huntly chiefly employs him, purposing thus to recover Parma's good opinion and entertain intelligence with him. "This gentleman by meanes is comed to me, offering to her majestie his wholl devotion, and all the services that he can yeld to her majestie ether to please and profitt her majestie with the advertisement of any intelligence or matters that shall come to his knowledge, or otherwise to serve her majestie in any sort as shall please her majestie to appoint." His service, by good handling, may redound to her contentment. Bowes prays direction what to do with him; he will need a gratuity, and is ready to pass over to Huntly, and will return hither to know her majesty's mind. *Signed:* "Ro. Bowes."

Postscript in Bowes's hand: "It may please your lordship keepe this to your self, and returne to me dyrection with sped."

1 *p.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 11. 445. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has been this day informed that Bothwell, sending lately for the Master of Gray, let him know that Erroll had sought at St. Johnston "to drawe him to partie Huntlay, himself, and others against the

James VI. 1590. Chancelour," who oppressed and dishonoured the nobility. "Whereupon he and others were mynded to give him the like reward that was given to Coquharan, who serving under King James the third and offending generallie all the noblemen was sodainelie taken by the Erle of Angusse and others and hanged. In this mocion Arroll seemed [*sic*] that the Master of Glames should be the chefe actour, and that he wold ether tarie in court to bring in and gitt peace to the attemptours after the execution of the matter, or els that he wold in parson attempt the enterprise. That he named Angusse, Morton, Huntlay, Marre, Claud Hamilton, the King's officers in his house, as the Lord Privie Seale, the Collectour, the Comptroller, Justice Clark, and captaine of the castle of Edenburghe to be contented to joyne in this accion, perswaiding Bothwell to take part with them. But Bothwell answered that he had promised his good will to the Chancelour, and he wold not onelie take his part to the uttermost of his powre, but also lett the King understand this practise intended against the Chancelour. And hereupon Bothwell advised and moved the Master of Graie to open this whole matter to the Chancelour, saieng that he wold by his letters likewise discover it to the King. The Master of Graie hath told the Chancelour all that Bothwell opened to him, and he thincketh that Bothwell—according to his purpose—hathe certified the same at greater length to the King, who nevertheles contineweth his good countenaunce towardes Glames. This daie the Master of Graie looketh to be sent for to reveale and confirme this matter to the King."

Glamis and Gray, lately reconciled, are fallen out again about the marriage, wardship, and relief of the son of the laird of Inchture, lately slain by Alexander Winton, brother to the laird of Strathmartine. Many of the persons named by Erroll to Bothwell are friends to the Chancellor, and of such peaceable disposition as it is thought they would not enter into such a foul action. "This matter is like to blow the coalls betwixt the Chancelour and the Master of Glames," and the practisers here may thereby bring in question the raid of Stirling, or otherwise disquiet the peace of the countrey, and thus the parties of the Bridge of Dee gain safety and profit. In such case Bowes knows not how he should carry himself, and prays direction. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 12. 446. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"The unquiet estate whearin I do remayne wyth those that ar my creditouris, and the wnpleasant maner of my lyfe, so full of necessite, constreanis me to lay oppin before your lordship that this neyde whearin I am reduced doethe not proceide from any my desserving, bot from one contynewance of gude mynd borne to do hir majestie service, and inploying of myself at all tymes for the adwancemint of such matter as mychte tend to quietnes of both realmes; whearof I beleawe hir majeste hath had sufficient proffe. And in that respect it did please hir hyenes to gewe hir princelye wordie to sea my wantis suppleid."

"I can remayn contented nevir to sute any fordar of hir majeste bot the payment of my debtis of layte contracted in hir majesteis service, or than the diffraying of my necessarye chargis debursed and awing

James VI. 1590. induring the tyme off my aboadie to do gud officis according to derection proseading from hir self; and in requitting thayrof I shall remayn hir majesteis perpetuall servitour, according as bownding deutye doeth requyre. Most hartlye thayrfoire I will requeist your lordship to be so gud onto me as that hir hyenes may be moved to gewe som faworable ordour heirin before the tyme of hir majesteis removing, when I shall remayn far of from the court, involwed in debbtis and full of necessite, and your lordship seldom to be fownd thayr." London. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

Postscript—"Some letteris I haif in keping that wer send from Sir Woggan to Sir Francis Walsinghame of gud memorie, that may gewe lycht in matteris of controwersye betuixt him and some Scottis men. I wold be glayde to onderstand when your lordships lasare may serve to peruse thayme."

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 14. 447. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, Edward Johnson, was sundry times employed by Sir Francis Walsingham and proved trustworthy, and Bowes has found him devoted to her majesty and ready with good offices for her service. He therefore commends him to Burghley's favour for furtherance of his suit to the ambassador of the French King and other affairs. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 14. 448. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

"Albeit I vryt not so frequently nou being an retired man as of befor, yet my good vill to do her majestie and the estait of England service is no thing the les, as I think her majesteis embassadour heir resident shall bear sufficient vitnessing. Hoyping heirfor in recompence of my good vill that some litle favour I shall find by your lordship's good procurment at her majesteis handis, I have directed this berar to schau your lordship hou that of lait his majestie, my master, haithe preassit me for to resigne over in favour of her majestie his bedfellou my tytle to Dunfermeling, vich I have performed, and for satisfactioun I have receavit sume gratitudes, amongest uthers, for that his majestie haith to do this yeir greatly, he haithe villit me to tak me for the payment of a thousand pounds sterling to the yeirly gratitud vich her majestie bestoueth, yet not to this vich Sir Jhone Carmichell hes or shall crave presently, bot to the nixt. To this I have accordit the more villingly in hoyp that your good lordship shalbe a mein quhairby I may have it sumquhat avancit. And as your lordship shall send me advyse, so shall I procure of his majestie varrand ether by missive or utheruayis for this effect, and the souner I shall receave your lordship's ansuer, the more I shall be obligit; for I differ to seik my self payit in any uther sorte unto the tym I knou quhat courtesie I may luk for by your lordship; and my good vill to do service persuadis me that I shall find it favorable." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

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

James VI. 1590. July 16.

449. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since his last of the 11th instant, about discords here, sundry reconciliations have ensued, both amongst the councillors and betwixt the King and Council. On Monday last Erroll, coming with a small company, was conveyed to the Chancellor by Mar, Glamis, and other friends. Erroll acknowledged that, hearing that the Chancellor had wrought with the King for his overthrow, he sought revenge against him, without just cause, giving the Chancellor good occasion to think himself wronged. He offered friendship frankly to the Chancellor, with promise to keep fast with him, and to satisfy the King and church with all humility. "The greefes betwixt the Chancelour and Glames were shortlie ripped up and soone appeared, whereupon these parties were readelie reconsiled together, protesting depelie to kepe fast the kindenes and amitie concluded amongst them." Afterwards Lord Hamilton and others carried Erroll to the King's presence, where he submitted himself to the King, offeringe to do the like to the church as the King should prescribe. The King was informed that all parties had agreed that any one of them, being aggrieved, should first inform the King of the wrong done, and conform to his order therein: otherwise the King assureth them that he will set himself against the party breaking the peace. The King was pleased with this agreement, saying that if they and the other councillors then present—being officers in his house—should stand fast together, no faction could defeat the intended reformations or disturb the peace of the realm.

"Albeit that the Master of Graie—according to the commission given him by Bothwell and the advice of the Chancelour—had reveled to the King that Arrell sought to have drawen Bothwell to partie him and the rest against the Chancelour—as by my former is certified—and that Arroll's letter addressed to the Lord Hume in like effect had bein shewed to the King and Chancelour, yet these matters passed easelie without any hard rehearsall of those thinges; which nevertheles are thought to be laid up in the deck to be brought fourth againe upon newe occasion."

It is said that Erroll and others, still carrying displeasure towards the Chancellor, intend to charge him at the Convention on the 27th instant that he procured Bothwell to write to the King against him; whereupon all those threads of reconciliation shall be again broken. Because the party wherewith Erroll has lately linked himself is well affected in religion and devoted to her majesty, Bowes would not offend them; yet he has warned the Chancellor to cherish his old friends, and seeks to knit him and the other good party together. Has put the King and Chancellor in mind again to prepare two fit commissioners to be sent into Spain with the other commissioners for the princes of Germany. The King objected that he could not send a papist or atheist, yet a protestant would be in peril by the inquisition. Bowes replied that the King of Spain would not see the law of nations violated with so small advantage to himself: whereupon the King promised to appoint two. The Chancellor will daily remind him thereof. The Chancellor says that the King, purposing to proceed in his reformations, is minded to ward Huntly, Erroll, and others of the Bridge of Dee, that they may not be able to trouble the quietness of this state. Many think that this faction has so good friends in the King's chamber that he shall be hardly

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drawn to deal otherwise with them than shall please them. The course against the "Briggers of Dee" has been much tempered and stayed, and that against the fellowship of Stirling pricked forwards.

"On Mondaie last the 13th hereof Thomas Graie, captaine of the *Lyons Whelp*, came into the Firth here, with two other Inglish shipps taken by him upon suspicion of piracie: whereupon I repaired to Holieroodehouse to have acquainted the King of his arrivall, doinges, and successe, and with offer of his service and vessell to the King, agreable to the direccion given him. But the King was then so muche occupied with the agreamentes betwixt the Chancelour, Arrell, and Glames, as he referred me to the Chancelour, and departed at ten of the clock in the night to Dumfermling in a most tempestuouse storme of thunder and raine." The next day Gray and Bowes resorted to the Chancellor, who was glad of Gray's success in apprehending the three English ships with pirates suspected to have done the spoils on the Scottish men, and advised him to pursue the Spanish barque: which advice Gray followed, returning immediately to his pinnace and sailing that night for Orkney. Bowes told him that the Spanish barque, Knightson in the ship of Cley, and Peterson in the hoy of Lynn, were all in Kirkwall road in Orkney, with twenty-five English prisoners still alive. He should be at Orkney before this. At his being at Leith on his return one Robert Kirkarth, the admiral's deputy there, offered him discourtesy: Bowes has informed the King and Chancellor, and received answer that the offender shall be punished.

Yesterday Alexander Lindsay, the Vice Chamberlain, having a precept to the provost and bailiffs of Edinburgh to arrest a servant of the Earl of Angus upon debts due to Lindsay in right of the Countess of Angus his wife, arrested the said party in Edinburgh, then being in company of the Earl's son, who gave knowledge thereof to his father. The latter rescued his servant, alleging that Lindsay had no power to stay his body, seeing the process was to be executed by the ordinary officer. The matter moved a great concourse of people. Erroll and Morton came to the aid of Angus, who needed no help. The Provost stayed the trouble without blood: Lindsay having delivered the process, Angus delivered his servant to the said provost. Angus and Lindsay were soon agreed, as also Glamis and Lindsay. "The brute of this fraie was brought to the King, then at supper at Dumfermling, who imediatelie arose and came to the Lord Chancelour's house in this towne, finding the Lord Chancelour departed from thence the daie before to Smeaton. The King committed Angusse to the castle at eleven of the clock in the night, and at thre in this morning retorned to Dumfermling. Proclamacion shalbe made this daie or tomorrowe that an erle entring into this towne shall not bring with him above twelve persons, a lord eight, and a baron five."

This day the Chancellor is returned, and has sent to the King to seek the liberty of Angus, who shall be speedily delivered. It is well liked that the King should thus stay sudden troubles, and be so round with Angus and others known to be well affected.

Auchendown returned secretly the other day and had presence with the King, and yesternight came with him from Dunfermline, so has recovered the King's favour, but has given no satisfaction to the church.

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Was told that Huntly came secretly also on Sunday last, with Patrick Murray only, to Canongate. Bowes acquainted the Chancellor herewith, who denied it, but others affirm he was here, and on the King's departure went to a place three miles from here till he may speak with the King and Chancellor.

Bothwell having prepared for his departure out of this realm, and disposed his lands and possessions to the relief of himself, his wife, and children, wrote to the King as appears by the copy enclosed. The King answered that in case he determined to change his course to peaceable order, to give redress for the attempts of Liddesdale, "to remove from him the evill rabble of murtherers, theives, and wicked persons that onelie found refuge under him, and to reforme his unchristain life," he should be welcome to him; otherwise he left him to pass to Germany or Italy at his pleasure. The Earl is come again to Leith, intending to be shortly with the King, and still pretending his purpose to depart; but it is thought he will be loth to leave the realm.

The Master of Angus is secretly in this town seeking to be reconciled with his father. He has good parts, but is not well affected in religion. Bowes doubts whether a papist shall do good offices to her majesty and the common cause.

"The assemblie gathered this daie to the daie of lawe betwixt the Twedies and Veches is verie great, but suche provision is made as I trust no danger shall fall out thereon."

"The Queen removed this daie to the King at Dumfermling, and the Lord Chancelour intendeth to passe some tyme at his house at Lowther. But the King, he, and the lords wilbe here againe at the Convencion to beginn the 27th hereof." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp.*

July 16. 450. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Understands by the Master of Gray that the King has compounded with him for his interest in Dunfermline, agreeing to give him one thousand pounds for it, and to assign to him such gratuity as her majesty shall give yearly to the King. Gray desires to sue to her majesty for the payment of this sum by the end of November next, or when it shall please her, by her privy seal; and to Burghley for furtherance of his suit and direction in his future course. He (Gray) therefore sends this bearer, Edward Johnston, and prayed Bowes to commend him and his suit to Burghley, which Bowes does the more readily, as he appears to continue in devotion and good offices for her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

July 16. 451. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"Being requyred by the Master of Gray to advertyse your lordship secretly of the factes followinge, I have therefour thought gud to signyfie the same to your lordship aparte and in this maner by these presenttes

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for his satysfactioun therin. The Master of Grey showed me, that John Baylye, Scotyshman—pensioner to the King of Spayne, and laytly comed hither outt of Flanders—informed the Master that Moryanser, seconde secretarye to the Duke of Parma, and appoynted by the King of Spayne, had imployed and geven commyssioun to John Baylye mencioned, to lett the King of Scottes to understande, that her majestye had moved and offred maryadge betwixt the Duke of Parma and the Lady Arbell; and that the Duke both thinketh that this mocioun is tendred by her majesty, with purpose to drawe the Duke into jelowsyes with his master the King of Spayne, and to wynne tyme, and also dissymuleth with hir majesty. For he hayth reveyled the matter to the King of Spayne, and semeth to thinke very light of the offres."

"Baylye was directed to Sir John Seaton and his brothair, the prior of Pluscardye, to persuade them to braeke and open this matter to the of Scottes [*sic*], butt nathair of them wold deale therin. Yett the King is laytly acquainted with the matter by the Master of Gray's meanes, wherupon the King haith not forborne to speake something of ytt openly att his table, thinking that her majesty meaneth none other thinge then to dally with the Duke in that motioun. The Master further showed me that upon occasioun he had befour this tyme geven the King some light of this motioun, wherof the King toke no greate regarde; and that he doth not thinke hitherto or att this tyme any otherwyse of ytt then ys befour expreshed."

"Lastly, he offreth that yf your lordship shall nott be fully satysfied with this discovery of this matter thus farre opeyned, that upon knowledg of your lordships pleasure therin he will gyv your lordship further informatioun in the circumstancis therof, to your lordships gud contentement. After he had fynyshed the cause remembred, he told me that the King had compounded with him for his interest in Dunfermlyng, agreying to gyve hym one thousand poundes sterling for the same, and to assigne hym to receave the some of such gratuytis as hir majeste is pleasyd to gyve yarly to the King. And albeytt that I lett hym understand that hir majesty haith beyn and still ys many wayes occasioned to diffray such lardg sommes for most weighty affayres as he cold nott loke for spedy payment, or peradventur att the tyme destined, persuading hym to sek some other meane for his satysfactioun heirin, yett thinking this assignement to be the sureste maner for his payment, with the best contentement to the King, he ys purposed to seu as moche to her majesty to hav this some in the end of November next, or els att such other tyme as shall please her majesty to appoynt by her majestes privy seal, as also to your lordship for your lordships furtherance in his sute, and for your advise and directioun what course he shall tak to receave this assignement at the handes of the King, with her majesteis gud lyking and for his own suretye; praying my letters to your lordship in the same."

"And as I have agreed to delyver to Edward Johnstoun for hym, and to satysfy his earnest request, so I have thought yt my dewty to gyve your lordship preknowledge therof, and to leave the matter to your lordships gud consideratioun." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley.*

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July 17. 452. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, John Montgumerie, late servant to Thomas Fowler, deceased, having finished his business, is addressing himself to Burghley, to deliver to him such of his master's writings as have come to his hands, and to inform him as to Fowler's affairs. He served his master faithfully and will deal honestly with Burghley, to whom Bowes commends him, praying favour and furtherance of his suit for the reversion of his father's office or another like it.

At Mr. Blencko's motion, and upon Burghley's letter to Bowes in Mrs. Fowler's behalf, Montgumerie has delivered to Bowes Thomas Fowler's accounts for the sweet wines in his charge. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 20. 453. JOHN LESLIE ["JEHAN DE LESSELIE"]. TO BURGHLEY.

I am bound to thank you most humbly, and to pray God for your prosperity and health all the days of my life, for that it has pleased your honour—as I have been able to understand from the warder—to do me so much favour as to set me at liberty from prison. Now I will entreat your honour most humbly that it may please you to have regard to the great want and suffering I am in, being destitute of all means, and having no acquaintance in this country, neither friend nor kinsman who might help me in any wise. Thus I am totally destitute, wherefore I most humbly beseech your honour by the same means that it may please you to have pity and compassion upon me; that if it is your pleasure that I remain here, I entreat you most humbly that it may please your honour to do me so much favour as that I may be entertained and nourished at her majesty's charges until I can advertise my father and kinsmen who are in the country, in order that they may give me some advice and help. *Signed:* Jehan de Lesselie.

1 *p. French. Holograph. Addressed:* "Au treshonorable." *Indorsed by Burghley:* "20 Julii 1590. Jhon Lisle nevew to the B. of Ross in the Gatehouss."

July 23. 454. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At the hands of Sir John Carmichael, on Friday last the 17th instant, he received her majesty's letter of the 6th. The King, then at Falkland, was to be at Dunfermline the next day at night, and Bowes resolved to be with him there early on the Monday following; but hearing on his way that the King had returned the night before to Falkland, found him there and had audience.

Yesterday—after his return from the King—he received Burghley's letter of the 16th, and was about to answer it when the Chancellor sent to say he would come this night to speak with him. In accordance with her majesty's letter, Bowes let the King understand that the Earl of Worcester had reported to her majesty his intention and promise to proceed effectually against such of his subjects as had attempted to make a party against him to trouble the peace of this realm, whereof they remain attainted: and Bowes added that he had confirmed that

James VI. 1590. report by the King's own answers made to his several motions. In this behalf her majesty had also had speech with Sir John Carmichael, and allowed the King's purpose as necessary for the maintenance of his estimation among his subjects, and the quietness of the realm, endangered by his former remissness, which encouraged these parties to draw foreign forces into this realm in the King's absence, and to make factions against him and his best servants. Because her majesty looked for due accomplishment of his promise, Bowes thought it his duty to renew the matter to him, praying his resolute determination; the rather because he heard that several of that faction had lately been with the King and received his good countenance so far as it seems he has either changed his mind or purposes some secret means to compass his promise. Bowes could not satisfy her majesty in the matter while those secret means were hid from him.

The King said it was true that Auchendown had been with him, "and delivered to him the principall band of the rode of the brig of Dee, which Huntlaie had ones cast into the fyer, and sodainlie taken it out againe, upon consideracion that if it should be called for—as nowe it is—and could not be produced by him, that then it wold turne to his utter wrack; and also it is in some part blemished with the fier, yet the wholl substance appeareth and it is to be well seen and redd."

Albeit James Gordon had passed over the water, and was thought to have purposed to return into the north, yet the King said he came to him in Dunfermline, whence he sent him to Burntisland, where he is ready to be immediately shipped over the sea agreeable to the laws of the realm. Upon the submission of Erroll, and assurance that he would satisfy himself and the church, he had received him, with the advice of all his Council, who thought it good so to weaken the fellowship of the Brig of Dee. And although Huntly had many ways sought access to him, offering to prove both his innocence ever since his former offence at the Brig of Dee, and also his future loyalty and obedience, yet he had put over the same to better advice therein. Moreover he said that to bring this realm into quietness before his departure into Denmark, that he might proceed in that marriage and preserve his country in peace in his absence, he sought to bind those disobedient subjects to him by clemency, and so gave remission to all parties in that action, with condition that they should afterwards be loyal and obedient, satisfy the church, and be of good behaviour hereafter. The parties say that they have performed the condition ever since those remissions granted, praying to have the benefit of his grant and privilege of the laws, or else to be charged with some particular crime or breach of the conditions. Wherein he said that he dealt with his Council and the ministers to know whether they could charge any of those parties with any matter against the condition aforesaid; and as he could not find any express matter against them, and thought he might be accounted an unjust prince to imprison any of them after his remission given, without some fresh offence proved against them, therefore he could not in justice imprison them: nevertheless, he would provide, in regard of the suspicion that he and others had of them and their doings, that they should be so confined and put into such places distant from their own rules and possessions, they they should have no power to work any great hurt:

James VI. 1590. and that they should not be trusted with office nor entertained in court before they have given good testimonies of their good mind to religion, himself, and the peace of the country.

Replied that the chief of these factions, before the raid of the Brig of Dee, had subscribed to the articles of religion, and protested obedience and good behaviour as now they offered, and yet had foully revolted as well by their action of the Brig of Dee as by sending Jesuits to the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Parma, at whose hands the Jesuits so employed had procured gold, with promise of foreign forces to have been brought into this realm: that it was apparent to himself that most of them stood fast in their erroneous religion; noting also that his remission was by act of Council passed since his promise made to the Earl of Worcester.

The King denied that any of those things alleged to be done by them since the remissions could be proved against them, saying that the Jesuits might give out in their names much more than they had commission; but affirmed that if any matter could be proved against them he would proceed against all found guilty with all severity, and would give no pardon, but rather command the execution of his laws according to the quality of the fact. He appears desirous to unite all his nobility, councillors, and chief men of action in outward concord, hoping thereby to keep this realm in peace: this may be the ruin of his best servants and councillors, and the beginning of great inconveniences.

Has reported to the Chancellor the King's resolution and answer "wherein he findeth litle suertie for the King and small contentment to himself," thinking that the King's desire to draw all things into peaceable estate shall be frustrate. He will endeavour to persuade the King to some better course, more agreeable to her majesty's advice. And because he notes that this matter is put into the King's head by the Master of Glamis, who has employed Blantyre to bring on the King in the same, therefore the Chancellor will send for Blantyre to be at the next Convention, that Bowes may confer with him "and wynn him to amend that he hath hurt."

"Sir John Carmighell likewise hath bein verie earnest with the King in this behalf, and left him not well pleased with his earnestnes": for he spared not to tell the King that seeing her majesty had dealt so honourably with him, and that his welfare depends especially on the continuance of her kindness, he ought to follow her advice, which had always been for his honour and profit. He told the King that if this present course should fail—as he looked it should—he would faithfully advertise her majesty of the same, and of the cause. "He hath acknowledged to the King and others that for his sake he received right honorable intertainement at the handes of her majestie and all her highness's Counsell, commending the same so highlie as he deserveth well the honour and favour done to him, with thanckes for his offices therein."

Required the King, as before, that Penry might either be delivered to him to be sent into England to be ordered by the laws there, or else be publicly banished. The King agreed, according to his promise, that he should be banished, saying that great labour had been made to him in favour of Penry, but sundry of the ministers thought he would

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do no good here. Some have persuaded her majesty that Bowes has favoured Penry; he prays she will examine his deed before condemning him, for he has never favoured any seditious person.

Informed the King that sundry ministers in this realm—appearing to condemn the government and church of England—had moved their auditors to pray for such as were persecuted in England for the word of God, meaning such as Penry, seeking the alteration of the ecclesiastical order of the church of England. Bowes required these disorders of the minister to be reformed. The King, misliking some of their prayers, agreed to give order to the Chancellor for redress herein. Bowes purposely absented himself from the sermon yesterday, but hears that the preacher omitted to move his auditors to pray in this behalf. The Chancellor will be careful in this matter.

Reminded the King about the two commissioners for Spain. The King commended Sir James Melville for that service, "saieing that he had good knowledge in the Latin, Italian, and Dutch tonges, had bein oftentimes imploied in negotiacions by the Palsgrave and others, and that he thought her majestie wold well allow of him." He desires to know her pleasure; and at the Convention on the 27th instant will put in readiness another for Spain, and also give Bowes the names of such as he would appoint to be commissioners for the Borders.

The King moved him (Bowes) for redress for the late piracies committed by Englishmen against his subjects, especially William Cockburn; and asked whether Thomas Gray, captain of the *Lion's Whelp*, was gone to Orkney to apprehend the Spanish barque and the Scottish men in the English vessels lately taken by the Spaniards, and whether he would return again into this Firth. Bowes told him that the Lord Admiral had sent Gray in his own pinnace to range the north coasts for this purpose; and Gray had taken three ships and put others to land, whereof sundry are in ward to answer to all things objected against them.

Also opened to the King the great complaints of the north coast men of England against his subjects, and the Spanish barque furnished by and with Scottishmen: and told him that at Gray's departure out of the Firth he purposed to sail for Orkney to seek the Spaniards and the Scottishmen with them; it is said he took in victuals at Berwick and sailed southwards, but he may return, for he sent word by Bowes's servant that he would sail for Orkney, and if so he should have found the Spaniards and the Scotchmen at Kirkwall road.

The King said that the Spaniards and Scotchmen remained still in Orkney, and the Earl of Orkney had feasted them greatly. One coming from Orkney this day asserts "that he left them in Kirkwaie road, braving excedinglie on the spoiles and slaughter of the Inglish men, and saieng that if they can not gitt good sale of their corne taken from Inglishmen, they will burne the ship and men that yet they have alive with them."

Has entreated the Chancellor, who has great interest in the Earl of Orkney, to travail with the Earl to apprehend them; and he will send a gentleman by land to the Earl with instructions: the Chancellor promises to sue to the King that the Earl may still retain Orkney if he will take and keep these Spaniards and Scotchmen in Kirkwall, "who

James VI. 1590. with despitefull tortures use and rejoyse to torment to death all the Inglishmen falling in their handes." Bowes has warned the fishermen, and nothing has as yet been done against them.

The English pirate who robbed the merchants now with Thomas Gray in the *Lion's Whelp* has put into the Isle of Mull, where he remains, showing good store of gold, silver, velvet, and silks.

"The Erle of Angusse contineweth still in the castle here upon the King's commaundment. The Chancelour wrote to the King for his libertie, which the King had ones intended to have graunted; but the King was advertised by the Master of Glames, that albeit by the late mediacion of frendes the greefes betwixt Angusse and Mr. Alexander Lyndsaie were brought to frendlie order before the King had committ Angusse, yet now Angusse refuseth to compound with Lyndsaie, thincking that he hathe received the King's evill countenaunce by Lindsaie's meanes, with some harder measure then hathe bein given to others of his qualitie for like offence. He is like to continew in ward untill his cause shalbe determined by this Convencion, which by the generall call made should be great; yet it is thought that it shall not be so great as hath bein looked for."

Bothwell, calling the Chancellor to lodge at his house, accompanied him yesterday to this town. They remain in good friendship, but the Chancellor will not knit any faster knot with him but in the presence of the King, whose word he will have to be pledged to him for Bothwell. The Earl has stayed his voyage into Germany, intending to remain at court as the King shall direct. He had thought that Hume could not have been drawn from him, but Huntly and his friends have won Hume with large offers.

"It is advertised from Denmark, that the admirall there hathe caused five or six witches to be taken in Coupnahaven, upon suspicion that by their witche craft they had staied the Queen of Scottes voiage into Scotland, and sought to have staied likewise the King's retorne."

"Sundrie witches were arreigned yesterdaie in this towne, and are found giltie of odious crimes; chefelie that some of them made in wax the image of the yong lard of Wardhouse, and rosting the image the gentleman pined awaie by sweate as the wax melteth before the fier."

The King sent Mr. George Yonge to understand the divination of the gentlewoman of Lubeck as to the great honours destined to him; but she desired to see the mark in the King's side before she should foretell anything, and also referred judgment thereof to such wise man as she would open the matter unto. "It is found that the inordinate love of one of the Queen's servauntes here hath chefelie drawen her hither; so that her creditt is so cracked as she ronneth abroad at hir pleasure." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginal notes by Burghley.*

July 23. 455. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"By my former and particuler letter of the 11th heerof, I both advertyshed your lordship of the late conference that I have had with Sir Alexander Stewarde, and also prayed spedye retorne of hir majestes will and your lordships direction in the same. And understanding that

James VI. 1590. your lordship had nott acquainted hir majestie with my letters att the dispatche of your lordships last letter to me, and that I loke that Sir Alexander will shortly preshe me for resolution to his offer, wherein I desiere to be furnyshed with knowledge of hir majestes pleasure, that I may carye my corse agreable to the same and in best maner satysfie the gentleman, how so ever yt shall please hir majestie to determyn of his service offred: therfour I do humbly besech your lordship to gyve me tymely direction herein. The Master of Grey wilbe here within few dayes, loking to receave notyce from your lordship that I have advertyshed your lordship of the matter of maryadge mencioned in my last particulere letter of the 16th hereof; and whether your lordship will have hym to gyve you any further light therein; which matter also ytt may please your good lordship to have in remembrance, together with your lordships advise and direction to my selfe, how I shall governe my selfe and my corse in the jelowsyes still reignynge betwixt the Chancelour and the Master of Glamys, notwithstanding all the agrementes passed amonges them." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—"I do most humbly thanke your lordship for the last occurranttes sentt to me, being of no lesse price then gold, seyng that with the exchang therof I can gett better intelligence for her majesties service at some handes then with golde."

1 *p.* *Holograph.*

July 27. 456. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"The necessitie whearin I am reduced for gude will borne to hir majesteis service, and the confidence that I haif consawed that hir hyenes vill nevir suffer such as ar knawin to be dryvin to extremite for gud meaning to hir hyenes self to leawe in suche miseri as I do, gevis me the boldenes to hartelye pray yowr lordship to mowe hir majeste to hawe consideration of my present state and case, to your lordship knavin worthy to be put to some end before hir hyenes departure; wthervaise in gud fayth I cannot tell whatt to do, as moyr particularly the bearar will informe your honour, whom I haif send to attend your lordships pleasour." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

July 29. 457. ANSWER MADE BY CHRISTIAN IV., KING OF DENMARK, TO THE SCOTTISH AMBASSADORS, WILLIAM STEWART OF PITTENWEEM AND JOHN SKENE.

"Serenissimus ac potentissimus Daniæ, Norvagiæ, Vandalorum, Gottorum Rex, Dux Slesuigi, Holsatiæ, Stormariæ ac Dithmarsiæ, Comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst, Dominus noster clementissimus, tam ex literis serenissimi Scotorum Regis Jacobi VI., regiæ ipsius magestatis consanguinei, affinis et fratris carissimi quam ex luculenta et accurata generosorum et clarissimorum serenitatis ipsius legatorum oratione perspicue intellexit, quibus cum mandatis a dicto serenissimo Rege ad regiam ipsius majestatem sint ablegati; quæ etiam quanquam graves causæ, imprimis vero utilitatis communis et reipublicæ Christianæ pacis ac tranquillitatis procurandæ studium serenitatem ipsius ad id consilii

James VI. 1590. capiendum impulerint. Ad hæc quibus viis ac rationibus ad ejus sui propositi finem effectumque serenitas ipsius perveniri posse existimet, denique quid a regia ipsius majestate in eadem causa vicissim prestari postulet. De quibus omnibus cum exiguum deliberandi tempus regia ipsius majestas petiisset, nunc re cum magnificis et generosis dominis regni sui proceribus ac senatoribus communicata in hunc modum de eorundem procerum et senatorum consilio sententiaque respondendum esse putavit."

"Inprimis vero tam de salute regiæ ipsius majestatis tam amice nunciata et benevolentia, et studio fraterno delato quam de mutua et syncera consiliorum et sententiarum communicatione dicto serenissimo Scotorum Regi Serenissimus Daniæ et Norvagiæ etc., Rex, Dominus noster clementissimus gratias ingentes, ut par est, agit; et a generosis ac clarrissimis [*sic*] dominis oratoribus clementissime petit ut in reditu ad dictum serenissimum Scotorum Regem tam suo quam serenissimæ Reginæ matris suæ carissimæ nomine serenitati ipsius vicissim plurimam salutem amantissimis verbis precentur; et hanc gratiarum actionem cum mutua eorum que tam a materno affectu quam a vero fraterno amore ac benevolentia proficisci possunt audiorum delatione renuntient."

"Quod vero ad summum legationis caput attinet in quo divina et heroica quædam serenitatis ipsius virtus cum summa prudentia conjuncta elucet dum imminentia Ecclesiæ Christi discrimina ex bellicis vicinorum regum motibus prospicit et provido consilio, qua ratione ea devitari declinarique possint in medium consulit animosque dissidentium inter se regum amica intercessione tentandos explorandosque censet, num reconciliata inter ipsos redintegrataque gratia ad pacis et concordiæ cogitationes flecti aducique queant. Regia ipsius majestas ardentissimum illum serenitatis ipsius zelum preclarumque studium et voluntatem de republica Christiana benemerendi condignis laudibus extollere satisque commendare non potest."

"Neque tantum media a serenitate ipsius proposita, plane idonea et convenientia ad expectatum optatumque fructum consequendum arbitratur. Verum etiam omni studio in eandem curam incumbere sese velle, quæque ad adjuvandos promovendosque tam pios ipsius serenitatis conatus facere posse judicabit eorum nihil prætermissurum certo pollicetur. In quem finem suis literis tam ad Electores quam ad alios imperii principes datis regia ipsius majestas dictos serenitatis ipsius oratores abunde instruxit, quibus ut conjunctis animis studiisque reipublicæ Christianæ periclitantis saluti consulant sedulo eos adhortatur uti ex fideli generosorum ac clarissimorum dominorum oratorum relatione, serenitati ipsius plenius constabit, cui prosperrimam valitudinem felicemque regni administrationem omnium actionum ac consiliorum prosperum eventum ex animo precatur."

"Quæ omnia regia majestas a generosis et clarissimis dominus (*sic*) oratoribus petit eadem fide et dexteritate qua in exponendis suis mandatis sunt usi serenitati ipsius renuntiari. Quos propter virtutem, prudentiam et in rebus agendis industriam merito facit plurimi, suamque voluntatem ac favorem regium eis clementissime promittit, atque adeo felicia omnia et prospera ad institutum inter peragendum exoptat."

"Signatum in regia nostra Coldingi sigillo nostro regio subscribentibus ad gubernationem regni deputatis consiliariis et senatoribus die 29 Julii Anno salutis 1590."

James VI. 1590. *Copies of Signatures:* "Nicolaus Kaas, Peter Munck, Georgius Christopherus Kalk, Resconkrantz Lendorff."

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 1. 458. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received his of July 23rd in answer to his of July 16th. "At this Convencion a newe covenaunt of kindenes is taken and concluded betwixt the Chancelour and the Master of Glames with their principall freindes," who have sworn to abandon the friendship of any who shall break it. Bowes has offered, in her majesty's behalf, to shake off any who shall fail in this promise, and to assist the other side. If this bond does not hold, it will be in vain to bind them to any other. It was high time to knit them together, for quarrels were grown so hot as the troubles feared must have befallen had the courses intended not been stopped. All is done that can be to pull up the roots of these discords, but new buds may be seen again before the end of this vacation, while the King is absent at his pastimes, for there are evil spirits intending to stir troubles.

Bothwell and the Master of Glamis are reconciled by the King's especial travail. Glamis had named the Master of Gray as "the author of his information given to the King that Bothwell had determined to have his life," which bred such evil terms betwixt Glamis and Gray as they were near to the offer of the combat, yet the King pacified them, and also agreed Bothwell and Glamis, but rather by his commandment than by their free consent.

"The Erle of Angusse is put to libertie, and afterwardes in like manner agreed with Mr. Alexander Lyndsaie. Whiles the Erle was in ward in the castle here, he refused both to compound with Mr. Lyndsaie, and also to put himself in the King's will, saieng that he sought to have his doinges tried, and not to condempne him self by suche submission, nether wold he stoupe to a parson so farre inferiour and in offering to him suche wrong and dishonour. Thus all these great quarrelles are folden up."

"The King at this Convencion hathe given order for the banishment of Penrie, and directed the Chancelour to see the same executed at his retorne hither from Dumfermling on Mondaie next."

Albeit the ministers here, before the King's commandment given them, had left their accustomed prayer for such as they thought were imprisoned in England for the discipline of the church received in this realm, yet one of them lately come out of England renewed the prayer, against the minds of the rest, causing Bowes to absent himself from the church. Whereupon the King has given order to them all to use that prayer no more, whereunto they have agreed, praying now generally "for their afflicted brethern in France, Geneva, and all other places wheresoever." The general assembly of the church shall be here on Tuesday next the 4th instant, and they will then confer with the rest of their brethren upon this matter.

The King, presently returned to Dunfermline to the Queen, has promised to come hither again on Tuesday or Wednesday next, and will then give Bowes the names of the two commissioners for Spain, and of the commissioners for the Borders, for which purpose he will then confer with his Council here.

Bothwell by covert means seeks the keeping of Edinburgh castle, and Maxwell the wardenry of the West Marches. Has therefore "moved the

James VI. 1590. King in her majestes name to beware to plant any parson suspected of papistrie or other insufficiencie whatsoever in the office of Warden of any of the Marches, or chardge of kepeing of any pece of importance." The King told him he had already provided a special act for prevention of any such thing, and promised to put it in execution.

According to Burghley's direction, has acquainted the King " with the strange matter committ to the report of John Bailie by the secretarie of the Duke of Parma," and that it was falsely contrived, being neither heard nor thought of by her majesty or Burghley; marvelling that upon " Bailifes " opening this thing to him he did not impart it to him (Bowes) to be advertised to her majesty, or otherwise send it to her. The King answered that he gave no credit to the tale, but thought that it was either devised by Parma or his secretary for some cunning practice, or that the motion—if any such thing had been moved—tended only to play with Parma, and to give him neither benefit nor advantage. He said that he sent once for him (Bowes) of purpose to tell him this thing, but he (Bowes) occupied him with so many causes that he forgot to tell it. He will shortly write himself to her majesty.

" The King understanding that Richard Blithe, Scotishman—late pilate in the ship of Captain Gwynn that robbed the Master of Orkeney—is apprehended and in ward in Newcastle, and hearing that Blith did chefelie drawe Gwyn and other Inglish pirates to these northern coastes and to the piracies done on Scottesmen; therfore he is verie desierous to have Blith to be delivered to him, that he maie be executed at Leith to be an example and terrour to others, and hartelie praieth that order may be given for the deliverie of Blithe to him. In consideracion whereof he hathe commaunded that the Spaniard of the companie of the Spanish barque at Orkney, and that cruellie murdered manie Inglishmen, should be delivered to me on Mondaie or Tuesdaie next to be sent into Ingland or hanged here as her majestie should dispose."

This Spaniard has confessed his cruelty in cutting the throats of sundry Englishmen when he found that his knife could not enter through their shirts and clothes full of pitch. He speaks English, and thereby was employed by the captain of this barque, and sent by him to provide victuals in Anstruther, and offer sale of the English ships and corn that the Spaniards had brought to Anstruther, where he was taken. This nation and its merchants are loth to deal with him. The provost of this town refused to keep him in ward until he (Bowes) could dispose of him, so he will be set at liberty unless Bowes take him. Therefore, seeing it may be known by him who furnished the captain, company, and barque from Leith, what Scotchmen be in her, etc., and that the having of him may move the Spaniards to show favour to the English prisoners in their hands, has agreed to take him, and prays order therein, and that Blyth may be brought to him to be delivered to the King if it be thought convenient.

Burghley writes that Thomas Gray is sent back for Orkney, but Bowes has heard nothing of his coming. Yet the wind serves well, so may be he is already passed. On July 24th the Spaniards and Scotchmen were still at Kirkwall, selling corn taken from Englishmen. They had intended to have slain all their English prisoners, but the Scotchmen with them

James VI. 1590. stayed that slaughter; yet they purpose to get more Englishmen both for the slaughter and for the galleys. It is uncertain whether they have sold the corn and departed, or are still at Kirkwall.

Yesternight William Sibbett, a Scotchman, set forth by Bothwell with pretence to serve against the Spaniards and Leaguers, passed out of this Firth to sail for Orkney, trusting to find the Spaniards there. He has long served in England, and offered—in case he can draw the Scotchmen now with the Spaniards to aid him—to surprise the Spaniards. Doubts his success, so has left him to his own course, only telling him that service done to her majesty never passed without reward. The Chancellor has sought to get hold of the Spaniards at Kirkwall by means of the Earl of Orkney; but those Spaniards shall be little endangered unless it be by Thomas Gray.

By the King's leave, gave order to Robert Ardern and others for the apprehension of an English Jesuit lying near the Borders; but the matter was so evil carried that there were five Englishmen and two boys with their horses taken prisoners; but the King has given directions to deliver them. "As the execution was evill governed, so the executioners were deceived in the person of the man to have bein apprehended, makeing me thinck that they should certainlie take the bishop of Dirrie, who—so farre as I can learne—is not in this realme at this tyme."

"The King hath bein latelie advertised that Colonell Stewart and Mr. John Skene came to the Queen mother of Denmark in Brunswick befor her retorne: but bicause some of the princes to whom he [*sic*] was addressed were departed the daie before his comming thither, therefore the Queen and the other princes there present advised him to followe the princes departed, which he did."

At the despatch of Bowes's letters of July 16th Sir John Carmichael had not arrived, but by those of July 23rd Bowes certified his return. He (Carmichael) continues in devotion to her majesty's service.

At the King's first arrival in Edinburgh he purposed to have "awarded" Huntly, Erroll and others; and albeit that Erroll afterwards reconciled himself with the Chancellor and was received by the King, yet the latter still pretends to confine him and the others where they shall work no hurt. But the great hope that the King has to "hold all thinges in wished quietnes by these late concordes" may stay his course therein. Yet the Chancellor and many councillors are resolute to persuade the King to keep under all the factioners of the Bridge of Dee till he be assured of their loyalty.

"The Twedees and Veyches—whereof your lordship wold be better informed—are two surnames in Twedale. Twedee is the lard of Drumaliard and Veichee of Dawick. They are not of any great possessions, but men of accion and well frended. Twedie latelie killed one of the Veiches, whereupon he was called to the daie of lawe, whereof I have made mencion to your lordship in my letter. And bicause Veechees sawe that they could not prevaile against Twedee that waie, therefore three of the Veeches the other daie in this towne killed the tutour of Drumaliard, for which slaughter two of them being taken here were arraigned, who pleaded that the person slaine was at horne; and thereupon they are staied untill it shalbe tried whether the plea be true or not. Bothwell and manie others

James VI. 1590. labour earnestlie for the lives of these Veechees; but the King, comming in parson to the Tollboothe for the execution of justice, is resolved that these two men shalbe executed in case the parson slaine be released of his horning at the tyme of his slaughter."

Encloses a note of all the councillors and principal officers here. The King had appointed another Council, but upon new accidents it was resolved to retain the old one; many things intended since the King's return have had little success.

At this Convention it is agreed that the King shall have three French crowns for every tun of wine brought into this realm after Michaelmas next. Albeit the matter for change of the coin into fine silver was long in deliberation, yet at length it was referred to certain commissioners appointed to present their advices at the next parliament, that order may be taken by that parliament. The subduing of the isles and other causes deliberated by the former Convention are likewise referred to several commissioners specially assigned.

On Thursday last about nine at night the King passed to Dunfermline with purpose to return on Tuesday next; and afterwards to repair from Dunfermline into the west about Dunbarton and Inch Murrin to hunt for six or eight weeks.

"The next daie, being yesterdaie, the Chancelour followed the King to perswaid the Queen to receive suche companie of ladies and gentlewomen as was thought honorable and mete to be about her, and to satisfie her in other causes betwixt the King and her; for the Queen mother of Denmark had committ her to the care of the Chancelour, with especiall trust and request that he should advise her in all thinges for her honour and benefitt."

Huntly came from Balwearie's house in Fife to Falkland to speak with the King, who would not let him come to his presence in the wood as he desired. Yet it is thought that before the King depart into the west Huntly shall be with him to surrender his interest in Dunfermline to the King and Queen. Well affected councillors persuade the King to hold a good course with him and his faction, for it is evident that this general union of all will yield no settled peace.

"Mr. James Gordon is not yet departed out of this realme, and Alexander Gorden, lard of Stradowne, brother of Huntlaie, is possessed and overcommed with the humour of frenesie before thus visiting him."

Sir William Keith came hither secretly on Thursday last, to Lady Gowrie's house, where he will remain till he may recover the King's favour or know his pleasure.

This day Lord Maxwell has been with Bowes and offered his devotion to her majesty, and for preservation of amity betwixt the realms and peace on the Borders. He professes to be resolute herein, howsoever he be suspected in religion, wherein he acknowledges himself in doubt of some points professed in this church. He would "conferre with the learned therein, and thereon do as God should give him light," promising to keep faithfully his offers to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590.

Enclosure with the same :—

(Names of the Secret Council appointed 1587.)

"John Lord Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath. William, Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas and Abernethe. George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badzenauche. David, Earl of Crawford, Lord Lyndsey. George, Erl Marishal, Lord Keith. Francis, Earl Bothwell, Lord Hailes and Creichton. Lord Admiral of Scotland. John, Erl of Montrose, Lord Graham. John, Earl of Marr, Lord Erskin. George, Earl of Rothes, Lord Leslie. Mr. Peter Rollok, bisshop of Dunkeld. James Steward, Lord Down. Deceased in Julie last. William Maxwell, Lord Herries. Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley. Mr. Alexander Seatoun, prior of Pluscardin. Mr. Adam Boswell, bisshop of Orkney. Mr. Alexander Colvill, abbot of Culrosse. Sir James Hume of Koldenknowes, knight, captain of the castle now. Sir Patrick Waus of Barne-Barrauche, knight. Sir John Cockburne of Ormistoun, knight. Sir John Carmighell, knight, Master Stables [*sic*] to his highnes. Mr. David Carnegy of Collichie. Mr. Peter Young of Seaton, Elemosinar to his majesty."

"Officers of Estate."

"John Maitland, Lord Thirlston, Chancelor and stil Secretarie. Sir Thomas Lyon, knight, Master of Glamis, Lord Threasurer. David Seaton of Perbrothe, Comptroller. Mr. Robert Douglas, provost of Linclowden, collector general and threasurer of the augmentacons. Alexander Haie of Easter Kennett, Clerk of Register. Sir Lewis Balentine, knight, Justice Clerk. Sir Robert Melvill, knight, Treasurers Deputy. Mark Carr, Lord of Newbottle, Master of Requests. Walter Stewart, prior of Blantire, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Mr. David Makgill, advocate. Sir John Murray of Tullybardin, knight, Master Household."

"Lordis newlie admitted to be upon the Counsell by particular warrantes."

"Sir William Keith of Delnes, knight. Mr. Alexander Lyndsaie of Sandifourd, Vice Chamberlain. Mr. John Colvill of Strathrudey, collector of the taxations."

"The names of those that lye in his majestes chamber."

"Mr. Alexander Lindsaie. George Hume. James Beaton, page of honour. James Sandelandes."

"The Master stableres."

"Sir John Carmighell, principal Master stabler. John Shaw, extraordinary Master stabler."

Officers of his House.

"Andrew Melvill, extraordinary Master of Household. Michaell Elphinston, carver; William Elphinston, cupper (brothers). Patrick Murray, cupper."

"The names of the chefe officers to the Quene."

"William Vaudervaus, "Master Houshould." John Levingston, Master stabler. Young Lard of Pollart and Hume, gentleman in her majesty's chamber. The Lard of Robertland, Cunningham, principal server.

James VI. 1590. James Murray, page of honour. Johannes Calixtus, secretary to the Queen. George Eppin, carver. Christopher Curiot, cupper. Mr. David Marton, usher of her chamber. Katheren Skinck, Anne Roos, her 2 gentlewomen brought with her. Hans Drier and others, her cooks."

2 *pp. Notes by Burghley. Indorsed:* "1 Aug. 1590. Names of the King of Scottes Counsell, and of his and the Quenes principall officers and servantes. 1587." [*sic*].

Second enclosure with the same :—

(Councillors and officers of state.)

"1587. Earls : *A.* John Lord Hamilton and Abirbrothok, be the newe erection thairof. *A.* William Dowglas, Erle of Angus, Lord Dowglas and Abirnethie. *B.* George Gordoun, Erle of Huntley, Lord Gordoun and Badzenauch. *B.* David Lyndsey, Erle of Crawfurd, Lord Lyndsey. *B.* Francis Hay, Erle of Erroll, Lord Hay, Constable of Scotland. *D.* George Keyth, Erle Marschell, Lord Keyth. *B.* Francis Stewart, Erle Bothuile, Lord Haillis, Chrichtoun and Liddisdaill. *B.* John Grayhame, Erle Montroiss, Lord Grayhame. *A.* John Erskin, Erle of Marre, Lord Erskin. *F.* George Leslie, Erle of Rothes, Lord Leslie. Bishopes : *A.* Mr. Peter Rollok, bishop of Dunkeld. *A.* Mr. Adam Bothuile, bishop of Orknay. Lordis. *C.* George Seytoun, Lord of Seytoun, admitted in the place of the Lord of Downe when the King was in Denmark. *C.* William Maxwell, Lord Hereis. Mr. Alexander Lindsey, Lord of Spynie. Commendatours : *C.* Claude Hammiltoun, abbot of Paisley. *C.* Mr. Alexander Seytoun, priour of Pluscardin. Officers of Estate : *A.* John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, Chancellair and Secretair. *A.* Sir Thomas Lyoun, Master of Glamis, of Balduky, knight, Lord Threasurour. *E.* David Seyton of Parbroth, Comptrollair. *D.* Mr. Robert Dowglas of the howss of Dumlanryct, provost of Lynclouden, collectour generall and thesaurair of the newe augmentationis. *A.* Walter Stewart, second brother to the Lord of Mynto, priour of Blantire, Keper of the Privie Seill. *D.* Mark Ker, Lord of Newbottle, Master of Requeistis. *A.* Sir Lewes Bellendyne of Auchnoll, knight, Justice Clerke. *D.* Mr. David Makgill of Nysbet, advocat. *D.* Sir Robert Melvile of Murdocarny, knight, Thesaurair Depute. *A.* Mr. Peter Zounge, elemosiner to his majestie. *A.* Alexander Hay of Eister Kennett, Clerk of Register."

"Barons admitted to be on Counsell sen the Parliament. 1587."

"*A.* Sir Patricke Waus of Barnebarrauch, knyght. *A.* Sir James Hume of Coldenknowis, knyght, capten of the castle of Edenbrough. *A.* Mr. David Carnogy of Colluchy. *A.* Mr. John Cokburne of Ormistoun, ane of the senatours of the Colledge of Justice. *A.* Sir John Carmychaell of that ilk, knyght, Wardane of the West Marche. *C.* Sir John Seytoun, brother to the Lord Seyton, of Barnis, knight."

"The letters do signify, videlicet."—

"*A.* well affected in religion, and to the amity. *B.* at the brigg of Dee. *C.* knowen Catholice. *D.* Protestant. *E.* suspected Catholice. *F.* neutral."

James VI. 1590. 1590. " Counsellours and officers of estate named and accorded to have beyn established after the Kingis retourne owt of Denmarke, which neverthelesse upon newe consideracions were stayed, with order that the old Cownsell and officers before aucthorised should remayne in the places which they occupyed at the Kingis sayd retourne owt of Denmarke."

" Counsellours and officers of estate."

" John Maitland, Lord of Thirlistane, Lord Chancellor and Secretary. Sir Thomas Lyoun of Balducky, knight, Lord Threasurour. David Seaton of Parbroth, Comptroller. Mr. Robert Dowglas, provost of Lynclouden, Collector Generall and Thesaurer of the new Augmentations. Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Marke Ker, Lord of Newbotle, Master of the Requests. Sir Lewes Ballendine of Auchnoule, knight, Justice Clerk. Mr. David Makgill of Nesbit, advocate. Sir Robert Melvill of Mordocarny, knight, Treasurer's Deputy. Mr. George Yonge, elemosinar to the King. Alexander Hay of Ester Kennet, Clerk of Register."

" Counsellours to be added to the rest."

" Erles: Lord John Hammylton, Lord of Abirbrothok. William Dowglas, now Earl of Angus and Abernethy. William Dowglas, now Earl of Morton. George Keyth, Earl Marishal and Lord Keyth. George Lisley, Earl of Rothes and Lord Lisley. John Erskyn, Erle of Marre. Lords: Robert Boyd, Lord Boyd. David Lyndsey, Lord Lyndsey. Barons and Lairds: Sir James Hume, knight, Laird of Coldenknowes, captain of Edinborough castle. Sir John Gordon, knight, Laird of Loughenvarre. Sir Alexander Bruce, knight, Laird of Earthe. Mr. John Cockburne, Laird of Ormeston."

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Annotated by Burghley. Indorsed.*

Aug. 5. 459. THE MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

" Her majesteis embassadour hes impertit to me the ansuer of my last vrettin to your lordship, quhairby I perceivit your lordship sumquhat to have mistaken the meaning of my letter, for I did not crave absolutly to have haid a thousand pounds in November nixt, but in cace that so could not have bein, that I micht have knowin vhen conveniently her majestie micht have spairit it; and in the mid tym that I micht have haid sume varrand for my surtie, ether her majesteis privie seall or the lyk assurence. Thus ves the verie meaning of my letter, vich if I shall obtein by your lordships good mediation I shalbe about to requyt it by all good service as I can."

" As for that her majestie sayeth her meaning ves never to give to any bot to the King himself, in thus sche shall satisfie her meaning, for I have alredy obteined his majesteis dispositioun of it, as the embassadour and the berar haithe bothe sein. So I commit to him all forthar particulariteis." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

Aug. 8. 460. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 3rd instant he received Burghley's letter of July 28th. It is high time he answered the same, but defers it, because he has delivered

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to the Chancellor a note of sundry articles, to which he has as yet had no reply.

For the better ordering of causes for the Borders and Isles, the Council sent to the King Sir John Carmichael, with request to give his presence at the deliberation thereof, and for some course to be taken for the government in this town during his absence. And on Wednesday the 5th instant the King—by Sir John's labour—came hither, to consult in those causes.

For preserving quietness in the King's absence it was thought meet to leave some Council here with authority, as by the act of Council enclosed. This act was accorded to stir the King to promise to execute such resolutions as the Council should set down, "and to laie the burden of the displeasures of men offended therein from the shoulders of particular Counsellours."

The King and Council have travailed much to put order to the Borders, and thought good to take bonds of all landlords in the Marches to find sufficient sureties in Lothian and elsewhere, that they and their tenants shall be answerable as well to the King, warden, and wardens, as also for all attempts done in England. Bothwell was charged to give caution for Liddesdale, but refused, with bitter speeches against the Council. On his second refusal, made yesterday, he was committed to Edinburgh castle, where he remained all night. This day he gave bonds of Murray and Hume for Liddesdale, and so is set again at liberty, by direction of the King and friendly means of the Chancellor; whereat sundry are not well pleased, holding that in consideration of the first article in Bowes's notes, and the King's promise to the Earl of Worcester, the King should have taken bond of him to keep such bounds as he should have been confined unto in Ross or other northern parts: that motion, once well embraced, is now frustrate, which seems to shake the fellowship of the councillors presently here.

"The principall parsons in the isles, *videlicet*, Angusse Mackonell, Mackclene, MacDonell Gormun and others, were committ to the castle here before the King's comming. They are alreadie brought to liberall offers for the King's proffitt, so as his yerelie revenewes is like to be muche increased thereby. Wherein the Counsell will further procede with the next opportunitie."

The King has appointed another Convention for the 17th of September. In his passage yesternight he was driven by tempest much beyond the ordinary landing, and sundry of his company were in no small danger, but all escaped without hurt. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Enclosure with the same:—

(Act of the King in Council.)

Printed in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 519.

"For as muche as the Kinges majestie hath committed the handling and ordering of the publick affaires of this realme and estate to a certaine nomber of persons nominat and chosen by his highnes to be of his Privie Counsell, and of officers of his estate knawne by his majestie by proofe and experience to be most forward and affectionat to the advancement of his highnes authoritie and service; in the which chardg notwithstanding,

James VI. 1590. his majestie understanding that they are able to profitt litle or nathing to the honour and suertie of his highnes person, crowne, and estate without his highnes concurrencie and hand halden to whatsomeever thing they sall conclude, deliberate, and ordaine to be put to execution in this behalf; therefore his majestie in presence of his Secrett Counsell presentlie convenit solempnlie hes promised, and by these presencis in the word of ane prince promises, that whatsomever thing is or salbe concluded and descerned by the said persons of his highnes Counsell and officers of his estate, nominate and elected by his majestie, as said is, and by them ordayned to be put in execution against whatsomeever person or persons, or otherwaies to stand and have effect as lawes hereafter, that his majestie aswell absent as present shall ratifie, like as his highnes presentlie ratifies and approves the same, and sall concurre and hald hand to the execution thereof by his owne person gif nede be, and otherwise to the uttermost of his powre; and at na tyme by the perswacion, importance, sute or solicitacion of any person or persons nor otherwais under whatsomever couler or pretence sall alter, chang, or anull any of their proceedinges in this case, directlie nor indirectlie, without their awne advise, counsell, and consent graunted thereto."

"The names of the counsellours chosen to be resident here in the tyme of his progresse and absence from hence, *videlicet:* the Chancelour, the Threasurer, the Threasurer's deputie, the Comptroller, the Collectour, Justice Clark, Clark Register, Blantire, Ormeston, Carmighell, Collothie, Captaine of this castle." Edinburgh. 7 Aug. 1590.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 11. Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 38.

461. Sir Richard Cockburn to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

"His majestie subscryved maist willinglie this precept to the provest of Lynclouden how sone I presented the same, and shew sic gud countenance to the Lord Maxwell as could be, quha is departed maist contented. I send the twa warrandis delyvered to me be zour lordschip with James Hudsone, quhilk I doubt not zour lordschip hes ressaved or now. It hes bene shawin to his majestie that thare is syndrie counterfyte yrones in England for printing of the viij. d. peces, and a young man laitlye commed from Londone hes brocht ane with him quhilk be chance he saw and bocht thair, quhilk wilbe delivered to his majestie, and thereftir shalbe send over to zour lordschip."

"He reportis lykwyis of ane Englisheman apprehendit with the same coinzie in Lin, with quhome thair is ane Scottis man lykwyis taken: his name is Murray, brother to the minister of Dysart. Thair is a great quantitye of the coinzie in the magistratis handis there, because therby the countrey hes ressaved great skaith, and yf it be neglected will import forder; as also that it is suspected if the Scottisman wer heir he could shew of monye partiners merchandis of this countrey."

"His majestie hes geaven me directioun to signifye the same to zour lordschip, desyring that zour lordschip and the rest of the Counsale may wryte vearye earnestlye for sending of him heir quha is apprehendit, and lykwyis to geve a note therof to James Hudsone to deale with the Lord

James VI. 1590. Thesaurare of Englande, quhilk he doubtis not zour lordschip shall cause be done, aswell for tryall of the mater, quhairby some commoditye not small will redound, as also for deterring of others to attempt the lyke."

"Because of Mr. Jhone Colvilles intended voyage to France his majestie wald have some other collectour appoyntit for collecting of the last termes payment of the taxatioun; quhilk yf zour lordschip think gud I wald glaidlye do, as I may easelye, having Archie Prymrose and the rest of the officeris to use the same; bot have meanit na sic thing to his majestie till at first meting I heir zour lordschips opinioun. His majestie hes spoken of Barnie Lyndesay, quhome he thinkis meit for that office; bot yf onye commoditye shall aryse therof, it wer als meit it should fall in some freyndis handis."

"The Quene kepis that dyet as I wrate to zour lordschip in being this nicht in Brunteland and the morne heir. I heare of na altering as zit of his majesties purpose to remove frome this on Thursday to Striveling, except the Quenes presence heir breade some forder delay, and the cumming of some buck houndis frome Barwik lang luikid for: sic as ar accome elles ar not vearye gud, and hes committed na slauchter, althocht the King hes spent thir twa last dayes in following of thame." Falkland. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

1½ *pp.* *Holograph, also address.*

Aug. 13. 462. LORD CHANCELLOR MAITLAND TO BURGHLEY.

"Your lordship's dealing with me in most kyndlye maner aswell by your so freendlye lettre sent by Sir Johne Carmichaell as by remembring me so frequentlye by your so looving commendations in everye dispath to Mr. Bowes, and the many causes recyted by your lordship requyring mutuell intelligence betuene us, doeth not onlye testifye the memorye of the old familiar acquentance and vearye straict amitye betueene your lordship and my unquhyll brother doeth yet survive, but also hath so bound and addicted me to your lordship as I wold accompt my self happye yf some good occasioun fall out to yeeld effectuell pruif of a gratfull hart. Beleeve me, my good lord, it causeeth me no small joy, and I do accompt it one of the greatest happes has hitherto befallen me, to be honored be your lordships amitye, esteemyng thereof as I owht aswell for your worthines as the place yow holde. And althogh thair be no paritye for the great defect on my part, unabill to correspond to the honour I resave, I sall endevour my self by faythfull devotioun touard your lordship, and such small offices as I may be abill to do, to utter such a dispositioun and good will as yf it war accompanyed with powar, your lordship shuld not have occasioun to repent yow of the ondeserved faveur bestowed on me. Albeit thair be no equalitye, yet sen our actiouns and desseings do tend to one end, our sound concurrence will produce good effectes to bothe our sovereynes and cuntrees."

"If this microcosme of Britannye, separat from the continent world, naturallye joyned by situatioun and language, and most happelye be religioun, shalbe by the indissolubill amitye of the two princes sincerelye conserved in unioun, the antechristian confederatis shall never be abill to effectuat thair bloodye and godles intentions."

James VI. 1590.

"Yf our two sovereynes be nurished in the true consideratioun thay have wyselye apprehended, that the fondamentall seurtye of both thair states is setteled on trew religioun, which falling nather of thame may consist, it will continue and greatlye increas the amitye and good intelligence happelye begone betueene thame."

"I doubt not bot your lordship will use your prudence and credit with that wyse and zealous prince as hitherto yow have geaven large experience to the benefite of all sincerelye professing Christ in Europ. As to me I shall carye a wathfull ee and do my best endevour heere, assuring my self the King my sovereyne will not by any suggestioun be moved to alter the good cours of his proceadeur."

"Having tryed this bearar zealouslye affecting the continuance of the amitye betueen these tuo princes, sincerelye devoted to your lordships service, and one vhose fidelitye I have often experimented, I have communicat to him some thinges to be imperted to your lordship, which —I doubt not—he will faythfullye delyver. If he shuld neid my recommendatioun, or my request may breed him more faveur at your lordships hand, I wold earnestlye interpone it, estemyng myself greatlye benefited by the encreas of your lordships good will touard him." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Thyrlstane.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 14.

463. Proclamation by James VI.

Cf. *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 526.

"James be the grace of God King of Scottis to oure lovittis Andro Home messinger, our shreffis in that part conjunctlie and severaly specealie constitut, greting. Forsamekill as it is understand to ws and lordis of oure Secreit Counsall that ther is ane grit nwmber of personis oure liegis quhilkis at all tymes, and cheiflie this last zeir preceiding, efter thay had brocht [*sic*] ther wynis within the toun of Burdeaulx in France and utheris partis ther about, and laidnit the schippis and utheris weshallis therwith, transportit the same wynis to the townis of Newheavin, Sanct Vallareis, and utheris townis inhabeit be papistis, dissobedient to the auctoritie of the present King of France, oure aintient alye and confederat, and joynit with us in freindschipp and religioun, and thair sauld and disponit upon the samin, and thay with thair schippis and weshallis oftymes returnit within oure realme emptie without [ony] kynd of waris proffitable to the sale [*sic*: same] howbeit thai ressavit at the first departing furth therof the laiding and vittuallis therin, obleissing thame of ther naturall dewitie to rander sum commoditie therto againe: and nochtwithstanding this kynd of tred is now becum sa common that be the furneissing of the saidis townis nocht onlie ar the inhabitantis therof fosterit in ther errouris and unnaturall rebellion agains ther soveraine lord and King to the contempt of man, bot we ar greitlie defraudit of oure customes, and with tyme ar liklie altogidder to be disapointit of the dewitie laitlie grantit and apointit to be upliftit of the saidis wynnis, to the greit hurt of ws and commoun weill of our realme, gif tymous remeid be nocht provydit."

"Oure will is heirfoir and we charge zow straitlie and commandis that incontenent thir our letters sene ze pas, and in our name and auctoritie command and charge all and syndrie oure liegis be opin proclamacioun at the mercat croces of the heid burrowis of our realme, that nane of

James VI. 1590. thame tak upon hand to transport ony wynis bocht [or] to be bocht within the said toun of Burdeaulx or ony utheris partis of France to the said townis of Newheavin, Sainct Vallareis, or utheris townis, portis, or herbereis inhabit be papistis dissobedient to ther native King and Prince, nor zit to brek, bouke, stell, blok, interchange, or ony wyis to by or sell with thame, bot to bring the same wynns haill and togidder hame to this ther natiwe cuntrie and ther sell and mak penny therof, pay thair customes and utheris dewtes therfoir according to the act laitlie maid be ws, with avise of our estaittis at our lait convention haldin at Edinburgh in the moneth of July last bypast, and onnawyis to dispone upon the same ony utherwyis under quhatsomewer cullour or pretence under the paine of confiscacioun of ther schippis, weshellis, and guidis being therin, and of all the rest of the movable guidis, to our use."

"Certefeing thame and thai failze, that the same schippis, weshellis, and guidis salbe confiscat and intromettit with, and thay utherwyis puneist in ther personis as effeiris."

"The quhilk to do we commit to zow conjunctlie and severalie oure full power be thir our letters, delyvering thame be zow deulie execuit and indorsat, againe to the berar." Edinburgh. *Per actum Secreti Consilii.*

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 14. 464. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

That he might understand what the Chancellor had done with the King and Council in sundry causes specified in notes delivered by Bowes, the said Chancellor came to Bowes's lodgings, letting him know:—

1. That the King continues his purpose to confine some of the fellowship of the Bridge of Dee, especially Huntly and Bothwell. It came in question before King and Council whether Erroll should be so confined: the Chancellor asked whether he (Bowes) had agreed that he should be spared: Bowes answered that he had many times reminded the King of his promise to the Earl of Worcester, persuading him to execute the same for his own benefit, but did not name any particular person to be confined, or agree that any should be spared.

The King would be pleased to spare Erroll, since he has humbly submitted and offers to abandon the fellowship of the Bridge of Dee, especially Huntly, against whom Erroll is ready—as the Master of Glamis answers for him—"to enter into such accion as should breake all bandes betwixt them, so that he might be assured to be ether backed by the associates joyning with him, or to be out of danger of hurt by courtiers after that he had imbarked himself in that course."

The Master of Glamis, doubting that the Chancellor may be drawn to confine Erroll, has dealt with Bowes for sparing him, that he may be no otherwise used than the rest of that faction, "as Montrosse, Crawford, and others who are not like to be put att." Bowes said he had only travailed with the King to perform his promise to her majesty, leaving the execution thereof to his pleasure. The confining of Erroll may please the Chancellor, but it will displease Morton and all the associates of Stirling, "and occasion him rather to linck againe with Huntlaie then to leave that accion as is promised."

James VI. 1590. The King has taken order with the assembly of the church that they shall receive the submissions of such of the Bridge of Dee as have not yet satisfied them, and proceed with their censures against such as refuse. Bowes has urged that evil instruments be removed, "and also chastised during the tyme of their limittacions." Secondly, the Chancellor told Bowes that the King had sent a letter to her majesty by James Hudson; Bowes commends the said Hudson to Burghley's favour. "Thirdlie the King hathe chosen Sir James Melvill and William Melvill his brother to be commissioners for Spaine. And in case ether of them shalbe unwilling to undertake that voyage—as Sir James presentlie sheweth him self to be—then an other fitt and sufficient parson shalbe appointed to supplie the rowme." Fourthly, it is thought good to spare the coming of commissioners for the Borders, and that the Councils of both realms be informed by the wardens what bills remain to be answered, and what things hinder justice, that the Councils may give order for redress, and the wardens execute the same, who thereby shall be better esteemed by the Borderers. Bowes has written to Lord Scrope, Sir John Forster, and Sir John Selby to expedite the information they are to send to the Council, and asks Burghley for direction as to his part. The King and Council have been occupied about Border causes. "Bothwell, Dumlanerig, Johnstone, and others have bein committ upon their refusall to give bond, but they are released upon the cautions that they have found. Murray was onelie bound for Bothwell, and Hume being offered was refused in regard that he should give bond for him self. Bothwell hathe nowe dischardged the bond of Murray for him upon promis that he will give up Liddisdale unto the King in exchang of other landes.* And for the execution thereof he is presentlie gone to the King at Fawkland." Fifthly, John Penry is banished by act of Council, whereof Bowes sends a copy. Sixthly, the King has stayed the prayers for such as they note to be persecuted in England. They now pray for such as are afflicted for righteousness in France, this isle,† Geneva, and elsewhere, which prayer being left to the preacher, is hitherto well tempered. Lastly, that order is given for immediate delivery of the prisoners taken by Thomas Cranston, with their horses and gear, and Hume has written to Cranston for "indelate execution" thereof. Thus much for the 7 articles, whereof he encloses a copy.

The Chancellor then told him (Bowes) that the French King had written to him offering "to renew the old league with France, to seeke the awncient priviledges, and to raise up the Scotish gard there." The King and Council chose John Colvile for the negociation thereof, in regard of her majesty's good opinion of him and his own sufficiency, but before sending him the King would know her majesty's pleasure therein. "In his owne opinion he held it convenient to renew and knit this league betwixt her majestie, the Frenche King, and the King of Scotland." Colvile also imparted this matter to him (Bowes) saying that the laird of Wemys had set this thing on foot, looking to be captain of the Scottish guard and archers to be raised, by the commendation of the King of Scots. Wished Colvile to repair through England: he would rather go by sea, but awaits her majesty's pleasure therein.

* *Marginal note in same hand*: "The King will not accept Liddisdale; therefore Bothwell is directed to repaire the Harmitage and to plant some footemen and forces to kepe Liddisdale."

† *Marginal note by Burghley*: "No persequutioun in the ile."

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The Chancellor further moved that John Dixon—that killed his own father and is now in Horklay near Norham—and other fugitives in England remaining on the Borders should be apprehended and delivered to the King; and that English fugitives abiding in Scotland should be delivered to persons appointed to receive them in England. One Urwyn and other wicked fellows are harboured in the Borders in Scotland, who used to ride nightly in troops to rob and spoil in England; the Chancellor would have these delivered as he desired the Scottish fugitives to be.

Sir Alexander Stewart has renewed his offer of service. Bowes asked for some proof that he would carry himself and the cause so warily that all danger might be prevented, and himself found worthy of her majesty's thanks. He purposes to prepare for his journey and service, complaining much that his power suffices not to do it so fully as should be. He minds to repair through England; Bowes urges him to pass by sea, which he says he cannot endure, so his journey is yet uncertain. Bowes has discovered—according to Burghley's direction—that he has lived without suspicion of papistry, appears to profess the gospel, and to "observe all orders as a marshall man." He is descended from bishop Alexander Stewart, brother of James IV., and is valiant and trusty.

By such as he (Bowes) sent into Orkney he hears that on Saturday last, the 8th instant, the Spaniards were still in Kirkwall road, and had then taken six English fisher ships called "doggers" fishing about Shetland. They have killed twelve of the men, and reserve the rest for the galleys. They have fraught one ship with fish for Spain, and sold some for thirty crowns, the vessel and lading of fish. Those they cannot sell they have burnt, with some men in them.

Now they have furnished three sails and gathered men, and number eight or nine score persons, Spaniards and Scots, well victualled but with small ordenance. Few of them are skilful mariners or able to guide their ships; the Scots will soon refuse their company if they are once assaulted. They will not haste away, but will yet do more hurt to the fishers and other Englishmen on that coast; their words and cruelty are intolerable.

Hears nothing of Thomas Gray. He can do nothing against those Spaniards by any instrument here; if they are to be apprehended it must be by Gray or some other sent by the Lord Admiral, and it may not be delayed. A flyboat with Englishmen lately chased some Scottish ships into "the Harborow." This flyboat being thought to be a pirate lies now at "the May."

Sir James Hume, captain of Edinburgh castle, broke his leg the other day by a fall from his horse. Bothwell before sought that office, but it is said that the Chancellor seeks it for himself, and sent to George Hume yesterday to move the King therein; this without the privity of the captain, though he is the Chancellor's dear friend: and that the Chancellor also desired George Hume to move that Huntly might come to the King, whereupon Huntly shall be reconciled with the Chancellor. But Bowes knows not whether these things be true.

Lord Hume prays Bowes to intreat Burghley to move her majesty "for a placard to buy two horses or geldinges in England, for the which he is alreadie at a price, but the owners will not deliver them without placard." He offers in return his diligence to preserve peace on the Borders.

James VI. 1590. John, Lord Fleming, has obtained the King's leave to pass to other realms, desiring to pass through England, and praying her majesty's safe-conduct. He is commended to Bowes by the Chancellor and Robert Bruce, who recommends his request to Burghley.

Has imparted to the Chancellor and Sir John Carmichael how well her majesty accepted and Burghley commended the constant course and judgment of the Chancellor, and the grateful report made by Carmichael of his good entertainment in England, and his performance of his promise by persuading the King to follow her majesty's advice for repressing his insolent subjects.

Has shown the Master of Glamis Burghley's conceit of him, whereupon Glamis promised to run out truly such course as by her majesty or the King and the well affected here shall be found profitable, offering to serve in court, to retire home, or to do as shall be thought most meet. The courses of the Chancellor and Glamis do not yet fully concur, especially as to Erroll: Bowes prays direction therein.

Lord Maxwell, called before the assembly of the church, has subscribed to some articles, praying further instruction in others: "which in regard that he hathe many tymes done the like, and therein shewed litle frute comming by the delaie, hath bein denied to him": yet he finds some favour, and it is thought he will follow the King and keep court beyond his wonted manner.

"Some have thought to make Bothwell thinck that the demaund of his bond for Liddisdale was purposelie intended to trapp him; and that upon his late entrie into the castle by commaundment of the King and Counsell it was ment that he should have bein deteined, and that some letter subscribed by the King to that effect was sent and delivered to the captaine of the castle; whereupon it is said that this shall warne him to beware to yeald his bodie againe to ward or prison." Troubles are feared about Michaelmas next.

James Gordon is to be presented before the Council and enjoined to depart this realm: sundry motions have been made, but nothing hitherto effected. He is now in this town.

"The conclusion of your lordship's letter expressing her majestie's heavie displeasure against me, by the default of the full pay to have bein made to the garrison at Barwick by me in due tyme, hathe depelie wounded my hart, and planelie laid before myne eyes myne errour and sorowfull case wherein I am cast by the same." By the untruth of such as he employed in Berwick a large portion of the treasure intended for the garrison was wasted: they have not recompensed the same, and he (Bowes) has consumed his own small stock by supplying the want. He is willing to sell lands or other possessions to satisfy the garrison, but can find no one to purchase, except he agree to receive the money at times not convenient for the garrison, at rates far under value, and with such bonds as for ever to encumber the lands and possessions of himself and his friends. The garrison cannot charge him with one penny exacted or bribed from them, or any default but want of their full pay. He lays his life, body, lands and possessions at her majesty's pleasure.

Has instructed these bearers, John Aleyn and Christopher Sheperson —Bowes's servant—to entreat Burghley "to remove her majestes offended countenaunce," and to further his suit to her. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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Postscript—"After the making up of these presentes the bailifes of the towne of Anstruther, by the commaundement of the King, brought and delivered to me the Spaniard that was taken by that towne, and that was a crewell executioner of the Inglishmen latelie taken by the Spaniards in the Spanish bark. He is left to my disposition; it may therfore please your lordship to give spedie direction aswell what shalbe done with him, as also with Richard Blithe, Scotesman, prisoner in Newcastle, and demaunded by the King in exchang of this Spaniard."

6 *pp. Addressed. Marginal notes and indorsement by Burghley.*

Printed in *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 517-8.

Enclosure with the same :—

(Act of the King in Council.)

"The Kingis majestie, with advise of the lordis of his Secreit Counsaill, for certane caussis and considerationis moving thame, ordainit letterz to be direct to officiaris of armes, sherffis in that parte, chargeing thame to pas and in his hienes name and auctht'oritie command and charge Johnne Pennerie, Inglishman, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercatt croceis of the heid burrowis of this realme and utheris placeis neidfull, to depairt and pas furth of this realme, boundis, and dominionis thairof within ten dayis nixt eftir he be chargeit therto, and on nawise to returne agane thairin, nor within ony parte of the same, without speciall licence of his majestie had and obtenit therto, undir the pane of deid; certifeing him, and he failzie, the said space being bipast, he salbe apprehendit and punist therfoir to the deid with all rigour and extremitie. And siclike to command and charge all and sundrie his hienes legis, off quhat estate degree or qualitie that evir thay be of, that nane of thame tak upoun hand, the said space being bipast, to ressett, supplee, or intercommoun with the said Johnne Pennerie, or furneis him meit, drink, house, or harborie, undir quhatsomevir cullour or pretens undir the said pane of deid; certifeing thame and thay failzie or do in the contrair, that thay sall alswa be persewit and punist with the like rigour and extremitie to the deid, in example of utheris." Edinburgh, 6 Aug. 1590. *Signed:* "Joannes Andro," clerk deputy.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Second enclosure with the same :—

(Seven articles submitted by Bowes to the Chancellor.)

"The seasonable progresse in the course aswell advised by the Queen as also purposed by the King, and delivered by him to the Erle of Worcester to be certified and assured by the Queen for the order to be followed and holden to draw his insolent subjectes to due obedience. The Kinges letter to the Queen to the effectes conceived and to be sent with suche parson and expedicion as shalbe convenient. Two commissioners for Spaine to be appointed and put in readines and their names to be delivered to the ambassadour mencioned. Tymelie deliberacion to be taken for preservacion of the peace and redresse of the attemptates on the Borders. That commissioners may be appointed to execute the accourdes, and that the names of the commissioners for Scotland may be likewise delivered to the ambassadour. John Penrie, Inglishman, may be publicklie

James VI. 1590. banished this realme. The ministers in this realme to be admonished and directed to forbeare to use in their sermons any forme of praier tending to condempne or disprove the governement of the Queen's majeste of England, or of the churche there in ecclesiasticall causes or discipline."

"The Kinges especiall commaundement and letters to be given and sent to the Wardens of the Marches and to the parties to whom the same appertaine for the indelaied deliverie of the five Inglishmen latelie taken prisoners by Thomas Cranston of Morison, with restitucion of their horses and geare." Edinburgh, 6 Aug. 1590.

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 14. 465. SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL TO BURGHLEY.

"Haveing the commodetie of this beirar I culd do no les of my dewty nor visit zour lordship with this my simpill lettir, without that I have ony mattir of importans to wryte, bot onely to randir zour honour maist humill and hartlie thankis for all zour lordships honorabill courteseis ressavit be me the tyme of my remane at Loundoun imployit to hir majestie; for the quhilk I am nocht able to recompans zour lordship bot with gud will and service quhen soevir zour lordship sall pleis to command me, athir be word or wryte in ony thing I am able owthir in hir majestes effairis or in zour lordship's awin particular. For I think myself bound unto hir hienes for that honour I ressavit of her majestie, being unworthy of the same, by all the princeis into the warld, my dewty reservit unto the King my sovirane, and sall not faill, God willing, at all tymeis to be redy to do all the gude offices that is able to ly in the handis of sic ane mene man as me to plesour hir hienes; and I hoip thair salbe na thing done heir be na na [*sic*] honest men bot that hir majestie salbe content with."

"I am to repair presentlie to my charge upone the vest wardanrie. Gif thair be ony thing hir hienes or zour lordship will imploy me with that I am able or can do, it salbe redy upoun adverteisment, with the grace of God; and speciallie annenttis the quyetnes of thir twa cuntreyis, quhilk quyetnes I wiss to contenew langer nor I am able to leve, and that all ewill effectit men may be displaceit and cut away that seikis to move ony truble in the contrair of the present quyetnes."

"The rest of the particularis of all thir mattiris I reffer thame to the sufficiencie of the beirar, quha can shaw zow eviry manis part in particular, and myne amangis the rest at mair length nor I can wryte." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Carmychall.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 22. 466. ANSWER OF WILLIAM, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, TO THE AMBASSADORS OF SCOTLAND.

"Quæ serenissimi principis Domini Jacobi Sexti Scotiæ Regis nomine regiæ suæ majestatis legati generosus et virtute et eruditione nobilis dominus Wilhelmus Stuartus de Petten Weme, commendatarius, et Johannes Skeneus supremi senatus advocatus et consiliarii de bellis multis jam annis inter potentissimos Reges et augustissimam Reginam Hispaniæ, Galliæ atque Angliæ, summo cum discrimine et vicinorum

James VI. 1590. regnorum et ditionum tum periculo tum damno gestis nec dum sopitis illustrissimo principi et domino, domino Wilhelmo, Hassiæ Landgravio, Comiti in Catzenelenbogen, Dietz, Ligenhaim et Nidda, domino nostro clementissimo, copiosa et eleganti oratione ad omnem tranquillitatis et pacis formam inducendam compossita, ornate et prolixe exposuerunt ex iis regiæ ipsius majestatis Christiano Rege non tantum dignum sed et pacis studiosissimum propensum insuper celsitudo sua erga se animum abunde intellexit."

"Quod itaque primum regia ipsius majestas studium suum amicitiam et benevolentiam celsitudini suæ offert, omniaque fælicia et fausta amice precatur, pro eo quas potest et debet regiæ ipsius majestati gratias agit celsitudo sua longe maximas. Et si regia ipsius majestas una cum conjuge sua dilectissima prospera itidem uteretur valetudine et fælici omnium rerum successum persuasissimum sibi habebunt regii legati celsitudini suæ nihil optatius nihil jucundius nihil denique auditum gratius accedere posse. Legationis vero summam quod attinet magno sane cum animi dolore celsitudo sua quæ hactenus in regnis tam splendidissimis durarunt bella tam civilia quam extera percepit et adhuc non absque animi molestia percipit; atque una cum regia ipsius majestate libenter fatetur nisi bellorum isti motus et turbæ quam primum sopiantur quod non modo vicinis regnis atque provinciis longe majora iis que hactenus tolerarunt metuenda sint; sed et veræ nostræ religioni adeoque reipublicæ Christianæ extremum periculum sit pertimescendum. Quod itaque regia ipsius majestas in hac sua etate non admodum provecta in eam curam atque solicitudinem incumbit, qua ratione non modo impendenti illi maximeque periculoso malo occurri, illudque a vicinis regnis atque provinciis averti, sed et quo pacto veræ nostre evangelicæ religionis studium et exercitium conservari, et non tam ad posteros nostros quam et extera regna propagari possit id ut majestatis ejus regiæ nomini æternam pariet laudem et gloriam: ita et non dubitat celsitudo sua, quin Deus optimus maximus id non modo largitur eidem sit remuneraturus, sed et conatus magistatis ejus regiæ in totius reipublicæ Christianæ salutem atque incrementum prosperaturus. Et licet celsitudinis suæ judicio æquiores ineundæ pacis conditiones esse non possint, quam ut quisque sorte sua contentus regnum quod divinitus concessum habet, administret, et suam quam nactus est Spartam adornet, liberumque et suis et aliis religionis veræ exercitium permittat neque alterius evertione nimiam sibi potentiam adaugere annitatur; vix ullis tamen rerum argumentis in id hactenus celsitudo sua induci potuit, ut crediderit, in eas conditiones vel omnes vel Hispaniam saltem consensurum esse. Verum utut illa sese habeant, attamen cum præpotens ille rerum omnium arbiter cor Regis in manu sua habeat et is sit qui et flumina et tempestates pro liberrima sua voluntate quo vult derivet, nullo modo animum despondendum esse celsitudo sua arbitratur, sed eo fortius enitendum ut publicæ pax et communis tranquillitas orbi Christiano restituatur. Qua in re cum infracto animo majestas ejus regia pergere contendat, eo que nomine Evangelicæ religionis reges et electores et principes de amicabili inter predictos reges Hispaniæ, Galliæ et Angliæ compositione instituenda interpellandos esse censeat, etsi celsitudo sua non modo tam laudabile majestatis suæ propositum non potest non probare, sed et ipsamet ejus plane sit sententia hæc tam diu agitata mala saniori consilio tolli non posse. Attamen cum hæc gravis et ardua sit

James VI. 1590. deliberatio quæ diligenti inquisitione indigeat ut celsitudo sua sine aliorum electorum et principum maxime vero celsitudinis suæ—ratione inveterate fraternitatis—confœderatorum consilio, certi quid ea in re statuere sola non possit, non intermittet* consilia et cogitationes suas hac in re cum iisdem communicare. Et cum ex Episcopi et Electoris Coloniensis nuper ad celsitudinem suam misso legato intellexerit ejusdem Coloniensis celsitudinem eadem prope-modum in proximo deputatorum principum conventu Francofurti ad Mœnum, non evangelicæ tantum sed et universis tam reformatæ quam pontificiæ religionis electoribus et principibus deliberanda propositurum, celsitudo sua huic negotio non est defutura sed una cum aliis conventui predicto deputatis proceribus diligentem et exquisitam rationem memori mente habitura. Interim vero dum ea aguntur certo sibi pollicebitur majestas ejus regia celsitudinem suam nihil intermissuram quod ad impedienda imminentia tam imperio Romano quam vicinis regnis atque provinciis universæque Christianæ reipublicæ mala, et reconciliandos controvertentium regum animos profutura arbitrabitur.† Et hæc sunt quæ regiis legatis ad ea quæ regiæ majestatis nomine nunciarunt et exposuerunt nunc temporis respondere voluit illustrissimus princeps Landgravius Hassiæ enixe postulans ut regii legati quibus benevolentiam suam gratiose offert eadem Regi serinissmo [*sic*] celsitudinis suæ nomine cum officiorum suorum oblatione, deferre velint." Rothenburg. *Copy of signature :* "Wilhelmus Hassia."

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Aug. 25. 467. BURGHLEY TO ROBERT BOWES.

Lansd. MSS., 103, fol. 204.

Writes this to be sent by John Winter, once Burghley's servant, now her majesty's, who is appointed to come to those parts with a ship of war and a pinnace, to take the Spanish pirates at Kirkwall or Orkney. He is to pass northward, to require Bowes's advice, and to acquaint the King or Council with his errand, that he may have favorable asistance. "He is commanded also as he shall retorn to receave the Spanish pyrat whom yow have, or els to demand hym at Barwyk, and to bryng hym by sea to Yarmouth, wher it is ment he shall suffer so[m]e sharp extraordinary deth, for the cruelte he hath shewed to them of Yarmouth. If he be gon to Barwyk I pray yow wryt your letter thyther, that he may be ther delyvered to hym." Desires to know the facts wherewith Captain Gwynn the pirate may be justly charged, authentically warranted by a public officer. Hopes this day to send Lord Fleming's passport, and license for Lord Hume, which stay to be signed. *Signed :* W. Burghley.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 25. 468. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At the receipt of Burghley's letter of the 11th instant, the King, Chancellor, and Council were away in the country. The King was on his way to Inch Murrin, whence he returned to Hamilton and is come to Falkland, purposing to be either here on business on Saturday, the 29th instant, or else at St. Johnston's to speak with Atholl and other noblemen. The Chancellor will remain at his house at Lowther till the

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "bona verba."
† *Marginal note by Burghley*: "deliberandum censet."

James VI. 1590. first of next month, when he intends to come hither: but if the King come sooner, the Chancellor will be here with him. The rest of the Council have leave to be absent till the first of next month.

This state continues in quietness, and good men labour to continue the concord betwixt the Chancellor, Glamis, and other officers in the King's house. Upon receipt of Burghley's letter and the letters from the lords of the Council, Bowes wrote to the mayor, aldermen, and sheriff of Newcastle to send Richard Blith, Scotchman, to Berwick, and sent to the Chancellor for his order for the receipt of Blith, whom he hath ordered to be delivered to Alexander Hume of Huton Hall: but those of Newcastle thought it dangerous to send him so far without warrant from the lords of the Council. Therefore Bowes has sent servants of his own to fetch Blithe, and trusts he shall be speedily delivered to Alexander Hume, and the Spaniard in exchange to Sir John Selby at Berwick. Although the execution of this Spaniard might have provoked the Spaniards in Orkney to cruelty on the Englishmen there, yet there is now less danger thereof, for the barque and company are departed from Orkney, having already murdered a great part of the English prisoners. Some they have sold and set to ransom at Orkney, and some they carried away with them. This nation "speake liberallie against suche as might have reskewed these prisoners with great honour and service to her majestie."

The Spaniards have few pilots for the west course, but would seek better pilots in the isles. They are thought to pass by St. George's Channel for Spain. Some Scotchmen with them conspired to surprise the captain and Spaniards, but their force was too weak to attempt it. The captain, suspecting them, dismissed most of the Scots and took Irishmen instead.

Has already sent Burghley a note of the Councillors established in 1587, and of the officers now in the King's house. The King and Council, after his return from Denmark, had resolved to change the Council, and agreed on the choice of them that should have succeeded, appointing such persons only to be on the Secret Council as Bowes certified by a former note. "Yet that resolucion and order by another Counsell was overthrowen; so as the former Counsell established 1587 remayneth without change or alteracion therein."

Bothwell, thinking to have discharged the bond given by Murray for him, has travailed with the King, offering to bring Liddesdale to obedience if his bond might be cancelled; but the King will not grant his request.

"Great sute is made here for the libertie of John Lesle taken in England with sondrie letters sent by the bishop of Rosse. Wherein because I know not his case I do leave him and the matter to your lordship's pleasure." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 26. 469. R. HAMILTON OF HUIKHEID TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH HAMILTON, LADY STENHOUS.

"Nocht vithstanding the greit deith in this cuntrie at the vryting heirof, I vas in guid heilt, desyrin the lyk of zou and zour huisband my

James VI. 1590. guid bruthir, to qhom I vil desyr zou ernistlie to maik my hartlie commendation, for I vil assuir zou, gif al the sistirs I haif var mariit, I vil assuir zow he vil be estimit and favorit—be me—by thaim al, and nocht only for zour caus bot for auld companionri and aquentans, quhilk sal nocht be forzeit on my pairt." Off Corbeil. *Signed:* R. Hamylton of Huikheid.

½ *p. Holograph, also address.*

Aug. 29. **470. JAMES RITHER TO THE LORD TREASURER.**

Lansd. MSS., 64, fol. 168.

By long observance I have noted the people of this isle, though always divided by the ancient enmities of England and Scotland, yet the nearer any part of our pale is to Scotland the less enmity, the more accordance in manners; "not that the Skottes take of us but we of them, as the evell is ever more infectyve than the good."

The King of Scots of late specially praised all northern gentlemen, "with his more regard of them then of the rest, then the pulling dowen of the lord ambasidors armes by night, being sett up over the doore of his lodging in Skottland." These things I could not hear, being about the court when the ambassador returned, albeit I was conversant with northern gentlemen that had been that journey. "Bee thes rumors fals or trewe they ar *rimæ* by which wee may easyly spie into their myndes thourough thes speechis what they lyke."

Divers here that have horses to sell and were wont to take them to the great horse fair at Malton in the east of this shire now go to Carlisle with them. "They found means ynow to convey them into Skottland from more inward fayers, but whie shold that needy nation esteem our horsis at a greater prise then our owen country people do; for yt is the hope of Skottes money that drawe thes horses to Kaerlyle, and so the sellers confess." There are also that settle that way upon no substantial cause. I wish no more fugitives thither, for they watch for a time of return.

Pardon my conceit, it is Kentish, far from the conditions of these in mind as in country, "and yet as neer fully as the Skott is in good will to the trew Inglish. We have many Skottysh wyttes amongst us: the borderers property of taking more than his owen—for they never steal—is gotten so into us that cattell, sheep and horses were never so hard to keep from theeves handes," even in the heart of this shire. The Lord grant us all true English hearts. Harwood. *Signed:* James Rither.

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

Aug. 30. **471. CHRISTIAN, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, TO JAMES VI.**

"Serenissime Rex, serenitati regiæ vestræ salutem dicimus et operam nostram in omni officiorum genere paratissimam offerimus domine adfinis et amice charissime. Literæ regiæ serenitatis die octavo mensis Junii ex ipsius regia Sancte Crucis datæ a domino Guilielmo Stuarto et Joanne Skenæo legatis ejus nobis sunt redditæ, ex quibus summa cum voluptate benevolentiam regiæ vestræ serenitatis et amorem singularem summumque in rempublicam Christianam studium perspeximus, quod profecto tantum in nullo principum Christianorum esse potest quin

James VI. 1590.

majus etiam pericula ipsius summa extremaque necessitas requirant. Verum ut in omnibus morbis qui ad summum gradum pervenerunt remedia omnia sunt periculosissima, et nihilominus extrema fere adhibentur cum locus nullus lenioribus relictus sit valde apud nos est dubium, an quod serenitas vestra regia mitius proponit pacificationis, scilicet inter eos qui bellum inexpiabile invicem gerunt ad hoc sedandum atque tollendum satis virium atque facultatis habiturum sit. Experientia namque multiplex nos docuit hac via toties jam tentata adeo nihill esse promotum, ut hujus simulatione plerique in hominum nimis credulorum et innocentissimorum perniciem abusi sint periculum etiam foret ne dum legati hinc inde convenirent, et de negotio hoc tractando certi aliquid statuerent omnium ope et auxilio destituti miserabiliter perirent, quibus omnis aut certe præcipua spes secundum Deum in maturis Christianorum principum auxiliis posita videtur; quodsi cum iis hominibus res foret apud quos major justitiæ et æquitati locus relictus esset nihil sane nobis ipsis antiquius foret quam ad restinguenda bellorum incendia tam funesta et toti Christianæ reipublicæ periculosissima lenissimum et optatissimum remedium adhibere. Nunc vero omnis res eo judicio nostro perducta videtur ut bonis quidem pax nulla speranda paulo sit firmior atque diuturnior, improbi autem idem semper spectent ut obtentu hujus alios dicipiant. Nulla hic exempla aut rationes conquirimus, ne aut memoriæ serenitatis vestræ regiæ aut prudentiæ diffidere videamur. Hoc tantum dicimus ne illos quidem ipsos cum quibus talia ante omnia communicanda videntur, quosque bellum urget periculosissimum adeo et funestum, et qui omnia remedia etiam acerbissima ad spem salutis dubiæ arripiunt per legatos suos unquam significationem apud nos aliquam dedisse sibi aliquid spei in pace reliquum esse, quod profecto factum non fuisset nisi ex præteriti temporis eventu de futuro etiam conjicerent, et penitus iis diffidendum putarent qui eorum credulitate semper in ipsorum et reipublicæ Christianæ perniciem abusi sunt, si igitur hi justis rationibus pacem tam infidam respuerent an bellum propterea nos ipsis inferre honestum et reipublicæ Christianæ utile foret. Quod si quis credit eos qui pacem violaverint vi et armis cogi et ab ipsis meritas pœnas expeti posse is simul illud expendat quam gravia inde et periculosa bella oritura essent, et quanto satius foret vi innocentiam quæ suis se viribus adhuc tuetur, aliquo modo adjuvare, quam rebus prope desperatis auxilium ferre. Verum utut sese hec omnia habeant cum tale negotium non ad nos solos sed vel ipso judicio serenitatis vestræ regiæ ad reliquos sacri Romani imperii principes pertineat et per se maximi sit momenti de eo cum illis mature deliberabimus,* neque tamen interea quicquam prætermittemus, quod quidem a nobis ad diuturnam pacem ac tranquillitatem reipublicæ Christianæ præstari possit. Hujus enim salute atque dignitate consilia nostra metimur omnia et hoc unum spectamus ut suum cuique tribuatur et corum regnorum extrema ruina maturo consilio præcaveatur, quibus eversis eadem respublica salva et incolumis esse non potest. Ad vestram autem serenitatem regiam quod attinet quemadmodum ei arctissimo adfinitatis et mutuæ benevolentiæ amorisque vinculo conjuncti sumus, ita nullam occasionem scientes prætermissuri sumus studii nostri atque observantiæ erga ipsam illustriori aliquo argumento declarendæ, quæ autem verbis polliciti sumus ea reipsa præsta-

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "Deliberandum censet."

James VI. 1590. bimus longe promptius atque libentius. Quem animum nostrum itemque sententiam de toto illo quod supra diximus negotio legati regiæ vestræ serenitatis coram prolixius exponent." Dresden.

1¾ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 4. 472. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the despatch of his last has received three letters from him (Burghley) of 10th August, concerning the cause of Archibald Johnston against Roger Wyndham; of 22nd August, answering his letters sent by John Aleyn; and of 26th August, with her majesty's safe-conduct for Lord Fleming, placard to Lord Hume, and news of the employment of Captain John Winter to apprehend the Spaniards in Orkney. In accordance with directions from Burghley and from the Lords of the Privy Council, Bowes has acquainted the Chancellor and the provost and burgesses of Edinburgh—the King being absent—with the favour the Queen, her Council, and Burghley have shown for the redress of the Scottishmen, complainants against Wyndham, and what is to be done in the same at the coming of Justice Wyndham to London. Archibald Johnston's report agreed with this, and all are satisfied, praying that the parties in this cause may receive relief next term.

Has caused his servants to bring Richard Blith, Scottishman, from Newcastle to Berwick, and to deliver him to "Mr. Marshall," who has given him to Alexander Hume of Huton Hall, who has already sent him to prison in this town, to be executed at the King's pleasure: and also to deliver the Spaniard at Berwick to "Mr. Marshall," to be kept till direction come from Burghley or the lords of the Council. "Some marchantes in this contrie readie for Spaine are sorie that this Spaniard was thus delivered, doubting that their entertaynement in Spaine shall not be so favorable as formerlie it hath bein."

"Upon my conference with the Lord Chancelour to perswaid that the league with the Frenche King might rather be tripertite betwixt her majestie, the Frenche King, and the King of Scottes then to be single defensive and offensive betwixt the two Kings, and nevertheles that the matter should not be mocioned before the French King's estate should be better established, I gave him suche reasons therein as he well liked that the league should be tripertite, to mayntaine the common cause of religion, and to avoid the inconvenience growing by the renewing of the league defensive and offensive betwixt the Frenche King and the King of Scottes—wherein he wisheth that the single league presentlie betwixt her majestie and the King his master might be aswell offensive as defensive—and that the mocion of this tripertite league ought to be made in suche dew season as the estate of the Frenche King should be well setled." Whereupon the Chancellor has resolved to persuade the King to send John Colvile to the French King to entertain his good will, without power to treat for renewing the old league, but with instructions to hearken what the French King shall move therein, and with good terms to embrace it; that the conveniency of the tripartite league may come in consideration, and the treaty be well timed. He wishes this kept quiet for some time, therefore neither he nor Bowes will yet deal with the King touching the tripartite league;

James VI. 1590. but John Colvile is to depart for France, and to pass through England if her majesty please.

The Chancellor agrees to the interchange of fugitives, and desires to have the delivery of John Dixson of Belchester that killed his father, now in Horklay in the East Marches of England, to be apprehended and delivered by Sir John Selby, deputy warden of that March, upon warrant for the taking and delivery of that person in exchange of such other Englishmen in Scotland as shall be called for.

This Council is still occupied with Border matters, to provide redress for bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick, and for bills and attempts since that time. The commissioners have well informed themselves, and will be ready to give answer for the embracing of such course as shall be commended by her majesty's Council to be negociated to the King and his Council by him (Bowes). Letters are addressed to the wardens, officers, and inhabitants of the Scottish Borders, to accomplish the orders already given and preserve peace on the Marches; with public signification that the King will come in person to the Borders in October next.

Bothwell is pressed to give redress for Liddesdale, being the only impediment of the execution of redresses required and of meeting of wardens and administration of justice on the Borders. He has promised redress, and required to be instructed what to demand of England and what to yield: the instructions sent to him will be good and sufficient.

The Earl sought to be made lieutenant general of the Borders, and the King was pleased to grant the office to him, but at his coming to the Chancellor the latter "told him that the King might not convenientlie grant him this office, for then the Lord Hamilton wold thinck him self much wronged and seeke the place, and Huntlay and others possessing before like rowmes wold looke to be restored: therefore the patent was staied. Nevertheles Bothwell hathe written to the Clark Register to make out the patent, trusting that it shall passe the seale." Promise is made that it shall be stayed. Bothwell desired Bowes to move her majesty "to plant an opposite lieutenaunt to him on the Borders of England": but Bowes made such answer as that matter will be no further sought.

The Chancellor is well disposed to press the King, not only for limiting the confederates of the Bridge of Dee, but also to join with other councillors for the furtherance of the same. The King and Council intend to return hither on the 23rd instant, when the horns of the factious and seditious shall be cut off. Bowes has so travailed with the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis as they seem "well knitt together, and readie to shew them selves openlie in this cause, when they shall perceive the tyme serving not to twist but to pull up the roote of the tree yealding these troublesome frutes in this realme."

Trusts so to carry the course touching Erroll as he shall not be spared by any solicitation from her majesty whereby the King shall dispense with others of that conspiracy, and yet Erroll and his friends shall acknowledge themselves beholden to her for any favour which may be shown to him.

Sir Alexander Stewart was lately in Edinburgh, but did not go to see Bowes, nor is he eager about the journey and service he intended.

James VI. 1590. Huntly is dissuaded by his friends from entertaining intelligence with Parma. He has sent to the Chancellor, seeking to be reconciled with him, offering bonds of himself and friends, and seeking also the Chancellor's commendations to the King. The Chancellor shows himself very cold therein.

Reserves the safe conduct for Fleming and the placard for Hume till they shall be sought for, purposing so to use them as to bind those noblemen to do good offices.

Has examined eleven Englishmen taken by the Spaniards and returned towards England from Kirkwall in Orkney. They confirm the departure of the Spaniards from Kirkwall, "affirming that they sawe the Spanish bark and the crare of Clay lowse at Kirkwaie rode and discend into the seas northwardes for Spaine, as they thought, and as is generallie beleived here and on all the northe coast of this realme." But the Spaniards, having no pilots, dare not adventure the west passage, and will probably tarry on the isles till some of the fleet of this country bound for Spain come that way, when they will accompany them.

Two ships of this town are lately set forth for Spain, and others will sail in four or five days if the wind serve. The owners and companies in the ships already gone will have no fellowship with the Spaniards, but Bowes cannot answer for the others.

He has heard nothing of the coming of Captain John Winter on this coast; nor can he get any certainty where the Spaniards are. Has been advised "that Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit, Fentry, Mr. George the Inglishman, and Andrew Clark the Papist were secretlie in Mosmain's house in Cannagate." He informed the Chancellor and minister, but by default of warrant and speedy pursuit these men escaped.

"The Erle of Murray hath delt effectuallie with the Chancelour to draw him to subscribe the band with the Stewarts." The Chancellor acquainted Bowes with his refusal to enter into that association, which shall one day stir some trouble in this realm. The state is at present brought to great quietness amongst the nobility, councillors, and others, but there is no certainty of continuance. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Sept. 4. 473. ROBERT BOWES TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

(Answering letters of 10th and 12th August as to Richard Blithe and Archibald Johnston. Repeats what he has said to Burghley in letter of same date.) Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.*

Sept. 7. 474. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"It hes bene verray lamentabillie exponit unto ws on the behalff of ane honnest man of the toun of Leith named George Padie, quha being in gude conditioun in his lauchtfull vocatioun and treade, and wele thocht of be the best sort heir, is fallin in great calamitie through his being

James VI. 1590. taikin be an Englische capitane named Williame Bair in Ratcleiff about November 1586, thairefter in Februar the same zeir at Mylford Havin in Wales be Sir Johnne Vogane his sonnis and complices, and thridlie be thre of the Quene our dearest suster your soveranis awin schippis, be quhom he wes had to the Fluischeing and thair keipit sevin oulkis wanting of his fraucht twa hundreth Franche crownis. For all quhilk he enterit in actioun of befoir in the court of the Admiraltie, quhair althocht he belevit to have provin his sute, zit wanting executioun of the thing that justice hes ordanit, efter his lang and costlie tarie attending thairon be the space of thre zeiris past to his utter heirschip and undoing, we ar moved to recommend him and his causs to zour equitable consider-a ioun and favour, ernistlie requeisting zou upoun knawlege of the same —the particulariteis quhairof we remit to his awin informatioun—that ze will se him have executioun and redres of that quhilk the ordour of justice hes alreddy or sall adjudge in his favour, that he may reteir him and labour in his wownted treade and vocatioun in sum releiff of his bipast dampnages, quhairin ze sall do a verray godlie werk and obleiss ws to requite it with na les gudwill and promptitude quhair we may have occasioun to further and releiff any recommendit be zou happaning in the lyke calamitie." Falkland. *Signed:* James R.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 9. 475. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"These wthir letteris derected to me be Colonell Steward, which I suppose to be of olde dayte, come to my handis yisterday 8th of September, delivered be aldirman Salkingstone. By the lettir which I ressaived I am villed to deliverre this pacquette to your lordship, wyth requeiste that suche letteris as ar thayrin conteaned and derected to the King my soverayn may be send wyth expedition to his hyenes. I beleaw the occasion of thayr so long staying be the waye hathe proceaded from the casting awaye of the schippe whearin they wer caryed. Besidis credance [?] the letteris war theyre preserwed and cayrfullye send hyther, as be ane lettir send to the sayde aldirman doethe appeir."

"I hartlye pray your lordship to be so faworable as to gewe ordour that his hyenes my soverayne may ressawe suche letteris as ar directed to him, and that these uther letteris directed to the lord Justice Clerk and Mr. Richarde Dowglass conteaning the ressone of the forsayde staying may be delivered to any of thayme be some that is aboute your ambassadour theyre residente."

"The erniste speachis of my creditoris against me constrains me to pray your lord-hip to mowe hir majeste to growe to some faworable resolutione anent hir heanis gud meaning towardis my releawe, whearbye my creditouris may be satisfeid and I mayde moyr able to do hir majeste service." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

Sept. 10. 476. CHARLES NEVILL, EARL OF WESTMORELAND, TO JAMES VI.

In his trouble and banishment he finds pleasure that thereby he gives proof of his affection to the house of Stuart. As he relied on the King's

James VI. 1590. mother while she lived, so after her death he offered himself, his friends, and means to James. He knows not how his offer was esteemed. "I have adventurid with this man of yours to mynd me to your majeste agaen, and lookinge on theas present tymes, the estaet and possebiletei of thinges, to offer me and my servisis in maner as yow shal perseve by hime. As yit I have nocht learnid the fashyon of the court, and am nocht of so faer and curteouss a complexsyon as to change my faeth after the taste, humor, or pretensis of my prince—a comon falt as is suponid in mannye of that ile, and cheaflie suche whose birth and place wil agrei, for a lenitei and moderacyon to be takin there in."

Does not pretend to be a counsellor as to whether James should incline to toleration; wishes these matters might be so moderated that no man might be rejected so that he did his duty: "it is nesesarie to yeild a litil in things that can nocht be overcumid by force, and wher the prosecusyon doeth no other but exasperat."

2 *pp. Copy, in James Hudson's hand. Indorsed.*

Sept. 17. 477. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

After receiving his letter of August 30th he sent to the court at Falkland to understand the best opportunity for his repair to the King and the state of the court: before his servant came thither the King was departed to St. Johnston's, appointing to return within three days; but he passed thence to Dunfermline, purposing to ride to-day to Linlithgow, and come to Edinburgh on Wednesday, 23rd instant.

By sundry prisoners taken by the Spaniards and now returned, and from persons employed in Orkney, Bowes has learned "that the Spaniardes were departed from Scawpe Flowe before Kirkway, and had passed some of the islands for Spaine." This is "confirmed by William Stewart —one of the base sons of the Erle of Orkney—and who was in ship with the Spaniardes bothe at the taking of the fowre Inglish shipps fishing before Fara Island, and also at their last departure from Kirkway." He was carried with the Spaniards beyond the west isles in Scotland where they met a Scottish ship in course for Leith wherein they put him at his own desire. He thinks they are in Spain long before this time. But hears that the Spaniards are returned again to Orkney, vaunting that they have slain three hundred Englishmen since they left Kirkwall, and repenting that they suffered one Englishman to escape. The King has been similarly informed, and shows himself resolute to apprehend them, "protesting to hang them in case he can take them." If fit vessels can be equipped they may do no less effect than if Captain Winter had come, for he could not have reached Orkney before their departure. Now, if they be returned to Orkney and he use good expedition, he shall find and get them. Bowes's agent in Orkney has written to John Colvill to meet him tomorrow in Fife, that he may tell him how things stand in Orkney, that Bowes may be informed thereof.

Has told William Lesley, one of the King's servants—who moved Bowes on behalf of John Lesley, nephew to the bishop of Ross, and now stayed in England—that he has order for delivery of the young man,

James VI. 1590. to be signified to him and performed by the bishop: but William Lesley is in the King's service and cannot come before the King's return, therefore the matter must wait.

Upon sundry bruits that the Duke of Parma was entered with great forces into France to relieve Paris, a general fast and prayers were made here on Thursday and Sunday last. Bowes is continually solicited for news from France, and prays Burghley to furnish him therewith. Evil rumours of the hard success of the French King have been spread by the papists, but carry no credit.

Has advised Colvile to put in readiness all his affairs without any haste in his journey for France, and will seek still to stay him till otherwise directed.

Has often been informed that by the King's order James Gordon, the Jesuit, should pass out of the country, and be sent away with the laird of Buccleuch to sail for France; but he is still at Burnt Island, and the other day had mass there, which was espied by the minister there, who informed Sir Robert Melville and the ministers here, but little redress is given. It is hoped that such matters shall be reformed at the convention to begin here the 25th of this month.

This state continues in good quietness, contrary to the opinions of many experienced persons, who expected great storms before the end of this month: Bowes hopes that the good agreement of the Chancellor and the Treasurer may preserve this calm. "Some small quarrells are risen aswell betwixt the Erle of Angusse and the freindes of the lard of Buckcleugh as also amongst some other Borderers and for matters of tythes," but having sudden beginnings they may have short ends. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[Sept.] 478. DEPOSITIONS AS TO SHIPS TAKEN BY THE SPANIARDS.

"The collection of the examinacions as well of William Dixon, master of the *Prudence* of Hull, Jeffray Blackburne, Henry Browne, Peter Martyn of Lynn, mariners, Stephen Cape of Clay, mariner, and others, coastmen; as also of George Cooke and Rober [*sic*] Kitchin of Whitburne, Anthony Harrison, Thomas Harrison and Stephen Patison of Sunderland, Richard Bedlington of West Bowden in the busshopriche of Durham, William Fenwick, John Fenwick, John Wetherhead and Richard Fletcher of Northe Sheildes and others, fishermen, by which it appeareth that John di Merida, captaine of the Spanish bark latelie in Scotland, with his complices, did take these shipps especified, and used the same and in [*sic*] the men therein in sort following."

"Shipps taken by the said Spaniardes on the northe coast of England and nere aboutes the mouth of the river of Tease."

"*John Collingwood* of Lynn, loden with beanes for Newcastle, wherein Peter Martin and fowre other men were, and wherein one was slaine, the boy caried into Spaine, and thre men retorned into England. This ship was brunt by the Spaniardes before Anstruther in Scotland."

"*John* of Lynn, appertayning to Mr. Bassett, and wherein Mr. Vernon's malt was fraught; wherein also were seven men, whereof two mariners are caried into Spaine and five retorned. This ship was sold by the Spaniardes to James Dixon of Kirkwaie, servant to the Erle of Orkeney."

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"Two other shipps of Lynn, one of Hull called the *Prudence*, and one of Yarmouth, were taken by the Spaniardes and spoyled; wherein it is thought that they killed five men and caried into Spaine five other men. These were left fleeting on the seas and what is becommed of them these examinates knowe not."

"*John Sheringham*, of Clay, being of 50 tonnes, wherein was Symon Capp and seven more; hereof three mariners were slaine, two taken away and three retorned."

"Fower fisher shipps taken by the said Spaniardes at their fishings before Fara Island on Wednesdaie the 19th of July last 1590."

"*Jesus* of Scarbrughe, whereof Mr. Tompson was owner, and wherein were sixteen men and three boys, whereof two mariners were slaine, the master, Richard Sheperson, a honest man, and two boyes caried away into Spaine; five men put themselves into the sea in a bote and are all saved, and eight men retorned into England. The Spaniardes gave this ship to the Erle of Orkeney for four cast peces which they had received of the Erle at Kirkway."

"*Old Elizabeth* of Sheills, appertayning to Mr. Milbanck, and wherein were seventeen men and a boy, whereof five were drowned by the Spaniardes, eight put themselves in a bote to the seas who are thought to be all perished, and five retorned into England. This ship was sold to one [ ] of Kirkwey."

"*John Litster* of Newcastle, appertayning to George Brigges, William Blithman, Coman Pawlin, and George Harle, who also was in her. Herein were seventeen men and a boy, whereof three mariners are caried into Spaine, and fifteen retorned. This ship was redemed and ransommed by Gilbert Foulzie, minister at Kirkway, at the request of the master; and for the same the said Gilbert disbursed and paied to the Spaniardes 50 *l.* sterlinge."

"The ship of Yarmouth, appertayning to Wedow Harrison there, had ten men, whereof the master and two of the best mariners are caried awaie into Spaine, five put themselves in a bote to the sea, who are all thought to be perished, and two retorned into England. This shipp was sold by the Spaniardes to the captaine of Kirkwaie."

"Shipps knowne to be taken and spoiled."

"Shipps taken."

"Costmen 7. Fishermen 4 = 11."

"Men slaine by the Spanyardes."

"Costmen 10. Fisshermen 7 = 17."

"Men perished by sea."

"Fishermen 13."

"Prisoners caried into Spaine."

"Costmen 10. Fishermen 9 = 19."

"Men saved by bote and returned."

"Fishermen 5."

"Men retorned into England after they had bein spoiled and left naked."

"Costmen 11. Fishermen 30 = 41."

James VI. 1590. "95, besides the men that were in the other four shipps spoiled also by the Spaniardes."

2½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Sept. 22. 479. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

A few hours after the despatch of his last of the 17th instant he received Burghley's of the 11th, and yesterday his other of the 16th. The King and Bowes had been informed that the Spaniards were returned to Orkney, but the report was grounded on their second coming to Kirkwall after they had taken the English fishermen at Fair Island; for by his agent who came from Orkney on the 10th instant, Bowes hears of their doings in Orkney, their departure in August, and that they are already in Spain.

John Caprington, sent to him (Bowes) by the Earl of Orkney, came this day, having left Orkney on the 14th instant. He affirms that the Spaniards were not returned to Orkney, but departed for Spain. John Calender, employed by William Elphinstone—a friend of Bowes—to go into Orkney, and returned yesternight, confirms this report: and the Countess of Orkney assures Bowes that the Spaniards are indeed gone.

Will execute Burghley's directions as to the suit of Archibald Johnston against Wyndham, Border causes, Colvile's journey into France, and the tripartite league, at the coming of the King, the Chancellor, the Council, the provost of Edinburgh, and other persons.

Knows not yet what English fugitive in this realm shall be called for to exchange with John Dixson, Scottishman, to be apprehended at Horkley; but will seek advice of the wardens.

The laird of Buccleuch, licensed by the King to seek remedy for the gout in France, purposed to pass by sea. As Burghley knows him and his actions, Bowes need not write thereof. He has sundry times offered devotion and all good offices on the Borders to her majesty, and Bowes has "shewed him pleasures to his benefitt and contentment," and trusts he shall be found a good neighbour. The Chancellor has some interest in him.

Has sent Colonel Stewart's letters to the Chancellor, who returned answer by the bearer that at his coming he would acquaint him (Bowes) with parts of those letters.

The chief councillors continue in amity. This Convention will prove the effects thereof. Thanks Burghley for news sent. The same has been so acceptable to the King and others as her majesty's services have been greatly profited thereby. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Sept. 27. 480. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"We recommend ws unto zou in hartlie maner. It is lamentab llie exponit unto ws in the behalff of Williame Sutheroun in Westo, within the bischoprik of Durhame, quha, onlie being in the cumpany of umquhile Rodger Sutheroun and Robert Sutheroun his brether, the actuall committeris of the slauchter of umquhile Richart Haviesyde in Jarra in the moneth of Maii 1587, hes bene exylit his native contrie continewallie sensyne, quhilk hes redactit him in sic distres and calamitie as he meritis

James VI. 1590. the petie and compassioun of all gude men, cheiflie in consideratioun of his innocencie of that fact publicklie declairit and utterit be his said brether, quhen as thay sufferrit for the same laitlie at Lambes last. And thairfoir we have taikin occasioun to recommend his afflictit conditioun and estate to zour favorable consideratioun and clemencie, ernistlie requeisting zou upown the knawlege thairof—his innocencie always rememberit—that ze will extend zour mercie and pardoun toward him for that fact, ayther in forme of remissioun or respett for the space of sic zeiris as is aggreable with the custome of zour cuntrie in sic caisses, quhairby he may reteir him selff hamewart in that his awin native cuntrie, and be releiffit of his lang and grevous baneisment and afflictioun." *Signed:* "Youre most loving & affectionatt brother & cousin, James R."

1 *p.* *Addressed.*

Sept. 30. 481. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Zour greit favour and furtherance extendit toward our servitour Williame Cokburne, marchand, burges of our burgh of Edinburgh, the beirar, in the mater of debt persewit be him agains Johnne Clerk in Londoun, being reportit and schawin to ws, we cannot bot rander zow maist hartlie thankis for the same, and wald be glaid that as ze have begwn sa ze wald put the same to ane point, according to the forme alreddy sett doun and wele rememberit and knawin to zow, as we ar informit."

"The same our servitour, being rubbit and spoyled in the moneth of Junii last of his schip and guidis, amonting to the valu of ane thowsand crownis, be ane Capitane Gwyne and his complices, and sic barbarous crueltie usit agains his merchant, skippar, and marineris as we remit to his awin particular informatioun, is to move actioun thairupoun before our dearest suster zour soverane and hir Counsale; and thairfoir we have taikin occasioun to recommend him and that his caus to zour equitable consideratioun, ernistlie requeisting zou upoun the knawlege thairof to interpone zour wounted guidwill in his favour and furtherance, and to se that his caus handillit sa summarlie as he may be redressit of his gret losse, and not wereit with lang attendance on pley, bot put to ane point, and dispachit with expeditioun."

"Quhairin ze sall do ws richt thankfull and acceptable plesur, and obleis ws to requite it with na les promptitude quhen we sal have occasioun to shaw furtherance to any belanging zow having the lyke caus." *Signed:* James R.

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

Copy of the same.

Oct. 2 482. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received Burghley's of Sept. 22. The King and Chancellor were not only informed that the Spaniards were come again to Orkney, and had bragged of the slaughter of three hundred Englishmen, but also that Henry Lesley—son of the brother of the Earl of Rothes—Captain Browne, and other Scottish pirates had consorted with the Spaniards,

James VI. 1590. being now six or seven sail at least, and lying about the west isles of Scotland; but in his last Bowes informed Burghley that the Spaniards were not at Orkney, sending that information with speed, to save needless charge for the fitting out of ships to pursue them.

Latest reports from Orkney confirm that information. The Spaniards did not return thither, but near the west isles they took a Scottish ship and spoiled her only of her victuals, and therein set on land in the west islands the Scottishmen that were in the barque with them; and took their course for Spain; "and did not mete nor consort with Henry Leslie, Browne, or any other Scotishmen other then Peterson the Fleming, who came to them in Scotland and still remayneth with them in the ship of Clay."

William Sibbett informs that Bothwell put to sea in a ship furnished with eight cast pieces and other necessaries, with commission to serve against the Leaguers, "but he had no sooner entred unto the seas then that Henry Lesley before named and the rest of the companie in that vessell put out fibbed and sett him on land with the commission and sondry woundes." They then set sail to seek the Spaniards, but meeting a ship of Bremen coming for Orkney, they took her, brought her to Cromarty, and sold the goods in her. And Lesley and others are returned into their countries. Thus the Spaniards departed for Spain without hurt done to any Englishman since they left Kirkwall in August.

The King and Chancellor are much comforted by the news from France, sent by Burghley, having been disquieted by reports of the success of Parma and the rebels in France. This day Lord Dingwall advertises that Bothwell has received intelligence out of England that the battle is fought betwixt the French King and the Duke of Parma, wherein are slain on both sides 16,000; that the French King is deadly wounded, and has lost and left the field. Bowes prays Burghley to let him know the truth.

The King and Council being daily occupied with Border causes have appointed the Chancellor and Clerk Register to take order with Bowes about them. But they have not yet such perfect certificates from their wardens as the Lords of the Council have sent to Bowes from the English wardens, so are sending for them from the three wardens of the Marches of Scotland. They have agreed to give speedy redress for the thirty bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick, and for the attempts at Mindrum and other places in England. Bowes chiefly pressed for redress for Liddesdale—under Bothwell's government—it being the greatest occasion of troubles. If Bothwell does not perform his promises herein, he will lose the King's good opinion.

Bothwell assures the King that he has given satisfaction for five of the six bills betwixt the Middle Marches of England and Liddesdale, and promises to discharge the sixth, and the other ten bills betwixt the West Marches of England and Liddesdale; but many will not believe that this shall be truly performed. The demands of Scotland will arise to a very large sum, exceeding the sums demanded for England. The wardens of England, chiefly of the West and Middle Marches, must consider how to answer the same.

Before the Chancellor and other officers in the King's house and councillors departed in September last, they agreed to meet here again

James VI. 1590. the 23rd of that month to join in limiting the principal factors of the Brigg of Dee. It was accorded that they should prepare this matter before the King's return, then to be on the 25th of that month. The lords came as arranged, but the King coming the same day prevented their conference. But the other day they met quietly together, namely, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Sir Robert Melville, the provost of Clenclowden, the Controller, Newbottle, and Blantyre. The Chancellor was addressed to deal with Bowes to stir the King therein. Bowes has put the King in mind of his promises made to her majesty by letter and by the Earl of Worcester, with urgent arguments for reforming his noblemen. The King agreed to confer with the Chancellor on the matter, and also to commit it to the consideration of the Council, "lamenting that he had sought this thing dyvers tymes at the handes of his nobilitie and Counsaill, and was denied by the parcialities and bandes that were amongst them." Bowes has acquainted the Chancellor with this answer, and will impart it to others of the Council, but finds great difficulties in the matter.

"The Lord Chancelour hathe lett me knowe that some of the Papistes here have delt with him, perswaiding that albeit they could have bein contented to have intertayned a course against England, yet they sought not any alteracion of the religion in this realme, nether the Kinges hurt, or prejudice to the estate here, but rather the honour and advancement of the King and benefitt of this realme, shewing that the King of Spaine hath offered and is readie to yeald bothe men and mony to the King to be disposed for his profitt against England as he should thinck most meete. Wherein they have found themselves in some errour whiles they delt with suche noblemen as hitherto have regarded their owne private gaine and not the common cause. And therefore they have thought it meete to change their course and intertaine the intelligence with suche as hathe interrest in the King and may draw him to like of the matter so farre as shalbe proved to tend to the suertie of his greatnes and prosperitie. But they have hitherto forborne to breake and enter with the Chancelour, bicause they thought him wholly devoted to England: yet thincking the love of his master should prevaile above his owne affeccion to England, therefore they have adventured to lay this before him, and to seeke his commendacion and furtherance of their offers and sutes to the King for the Kinges especiall advantage." The Chancellor partly entertained them, to find the bottom of their designs, and "hathe put to them in trust suche a fitt parson as he trusteth shall like them and will serve him self." The Chancellor's advice was required whether James Gordon, the Jesuit, should depart into Flanders, or abide here to give credit in the affairs of Spain. He persuaded that he should haste into Flanders with the speed he could. Gordon thereupon agreed to pass in a ship of Leith, but hearing that a servant of Bowes had had conference with the "shipper," he hath put himself into the *Phœnix*, that will not be ready these twenty days.

The Papists begin to put forth their horns. James Gordon intends to send before him Mark Carre—otherwise Pringle—with his letters into Flanders. Sir Alexander Stewart is ready to go to the Duke of Parma with letters of credit from Huntly, James Gordon, and Maxwell. The King has written generally in his favour, but those others have written

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special commendations. Bowes cannot prevail upon him to pass by sea; he goes through England in eight or nine days, herein observing the advice of James Gordon and the others.

The King purposes to stay John Colvile till Martinmas next. His going into France then may profit the laird of Wemys in sundry causes with the King of France, and benefit Scottish merchants in their trade there. He is to be sent through England with such commission as her majesty shall think good.

The Chancellor says that the letters addressed by Colonel Stewart to the King and himself were of old date and small effect, signifying that most of the princes were departed from Brunswick before his arrival, being hindered by accidents at sea. He would follow the princes to their own houses, at great expense of time and money. The Chancellor hearing from him (Bowes) that Buccleuch had come to London, prayed that he might be favourably entertained for his sake.

Huntly has sought the Chancellor's favour through the King, Lennox, and others. The Chancellor says he must give the same answer as the King, namely, that he can remit all offences done to himself, but not those against religion and the state. Huntly will probably be admitted at court, but not any office.

By the mediation of the Chancellor, Bothwell and Cesford were agreed the other day, beyond the expectation of the rest of the Council, who within few days before had been in conference and purpose with the Chancellor to stir Hume and Cesford to join for the furtherance of such course as was then thought meet; which course will be hindered by this sudden reconciliation.

For the recovery of the King's favour to Sir William Keith, Dingwall was sent to the King at Linlithgow, but had little success. The Chancellor and the Master of Glamis have moved the King therein, but prevaileth no better; and now the King has charged Sir William to keep his house till his pleasure be further known. Sir William has been with Bowes, who told him her majesty continued her good mind towards him, and also offered him his own services, which he thankfully accepted. But finding no apt occasion to move the King therein, without discovery of his full purpose, Bowes has hitherto forborne to meddle.

"For the late surprise of the sonne of the Erle of Angusse taken by the Scottes of Buckcleugh and since his departure, Mr. Walter Scott of Goldylandes—the chefe in the absence of Buckcleughe—with thre other of that house were committ to the castle. The thre parsons are enlarged by the meanes of the Chancelour, and the other is looked to be at libertie very shortlie."

John Davison, minister in this town, has written and presented to the Chancellor a pamphlet in manner of a preface against the printed sermon of Dr. Bancroft,* and to be allowed by the King, who is much troubled, as well with the matter as also to suppress the book: he will confer with his Council therein.

If her majesty please to continue him (Bowes) in Scotland he must provide his house at better rate than at present, and lay in provisions for winter. He prays for payment to Christopher Sheperson his servant of allowances now due to him, and also an "imprest" of two hundred pounds. Understanding that Burghley mislikes the assurances tendered

* See *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, i. 473 *et seq.*

James VI. 1590. on his behalf by John Aleyn and Christopher Sheperson for surety of the repayment of such sums as her majesty may lend him for payment of "the remaynes" at Berwick, he has drawn his son, Rafe Bowes, to consent to join with him in such assurances as he trusts will satisfy both her majesty and Burghley, and has certified Aleyn and Sheperson of the same. He implores Burghley, for God's sake, that the garrison at Berwick may be satisfied, for the which he is ready to sell all he possesses. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 5. 483. PROVOST AND BAILIES OF EDINBURGH TO BURGHLEY.

"The berair Williame Cokburn oure nichtbo[ur] and burges, awnar of the schip of Leithe callit the *Thomas*, his merchant and skippar thairof, withe thair equippage and cumpany, returning hamewarte frome Caleis in France quhair thay hade dischargit thair laidning, wer unbesett in thair passage and dew course in Zarmouthe rayde, upone the 28th day of Junii last, be ane Englische pyrate schip, quhairof ane Capitane Gwyne was principall, and ane consort and marrow schip of his lying within the heavin of Zarmouthe; and not onlie rubbit and spoyled of thair schip and haill guidis, amonting in valu to the sowme of ane thousand crownis of gold, as thay allegit, bot als his merchant, skippar, and marineris sa cruellie tormentit and barbarouslie usit, be knytting of towis and thrawing the same about sum of thair heidis, harling sum of thame naikit at the schip starne, and heissing thame up and doun with ane tow to the ovirloft in perrell of thair lyiffis, as the lyik hes bene ra're harde of amangis Cristianis; compelling thame heirby, and be menassing to cast thame owirburde, to tell of the haill gold and silver thay hade hid in thair said schip. For remeid of the quhilk the said Williame, withe his merchant and skippar addressing thame selffis towartis the Quenis majestie zour soverane and hir honorabill Counsall, is to mowe actioun agains thayis malefactouris, thair consortis and resetteris, in esperance of spedie redres of thair greit lose. And heirifore we hawe tackin the bauldnes to recommend thair honest caus to zour lordships equitable considderatioun, ernistlie requeisting zoure lordship, seing the fact is alreddie cleirlie prowin and testifeid to Sir Robert Bowis hir majesteis ambassadoure heir resident—as will evidenttlie appeir be his awin letter direct in the same caus—that zour lordship will imparte this odious fact to hir majestie zour soverane and hir hienes wyise Counsall, and hald hand thairunto in sic sorte as thir complenaris zoure nichtbouris may, be zour guid meanes, hawe summar proces, and thair actioun handillit and put to ane poynt withe that expeditioun propirlie dew to the causses of straingeiris, sua that thay may hawe redres, and think thame selffis not dissapointit of thair gude hoip and expectatioun theranent."

"Quhairin, as zour lordship sall minister pruiff of zoure direct meaning towarde justice and the furtherance of the caus of thay afflictit strangearis, sa sall zoure lordship obleis ws to requyte the same with na les reddines and guidwill quhensoevir occasioun sall present be any zour lordship's lauctfull requeistis." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Arnote Provost of Edinburct, Johne Macmoren thesaureer; Alexander Wduartt, Denegeild;

James VI. 1590. David Fairlie, bailze; Henrie Charteris, baillie; Clement Core, bailze; Roger Maknacht, baillie; L. Guthre.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 5. 484. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received Burghley's letter of September 29th, with one to Sir John Carmichael, the French news, and copies of "letters of the Turk and his two Bassais to her majestie and to the estate at Marcelles." Confirms his advertisements as to the Spaniards. Sir John Carmichael's letter shall be delivered to him at his coming, this night or tomorrow.

The King is out hunting; he (Bowes) will tell him the French news and the contents of the Turkish letters, which come very seasonably, for the papists do so confidently give out the triumph of the Dukes of Parma and Maine, as the preachers were occasioned yesterday publicly to speak against the same, and to encourage their audience by all the means they could; and the King and others sought news from Bowes.

Sir John Carmichael and other friends of Lord Sanquhar have earnestly persuaded that lord to abide at home, and rather seek to get a good wife and repair the waste of his inheritance than travel in foreign countries at this season. But he has obtained the King's licence, and took his leave yesterday, intending to pass through England if he can have her majesty's licence*; otherwise by sea. By the advice of these friends he will spend the winter in London, and they trust either to draw him home in the spring or to provide better for his journey. They pray that the passport, if granted, may be sent speedily before he adventure to pass by sea, which will not be before the end of fourteen days. In this Sir John Carmichael prays Burghley's favour, "trusting that thereby this nobleman, being younge and of the religion, shalbe drawen to some good course of life and for her majestes services and benefitt on the West Borders."

He (Bowes) once purposed to accompany the Earl of Crawford into France, and having written to Walsingham for licence was answered that it was granted, but Walsingham never sent the safe-conduct. Bowes prays speedy execution.

Has delivered her majesty's placard to Lord Hume for buying two horses in England; he is thankful, and promises to be a good neighbour to her majesty's subjects.

Lord Fleming gives thanks for her majesty's licence to pass through England, and it is well accepted of the Chancellor and his lady. Fleming starts in two or three days, and Bowes has given him a letter for Burghley.

The Chancellor this day left Edinburgh for his lands in "Glidsdale," minding to return at the end of the week; before whose coming the Council will not deliberate in matters of great effect. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "It wer good to grant hym lycenss, both for his frendes sake and to make the yong lard to know hir majesty."

James VI. 1590. Oct. 8.

485. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to his last letters, he showed the King the news from France and from the Turk, which has much comforted the King, who had been quite otherwise informed. "The sight of the highe honour done to her majestie by the great Turk was wonderfull to him, being before perswaided that no Christian Prince ever had in the Turk suche great estimacion"; the kingdom of Poland at this time receives great profit thereby. But the King hopes she will "warelie bewaire to give footing to him in any part of Christendome, seing his forces are hardlie put from the townes and places whereunto they have entred." Upon which point Bowes reassured him.

According to Burghley's direction of Sept. 29, he has informed the King of the good offices done by Sir John Carmichael, warden of the West Marches of Scotland, to Lord Scrope, in the execution of justice on those Marches; and of Lord Scrope's certificate of the same to Burghley, and her majesty's good acceptance of those offices; adding that she thanked the King—for whose pleasure those actions were done—and prayed him to testify his approval to Sir John. Scrope will be ready to give the like redress to any Scottishmen justly complaining of hurts done to them by Englishmen. The King took the matter in very good part, and promises to let his subjects know that in order to please him they must please her majesty. He has written Burghley the enclosed letter, and has also written to Lord Scrope. Carmichael acknowledges himself deeply beholden to her majesty, Burghley, and Scrope, and is ready to do all good offices in his power.

Moved the King to draw Bothwell to like good offices in Liddesdale. The King recounted the manifold promises that Bothwell had made, and said if he did not perform the same he would no longer bear with his slackness; but Bowes doubts of full redress to be gotten.

The King and Council have set down orders for preachers and other officers in the church, as will appear by the copy of the articles enclosed. This is a copy of the draft framed by the clerk, but not yet fully resolved by the whole Council, nor accorded by the ministry. The Chancellor is not yet returned, upon whose presence the resolution of all causes in church and realm chiefly depends.

Is informed "that the Papistes are not onelie in good comfort to gitt some favour at the Chancelours handes, and that they will offer large benefittes to him for the same, but also that they shall convene shortlie in the next monthe to deliberate and to determyne how they shall procede with the Chancelour and in their causes." Bowes will confer with the Chancellor about it on his return.

"This estate is hitherto quiet; but suerlie sondrie signes are seen threatning disquietnes aswell betwixt the Stewartes and Hamiltons as also by the practise of sondrie noblemen latelie entred in band, and—as it is thought—to alter the present course of this state." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1590. Enclosure with the same:

(James VI. to Burghley.)

"Understanding the earnist and effectuall cair utterit at this tyme be our trustie cousing the Lord Scrope to mutuall justice and redres of all enormities committed under his commandiment, we can not weill omit, undoing injurie to his desert, to testifie unto zow, and be zour meane unto his soverane our dearest suster and her counsale, his honorable and worthy service effectuat at that meting, to the confort of the gude men, and terrour of the wicked abounding at that hand on baith the sydis: praying zow, for his better confort and incourageing in his gude dispositioun, to let his merite be effectuallie rememberit to his said soverane, and thankis procurit unto him for his continuall gude offices in that charge, bot specialie for this gude ground, quhilk be his correspondence to his opposite officiar in a delyverie quhairof the lyke hes not bene sene upoun that Marche, he hes set doun of some appearand quietnes and justice at that restles hand."

"To the quhilk, as he hes lakit no gude dispositioun in his opposite officiar, so mynde we to give ordour that baith this gude begynning may have dewe prosecutioun at all occasions at that Marche, and be a patern to the rest to imitate at thair nixt metingis." Holyrood House, 7 Oct. 1590. *Signed:* "Your louing cousing James R."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 9. 486. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, William "Cowburne" [*Cockburn*], cousin to Sir John Carmichael, burgess of Edinburgh, has suffered great spoil by sea near Yarmouth through Gwynn the pirate and other Englishmen. He has exhibited his complaint to the King, praying his help for redress in the same, and acquainted Bowes with his hurt and losses, whereof advertisement has already been sent to Burghley. The King desires that this bearer and his suit be commended to Burghley, that he may get timely remedy. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 12. 487. PASSPORT GRANTED TO MR. JOHN UDEN, A DANE.

Lansd. MSS., 63, fol. 86. John Uden came a few days ago from Denmark, recommended by the King of Denmark, and is to be well received and kindly treated. Holyrood.

¾ *p. Latin. Copy.*

Oct. 12. 488. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"It is gevin ws to understand that sum of the goldsmychtis, your soverains subjectis, hes takin the bauldnes to forge and counterfute our current cunzie of all sortis, and to mak a commoun tread and merchandice in selling the same to certane of our liegis, traffiquearis, and merchandis resorting and hanting within the realme of England, quhilkis, respecting mair thair awin privat lucre and gayne nor the publict wele

James VI. 1590. of our cuntrie, hes out put and disperset the same in sundrie partis thairof amang the symple and ignorant people. Quhairby baith our awin estait and the commounwele of our realme being greitlie dampnified and interest, we have employed and appointit our servitour Williame Cokburne, the berare, to speir out and try these pernitious malefactouris and usaris of that unlesum and dangerous treid, quhais names being signifiit and returnit to ws, we may delait thame to the Quene zour soverane, and crave thair tryell and puneisment according to thair deserving. And becaus zour assistence and gude furtherance is cheiflie requirit and may be maist necessur heirin, amang all uther zour gude offices we ernistlie and effectuuslie requeist and desyre zow to caus speir and try out they personis culpable or suspect of the said unlauchtfull tread, and sa far as possibillie can be mak thame with thair particular crymes notifiit and knawin to our said servitour, that we our selff, or he in our name, may insist in thair persute and puneisment as apperteins. Quhairin ze sall do ws richt thankfull and acceptable plesur to be rememberit with na les gudwill as occasioun salbe offerrit. Farder, having be our uther letter recommendit a particular caus concerning our said servitour to zour supplie and furtherance, we have thocht gude heirby alsua to hald zow in memorie thairof, and to se him have sic summar justice and redres as the equitie of his caus meritis; quhilk we will accompt als acceptable a plesur as gif ze had schawin zour gudwill and put zour helping hand to any thing propirlie belonging our selff." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 19. 489. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, William ven der Wense, servant to the Queen-mother in Demnark, was commended by that Queen to attend upon her daughter the Queen of Scots, till she might be acquainted with this country and language. Being now called to return to the Queen-mother, he desires to pass through England, that he may see her majesty, and report her good health and welfare to the Queen in Denmark. Bowes recommends him to Burghley's favour, that he may "with best oportunitie come to her majestes presence, to whom he seemeth to beare especiall devocion." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 21. 490. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Thir berars, oure borne sujectis and honest merchauntis of oure burgh of Edinburgh, inanimat be the injust and extraordinar procedingis of the verie magistrattis of the townes of Newheavin, St. Valeries, and utheris thair associattis, agains thame and thair guidis, quha, without thair naturall obedience to thair soverane, schaking of all regaird of the gude amytie and freindlie intercours so long continewit betuix that realme and ouris, have not onely interceptit thair schippis and guidis within they seas, bot thairwith adjugeit thame in thair pretendit maner to be as lauchfull prises, and confiscat the same as appertenyng to thair ennemeis; have with oure favoure and allowance resolvit to repair

James VI. 1590. thame be ane extraordinar bot necesser remeid. And to the same effect, having equipped some convenient veschellis, and lacking sic provisioun of ordinance as ar thocht necesser for thair outred, we have accridit thame this present, to requeist zow verie affectuuslie to lett thame fund zour favoure and permissiown to bye sa mony of sic peces as convenientlie may furneis thair saidis veschellis, and to transport the same without any lett or impediment to be maid thairanent in any sort. Quhilk, for zoure knawin dispositioun to gude caussis, we louke assuredlie ze will expeid unto thame, and confort thame besydis in any thing that may incourage thame in this sa honest and necesser a course depending on zoure grant and lefull favoure." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your loving cousin, James R."

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 21. 491. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sundry burgesses of Edinburgh have complained to the King that they have been spoiled at sea "with great extremities" by the towns of "Newhaven" [*Havre*], St. Valerie and Abbeville, and others in France confederated with the Leaguers. The King has granted a letter of marque or reprisal against those towns and rebels to these bearers, George Todrigg, Patrick Morice, Francis Tenant, John Lowrie, Edward Johnston, and Robert Hebburne, which they will show to Burghley. Having prepared shipping, men, and furniture, "they do still lack some cast peces of iron which they knowe not where to gitt save in England by some especiall favour and lycence to be given them in that behalf." The King has written to Burghley for his favour therein, and also required Bowes to accompany these bearers with a letter, which he thinks good to do, knowing them to be well devoted to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—"This bearer George Todrigg can informe your lordship of late piracie done by Inglishmen that have robbed a Scotish ship, wherein the goodes of Captain Hamilton this bearer and others were taken. It may please your lordship to be a meane for the restitucion of the goodes to them. The particularities I leave to the report of this bearer."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 492. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letter of the 6th instant on the 12th, with letters from Colonel Stewart to his wife and to Bowes, who has delivered the one to his wife. On the 18th he received Burghley's of the 14th, with her majesty's passport to Lord Sanquhar, who—with his friends—renders humble thanks for the same. This passport came in good season, before Lord Sanquhar returned from the country, where his friends held him as long as they could to stay his journey. They are minded to send with him to London, Hugh, son of Sir John Carmichael, that he may persuade Sanquhar to return after some abode at London; wherein they intend to seek Burghley's help. Thanks Burghley "for the booke of the Frenche Kinges late declaracion." He presented it to the King,

James VI. 1590. who accepted it gladly, longing greatly to understand the success of the French King, to whom he pretends to bear good affection and to be ready to aid him, showing himself bent against the Leaguers in France; the rather because the towns of Havre ["Newhaven"], Fe'camp, St. Valery Amiens ["Amyas"], Abbeville, and Crotoy ["Crokye"] have stayed sundry Scottishmen and seized their goods, with spiteful words against their King, the realm and themselves, whereupon the King has granted his letter of marque or reprisal to Captain George Todrigge, Patrick Morice, Francis Tenaunt, Edward Johnson, John Lowrie, and Robert Hebburne, burgesses of Edinburgh, to take the goods of any of the said towns or of other adherents of the Leaguers in France. Upon the delivery of this letter to the persons named, the King said openly and with earnestness that if the ambassador—meaning Bowes—should think good, he would proclaim war against the rebels and Leaguers mentioned. He may be readily drawn to this, if it be thought meet to be put in practice; but many of his nobility and boroughs will hardly consent thereunto. Bowes forbears "ether to presse him further or abate his mynde in this matter" till he be directed by Burghley.

Colonel Stewart returned hither on Friday last, the 16th instant. After he had been with the King, on the morrow he came to Bowes, to tell him that he had delivered the King the letters and writings of such princes in Germany as he had spoken withal, and that after the King had read them Bowes should have them, that he and Stewart together "might take furthe the effectes of the same," and send to Burghley to be shown to her majesty, according to her pleasure signified to Stewart; praying Bowes to stay his packet till these and Stewart's own letters could be sent.

Yesterday he brought to him (Bowes) the original letters of the Dukes of Saxony and Brunswick, and of Joachim Frederick, eldest son of the Marquis of Brandenburg, addressed to the King of Scots; as also the answers of the King of Denmark and the Landgrave of Hesse to the ambassadors of the King of Scotland. Has taken copies of the same—as being better than extracts—with the King's consent, and sends them to Burghley, together with Colonel Stewart's letters to her majesty and to him, showing the success in his late negotiations. It is further promised by the King and the Colonel that when any other letters or messages be brought to the King concerning this cause, Bowes shall be advertised thereof.

"The King hath given order to William ven der Wense—alreadie departed hence and in his retorne throwe England into Denmark—to move the King of Denmark, the Quene his mother, and the Duke of Brunswick, to write and send unto the Duke of Saxon, to be myndefull to solicit and sett forwardes this cause at the next Diett and meting of the princes of Germanie; as by William ven der Wense, presentlie in his jorney towardes your lordship, in the companie of the Baron of Sternhemberg, it will appeare unto your lordship."

Huntly having obtained the King's leave to come to Montrose to know the King's pleasure, but being now deferred till 6th November next, Bowes hears that the King is greatly solicited to receive him sooner, and has therefore reminded the King of his promise to the Earl of Worcester, letting him know that her majesty must find it very strange that

James VI. 1590. the performance thereof should be so long delayed, after such confident assurance given: "and also that the King could not with honour deale so roundelie with Huntlaie after he had received him to his presence and grace as nowe he may"; persuading him the more earnestly because it appeared that Huntly's hasty repair to court should hazard to disquiet the state and endanger good subjects here. The King readily acknowledged his promise, seeming willing to perform it so far as shall lie in his power, recounting the impediments cast in his way by his nobility and Council. He acquitted himself from all dealings with Papists, and promised that Huntly should have no favour of him without the especial advice of the Council. "In which deliberacion it should be manifest that he wold not forgit this promis thus oft laide to his chardge."

Procured Roger Aston to let these things so fall before the King as he might see how greatly they concerned his honour and estate, and occupied the minds of his best subjects. Aston handled the matter so well that the King was not easy till the Chancellor had conferred with Bowes and taken order for the "indelate course against the Papistes" to be put in execution. This should prevent many dangers to religion and the state, and also to the person and safety of the Chancellor, whom Bowes has found so "put at" as he thought it necessary to warn him against such as, possessing the King's ear, would have abated his favour towards the Chancellor.

"Upon advertisement of Huntlaie's comming to Montrosse, the King will deliberate with the nobilitie and Counsaill on his wholl case. And upon the good successe of that deliberacion, some order shalbe motioned to limitt first in gentle manner the Master of Angusse, Fentree, the bailif of Arrell, and suche especiall faccioners and heades of the Papistes, who, being afterwardes found giltie of any practise or crimes, shalbe charged agreable to the matters discovered. Besides, the King hearing that Mr. James Gordon was privilie entred and remayning in this towne, hathe given warrant for his immediate apprehension, offering that if he shall not spedelie depart out of this realme according to his promis, that then commission shalbe awarded for his arrest." These things are like to come in consideration about the 8th or 9th of next month at the assembly of the Council at Holyrood. Bowes asks Burghley to call upon him—by such letter as might be showed to the King*—to advertise as to what had succeeded upon his reminder of the King's promise; and urging Bowes to drive the same to some resolute effect. Bowes trusts by the benefit of such a letter either to prevent the mischiefs threatened, or to let Burghley know what hope remains of any fruit of that promise. "Many good thinges are promised by the King to be done at this next convencion."

It is intended to draw the Papists on to show the King the very bottom of their designs; but Bowes fears "they are over wylie to be twise taken in one trappe." Encloses the book written by Mr. John Davison against part of Dr. Bancroft's sermon† preached at Paul's Cross.‡ The King travailed to suppress the rest of the books, but some few have escaped the hands of the printer, whom the King much blamed for the same, and bound him in sureties to print nothing hereafter without the King's

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "To advertise Mr. Bowes. I have allready written to hym accordyng to advise."

† See *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, i. 473 *et seq.*

‡ *Marginal note by Burghley*: "I have spoken with Mr. Bancroft."

James VI. 1590. warrant, agreeable to the order now appointed. "This matter hathe had sondrye consultacions and bein diverslie tossed," wherein the King and Chancellor intended to write to Burghley; "for it is stomaked here, that Mr. Bancroft should in his booke charge the King bothe with manyfest dissimulacion, and also to have given out the declaracion* which was not authorised by the King, but sett fourth by the archbisshop of St. Androes. And it is muche noted that this declaracion should be annexed to the Cronicle of Mr. Hollingshead." Yet the King and Chancellor have stayed their letters, not willing to give any offence in the cause, nor desire effects doubtful to be granted. They hope something shall be done for the King's honour and contentment in this behalf: they had rather by their letters give thanks for courtesies shown than adventure to kindle any fire. Bowes's efforts to suppress the books have lost him the good countenance and company of the chief authors thereof. Labour is made to bring him to further mislike of the rest of the ministry than is convenient for the service in his charge, for the goodwill of discreet ministers may continue to profit her majesty's service.

Many times he (Bowes) has pressed both King and Chancellor for redress for attempts on the Borders, to which they seem ready to agree. But he finds "one bush drawen in the gapp and stopping this passage, by the delay of redresses to be made for Lyddisdale." Sir John Forster is to call on Bothwell to meet him and give redress for Liddesdale in the bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick. In case Bothwell deny or delay to do it, he shall be sent for and enjoined by the King to set down in writing why he does so, "what he will do, and bynd him self for the redresses for Lyddisdale, and what he demaundeth to be don to him for the same."

One Rafe Lacye—a gentleman born in Yorkshire—is lately come hither from Sir Edward Kelly at Prague in Bohemia. He served the Earl of Lennox the King's grandfather, and thereupon sought the King's service here, yet it is suspected that he is employed by Sir Edward on some special errand. Bowes has dealt with him; he gives solemn oath that Sir Edward only relieved him, and has not employed him in any sort hither. He has been a pensioner to the King of Spain, and departed out of England for papistry; therefore—with his own consent—Bowes has broken his suit for the King's service, and he will shortly return to Prague.

The love betwixt the Duke of Lennox and Mrs. Lylias Ruthven, daughter to the Earl of Gowrie, deceased, is discovered to the King, who labours by all means to draw the Duke from that marriage. "Against the which also Huntlay, Colonell Stewart, and other of the Dukes frendes bothe sett their shoulders and wholle powre, and also greatlie prick and provoke the King to be earnest therein; doubting that by this matche the Duke shalbe drawen to associate him self to the partie of Sterling." Some in England, and also Morton's daughter, were motioned to him to quench his desires, but he continues stedfast, to the great offence of the King and his friends, who for six or seven days have been occupied in this matter.

On Saturday the 17th hereof, Huntly and Atholl were agreed at Balvany. Huntly desiring the like agreement betwixt Atholl and Erroll,

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "The declaration is in dede printed by on Mr. Thynn for whom I have sent for."

James VI. 1590. sent a blank to Erroll, requiring him to subscribe it, trusting to Huntly to insert the articles of accord; but Erroll refused to subscribe "before Atholl had restored to him the evidences and plenishment of his house of Loggie." It is evident how those of the Brig of Dee travail to band together and make themselves strong.

Alexander Lindsay, vice chamberlain, being lately at war with Huntly for the possession of Spynie castle, part of the see of Murray, has now compounded with Huntly and gotten his release; and since his return to court has shown many good offices towards Huntly. Lindsay is to be made a baron, "and honored with the title of lord of Spina."

Bothwell continues at Kelso, entertaining the mediators betwixt him and the house of Manderston for his slaughter of David Hume, called "Davy the Devill." He pretends great fortifications and buildings at Kelso. Commission is granted him to compound with all at the horn within the sheriffdoms of Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick, except those outlawed for treason or murder. Two parts of the fines shall be answered to the King, the third part allowed to himself.

"Commission is given to Sir John Carmighell to chardge the barons and others in the sheriffwick of Dumfreise," and stewardshipps of Annandale and Kirkcudbright, in the West Marches of Scotland, "to appeare before him at Dumfreise the 15th of November next, to subscribe their bandes to dischardge the King and Warden for attemptes done in England. And he hathe volentines—which are writtes or preceptes—to give to every man found giltie, in his owne person, servantes or tenauntes, to give obedience and satisfaccion."

This state continues in quietness, though many look for troubles. The next convention will show the event, in peace or storm. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—Lord Hamilton and Captain Hamilton, hearing that one Basse,* an English pirate, had taken near the Isle of Wight the ship wherein the goods and apparel of Captain Hamilton were put to be carried hither, have written to Bowes to commend this matter to Burghley, praying him in their names to help the Captain towards the restitution of the same.

6½ *pp. Many notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Colonell William Stewart to Burghley.)

"It pleassed the Quenes majestie at my last being thare to will me to mak ane noett of our conferrens towards my nygosiatione in Denmark and Garmanye; wharupone I have gevin ane just copie of all the answerris from the prynsipall parsones to whom we war derected to my lord ambassadore, to be sent unto your lordship, to the end ze may beathe parewsse and aquent her majestie with the sam[e], for suche is the King my soverrane his will."

"Your lordship will al[so] delyver this other letter wryttin to her majestie consernyng the[is] same matteris. It hes pleasset his majestie, as one most desyrous to see a gude essew or successe in theis affairis, to geve charge to William Vanderwens to deall boethe with the Counsell

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "It is thought that it is on Dufford, a known pyratt as my lord Admyrall can tell."

James VI. 1590. of Denm[ark] and Duik of Brownswick, to heast als weill the resolutione as the parsone promyst to aquent his majestie thaerwith, quhilk bei[ng] come will nocht remayne heir longe underectted to her majestie."

"I lowk that the Prynce Crystiane of Annolt sall be imploiet as one most well effectted, being in greatt credytt and favore with the elector of Szax. The rest of this I most leave to the providens of God allmyettie, and myndis of theas in whai[s] handis the same is left. In the meintym geve the Estadts Unyted sold have recowrss agayne as of before unto her majestie toward my affairis or clai[ms], I will most homblie beseik your lordship to have in favorable memorie my long and loyall service to thame, as was at lynthe before resyted, and also my good meanyng and trewe dealling in theis other matteris, tending to ane equall be[ne]fytt of boethe the realmes and pryncis thaerof." Edinburgh, 24 Oct. 1590. *Signed:* William Stewa[rt].

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Oct. 31. 493. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Hears that sundry sorts of the nobility, in great number, intend to winter in Edinburgh. The Papists and Spanish factioners, trusting to work their will covertly by means of their secret friends in this assembly, are busy to draw hither such as favour their plots. Letters of the well affected confirm this, and warn some chief in the ministry that their lives are like to fall hastily in danger.

Has secret intelligence that albeit some of the speciall instruments of the Papists assure the Chancellor that they depend wholly on him, "yet they gredelie seeke his overthrowe, and to sett in his place an other promising to advance all their deseignes." They are levying some mass of money, purposing to meet shortly near this town for deliberation of their causes, chiefly for bringing Huntly to court, staying James Gordon in Scotland, how to deal with the Chancellor, and how to keep together without danger. Cannot yet learn whom they would promote to the Chancellor's place; some think the Master of Glamis—whom the King now esteems one of the most able to govern in this realm—others think the Papists will not trust Glamis so far. "Some of the Chanceloures frendes thinck that Glames hathe alreadie espyed the Papistes myndes in this part, and seeth that the Chanceloures fall shall cast him on his knees."

Huntly and Erroll have appointed to meet at Slains on 2nd November, to reconcile Erroll and Atholl. Atholl's friends are greatly grieved with these agreements betwixt him, Huntly, and Erroll; he is so violently carried as it seems to be "from suche heade and ground as he may not convenientlie withstande."

Has heard of James Gordon being at the Grange—the house of the abbot of Newbottle—and the other crew with him; of the posting of Fentry in these parts, and the stir of James Elphinstone, James Chisholm, "and the rest of the rabble of the Papistes and Spanish faccion, who are seen to crepe so fast out of their hives" that sudden attempts against the state and the Chancellor are feared.

For prevention of inconveniencies has opened these matters to the King, persuading him to give due regard to them for the common cause

James VI. 1590. and his own safety. The King has already restrained Huntly's repair to Montrose, or any nearer to this town or court, whereunto he shall not come till all this be quieted, and then by advise of the Council. He has given order that James Gordon quit the realm immediately, otherwise the rigour of the laws shall be executed on him. And he will stay that concourse of the nobility in this town, and suffer none to remain but such as have evident business here and are free from suspicion.

Lastly, he will speedily assemble his Council, for the execution of things promised, to resolve upon order to be taken to confine the Papists and persons suspected, and upon proof of any further matter against any of them, to give him his due reward agreeable to the laws. He promises his care and readiness in the same, affirming that past delays were not through his default, but that of particular councillors, who in favour of their private friends have stayed the execution of his commandments.

The Chancellor finding these things true, and the state and himself in danger, has resolved to provide remedy, "so as the King and he have litle doubt safelie to passe throwe the stormes threatned." In this conference the Chancellor plainly discovered to Bowes the traffic of the Papists with him. Being now so warned of their crafts against him he hopes to entrap them in their own pits.

Colonel Stewart says that the King and Council of Denmark are informed that the King of Spain had directed Don Pedro de Valdes—now prisoner in England—that immediately after the army of Spain and the forces of the Duke of Parma should have been set on land in England in their late voyage, Don Pedro with the whole fleet of Spain should sail with all possible expedition to possess himself of the Sounds in Denmark. This matter is seen in Denmark to be of such importance to the King and state as they desire to know the truth thereof, thinking the same may be best drawn out of Don Pedro. Bowes desires that Don Pedro may be sounded, and the King of Scotland be informed of his confession. Such information were profitable for England, Denmark, and Scotland, and for the advancement of Colonel Stewart's late negotiations in Germany.

The King of Denmark by his answer sent by Colonel Stewart to the King of Scots has referred all matters not certified in that answer to the advertisement of the Duke of Saxony, to be brought by Christian Duke of Anhalt. Therefore the Colonel—with advice of the King—has written to the Duke of Anhalt, requiring him to solicit the Duke of Saxony to persuade the princes of Germany to such timely resolution as is requisite, and to hasten the convoy of their resolutions to the King here. This letter is to be conveyed to the Baron of Sternhemberg, lately returned from this town to London, to carry to the Duke of Anhalt. At the Colonel's request Bowes has ordered Sheperson, his servant in London, to deliver this letter to the Baron.

Lord Claud Hamilton has been to Renfrew to liberate one of his servants arrested there. The town resisted and one of the townsmen was slain. Hitherto the matter is passed over, but it may turn to the trouble of Lord Claud.

"Some part of the matter for the reconsiliacion betwixt Bothwell and the house of Manderston was referred to the declaracion of the King,

James VI. 1590. who hathe in part shewed his mynde therein: yet the cause is put over untill the 15th of November next, with hope that it shalbe then ended and fullie agreed to Bothwells contentment."

Has procured the King's letters to the Wardens to discharge by proclamation sundry prisoners unlawfully taken, and redress is promised. Upon the assembly of Council the 3rd or 4th November he will proceed further. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Indorsed.*

Oct. 31. **494. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Burghley.**

"Yisterday I ressawed ane lettir from Colonell Stewart, wharbye he declaris to me that, according to hir majesteis dessire, he hath send to your lordship the copye of his hoile proseadingis in his layte negotiation. And be his lettir he ernistlye pressis me that ather the King his soverayn or than him self may be adwertised off hir majesteis lyikng or myslyking thayrof. For performing of this his requeist I can do no moyre bot mak your lordship acquaynted thayrvyth, and attend to knaw your lordships plesur anent the making anser thayronto; as also to recommend onto your lordships gud memorye his pryvat case and sute wyth the Statis off Holand. I wold also pray your lordship, when ocasions doeth serwe, to remember my awin pryvat state to your lordship weill knawin." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 6. **495. Anne, Queen of Scotland, to Elizabeth.**

Cott. Calig. D. II., fol. 13.

Most dear sister and cousin, we . . .* for the courtesy and favour which at our request you showed to this gentleman, bearer of the present, who having very honestly reported thereof we have thereby received singular contentment and proof of your affection toward us, for which we shall seek occasions of showing you how much we deem ourselves indebted to a reciprocal amity, the fruits whereof we shall by God's help demonstrate towards those whom it may please you to favour with the like recommendations. Such an honest disposition and good nature, joined to the sincere devotion which we perceive in this gentleman to prove to you his service and humble affection, has given us occasion to entreat you by this present to be pleased to accomplish the effects of your favour, assuring ourselves that the pity and compassion towards all strangers for which you are so highly esteemed will be in no wise relaxed towards your subject, a poor gentleman to whom a very great wrong is being done, taking from him not only the means of doing the offices and duties which he who is beyond measure obliged to his prince ought to do or could do, but also taking from him by [fo]rce and violence against all right the support of life itself.

We understand the remedy to be in your hands, and the disposition to appertain to you now of that which he claims by hereditary right of all his ancestors. We entreat you then to be pleased to help him for love of us, and by the same means to render him as capable of your service as he is devoted. Wherein you will do a thing worthy of your honour and royal liberality, and will render perfect the contentment which we

* Decayed.

James VI. 1590. have conceived in this matter, seeing our request to produce so good effects as to be able by your favour to relieve a gentleman of such good parts, so afflicted and ruined. Holyrood. *Signed:* "*Vostre tres affectionnee soeur et cousine*, Anna R."

1 *double page. Addressed. Indorsement decayed.*

Nov. 7. **496. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.**

Upon receipt of Burghley's letter of October 26th, he imparted the news to the King and Chancellor, who gave thanks, and were glad that affairs in France were in better state than the Papists here have given out. James Tyrie, a Scottish Jesuit, having endured the whole siege of Paris, hath sent hither Alexander Cady, servant to the laird of Fentry, arrived lately at Dundee with advertisements from France, and advice for the progress of their causes. And Dixson, sent into Flanders by the "Briggers of Dee," returned the other day very closely to Dundee.

"The wares in their pack are kept so closelie, as I finde no better meane to have them opened, otherwise then by the King's order and direction to cause them to be brought hither and examyned by some fitt parsons to be authorised for the same, which I shall prosecute with deligence." By these the Papists are greatly emboldened, travailing to levy money with all speed, and trusting to repay it by means of Edmund Hay, the Jesuit at Rome, who has received a good sum through certain Cardinals, intending to return hither with it in May next. "These busye practisers leave no seas unsailed to wynn their desiers, not sparing to tempt the Chancelour with the offer of 10,000 crownes to be given before Christianmasse next, and with a yearlie pencion, as by him self I understand." Their requests are chiefly that the Catholics may not be "put at," but may have liberty of conscience, promising to live within their limits, without attempting anything against the religion, the King's person, the state, or the peace of the realm; that the Catholics now under censure of the church, and others, may be overlooked, and not pressed to subscribe to the articles of the religion professed in this realm; and that James Gordon be suffered to remain here, at least for this winter. The Chancellor, refusing to be their instrument, has left them to their own course, wishing that James Gordon should either depart, or yield himself to the captain or provost of Edinburgh, to abide in their custody till the danger of the winter be past. This they mislike, so he thinks they will break up their intelligence with him, finding no help from him.

It is said they are practising with Sir James Stewart, and adventuring 1000 crowns in his hands, to recover favour in court to himself, and advancement in their business. For this purpose the feud betwixt Bothwell and the house of Ochiltree for the slaughter of Sir William Stewart shall be agreed, so as there may be goodwill betwixt Bothwell and Sir James Stewart their instrument. Bowes gives little credit to this, as Sir James continues in disgrace. If true, "it is done to overthrow the Chancelour by suche subtill practise as the Master of Gray was overtaken with by Sir William Steward"; whereof he has warned the Chancellor.

"Some blastes of a sharpe storme was hard rising the other daie, and chefelie against the Chancelour; wherein it was thought that it begunn in the King's chamber, and that some of them sent hastelie for the Lord

James VI. 1590.

Hume, who came with spede and left his people in readines. But the same night there followed a great calme, by the meanes of the provost of Clenclowden and Sir Robert Melvill, who wrought a new reconsiliacion and league betwixt the Chancelour and the chamber, whereby they remayne presentlie in friendlie and good tearmes."

Upon information that Cessford, Warden of the Middle Marches in Scotland, had no fit place for his prison but Jedworth, it was thought meet he should be provost of that town, and a charge given to restrain their election of any other: but before delivery of this charge the town had chosen another provost. "Whereupon the contencion betwixt Sesford and the towne grew to great bitternes." The Chancellor and four other councillors charged the town, upon pain of horning, to surcease their election; "which chardge being offered to the King to be signed was rejected with sharpe wordes." Next day, before the King and Council, the town challenged the Chancellor, Clenclowden, and Newbottle to be partial, owing to affinity betwixt them and Cessford. They all acquitted themselves by their oaths. "After, in debate of the cause, the King crossed the Chancelour with sundrie argumentes beyond his accustomed manner, and some warme wordes passed betwixt them." At length the King agreed with the Council that the charge should be left to Cessford if he could prove within twenty days that the town had made the election on a wrong day or time. Some of the chamber had solicited this for the town, and stirred the King against the Chancellor and the four Councillors. It is doubtful whether the scars of this offence are fully taken away by the agreement.

The King being advised to reform his Council, to draw them to less number and of better quality, and to bar the presence of all not authorised councillors, was troubled how to accomplish it without the grudge of those to be removed, alleging that he could not remove those he had pardoned for former faults: so as Huntly, Erroll, Bothwell, Claud Hamilton and others of the "brig of Dee" might not be restrained from his Council.

Therefore it was thought meet that all civil causes be referred to the lords of the sessions; all criminal matters—in regard they concern the King's revenue—and all things concerning the revenue, should be ordered by the commissioners for the Exchequer, being councillors and principal officers of the King's house; and that all matters of state—as foreign leagues ambassages and negociations—should be left to the convention of the nobility and whole Council. This seemed to be intended to bring most matters of Council to the hearing of Councillors and officers of the King's house, without liberty to any of the King's chamber, or others wont to be present, to be admitted. This has offended the chamber and others, especially against the Chancellor, who commended this counsel to the King. The consideration of this matter should have been laid yesterday before the King and Council, but is deferred until Monday next.

"Mr. Alexander Lyndsaie, vice-chamberlaine of the King's household, is created laird of Spina, agreable to my former letters. And Sir George Hume and Sir James Sandelandes of the chamber are knighted. There is a great frendship entred betwixt the laird of Spina and the Master of Glames."

The King has lately conceived singular good opinion of the Master's sufficiency to govern, far contrary to his late conceit of him: he has

James VI. 1590. twice sent for him, being angry at his long absence. The Chancellor is persuaded that Glamis will continue a good course with him and the rest well affected.

The Earl of Angus and the Master his eldest son are here with their friends to settle the descent of the earldom and inheritance. In regard of the Master's obstinacy in religion, the Earl and his friends are disposed to establish the earldom and inheritance in the Master's children, and to give him a pension for life. The Master is not only an obstinate Papist, but busy in evil offices against England, therefore Bowes has not thought meet "that he should be thus left loose to runn his course without some bridle." He spoke to the Earl about it, who sent his son, and the latter offered to clear himself as to any action against her majesty, and to abide his trial in Berwick.

Bothwell sent home lately Whithaugh and others of Liddesdale, who informed of a raid to be immediately enterprised in England, and it was thought "these loose Borders should have made some soudaine attempt." Bowes believes it was merely a pretence, to try what would be done in such a case.

Being informed by Edward Purvis of Milk Street, London, merchant, and others, that Abraham Lawes and other Englishmen had taken wares worth 8,000 *l.* from a lighter anchored at Oxfordness and brought them to the isles of Scotland, in pursuit whereof Thomas Gray was lately employed, Bowes told Gray that such wares were brought into the north isles of Scotland. He has since enquired for Lawes, and heard he had been at Caithness with like wares, and was come to Dysart, purposing to embark there. Bowes procured his arrest, and that of Daniell the master gunner, by the King's warrants: they are in Edinburgh, in the custody of the provost and bailiffs. He has also given notice to Purvis to prosecute the matter with expedition; and awaits direction. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. Marginal notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. **497. The Chancellor of Scotland to Burghley.**

"This gentleman, Capitane Rentoun, having served sometymis in the Lowe Countreyes, and of intention upone some occasionis to repair againe there, hath craved of me these fewe lynes to your lordship whereby to geve testification of his some service spent in following of me; in whome, as I have found great honestye, I have alwayes hard of his valeur and suche other qualities as hes procured to him ane vearye good name. Yf in anye of his suites there it shall please your lordship shewe favour to him, I houp it shalbe the more effectuall for this my interponed recommendation." Holyrood House. *Signed:* Jo. Thyrlstane.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 12. **498. The States General to James VI.**

Cott. Galba, D. V., fol. 172. Serenissime potentissimeque Rex. Literæ Tuæ quæ nobis ab amplissimo clarissimoque viro domino Johanne Scenæo majestatis tuæ legato redditæ sunt, et quæ deinde predictus dominus legatus in nostro conventu exposuit, et postea scripto obtulit, quæque ea qua debemus

James VI. 1590. erga tuam majestatem observantia legimus et intelleximus, partim magna læticia, partim etiam non mediocri dolore nos affecerunt. Nam quod tua majestas tam paterna et benevola erga has Unitas Provincias sit voluntate et affectu, eisque et earum subditis communis fœderis et religionis ergo omnia fausta et fœlicia precari dignata sit, maximo cum gaudio audivimus, quem sane tam prolixum tuæ serenissimæ majestatis erga has ditiones animum omnibus studiis et obsequiis præmæreri conabimur. Sed incredibili nos mærore et molestia affecit quod præter nostram opinionem et spem tamdiu acta et agitata causa Domini Guilielmi Stuarti rursus renovetur, cum tamen et proxima legatione et literis eis quas a reditu legatorum cum amplo responso ad rationes quas Dominus Guilielmus Stuartus exhibuerat tuæ majestati omnino satisfactum arbitraremur, easque literas, cum tua majestas adhuc in Dania aut Norvegia hæreret, tuæ majestatis vicariis aut consiliariis redditas et a tua majestate visas et cognitas non dubitamus. Quamobrem, cum hoc vel præcipue toto hujus belli intestini tempore curæ nobis fuerit, ut omnibus regibus et principibus vicinis satisfaceremus, nullamque justam eorum subditis conquerendi causam præberemus dici non potest, quam male nos habeant importunæ et iniquæ querelæ dicti Domini Guilielmi Stuarti, quibus non desunt serenissimam tuam regiam majestatem aliosque reges et principes sollicitare, ut durissimo repræsaliarum aut arrestorum jure quod hactenus a nullo unquam principe privatorum stipendiorum nomine concessum fuit, vi et armis cogamur non solum iniquam sed etiam tanti ponderis et ita magni præjuditii conditionem subire ut nisi una patriæ salutem in summum discrimen conjicere velimus illam concedere nequeamus. Quod etsi satis clare multis firmissimis rationibus antea ostensum sit, tamen ut nihil intentatum relinquamus quo patriæ detrimenta et pericula quantum in nobis est avertantur: iterum easdem, rationesque plurimas alias, scripto quod amplissimo clarissimoque domino legato tradidimus comprehendere voluimus; hoc unum obnixe et humilime tuam serenissimam majestatem precantes, ut easdem rationes et superiores pro regia sua prudentia et erga justitiam et veræ religionis cultum amore audire, et pro negotii magnitudine examinare dignetur, ut et communia fœdera quæ apud omnes gentes sanctissima semper fuerunt, et commerciorum mutuus usus, vicinitatisque et amicitiæ jura sarta tecta conservari possint. Præsertim cum hactenus nunquam recusaverimus, nec adhuc recusemus, quin de tota debiti causa et conditione jure agatur, et judicium parati sumus subire quemadmodum sæpe dictum, et scripto declaratum fuit; et ut re ipsa constet quamvis luce meridiana clarius pateat, defensiones nostras rationi esse consentaneas, quanti semper fecerimus tuæ majestatis voluntatem et intercessionem parati sumus Domino Guilielmo Stuarto—durante hoc bello—numerare duo florenorum millia annua[tim], ea conditione, ut cum bona tuæ majestatis gratia et consensu obstringatur, salva tamen obligatione qua obstrictus est serenissimo Regi Daniæ cum duobus millibus Scotorum peditum militatum, occasione sese offerente, et nobis hoc postulantibus in has ditiones venire. Quam quidem conditionem et quam una obtulimus subeundi juris si modo aliquam partem bonique æquique admittere Stuartus velit recusare, nullo modo poterit. Quam rem certo speramus tuæ majestati placituram et satisfacturam, quemadmodum etiam et in negotio Domini Alexandri Wishart, de quo tua majestas suis literis dignata est scribere, et quod predictus dominus

James VI. 1590. legatus nobis specialiter etiam commendavit, et reliquorum omnium Scoticæ nationis hominum quam commendatissimam habebimus, et ut hactenus summo eos favore prosequuti sumus etiam in posterum prosequemur. Hagæ Comitis, 12 Novembris 1590.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy. In margin:* "Belgia. 1590 Novemb. Colonell Stewards Caus."

Nov. 20. 499. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Being ready to have written on the 13th instant, and the same being advertised to the King—probably by Roger Aston, who does many good offices for her majesty's service—he sent Sir George Hume to inform Bowes of his resolution then taken with the Council, and their readiness to take order for the speedy warding of the Papists and preventing the plots of the seditious; requiring him to stay his letters, that he might write of actions begun in this behalf rather than of further promises. Therefore hopes his delay in writing will be pardoned, the rather that he has not been idle, but travailing with the laird of Spynie and Sir George Hume—the King's special favourites—to draw them to the devotion of her majesty, to be careful of their sovereign's welfare, "and to remove the drynes sein to smooke fourthe sometimes betwixt the Chancelour and them, notwithstanding their former reconsiliacions"; wherein he has been plain with them, because the heat of the King's favour toward the Chancellor seemed somewhat cooled, and his friends advised him to search the King's mind therein, which he wisely performed, and recovered—as he thinks—the King's goodwill towards him. Bowes has received frank promises from Spynie and Hume.

On Saturday the 14th instant he received Burghley's letter of the 8th, wherewith he acquainted the Chancellor, who so well liked the contents that he advised Bowes to show it to the King. The latter was so occupied with the Council that Bowes could not have access till yesternight, though at sundry times the King had sent the Chancellor and others to inform Bowes of his proceedings against the Papists.

"In the first part of your lordship's letter mencioned, the King acknowledged that the often changes in their course here do turne ever to his prejudice, and the advantage of his rebelliouse subjectes, agreable to her majesty's true conceipt therein."* For remedy, he promises to be more careful towards both the heads and inferior persons in seditious factions. He thanks her for the advertisement of the practices of agents of his evil subjects in Spain, and of the plot to send hither two "pataches" with money for the causes signified in Burghley's letter. And he then charged the Chancellor to remind him, and secretly to provide to prevent the dangers and seize the occasion for his profit at the coming of these vessels and treasure.

Next, the King showed him [Bowes] that he and the Council had taken order that the Master of Angus,† James Gordon, and Fentry should be committed to ward in the houses of their particular friends, that they might be more willing to enter into ward. Later they shall be taken

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "The Queen's majesty's advice was roundly expressed."

† *Marginal note by Burghley*: "The Earl of Angus has disherited his sonn because he is a Papist."

James VI. 1590. from these keepers and more severely dealt with. Other inferior Papists and "practisers" shall be imprisoned to abide the pains of the laws for their crimes.

In due time regard shall be given to the principals in the raid at the Brig of Dee, and present practices, according to the King's promise to the Earl of Worcester and later resolutions. He also promised that albeit Huntly was come to Kinnaird in Angus "seeking to be admitted to his presence with suche nomber, and to depart at suche tyme, as the King should appoint, yet he wold restraine Huntlaie from his presence untill her majestie might be advised thereof." Furthermore, finding that all Protestant princes in Europe have need to prepare to withstand the violence of the King of Spain, shown in France, he will advise with some of his Councillors, specially chosen, and advertise her majesty of their determinations.

Secondly, the King thanked the Queen and Burghley for the favour to his burgesses of Edinburgh, to whom he granted his letter of marque against Havre, St. Valery, and other rebels in France. He then gave order to the Chancellor to draw a declaration grounded upon the ancient treaties with France and to be published here, charging his subjects to forbear to trade with French rebels, and to traffic in France only with those obedient to the King there. And to certify to his merchants and subjects in Scotland that prizes taken of the goods of those rebels shall be accounted lawful, provided they touch nothing belonging to the French King's loyal subjects. This matter was partly made known to the merchants in this town, but his pleasure is now that the Council give order for public declaration thereof.

Thirdly, as to the redress of the Borders—Bowes having complained of the late raids of Liddesdale in the West Marches of England, and of Bothwell's slackness to redress these and former attempts—the King said that Bothwell had promised firmly to him to do justice in all these things, and he should have proof of Bothwell's meaning at the meeting appointed betwixt him and Sir John Forster within few days; saying with an oath that if Bothwell fail to do justice according to his promise, he will punish him for example, and provide that he shall no longer encumber these causes. If he give good satisfaction to Forster, he shall be enjoined to meet Lord Scrope shortly after to give him the like contentment. If he delay justice to Lord Scrope, the King will deal roundly with him and see that Scrope be satisfied.

For redress to be made for all attempts since the meeting of the commissioners at Berwick, he willed the Chancellor to put an end to the great causes in Council, and to take order with Bowes for some convenient course. The Chancellor is very willing, but so occupied with weighty matters, "and the Borderers hang so back in the string," that Bowes annot yet get him at leisure.

Fourthly, upon Bowes's report of the submission made to Burghley by Mr. Bancroft, promising to deliver in writing his answer to Burghley's charge against him in the King of Scots' behalf, the King was satisfied, and looked to see that answer, which he promised should not be imparted to any but the Chancellor.

Fifthly, Bowes showed the King that it was marvelled in England that Penry should be suffered to remain in Scotland notwithstanding his

James VI. 1590. order for his banishment, and that Wal[de]grave the printer was permitted freely to print seditious books against his native country of England, "praieng that Penry might be sought out and banished, with the punishement of suche as had receit him; and that Wal[de]grave might be prohibited to exercise his science here so appearantlie against the state of England." The King and Chancellor affirmed that they do not think Penry is in Scotland, but search shall be made, and if he be found he and his "receittours" shall receive punishment; and that Wal[de]grave acknowledged his fault in printing a book set forth by Penry, and entred into bond not hereafter to imprint anything without the King's warrant. The King, and such as shall be appointed by him to examine these things, will bar anything offensive to England. This realm needs a printer, and therefore upon the bond mentioned the King allowed him to use his science here; but if he be taken hereafter with any like offence, he and his sureties shall be well punished.

Verily thought and still believes that Penry was departed out of Scotland, and sundry godly ministers in Edinburgh are of the same opinion. He has diligently sought to execute the directions given him in this matter, without any favour underhand shown, and trusts he will be held blameless. Sundry ministers have marvelled at the earnestness of his course herein and left his company for the same.* Whereupon he has not thought it profitable for her majesty's service "so sharpelie to prick the rest" as to chase them also from him, together with the best affected of the nobility, barons, and boroughs, all which have no little regard to the ministry. He has often been advised, by such as her majesty appointed to direct him, to entertain the good opinion of the ministry.

Hears that the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis, and other officers—being Councillors—met in the King's house last month, to devise to knit themselves together for the King's service, and to withstand their adversaries. "It was motioned by Glames amongst them, that the mynyons in the King's chamber might be holden so straite within their lymittes, as they should not have powre to inriche them selves above measure, nor to alter the resolucions of the Counsaill at their pleasure." The Chancellor found this matter full of peril to deal in without the King's consent, therefore "it was cast in the deck for the tyme": yet Glamis made the gentlemen think this action first proceeded of the Chancellor against them; and also persuaded the King that his revenues were so decreased by gifts that might lawfully be revoked, and so possessed by others that little regarded his present estate, as he could not maintain himself and the Queen in princely estate without some remedy. The matter was so handled as the credit of the Chancellor was shaken with the King, Queen, and gentlemen, and Glamis highly esteemed: the smoke of this fire so troubled the Chancellor and his friends as they found it high time to seek to quench it at the King's hands; wherein the Chancellor so well carried the matter with the King and gentlemen that they opened all things to him, acknowledging that Glamis was the author thereof.

The Chancellor has recovered, as he thinks, the King and Queen's wonted grace, with new reconciliations with the gentlemen avowed before the King, "with holding up of handes to kepe this frendship

* *Marginal note by Burghley*: "I wrote somewhat roundly to Mr. Bowes not to be ledd awey with the unruly ministers."

James VI. 1590. amongst them. The Master of Glames is still absent, farre beyond the King's expectacion and his owne diett. How he shall acquite him self, or whether he bein dede giltie of this errour, I knowe not: but I feare greatlie that some bitter frute shall springe from this roote, seing that this matter will come to his knowledge. Whereupon the Chancelour and he must yet againe be reconsiled, without trust, or els dissemble their greefes to awate their advantages, which will suerlie hasten the overthrowe of the one of them, and adventure the defeit of the other, with danger of great alteracion in this state."

Morton, father to Glamis, shows such countenance to the Chancellor as he is thought to be stirred against the other. The particular griefs are the Chancellor's doings against the marriage of Erroll with Morton's daughter, and the favour shown to Maxwell and the laird of Lugton against Morton; "but some thinck that the Master of Glames hathe blowne the coale." The troubles betwixt Huntly and the Grants are pacified.

"The Lord Claude Hamilton the other daie at the reading of a chapiter of the Bible at his table entred sodainelie into abundance of teares, with remorse and confession of his sinnes. And soone after his senses and memorie were taken from him, which he shall hardlie recover—as it is thought—in regard of the infirmitie haunting and falling on many discended on [*sic*] that house."

Upon the examination of Abraham Lawes and William Daniell, arrested on suspicion of taking silks out of the lighter at Oxfordness, they say the rest of their company are already embarked for London. They still deny the fact wherewith they are charged. Bowes asks for order for them. Bothwell is much grieved with their arrest, alleging that through Bowes his office is prejudiced. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Many notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 20. 500. JAMES VI. TO [ ].

"Trustie freende, we greate you hartelie well. The reporte of late cominge to our eares that Mr. Archibalde Dowglas gives out there the receipte of a letter from us, and ane new comission sent therewithall by William Cowborne, merchaunt, hathe moved us hereby to make you acquainted with what miscontente we have harde suche unexpected newes, and howe farre it hathe bin from our intention either to aucthoryce him by any newe instructions, whome we have once so solemply disavowed, or to give him power or warrant in any sorte by our letters, or otherwise, to negotiat for us theire; neither can we thincke that him selfe dare presume so farre to our dishonnor as to use our name in anye matter of ymployemente, or the alledgit purchaser avowe any motion elles made to us, save onlie a fewe letters of recomendacion to some of our frindes of the Counsell for favour to be shewen in his sute there, whiche we graunted uppon his heavy complainte, and for pettye wee conceyved of his so greate losse and wrack. And to give more amplie testimony howe farre we accompte us interessed by Mr. Archibalde's contemptuouse carying of him selfe in suche sorte as wee heere, yf the same hathe wroughte any suche effecte as to perswade any there, derogatinge thereby to our fame and reputacion, whiche wee can hardlie be induced to beleve, and

James VI. 1590. to remove all scruple, yf any restethe in the hartes of our best affected frindes, whome he hathe traveled to abuse, ye shall not onlie most constantlie avowe and resolve them of the contrarye, detectinge thereby his knaverye, but in like manner lett theise presentes serve for a full declaracion of our minde and dispoticion, whiche wee thinck shall have as greate faithe as the abusers sinistrous informacion. To the other, whoe for hope of furtheraunce by money to his sute hathe concurred in so highe an attempte, beinge no lesse culpable, ye shall deale with the Lord Thresurer and other our frindes there, to whome our letters of recomendacion were presented, that neither the same be effectuall, nor his complainte harde, or redresse made to him in any sorte, untill such tyme as by his retorninge heire we take triall of his offence, whiche we repute in no small degree of contempte, and to receyve punishemente accordingly. Thus restinge assured of your carefull dischargingе of theise our directions precisley in all poyntes as ye shall doe us righte acceptable pleasure and good service, we comitt yow to Godes protection." Holyrood House.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Nov. 28. 501. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By a former letter he [Bowes] advertised that Sir James Stewart was to be employed in the accusation intended against the Chancellor, but that the matter carried the less credit, in regard of the general discredit remaining in his person. "But now the matter practised against the Chancelour breaketh out into greater light, and the Master of Gray is growen to be chefelie suspected therein; for it hathe bein informed me —as I thinck the like is commed to the Chancelour's cares—that the Master of Graye, Gilbert Gray his uncle, and John Cranston, purpose to accuse and chardge the Chancelour sharpelie with sondry faultes committ by him to the King's great hurte and dammage: and that the Lord Hume will partie these accusers, and that the Master of Glames is not thought ignorant of their plott, which is looked to be attempted very spedelie." But few wise men think they will proceed therein without the King's good allowance; upon which allowance many noblemen are ready to aid the enterprisers.

The Chancellor so firmly relies on the King's favour and constancy, and the goodwill of the gentlemen of the chamber protested to him, as he doubts not to rid himself out of all these storms. It is strange to him that the Master of Gray—in whom he had good affiance—should seek his wrack. If this course for the overthrow of the Chancellor prevail, the estate of this country shall be changed with hazard of great inconveniencies. Bowes desires direction.

Albeit the Master of Glamis has been daily looked for, yet—since the discovery of the matters lying betwixt the Chancellor and him—he has not shown himself in court or town till yesterday. His long absence bred some jealousies that he is pleased with the Chancellor's overthrow. Bowes hears that the King plainly said that the Master of Glamis would compound all discords in the north amongst Huntly, Marshall, Atholl, Murray, and the Grants, and bring them all to peace and the King's obedience: with general petition to the King to reform the abuses as

James VI. 1590. to his revenues, employed more to the benefit of private persons—having trust to deal therewith—than for his own profit. "Wherein it is evident ennoughe that the Chancelour was touched herein. Besides, a gentleman of good accompt, and imploied for the Master of Glames, hathe travailed to perswaide me to thinck that the Chancelour had bothe sent the Erle of Montrosse and the abbott of Inchaffray to Huntlay at Kinard, to reconsile the Chancelour and Huntlay, letting Huntlay knowe that he should not nede to seeke any other meane for him to come to the King's presence then the helpe of the Chancelour; and also that the Chancelour had intelligence with Papistes, and intended to drawe to this towne Huntlay, Maxwell, Claud Hamilton and many others suspected." Whereby Bowes espies such heartburning betwixt the Chancellor and Glamis, and such inconveniencies threatened, that he has laboured to draw them to a new reconciliation.

The Chancellor and his friends are well inclined to peace, but Bowes has not yet spoken with the Master of Glamis, and he doubts how they shall perform their accords, seeing the occasions presently ministered to prick them forwards; he desires direction herein.

By a gentleman lately come from the north he hears that there is a barque lately arrived in the north with 12,000 crowns for the Papists, brought by a Fleming, accompanied by an Englishman thought to be William Holt, the Jesuit, lately with the Duke of Parma. This Englishman met James Gordon and Fentry at Kinnaird in Carse of Gowrie; and at "Glendeoughe" [Glendoick ?] within four miles of St. Johnston they met three noblemen. This Bowes has imparted to the Chancellor, seeking the apprehension of the Englishman, the arrest of the money and vessel, and discovery of the three noblemen: but the Chancellor cannot hitherto find any truth in the report.

The King of Spain is said to have offered large sums of money to the captain of Calais, to get that town into his hands and to plant a garrison there. Sir Alexander Stewart is already departed with a letter from Bowes to Burghley; he seems very willing to do some service. Was warned that Abraham Lawes and William Daniel, arrested by his means, were to be secretly conveyed out of prison, but he has prevented that escape.

Francis Dacre has been to him lamenting his hard estate, not able to sustain himself in Scotland, and recounting his evil fortune in England, ill-success in his law-suits and occasion to retire into this realm; adding that he must either steal or beg or find some other means to live by. "And he concluded that for as muche as his brother Edward Dacre had first left to him at his deathe 2,000 crownes in Flanders, to be received at his repaire thither and upon demaund; and next so intreated the Duke of Parma and the King of Spaine's counsaill, as he trusteth to obtaine the pencion that was given to his brother Edward in case he should seeke and wold accept the same: therefore in this extreme necessitie he must nedes—he saide—seeke and take his relief thereby; purposing to repaire into Flanders for the same with all expedicion." Bowes tried to dissuade him, but could not shake his resolution, which he left to be certified to Burghley or not as Bowes thought best; protesting that he would continue her majesty's true subject all his life.

James VI. 1590.

Friends of Lord Claud Hamilton, lately returned from him, have shown some letter subscribed by him, proving the recovery of his senses; they say he is well again, "alleadging that his malady come by the vehemencie of a sharpe fitt in a whote fever."

Huntly hearing that the Earl of Murray and the Grants were with Atholl in his house at Baweny, assembled two hundred men to have surprised them; but being advertised that they were warned and departed to provide better for him, he dispersed his forces and withdrew. The late reconciliation betwixt him and Atholl was shaken before, and now it is broken all in sunder; as the like daily happeneth in this realm.

"The King and Counsaill is occupied with the examinacions of sundry witches taken in this contrye, and confessing bothe great nombers and the names of their fellowes; and also strange and odiouse factes done by them; which upon the full trialls of their causes are intended to be hereafter published. And some of good qualities are like to be blotted by the dealinges of the wickett sorte."

The King has already committed the Master of Angus to the keeping of the laird of Bass; James Gordon is to be with Lord Seaton and Fentry in the house of John Graham, one of the lords of sessions. It is promised that their abode in those places shall be very short, and that they shall be committed to surer keeping. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—At the closing of these letters the King has sent word that he had written to Burghley for the setting at liberty of John Lesley, taken with the letters of the bishop of Ross; and had sent his letter to James Hudson to deliver and to solicit the matter; requiring also that Bowes would commend the young man to Burghley's favour, which he does.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Nov.

502. JOHN SKENE TO THE STATES GENERAL.

Cott. MSS., Galba D. V., fol. 174.

[*After long compliment.*] Serenissimo Regi et domino meo clementissimo nihil prius aut antiquius ab ineunte ætate unquam fuit, quam ut posthabita sanguinis necessitudine et abjecta utilitatis spe—quam plerique et fere omnes mortales avidissime consectantur—amicitiam firmam sanctamque cum omnibus et vobiscum precipue viri N. et M. qui veram Christi religionem et evangelii lucem, rejectis Pontificiorum sordibus agnoscitis, et profitemini coleret et constanter conservaret; nam cum perturbantissimis hisce temporibus nonnulli suavitatis lenocinio illecti, alii vero utilitatis gratia incitati amicitiam, seu potius amicitiæ quandam larvam et fucum cum aliis contrahunt et retinent—quorum illud belluarum hoc vero lucrionum potius quam hominum proprium est—solam eam regiam, et his qui vere amici et esse et diis volunt dignam esse perpetuo existimavit, quæ veræ religionis fulchro et pietatis, cujus fundamentum est Christus, adminiculo innititur et sustentatur.

Hinc fit ut in nonnulla rerum suarum perturbatione vestræ optimæ et justissimæ causæ non tam regionis defendendæ quam religionis conservandæ gratia susceptæ ex animo bene cupiverit et eam quibus potuit modis juvare studuerit: neque etiam hostis vestri potentia deterritus aut clientela et authoritate qua plurimum valet, impeditus ullo unquam tempore destitit, tum commerciorum mutuo usu, tum

James VI. 1590. voluntariorum militum permissione vobis vestrisque civibus gratificari, qui cum vitæ periculo et sanguinis effusione non desierunt causam vestram promovere et fidem suam ac diligentiam illustri fortitudinis specie edita comprobare.

Inter hos et rerum gestarum gloria et in officio suo obeundo fide præcipuus enituit Guilielmus Stuartus commendatarius de Pettinweime, et serenissimæ suæ majestatis consiliarius qui complures annos non sine sanguinis sui profusione cognatorum cæde, rerum suarum jactura, et fortiter et fideliter causam vestram tutatus est hostem sæpe magna animi fortitudine fudit, ejusque crudeles et impios conatus de evertenda religione et opprimenda vera libertate susceptos fregit et comminuit. Veruntamen laborum ab eo exantlatorum tantum abest ut aliqua sit habita ratio ut potius inter præcipuos militum tribunos ille unus supersit, cujus causa neglecta prostrataque jaceat et cum res præclaras præclare gesserit; ille solus fere sit qui nullo laborum suorum præmio honoratus aut affectus fuerit. Unde factum est ut æri alieno irretitus creditoribus plurimis jure quasi nexi obligatus se suamque fidem liberare nequeat et cum honestissimo militiæ genere sibi suisque rebus consulere voluit, honoribus quidem ob rem bene gestam auctus, re autem familiari destitutus in magnas præcipitatus sit angustias, unde sero fortasse poterit emergere.

Proinde serenissimus Rex et Dominus meus clementissimus pro ea qua virtutis suæ merito Dominum Stuartum prosequitur benevolentia, et innata sua erga omnes suos subditos clementia, ejus causæ deesse non potest, ideoque superioribus annis vos viros N. et M. legatione inter indiciis et literis sæpius repetitis sollicitandos putavit ut ei vel solutione ejus quod illi jure optimo debetur vel aliquo alio modo qui solutionis vicem obtinet satisfiat.

Sæpius hæc res et literis et sermonibus agitata disceptaque est ut si pluribus in presentia utar actum agere videri possem et trimestre spatium quod magnificis vestris legatis prudentia et rerum usu præstantibus de jure quo Dominus Stuartus utitur deliberandi concessum fuit jampridem præteriit.

Ut igitur jam tandem hujus rei rationem habere velitis et antiquam vestram in dissolvendis debitis fidem sequuti Domino Stuarto cæterisque qui sub ipso militarunt ejusque fidem sequuti sunt secundum pacta conventa satisfacere velitis, et amantissime et amicissime peto. Quod si feceritis rem a vestra fide et benevolentia non alienam ipsius in rempublicam vestram meritis non indignam, et serenissimo Regi et domino meo clementissimo amico et confœderato vestro gratissimam et pari beneficiorum genere—si occasio requirat—compensandam facturi estis.

Cætera ex suæ majestatis et serenissimi Daniæ et Norvegiæ Regis literis ex quibus quid hac in re ipsorum serenitates fieri velint copiosius intelligere potest. Subscriptum erat "Serenissimi Jacobi sexti Dei gratia Scotorum Regis Legatus." Signatum Johannes Skenæus.

3 *pp. Copy. In margin:* "Belgia. 1590 Novemb. Colonell Stewards caus."

Dec. 1. 503. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"It is lamentabillie exponit to ws on the behalff of ane Johnne Leslie, our subject, a zoung gentilman and scollar of sextene zeiris of aige or thairby, quha in the moneth of Junii last, taking jornay hamewart in

James VI. 1590. his native cuntrie frome the pairtis of France, quhairin he had spent a certane tyme at the scuillis, wes taikin at the harbrie called the Heid in England be the capitane of the toun thairof, and convoyed to zou at Westminster; quhair, upoun informacioun that he wes a special servand to the bischop of Ross in France, he wes committit in prissoun and still remains in greit distres and calamitie; and be zour commandement is appointed to be retenit quhill as ane Johnne Wellis, Englisman, curriour, taikin and keipit prissonare at Rowen—as is thocht—be the meanis of the said bischop, be relevit and sett at libertie; althocht the zoung gentilmannis ado with that bischop wes that, being his cousing and kynnisman, he ressavit support and avancement be him in sic thingis as concernit a scollare allanerlie, having na uther melling with him nor his effairis, howsaevir ze be gevin utherwise to understand."

"Sua that of gude ressoun he can not be challanged for ony deid of that bischop, gevand he wer the authour of the curriouris imprissonment, or mycht releve him, as we heir the contrarie. For that curriour is keipit and thocht to releve ane Edmond, a Jesuyte, detenit captive in Londoun, and not for the caus nor of the knawlege of that zoung scollare and gentilman. In consideratioun quhairof, and that he is voyd of all offence deserving sic truble or imprissonment, and with this is a gentilman borne to heretage and our frie subject taikin in his returne from the scuillis, as is befoir remembered, and sua na lauchtfull prissonare, we have taikin occasioun upoun petie of his grevous calamitie and undeservit truble herwith joint, ernistlie and effectuuslie to requeist and desyre zou to command this gentilman scollar to be sett at libertie and fredome, that without farder stay or truble he may reteir him selff hame toward his honnest parentis; quhairin ze sall do ws richt thankfull and acceptable plesur, to be requyte with the lyke to any recommendit be zou in sic a lauchtfull sute or a gretar mater." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 5. 504. ACT OF THE SCOTTISH PRIVY COUNCIL.

"At Holyrood House, 5th Dec., 1590."

"The quhilk day the Kingis majestie and Lordis of Secreit Counsaill and Checker, understandinge that throw sinister information and importune sute his majestie hes bene movit unadvisitly and unprofitably to dispone and gif away to divers personis ane greit part of the rent of his hienes propertie, asweill in money and victualls as in cains, customes, and uthir dewties, be the lawes, constitutions, and actis of Parliament made be the advise of thre estatis of this realme perpetually annext to the intertenyment and sustentation of the crowne; and his majestie with the advise of the sayd lordis, considerynge the hurt and prejudice susteynit be his grace throw delapidation of his hienes rentis foresaidis, intendynge to reduce and brynge the same to the richt use quhairunto the same was desinit and appoyntit be the sayd lawis, constitutions, and actis of Parliament made for sustenynge of the crowne as sayd is, ordains his graces advocat to call and persew the present possessouris, purchaseris, and havearis of the saidis rentis, quhais names salbe geven to hym in bill, for reduction of their pretendit titles and richtis quhairby they clame to posseid, brooke, and use the same. And in the meantyme

James VI. 1590. ordains letteris to be direct to inhibite and forbid all chalmerlains, stewartis, baillies, and customaris of burrowis, and all utheris quhame it effeiris, that nane of thame take upon hand to answere or make payment to any person or personis, of quhatsumevir estate or degree they be of, of any part of the sayd rentis of the Martynmes terme last bipast crope and zeir of God 1590 zeirs, and that be open proclamacon at the marcat croceis of the heid burowis of the shires quhair the said landis and rentis lyis; and in lyke maner to inhibite and forbid all and quhatsumevir person or personis, purchasoris, and broukars of ony land, fishynge, pension, or rent foresaid, that nane of thame take upon hand to uplift, rassave, or intromett with ony part thairof under the pane of repayment thairof."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Dec. 7. 505. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Upon receipt of Burghley's letter of November 23, told the King, at the first opportunity, that Burghley had gathered out of Davison's pamphlet the parts concerning the King, and therwith charged Mr. Bancroft; and showed the King—the Chancellor only being with them—Bancroft's letter to Burghley.* "The King redd this letter advisedlie, commending the witt of the inditour, and noting therewith the memoriall of the rodes at Ruthen and Sterling, of the preambles of the statutes passed in the tyme of that government, and of the doinges of John Cowper and James Gibson, ministers. He misliked the testimonie grounded upon Browne," and examined the submission made by Bancroft in that letter; and concluded that he thought it meet that Bancroft, in the place where he preached that sermon or elsewhere, should explain his words to quit him from that blemish. And he gave order to the Chancellor to signify his resolution to Burghley; as by the Chancellor's letter enclosed. Bancroft's letter remains in Bowes' possession, without any copy demanded.

Huntly understanding that the Earl of Murray, Grant, Calder, Mackintosh, and other his adversaries were together at Murray's house at Tarnoway in Murray, came thither with about three hundred men, with pretence of privy commission given him by the King to apprehend John Grant then at horn for murder and in the house. At his approach John Gordon—brother of the laird of Cluny and a principall author of those troubles—was shot in the mouth with a harquebuss and thought to be slain: and thereupon Huntly stayed to come any nearer to the house. The King hearing of it sent letters to all the parties, discharging their forces, revoked the commission granted to Huntly for the apprehension of Grant, and commanded Huntly to ward at St. Andrews, Murray at Stirling, and Atholl, Grant, and the rest at St. Johnstone. The letters addressed to Huntly were delivered to him while he was before Turnaway, and thereupon he was advised to retire. Grant and Mackintosh conveyed themselves secretly to their own tenants to levy forces against Huntly, who had retired to his house at Bogygeeth. Murray and the rest, with Atholl, hastily raised above two thousand men and pursued him. Huntly came to St. Johnston's on Monday, November 30th, purposing to haste to the King with all speed to complain to him. On

* Copy in the National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 6. 1. 13. f. 46.

James VI. 1590.

the morrow Bowes being advertised of these things opened them to the Chancellor, who could not think that Huntly could come to St. Johnston's so hastily, or durst present himself to the King. But that night, after 10 o'clock, Bowes heard that Huntly was come over the water, and had sent to the King the lairds of Cluny and Cobardye to pray access. Bowes then sent Roger Aston to acquaint the Chancellor therewith, and to procure him audience the next day; and at that audience he recounted to the King the dangers past and yet to come through the faction of the Brigg of Dee, in open arms against him; their seeking the overthrow of religion, profession of papistry, refusal to satisfy the church in spite of their promises; and lastly their plot to bring foreign forces into this realm, and to stir other princes against her majesty.

The Chancellor bore witness with Bowes, and showed such devotion to her majesty as deserves a letter of thanks from Burghley. Bowes added that her majesty would not give any countenance to any of her subjects, of whatever degree, who should attempt any like matter against him, but would rather punish them; he reminded the King of his promises to the Earl of Worcester, her majesty, and himself as to his course against this sort and other papists, concluding "with request that Huntlaie the chefe of this faccion might not be hastelie imbraced," and that he would turn himself against these men and the papists.

The King answered that, upon the submissions of the factioners of the Brig of Dee, he had given them remissions for all former faults; but if it can be proved that since then they have practised against her majesty's person or estate, he will punish the same as severely as if done against himself, being as careful for her safety as for his own; that some of the papists were already in ward, and he looked that the rest should be in three or four days, promising to take such order therein as shall satisfy her majesty. "He agreed that Huntlay should be commaunded to enter to his ward at St. Andrewes, according to his former charge"; but forasmuch as he and his adversaries were to be here the 11th instant for order of those causes, he could not deny him to come hither at that time. It is not meant he shall be a courtier and remain here.

Prayed the King to certify her majesty of his resolution herein and in the Border matters, whereupon he charged the Chancellor to write to Burghley. The Chancellor had already framed some letters, which he showed to Bowes, but upon the King's correction and Bowes' disagreement on some points, the matter has been thus long delayed: the Chancellor's letter is enclosed.

"It is told me that the Countesse of Huntlay is purposed to come hither and present her sister to the Quene's service, with offer of her owne attendance about the Quene; wherein all their freindes in courte will imploy them selves and meanes to work her desieres. And it is thought that under the shadowe of her abode about the Quene that her husband shall gitt longer tyme to abide here and in courte."

Called for speedy redress in Border matters, chiefly for Liddesdale, which for sixteen years had preyed upon England without punishment. It is promised that upon Bothwell's coming hither in two or three days he shall be charged to give full redress; and upon his default order shall

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be taken for the satisfaction of the grieved subjects in England. Two "faulters" in the bill of Mindrum shall be delivered, and justice done in all other bills.

The King is pleased that the English pirates, Abraham Lawes and William Daniell, shall be delivered into England; and having received the letters of the Lord Admiral of England to send them up to Burghley at the charges of the merchants of London spoiled by them, Bowes attends the coming of such as those merchants have written they will send to him.

"The Erle of Orkeney, still excusing him self, offereth the wasted howles of the schippes taken by the Spaniardes and left at Kirkwaye. The owners thereof are so poore as they make little sute for recoverie thereof." Bowes prays direction.

Francis Dacres has let him [Bowes] know that he is departing—with the King's passport—to Spain instead of Flanders, in the ship of William Naper, burgess of Edinburgh, now ready for Spain.

Encloses the copy of a letter written by Robert Bruce in Flanders to the Chancellor, found in the packet intercepted in England, but sent hither because directed to the King. Some think he is dissembling, and "that he is alreadie commed, and travailing in his accustomed waies."

"The Chancelour and the Master of Glames give good counten[a]nce to others, without any mencion of their late greefes." Albeit Bowes has travailed with themselves and their friends, and received frank offers on all sides, yet he finds little effect, and fears such hurt to one or both as will shake the present quietness in this state.

It is confirmed "that the 12,000 crownes are brought in at the littl creake nere to the Read castle in Angusse." Some say that he [Angus] was lately tempted with gold, which he thought came in at that creek; but others flatly deny it.

"On Wednesdaie last at night two of younge Sesfordes men, and by their maisters commaundement—as it is said—watchet secretlie William Carre of Ancrom in his retorne to his lodging, and comming closelie to him on the stare as he was entering did shute him into the belly with a dagge and killed him." Young Cessford departed that night into England as is said, but Bowes thinks he remains at his own house, where it is said that Bothwell was with him after the fact and brought him to sup with him at his house at Kelso, being the newly reconciled.

Sought to have had the confession of Carre before his death, whether he killed Lord Russell or not; but his friends would not suffer the minister to deal thoroughly with him.

The King "by his owne especiall travell" has drawn Sampson, the great witch, to confess her wicked doings, and to discover sundry things touching his own life, and how the witches sought to have his shirt or other linen for the execution of their charms. In this Lord Claud and other noblemen are evil spoken of. The witches known number over thirty, and many others accused. "Their actes are filthy, lewde, and phantasticall."

"All commissions for lieutenauntcies are discharged, chefelie to cut of the contencion betwixt the Lord Hamilton and the Erle of Angusse that have duble grauntes of one office."

James VI. 1590. "One straite acte is made that the King may take againe into his owne handes his propertie, without exception of any parson." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

[The Chancellor of Scotland to Burghley.]

"The bussye dealinge of seditiouse persownes in both the realmes and a frequent intercourse of intelligence amongest thame, whereupon groweth so manye false surmyses and lewde rumoures as often suche thinges as be weill intended and done are depraved and misconstrued, together with certane motiones made by Mr. Robert Bowes, ambassadour resident heir, hes moved the King my sovereyne to commaund me to acquent your lordship with his majesties good meaning and intention. A resolution hath bene taken heir to commit the most obstinat and as ar deamed most practizing papistes to verye freindlye gardes, whiche by likelyehoode they themeselfes would have procured. This I know to be advertised frome this, and interpreted not onlye a foolishe lenitye bot a singulare favoure, and—as appeares—breades them a commoditye to continew their practizes with greater sewrtye and lesse suspition. It was no privat advyse of any particular or suspected persone, bot by deliberation of the wysest and best affected heir. Yf they yealde not obedience to so moderat a decree, then shall they be justlye criminall, and plainlye convinced, in that they most deny in the eyes, yea, even of those that most affectes thame; and if they obtemper, yet arre they not thereby ather pardoned or licentiat, bot wilbe so used as they shall not be able to harme in any sort the religion or ather of these states, and the sequele shall interpret what wes projected thereby."

"Your lordship may rest assured the King my sovereygne will not only be no fauteur of anye partisan or that affect thame—whome God in his wraithe hes made a spectakle to the worlde for so barbarouse desseinges against his trueth and this ilande—bot will with all sinceritye set up his rest of crowne and lyfe for defence thereof to his uttermost."

"Though I be lothe to trouble your lordship with particular jarres that arre often incident to this state, yet of one I mon adverteis your lordship, lest his majesties proceadeur therein be misreported or misconstrued."

"There hathe a broyll fallen out in the north of this realme betwixt the Earle of Murray, assisted be the Earle of Atholl, and the Earle of Huntlye, wherein the Earle of Huntlie hes the worst, one of his narrest kinsemen being deadlie wounded, which hes set the whole north in twoe partes, having taken armes on both sydes."

"The Earle of Huntly, to preoccupat his majesties favour, made haist to make his complaynte, bot being within ten myles to court is sent to St. Androiss till the adverse pairtye be also present to pleyde their cause."

"Justice must be done according to the qualitye of the offence, and the countrey setled, for they mon both appeare in counsell. Yf ather the Earle of Huntly or any whatsumever hath since his pardone, or shall in any sort offend against that state, or be direct or indirect meanes

James VI. 1590. practize to empaire the same, he shall not onlye na wayes participat his highnes favour, bot will with all severitye be demeaned and used be his majestie as one who had most heighlye offended against his owne crowne and person."

"His highnes hes seine the apologetik submission of Dr. Bancroft, wherein that he mislykes most is that he hes credited the report of one Broun, a pernitiouse sectarye, and ather banished or fugitive for hereticall doctrine. His majesties desyre is that he shoulde tak occasioun ather in the same or lyke publick place to interprete suche his speaches as have bene mistaken, and to utter what was his good and verye meaning; which wilbe a full satisfactioun to his highnes heir, and no palinodye to him."

"The King my sovereyne hes bene often interpelled be Mr. Bowes that full redresse may be for all attemptates on the Bordouris. The most parte resting unsatisfyed is by the disordered of Liddesdaill, for the whiche his majestie hes commaunded to call the Earle Bothuell indelayedlye, to whome they apperteane be inheritanc[e], and so will sie by him redresse made according to the auntient forme. Whiche and all the residue I wilbe a meane to cause be satisfyed with all convenient speede, so that no occasion of complain[t] shall remaine in that behalfe."

"I have set doun to your lordship a rapsodye in heape, being so straitted with tyme and overchairged that I am enforced to omit somethinges most necessarye—but requyring ample discourse—and to send you this indigested masse." Holyrood House, 7 December, 1590. *Signed:* Jo. Thyrlstane."

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 7 506. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"After the writinge of myn other letter of the date hereof, my secrett frend delyvered to me the double of the forme of the bande inclosed, and devised—as he said—by sedycyous heades, aboutt some noblemen evill affected and other papistes, to drawe a nomber of the nobilitye to partie the cause for the overthrowe of the Chancelour, and to subscribe the instrument for the ayde and suretye of the interprysers." This thing is shortly to be put in practice: if it succeed this state is like to come into a dangerous course.

The King has given leave to Sir James Stewart to seek the recovery of his possessions and rights. Sir James is advised to be at Killoch a while, to await the King at his hunting, hoping for further grace.

Has warned the Chancellor and others well affected, and they are "thorowly awaked," the Master of Glamis frankly offering himself to the Chancellor and company; their meeting is to-morrow, but Bowes dare not show the bond, for fear of prejudice to the person who delivered it to him, to whom he is under promise. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

James VI.
1590.

Enclosure with the same :

"A combination of divers of the nobillitie of Scotland for removinge of certaine officers abowt the King."

"We of the nobilitie and peares of this realme undersubscrivand, understanding be credeble reporte, and seing causes that the desolacion and subvertion of justice with the perrilling of the true religion professed in this realme hes consistit in the pernicious and evill counsaill of certane evill inspirit persons usurpand our places in estate and civell administracion, maist proper and pertinent for us and our calling, and being borne to that effect, as the lowable lawes and actes of Parliament made there annent in the daies of his majesties noble progenitours at maire length beires; nevertheles to our greit prejudice and hurte, certaine of base degree and small linage in the tyme of his highenes minoritie and less age contractit sic familiaritie with his majestie our soveraigne lord, that thereby they have obtayned the said offices and other dignities due unto the nobilitie of this realme as said is: and in that behalf we are altogether debarrit fra his highnes presence, and frustrate of our perticuler effaires depending before the civill magistrate, which in dede is a thing that na sanctuacie [*sic*] can lesumlie digest with silence, for be the sinister informacion and colurit forme of doinges and procedinges against us they make his highnes and the maist part of his loving subjectes to understand us to be evill affected to the true religion, and inquiet members of the common wele, howbeit they by all apparent signes kyethes them selves to be of that inclinacion. For remedie quhairof we binde and obliss us *hinc inde* by our greit aythe of veritie, that in case any of us sall attempt or take upon hand directlie or undirectlie to do anything quhairby the said sediciouse persons may be cuttit of and reduced to their former maner of leving, or execute otherwaies to them deith for their demerittes, that then and in that case we after subscrivand, as is afore rehearsed, sall fortifie and assist the committer of the said fact to the uttermost of our powre, and in case of failze to be repute and estemed as defamit parsons and never to have creditt here efter."

¾ *p. In hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.*

Dec 7. 507. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

Has received Hudson's letters, one by the ambassador, the other by John Dougal. As to William Cockburn, he hopes Hudson is satisfied from his majesty and others, for commission or credit he has none except a stolen letter which he will repent he ever saw. Hudson has sufficient warrant to stay his proceedings. His majesty takes Hudson's proceedings in good part in advertising William Cockburn's dealings and also in procuring for the merchants that have the letter of marque. He thinks himself greatly beholden to Burghley for his favour to the poor men, and will cause the ambassador to write his thanks.

Since his last letter, of November 2[6]th, the King has prevented the then expected battle in the north, for when they should have met, Huntly's commission was discharged which he had obtained to apprehend one of his "contrapartt." He came to Tarnoa, the Earl of Murray's house,

James VI. 1590. and charged him to deliver some that were there. One of his servants, John a-Gordon of Cluny, was shot through the cheek blade: he is yet living.

Huntly returned across the Spey to his house of Bogagygh. His adversaries gathered so fast as he durst not tarry long there, and sent to know the King's pleasure; who commanded him to return to St. Andrews and remain there. Atholl is commanded to St. Johnstone and Murray to Stirling. Huntly's friends have laboured for his coming to court, but it is not yet granted. The Chancellor and he are agreed, and he is expected ere long. The King means him to tarry only two or three days. His coming can do no hurt, for the King is constant in the two chief points. No one should condemn without good proof, for popes and their accomplices will daily practise, whether the King will or not: none can say he ever entered into their practices. Matters would have been different had he had good help. He is not always as careful as he should be.

At the King's command the Chancellor has written fully to Burghley. Although sometimes there may be occasion for discontentment, yet by good instruments it may be helped, for neither her majesty nor this King desire anything but peace and quietness.

The Master of Angus is committed to ward with the lord of Bass, Fentry with John Graham, and James Gordon at Seaton. We are now busy examining witches, who confess many strange things. Last Wednesday night the young Lord Cessford slew "William Ker of Ankerram," being his near kinsman; he was shot through the body with a "pestolatt" when going to his own chamber at nine o'clock, "and leved twenty two owres, his tong and memory serving him to the last owre." After he was shot he over-ran them a good piece to Lord Hume's lodging. The Chancellor is heavily troubled for this matter, for the young man married his niece. Acquainted his lady with Hudson's other letters. Hudson desired answer of David Marre's letter. Marre is in Dumfries, and has been long time with Carmichael. Desires to be commended to Lord Sayer and Mr. Carmichael. At Court. *Signed:*

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

Dec. 18. 508. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letters of November 29th, December 4th and 10th—this last on the 15th—but could not get the King at leisure till the 16th instant, Thursday, and has since awaited the end of the troubles betwixt Huntly, Murray, Atholl, and others. Acquainted the King "with the takeing of the Spanish bark at the Groine, and brought to Sandwich, and howe the same bark should have conducted the two pataches with treasure into this realme": that the same treasure shall be sent hither next spring, and that Huntly and his partners are named to receive the same to the purposes mentioned in Burghley's letter of the 4th instant. Dwelt much on this matter of the money, that the King might behold the plot of the King of Spain and the papists, "and that Huntlay was the piller whereon they grounded their foundacion," so as the King's favour to him at this time should encourage Spain and the papists to proceed with him, and enable him the better to work their desires. At

James VI. 1590.

least it should grieve her majesty that her advice should receive so little credit with him, and her estate and his own be so little regarded by him.

The King answered that he should give order to watch for these pataches so diligently as they should not escape, nor the treasure be employed as desired, but that the practice intended shall be defeated.

"He opened howe farre Huntlay had bound himself to him to quenche all intelligence with all forraine princes, and what weakenes he sawe evidentlie in his person to enterprise or compasse any matter of weight." He thinks no great danger shall arise by Huntly, but seeing it doth so deeply concern religion, her majesty, and himself, "he wold therefore be allwaies waking and watchfull to looke bothe to Huntlay and also to other his subjectes suspected in that behalf; concluding that he was soveraigne to them all, and must protect them, and that the withdrawing of his countenaunce from Huntlay at this present should leave him to the willes of his adversaries and be his hastie overthrowe."

Bowes "moved him to consider whether the wellfaire of Huntlay or of this great cause should be preferred: yet he continewed in mynde to preserve Huntlay in this danger, and promised to be carefull for the safetie of this cause." The King said he had already made publication of hostility against the French rebels, and restrained all his subjects to traffic with any Frenchmen but such as are at the French King's obedience, and had lately denied the earnest request of some of his subjects seeking to deal with those of Havre ["Newhaven"] to recover their goods.

As promised by the Chancellor's letter to Burghley, the King has directed the Chancellor to take resolute order with Bothwell for Liddesdale, wherein the Chancellor also promises largely.

The King told Bowes he had made enquiry for Penry—whom her majesty thought to be secretly kept in Scotland—but heard he was departed. His wife continues in Edinburgh, supported by his friends, some of whom say that he departed a good while past, and it is not known where he is.

The King has "planted Wal[de]grave to be his printer upon caution given that he shall not hereafter offend her majestie or estate." This man is drawn to be a nearer neighbour than Bowes likes to the house where he lodges, but he will have little dealing with him except by Burghley's direction.

Let the King know that it was much noted "that the weightie matters in Scotland and promised by him were still in *fieri* and not in *esse*; and that his course to committ traitours to their freindes wold be found weake; further, that her majestie pitied the state of the contry, seing so many breaches amongst the counsaillours, and thancked God that had blessed her ether by her owne creditt to kepe, or by good foresight to chuse, suche Counsellours as allwaies accorded and studied to serve her and advance the publick weale. He praised muche her majesties governement, and wished to have like Counsaillours, excusing him self by the jarres amongst his Counsellours that thinges were not accomplished in due season. I also shewed him that your lordship pities his estate, being thought fortunate in all thinges, saving that he wold not be master over his sediciouse subjectes, nor draw his counsailours to serve him.

James VI. 1590. This work he said must be performed by a King in Scotland that might reigne as longe as thre Kings before him: thancking your lordship very hartelie for your good will uttered therein towardes him."

Has further examined his informant as to Calais, and finds that a Catholic lately come from Flanders assured him that some mean should be made to tempt the governor there: but the governor might not embrace the offer, though large.

Has offered Francis Dacres the things mentioned in Burghley's letter, and laid before him the benefits growing by his humble acceptance, and the mischief by refusal, occasioning her majesty upon that and his departure to her enemies to transfer all his rights and titles to herself and her successors, to his perpetual shame and the comfort of his adversaries. Dacres seems much moved, and seeks to stay the ship wherein he should sail for Spain till he may write to Burghley and receive his answer. He promises to remain her majesty's loyal subject, and "also to deny to receive of the King or other prince whatsoever any pencion or other promocion to serve against her majestie. He complayneth that his debtes are great in England, determyning nether to begg there nor live in prison." He purposes to depart if he cannot stay the *Salamander*, but if he can stay her for fifteen days he will resolve further and write to Burghley. This ship and the merchants are ready to sail with the first wind, intending to compass Ireland and sail by the west seas.* "William Naper the owner hathe hard that the Spanish bark is brought to Sandwich, and his conscience telleth him that he hath given great aid to the Spaniardes; therefore it is feared that some of her majesty's ships shall crosse their waie in their voyage."

The King tells him [Bowes] that upon suit made by William Cockburn he granted him letters to be addressed to Burghley, the Lord Admiral, and the Lord Chamberlain, for redress to be made to Cockburn for goods taken by English pirates. Whereupon Cockburn caused one Moyses, a clerk, to draw not only those letters, but also—without the King's privity—to write in the King's name to Archibald Douglas to negociate that and other causes. Cockburn came to the King at Linlithgow, and being ready to ride, presented all the letters to him, without mentioning the letter to Douglas. The King signed them all without suspicion, but afterwards, the matter being revealed to him, wrote to James Hudson to command Cockburn to return to answer to his faults, and to inform Burghley of this practice. The King appeared highly offended with Cockburn. "His opinion towardes Mr. Archbald appeared at this tyme to be very slender": that may be due to the Chancellor, who little favours Mr. Archibald or his doings.

Huntly, Murray, Atholl, and the others, being sent for by the King, resorted to this town with greater numbers than the proclamation appointed. Upon examination of the matters of Huntly and his friends against Murray, Atholl, and the lairds of Grant and Caddell, for the slaughter of John Gordon at Tarnaway—Gordon having died since Bowes last wrote—the King and Council, finding they could not compound the quarrels, ordered that Huntly should give caution of 20,000 *l.* Scots to keep good order in the country, Murray should be likewise bound in

* *Marginal note in same hand*: "Soone after that Francis Dacres had bene with me he entred into the ship and is departed."

James VI. 1590. 20,000 *l.*, and Grant and Caddell in 5,000*l.* a piece, "to underlie the lawe for the slaughter of Gordon, and not to disquiet the contry." Atholl was not at the slaughter, so no bond is taken of him.

At the request of the Countess of Huntly, her husband's bond was suspended for fifteen days, whereat the other party much stormed, noting the King's partiality towards Huntly against the Stewarts, and thinking that Huntly in the mean time would attempt some revenge, whereupon they will make such provision as is like to cause further troubles, except the King and Council stay the same. "For the Stewartes hearing that Huntlaie had newlie banded with Montrosse and other noblemen, they are likewise purposed to strengthen them selves with all that will partie them. Wherein they hope that Maxwell, Hume, and sundry others—in whom Huntlay before had great affiance—will joyne in band with the Stewartes. And hereby they looke to be so stronge as Huntlay shall hardlie remayne in his owne house or contrye. Wherein also some amongst them well affected have said and promised that the Jesuites, Papistes, and Spaniardes shall not walk in the northe and about Huntlaie's freindes' gates as before they have boldlie used to do."

The Chancellor is of opinion that by these and other discords the practices intended against him, and to have been shouldered by the Master of Gray, shall fall, or at least be stayed. And the other plot against him upon the general band—whereof Bowes enclosed a copy in his private letter—is like to be defeated or suspended. Other fruits may follow that shall hinder the wonted liberties of papists and Spaniards here, except these quarrels be reconciled *in odium tertii* and be turned against the Chancellor, wherein some will employ themselves.

Bothwell has taken part with Murray and Atholl before the King and Council and in the streets. "Wherein his companies so mustered before his lodging, at the tyme that Huntlay should have commed to me, as the provost of this towne thought it mete to shut the portes for some tyme, and to convey Huntlay in the afternoone to and from me to his lodging nere the courte. Lenox hath leaned muche to Huntlay in favour of his sister the Countesse; but being sharpelie said to by Bothwell and wiselie advised by other freindes he hathe drawen him self amongst the Stewartes."

On Wednesday last Huntly came to Bowes, and declared that he understood her majesty to have been so hardly informed against him as she conceived much worse than he deserved: that since his subscription to the articles of religion he never offended her nor dealt with foreign princes against her. Reminded him [Huntly] of the great benefits which he and his house, in the late pacification in this realm, had received by her majesty's goodness; and of his large offers of service uttered to Bowes, which he shortly forgot and turned to the Pope and the King of Spain against her. "He answered that he did then as all the rest of the nobilitie did, who in open perliament praied the King to revenge the death of his mother." Laid before him that before her death, and after the King showed himself satisfied in that behalf, and also after his subscription to the articles, he had intelligence with the King of Spain and Parma, to the hurt of her majesty, and against this King, whose authority he resisted in open armes: and reminded him what commissions and letters he had given to sundry practisers, recommending them to Parma

James VI 1590. and others; which persons by his commissions did and do entertain intelligence with the Pope, the King of Spain, and their ministers, to the hurt of religion and both these sovereigns; that for those purposes money had been sent hither by foreign princes, "whereof he had his porcion and chefe distribucion." He denied none of these things done before his subscription, affirming that since then he had not dealt in such causes, nor given warrant to any to traffic for him; if any had in his name practised with foreign princes it was without his consent. Asked whether after his conversion he had discharged these practisers, or received advertisements from them, or knew that they were now occupied in such matters? "To these he answered litle, but turning him self to the mark whereat he was advised to shute," he said that as the King his master had resolved to keep firm amity with her majesty, he would apply himself to the same, and from henceforth be ready to do her service if she would accept the same; pressing him [Bowes] to promise her acceptance thereof. But Bowes—telling him that his former actions had been such as he durst not bind her majesty till he knew her pleasure therein—wished him to make his good behaviour since his subscription, and his present good mind evidently known to her majesty, and he would then assure him of her good acceptance. Yet if he list not to take this course, Bowes would acquaint the King with this conference, and recommend his offers to her majesty. Herewith he appeared satisfied, and departed.

The next day Bowes reported to the King the substance of this conference; and hearing that some had said he took greater liberty with Huntly than was warranted, he explained that he took this course to let Huntly and others know their errors, and to move the King to beware to give him over great countenance till he had better experience of his actions. On the Friday after, Murray, Atholl, and their friends sent two gentlemen to Bowes, offering devotion to her majesty; and Bothwell also sent before them two other gentlemen with like offers. Maxwell and Harris, with others, have also been with him, tendering their services. Bowes contented them for the time, and now prays Burghley's direction.

Whilst Huntly abode here he obtained a remission, whereof a copy is enclosed. He sought also the renewing of his patent for the lieutenancy, and by encouragement of some courtiers the patent was drawn, and Bowes has a copy; but the King denied that he had been ever moved therein, resolving to grant no such office, and the Chancellor assures Bowes he shall not have it. "Thus he and his wife departed this daie to Leithe to passe over the water at the next tyde, with small contentment. Yet he hathe given and assured the laird of Spina, the King's Vice-chamberlane, the inheritance of thirty five chalders of victualls, being worth yerely 200*l.* sterling. And many thinck that bothe for that purpose he was called hither, and hathe also received the grace that he hathe gotten. The King semeth now to be well pleased with his deperture."

The Chancellor and Huntly are agreed, by direction of the King, and a bond of friendship drawn by the Justice Clerk betwixt them, which the King keeps. For the Chancellor will no other caution for his bond than the King' promise, and has offered to send the bond to Bowes,

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and will show it to his friends. He has courteously entertained Huntly, but knows him so well "as he shall not enter farre into him." Huntly has not stuck to tell the Chancellor that some pretending friendship with him have yet dealt with Huntly for his overthrow. This is thought to be the Master of Glamis, now absent. The Chancellor has been otherwise moved to set himself against Glamis, but friends labour to remove these jealousies.

The quarrels betwixt Hamilton and Angus, Hamilton and Huntly, and Hamilton and Hume are reconciled. Erroll sought a quarrel with Huntly for banding with the Chancellor without his privity; but the Catholics will appease this.

Bothwell, disposed to show young Cessford all the favour he can, has nevertheless let Hume know that he will not party Cessford against him. Cessford, by the offence of the King for the slaughter of William Carre, is departed into England.

"As your lordship hathe written to me that Cuningham, brother to the laird of Barnes, is found to be a traitour, so also I have bein advertised that the lard hath promised the captaine of the Spanish bark to provide him great store of mutton and beefes at his retorne in Christianmasse next, and to prepaire sondrie other thinges to be readie for the pleasure and proffitt of the King of Spaine. Wherein also promis is made that in due tyme five hundred gentlemen and Borderers shal be ready to breake the Borders." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7 *pp. Marginal notes by Burghley. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Printed in *Criminal Trials*, ed. Pitcairn, i. Pt. ii. 180.

Enclosure with the same:

[Remission granted to the Earl of Huntly.]

"James by the grace of God King of Scottes, to our Justice, Justice Clarke, and their deputis, greting. Forasmuche as in ane court of justiciary halden in the Tolbuith of our burghe of Edenbroughe by our justices in that part constitute by our commission, upon the 24th daie of May 1589, our right trustie cosen George Erle of Huntlay, Lord Gorden and Badzeneth, being accused upon the dittey given in against him by our advocate conteining in effect the pointes following: that is to saie, for the treasonable traficking with strangers and ministers of straungers sic as Jesuites, seminaries, preistis, and excommunicate persons for the alteracion of the religion presentlie professed within our realme, according to the sinceritie of the evangell, to the overthrowe of our person, and receiving of monie and Spanishe gold to the effect and for the causes foresaide, and for the subscriving of a bande to the treasonable effect above written at Strickmertyn, Glentener, and Ald Montrois, against the lawes, beside divers conventicles, contractes, leagues, and conspiracies reiterat and renewit, and treasonable takeing of the towne of St. Johnston, and for art, part, red, and counsaill of the convocacion made in armes for takeing of our house and pallace of Halyroodehouse, and of our person supponit to be therein, and to have slaine our trustie cosen and counsellour John, nowe Lord of Thurleston, our Chancelour, and divers others; and for performng thereof tristing to have mett at the Quarrell Holes betwixt Leithe and Halyrudehouse, and comming a-gateward in armes to that effect to Dumfermling; for the treasonable takeing

James VI. 1590. of [ ] Ridpithe, one of our garde, keping him prisoner and impeding of the execution of our letters for the maintenaunce of our estate; for the treasonable asseiging of our house of Kirkhill, raising of fier, and takeing of Thomas, Master of Glames, our threasurer in the place of Achendoun; for art, part, rid, and counsaill of the treasonable takeing of our cote armour from William Rankeler, herauld, makeing our proclamacion at the markett crosse of Aberdene; for the treasonable makeing of proclamacions in our name for convocating of our leigis; makinge slanderous reportes as tho we had ben kept captive; for the treasonable convocating of ane oist and army of our leigis against us at the Brig of Dee, of mynd to have invaded our army when we were present in parson; for his treasonable speaking against the peace and quietnes of the amitie or libertie conteined in Parliament, incurrand the paines of our act maid thereannent, as the said dittey at mair length perportis. Whereof, albeit the saide Earle in his conscience affirmed himself to be innocent, yet having cum in upon a resolute purpose to submit himself in our will, and not willing to be contraditour to us, hoping that we wald weighe the circumstances of his accusation, he submitted him most humblie in our will, as the act of our adjornall thereupon beiris. And nowe we, having considered the humble and voluntary submission of our said cousing, and weighed the circumstances of his said accusacion, nawyse mynded to seeke the wrack and subvertion of the noble blude and auncient houses of our realme, but to recover and reteine them in our due obedience, have therefore of our especiall grace received and accepted our said cosen George, Erle of Huntlay, in our mercy and favour, and declaris our determinate will by these presentes, that he is and salbe free, remitted, and discharged of all the crimes above written conteyned in his said dittye for which he came in our will as said is, and of all accion, criminall or civill, that we had, have, or may have against him, his life, landes, or gudes, as also reintegrates and rehabilitates him to his gude fame and warldlie honour, and to use all lawfull dedes in judgement and outwith as if he had never come in our will, or that the said crimes nor nane of them had never bene committed. Wherefore it is our will and we commaund you that ye pronounce this our will in judgement, and registrate the same in the bukes of adjornall, which we commaund our advocate to see done and perfected, and to consent to the same in our name, for the which these presentes shalbe to you and him sufficient warrant. Holyrood House, 17 December, 1590."

1⅓ *pp. Copy, in the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.*

Dec. 19. 509. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"At my being with you I did forgett to haif ony speach concerning one Sir Alexander Stewart, who hathe remaned some tyme in this towne. If he be recommendit be ony to your lordship, I beleawe it shalbe best done to deale wyslye wyth him. I am effrayd that the man shall prowe bot indifferentlye honist, besidis inconvenientis that he may unvislye thrust him self in to, as moyr particularlye your lordship may onderstand when your lasur may serve."

"Sen I come from your lordship my Lord Crechtone hath beyn wyth me. He is myndit to sea your lordship when he shall onderstand of your returning to this towne." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

James VI. 1590. Dec. 26.

510. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Perceives by Burghley's letter of the 13th instant that her majesty—grieved to see such troubles likely to grow in this realm—would have him consider "whether this last matter for the band shalbe further attempted," and to take the Chancellor's opinion as to opening the same to the King for the prevention of inconvenience. Has been advised by some well affected, that within six weeks something would be enterprised, except some better course be taken by the courtiers: this he has communicated to the Chancellor, who esteems lightly of these things, and would not trouble the King therewith, for the latter is so resolutely set against all motions to work alteration in the state as the enterprisers dare not hazard themselves against him. The well affected think that the hearty reconciliation betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis shall put all things out of peril; therefore Bowes has travailed with the Chancellor and Glamis, whereby they are presently in good terms; and by his means the prior of Blantyre is also labouring "to pull up the roote of their greifes," which yet are nourished by such means as herewith will be partly seen. It is hoped this labour shall bear fruit; the Chancellor and others, being thus warned of dangers, will avoid all inconveniences, whereof the Chancellor stands in little fear.

Although John Pott, servant to Francis Dacre, gave Bowes notice of his master's departure, "affirming that he sawe him on the sea," yet upon better advice Dacre returned, "resolving to give over that voyage, and to committ him self and his estate to her majestie's goodnes." He has written Burghley the letter enclosed, with his petitions, by advice of Bowes. Dacre has chosen this course, praying Burghley's help, and to be speedily advertised of her majesty's pleasure, that he may dispose of himself and his poor case, "having presentlie under 40 *l.* sterling in his purse, and knowing no meane to gitt any more when that is spent. His debtes—he saithe—are so great in England, and his frendes so tyered to sustaine him, as he determineth resolutely to live in forrayne contries except it shall please her majestie to have compassion."

"I have acquainted the King with the causes of the stay of John Lesley, sonne of the doughter of the busshop of Rosse. Wherein the King at the first thought it a matter worthy of consideracion, whether he was justly deteined in England: but upon myne informacion of the maner of his comming thither, and offence in entrie with suche lewde letters, the King afterwardes shewed him self well satisfied in the cause, and to leave Lesley to answere for his owne crymes."

"Monsieur Morland, commed hither from the French King with dispatche by the Vicount of Turine, hathe obtayned bothe the King of Scotlandes letters to the princes in Germany for the expedicion of the levy of the army to be sent in the aide of the Frenche King, and also his grant to have 3,000 Scotishmen to be sent into France for the French King's succours, in case the French King shall send for them."

The King granted these things, with large offers to party that cause with all his power, as he will make known to her majesty, and will pursue such course as she thinks best. This French gentleman sought to have Bowes present at his last access to the King, which was granted, and Bowes will solicit the cause after his departure hence in a few days to the Viscount of Turenne in Germany.

James VI. 1590.

Bothwell has written to Lord Scrope for a meeting to be had to give redress for Liddesdale; and the Chancellor and Clerk Register have been with Bowes about Border causes. He has written to the wardens of England, hoping justice shall be done if the King and Council perform as they have newly offered.

"Bothwell, the admirall here, hathe sought that Lawes and Daniell, Inglishmen—and deteined here at my request for piracies done by them on some marchantes of London—might be delivered to him to be tried, and the warrant was fraymed and drawen to have bene signed by the King, but I have staied the same." Great suit is made to Bowes for their liberty, and they will get it, unless they be removed to England or put on their triall here.

Lord Claud Hamilton is well recovered, and offers his devotion to her majesty, acknowledging that during the life of his mistress the King's mother he was wholly drawn to serve her; but now he has found his fault, and will be glad to make amends. Maxwell and Harries have renewed their offers to her majesty with great fervency, Maxwell referring to Lord Scrope for proof of his good behaviour. The said Maxwell advised Huntly to quench his intelligence with the King of Spain, Parma, and the Pope, as ever bringing him into trouble and endangering his life and possessions. Atholl and Murray also offer good offices, seeking her majesty's commendation to the King in their behalf, "and in their causes against Huntlay."

"Arrell hathe bene with the Chancelour and offered kindenes to him. They are entred into good tearmes, but their frendlie agreament consisteth muche on the disposition of the Master of Glames, who hathe especiall interrest in Arrell." Huntly had obtained commission to call the Clanquhattons to answer justice. They appertain to Mackintosh, and are themselves so strong, and he so strong to assist them, as Huntly shall not hurt them without loss to himself; yet he will take speedy revenge on those Highlands for the slaughter of John Gordon. Some wise men were content these troubles in the north might continue, to rid the rest of the realm of these northern lords. But now this commission against the Clanqhattons is revoked.

"The King and Queen are passed over the water to Aberdore to expend there four or five daies with the laird of Spina his vice-chamberlaine." Some give out that Huntly would return to him there, but others of better quality say that no such thing is intended. James Gordon the Jesuit crept secretly thither, but was advised to depart with speed; and such as emboldened him to adventure thither have gotten little thanks. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Francis Dacre to Burghley.]

Understanding by Bowes of Burghley's honourable mind to do him good at her majesty's hands—which were no small comfort to him—he being ready to embark to seek his fortune elsewhere, upon this hope held out sought to stay the ship. Necessity drives him to seek a small portion which his brother left him at his death; but being loth to leave

James VI. 1590. anything undone which becomes a dutiful subject he has refused the advantage of that ship in hope of Burghley's help. Beseeches Burghley to acquaint her majesty with some petitions enclosed, although they be not set down in due form. He trusts her majesty and Burghley will not condemn him. Edinburgh. 25 Dec. 1590. *Signed:* Francis Dacre.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 26. 511. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

In his other letter of this date has referred to the jealousies betwixt the Chancellor and Glamis. The Master of Glamis thinks that the Chancellor has so embraced Huntly, Bothwell, Montrose, Claud Hamilton, Maxwell, and others of the faction of the Bridge of Dee, as their credit in court shall be dangerous to Glamis, to the cause of religion, the peace of both these realms and surety of the well affected.

The Chancellor is persuaded that Glamis has sought to win to himself the goodwill of Huntly and others of that faction, against the Chancellor, and to plant in Council and government Marshal, Erroll, and Morton, to party Glamis against the Chancellor, without any care of the said causes. The mediators betwixt them say that no friendship can be established till they can be drawn to consent with the rest; first, to such government as shall be found most meet; next, to the choice of persons to be trusted with the execution; "and thirdly that the Chauncelour and Glamys may be well imbarked in the action thereof." They wish Burghley would "prick them forwardes in this way," by good advice to be written to Bowes and shown to them. Marishal, Erroll, and Morton hold off from the Chancellor, but the other noblemen named to be brought into court have lately received very good countenance by his commendations. The Chancellor told Bowes—before these agreements—that by the King's express command he was forced to agree with Huntly: "and he acknowledgeth that by the sight of Glamys secrett curtyng of these noblemen for his owne strengthe he was dryven to show the more favour to them," that he might not alone bear the burden and wrath of all malcontents, though ever ready to endure their feuds if he be accompanied with the rest of his fellows. But he solemnly protests that he will lay down his life before he will assent unto or enterprise anything to the hurt of religion or the amity with her majesty, wherein he has given such good proof, as Bowes dare not hastily enter into suspicion against him, but desires Burghley's advice for the satisfaction of the mediators. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Dec. 28. 512. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"I haif beyn so ernistlye pressed be the Lord Crechtone to mak your lordship acquaynted wyth his departure towardis Italye, as he sayis, and to onderstand if it shalbe your pleasur to command him wythe ony service in those partis, that I can not forbear to satisfye his dessire, albeit I culd wyth all my hart be contented that ony gud occasion culd be offered whearbye his going mycht be hyndered; and that the rather for that I knaw the moste part of his fryndis in Scotland to be inclyned

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thayronto. Bot this day he hes beyn wythe me, and so ernist to passe fordwart one his intendit jorney, that for no ressonis I can alledge to the contrarye can he be moved to stay ony longer than he may ressawe your lordships lettir to the magistrate of the port of Dowere for his sayfe passage. Wheirupone I haif takin occasione to send this bearar to your lordship to ressawe ony anser it shalbe agreable to your lordship to gewe heirin."

"I tak it to be so that this yowng [*sic*] called Sir Alexander Stewart, who gois in his cumpanye and to the Duck of Parma, is the greatast occasion of his suddane departure, and so much the worse to be lyked of."

"I dowbt not bot your lordship hes heard of suche newis of concorde as hath of layte occurred in Scotland, whiche makis me forbeyr to trouble you wyth the neydles repetition of thayme at this tyme. I haif also send to your lordship be this bearar Doctor Cesar's patent in reversione of Sanct Katherinis. Albeit I do weill know how far it is against your mynd to deale in ony mater that may carye apparent *de captatione mortis alienæ*, zit be ressone this mater doeth tend to the releif of so many poore distressed Scottismen, *et sic ad evitandum magis malum*, and takis nothing owt of hir majesteis cofferris, I will hartelye requeist your lordship for my cause to furthar that mater that is lyk to produce so many gud and charitable effectis." *Signed:* A.D.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

513. Note of money disbursed.

"The note of the diffraye of 300 *l.* sterlinge taken by exchange in Edenburgh, viz., of Thomas Fowills and Robert Jowcye 200 *l.*, and of John Porterfeild 100 *l.*, which somes tourned into Frenche crownes at the present rate heare amounted to 316 *l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and was diffrayed as followethe."

"To Mr. Androwe Knoxe and John Semple 400 Frenche crownes. Doctor Macalney 300 Frenche crownes. Mr. David Lindsaye 200 Frenche crownes. Mr. David Fowles 100 Frenche crownes = 316 *l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterlinge."

"Wherof 300 *l.* was taken in exchange as before is expressed, and the 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was disbursed by Robert Bowes, and is to be allowed to him in his next reconninge." *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Note in Burghley's hand: "An ordre uppon the prive seale containing 320 *l.* to pay this 16 *l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to Mr. Bowes. W.B."

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

Lansd. 115, fol. 66.

514. Burghley to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

"There are so manifest causes to move me to write to yow in all kindlie manner, as everie one of them aloane is sufficient for me to wryte and your lordship to receave the same in friendlie sort. The ould famyliar acquaintance in a verie strict amitye with your elder brother the younge Lard of Lethington, he a secretary to that crowne, and I then to this crowne, was so beneficiall to both these crownes by restoringe them by our minestery to suche a brotherly peace as nevar had bene in many

James VI. 1590. hundred yeares before, as the memorye of the same is verie agreable to survyve towardes yow his brother, and a secretarye by office as he was, thoughe now also placed in an office being Chauncelor, which I accompte the principall secretary of that realme. Next to this the amitie professed and accorded by treatie betwixt the prynces of both theise realmes require conjunction of good will in such mynisters as are knowen to have creditt with their superiors, wherein as I knowe yow are with the Kinge almoste the only counseller for managing of those affaires, so, without presumption, I may affirme that I fynd myself with some others interessed, to be acquaynted with the affaires of this realme."

"And in that respect I am the more willinge to have intelligence with yow for the furtherance and contynuaunce of our soveraignes amitye; and to add some more cause of my present writing by receaving your kynde letter at the handes of Sir John Carmychell, and by report of the Earl of Worcester of your kynd acceptance of my commeudacions sent to yow by his lordship I am to render your lordship thankes for the same. And to end my letter with that which might be a grounde platt of a long letter, I do in Godes name and for the suerty of your good Kinge, require your lordship to advaunce the good intentions of the King testified by his majestie to the Erl of Worcester, for the suppression of the professed ennemyes of the Gospell, by name Jesuytes and seminaryes, and the civill adversaries to the common amitie, by name Spanishe conspirators; and these being throughly suppressed, that King shall prosper in the sight of Almightie God and shalbe beloved and honored of all honest men in the whole iland: and joyning in this manner of action with the Christian prynces that professe the gospell, he shalbe feared as a potent prynce of the adversaries. I meane papiste, who truly my lorde I knowe being straightly pursued are but cowardes lyke their father the pild [*sic*] preist at Rome. And in this action *facies hominis* will prove in your young lustie King *facies leonis*. And so I leave all the rest that I might write of this argument to the bearar Sir John Carmychell, one verie ready to serve with your lordship in this action, and one that honoreth and estemeth your lordship woorthy the place which yow hold."

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

1590–1. 515. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Jan. 7. Lansd. 66, fol. 21. "This strainger Jhone Pauli, bearer heirof, being recommendit to our derrest bedfellow, we have upon his earnest suit granted our letters of recommendation to our derrest suster the Queine yowr maistresse, quhilk we desyre to be sa effectuall to him as the fruit thairof may appear to thais quhais addresse he hes used."

"We will thairfor earnestlie requeist yow to use the said Jhone sa favorablie as the said Jhone my [*sic*: may] find this owr requeist to deserve sumquhat at yowr handis." Holyrood House. *Signed*: James R.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 9. 516. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Right excellent, right heich and mightie princesse, our derrest suster and cousine, we greit yow heartile weill. This bearer, Jhone Paulin,

James VI. 1590–1. recommendit to owr derrest bedfellow, and requyring her favorable letters to the furtherance of certaine his affaires, has inlykmaner obtained this present at owr handis, grunding upon owr requeist the issue of his longsum action and redresse of sic wrangis as he alledgeth to have receaved of sum of your subjectis: the tryall and cognition quhair of we knaw of him self hes not bene neglected by your Counsall, quha hes also geven out thair sentence definitive to his contentment, lacking onlie execution."

"We thairfor will earnestlie requeist yow that this strainger, using owr mediatiown as his last refuge, may receave sic favour and expeditioun of the execution of his said sentence as the cause requyreth and as the effects of our requeist may be knawin to thais quhais recommendatioun he hes used."

"This we desyr mair instantlie then uther wayes we wald do for any of our awin subjectis, quhilk we dowbt not ye will considder as sall seeme maist expedient." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed:* "In the behalfe of one John Pawle, a subjecte of the King of Denmark, to have the execution of a sentence given against Sir Walter Luson, for a somme of monny which he is adjudged to paye to the said John Paule."

Jan. 13. 517. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has conferred with the Chancellor sundry times concerning Burghley's letters of Dec. 22 to them both. The Chancellor thought the letter to himself too sharp to show to the King, but resolved to inform him thereof, "with wordes to please and stirre hym to good actions." He allowed well of the courses advised and reasons given. It has quickened both King and Chancellor to perform the things promised as to papists and seditious persons, and redress on the Borders, wherein, albeit the King and Council have in the last few days set down sundry acts—copies of which are enclosed—yet he [Bowes] fears "they shall fynd many knottes so hard fastened as there powers shall not redily lowse owt."

The King delayed his access till yesterday, that he and the Council might have done some things to her majesty's good liking.

Albeit the Chancellor seemed resolved to keep Burghley's letter to him from the King, yet he [Bowes] laid before him the matters contained in both letters. The King agreed to lay his hand harder on the papists and seditious; to remove to straiter ward the Master of Angus, Fentry, and others; and to imprison all other excommunicate and seditious persons, promising "so to hunt owt Mr. James Gordon and other Jesuits in this realme, as they shall have litle comforth to remayne heare." A copy of the act for Gordon's apprehension is enclosed.

Friends of some of these papists have sought him to be a mean for their relief, but he has exhorted the King to proceed roundly against them, and to chastise such as shall sue for them. Many think that they shall find friends about the King, and safely pass over the punishment threatened. They have sent messengers to their chief friends to provide for their relief.

The King and Council have given order that all inhabitants of the Middle and West Marches, and Liddesdale, filed in any bills for England

James VI. 1590–1. before the commissioners at Berwick or in the bill of Mindrum, shall be entered by their cautioners before the King and Council at Holyrood House on the 22nd instant, to be delivered to the Wardens of the March of England for the King's discharge : and that their cautioners also shall be there to see execution done according to their bonds, or show good excuse, upon pain of horning ; as by the copy of that act of Council enclosed. The King is pleased that justice shall be done herein ; and that for redress of the bill of Mindrum one offender in every clan shall be delivered to Mr. Ralph Gray. If these things be performed, the Borders may be preserved in quietness.

Upon his [Bowes'] request for reformation of the disorders of Liddesdale, the King has dealt with Bothwell far more roughly than he has been accustomed, letting him know that albeit he had promised largely, yet he had performed little, having ever found shifts to delay the accomplishment. The King charged him to be careful, and to fulfil his promises speedily, or he would withdraw his good countenance from him, and cause his pleasure to be executed by others, to the Earl's disgrace.

Bothwell has been with him, offering redress for things past, and justice for all future attempts in England by Liddesdale, provided he be answered with like measure agreeable to the laws of the Marches, and that Carmichael and Cesford, Wardens of the West and Middle Marches in Scotland, shall relieve him by delivery of such men under them as are filed in the bills with the offenders under him in Liddesdale, so as the redress to be made to England shall be equally given for the offenders in their wardenries and the offenders in Liddesdale. For performance hereof he demands either the bonds of Carmichael and Cesford or the assurances of the King and Council ; wherein the King has offered to engage his own honour and word, but therewith Bothwell seems not satisfied. He [Bowes] said that he must prosecute for delivery to England for Liddesdale, and that Bothwell should receive like justice from England. And touching the relief to be granted him by the King, Council, or Wardens in this realm he must leave it to their own resolutions. Bothwell replied that without that relief he could not proceed with the deliveries to England, urging him [Bowes] to procure that relief for him, or at least to testify his readiness and upon what points he stands. He said that Sir Thomas Gray and his tenants in his life-time had done outrageous attempts against such as were under him, therefore he would not give redress to Ralph Gray for Mindrum except he might receive satisfaction for those wrongs. He [Bowes] answered that the laws of the Marches should not be denied him in ordinary measure, whereunto he ought to commit himself and his cause now, when King and Council had declared their order therein, and direct his course to the accomplishment of their Act, Bowes having no warrant to travail further therein. Bothwell seemed satisfied, and with offers of devotion to her majesty he departed. Border matters are accompanied with many difficulties.

As to the appeasing of tumults in the north, has let the King know that her majesty wished him to give his countenance to the parties best deserving his favour, commending the Earl of Atholl, and recounting some of the disobedient actions of Huntly. He promised to execute her majesty's advice, expressed his good opinion of Atholl, and afterward witnessed the same to Atholl, and his [Bowes'] doings therein, so that

James VI. 1590–1. Atholl and his friends acknowledge themselves greatly beholden, and promise all good offices to her majesty. Has acquainted the King with what Burghley wrote of Dr. Bancroft in his letter to the Chancellor. The King took it in good part, but wished that those variances betwixt Dr. Bancroft and the ministers here might be debated without any touch to his honour.

The Chancellor well commends the contents of Burghley's said letter. He is persuaded that it is drawn as near her majesty's mind and pleasure as could be, and that Burghley "haith delyvered the best matter in good order and in better season," as is proved by the good fruits. He thinks Burghley shows his wisdom touching Dr. Bancroft, wherein the King and he are not fully satisfied, but content to pass it over in silence, thinking that the renewing of the matter shall bring greater contention than profit. He [Bowes] thinks the Chancellor showed that letter to the King; it has wrought wonders with the King and Council. Has informed the Chancellor why Burghley sent him her majesty's thanks in the paper severed from the letter; he gives hearty thanks, showing himself ready to serve her majesty, and to honour and love Burghley.

"Mr. Dacre contynueth still in this towne, attendynge her majesty's pleasure. The shippe wherein he had imbarked his apparell for Spayne is departed ten dayes past, first for Orkney and after for Spayne by the west seas. Sithence his commynge hither he haith gotten litle releyfe eyther owt of England—savynge from some of the tenantes of Dacres landes who sent some money—or yett in this realme"—saving the gold chain weighing above 35 ounces given him by the King. He is distressed with want, looking for relief from his poor tenants rather than any other in England.

In the last contention betwixt the laird of Cesford and the town of Jedburgh, William Carre—lately slain by young Cesford's means—took part with the town. He greatly hindered the designs of Cesford, taking part always with Farnyhurst against Cesford, for which causes young Cesford procured his slaughter at Edinburgh. This William Carre, about six weeks before his death, sent to him [Bowes] by Richard Douglas to quit himself for the slaughter of Lord Russell, and to seek his help at the hands of Lord Russell's friends; which was refused. After he was stricken by Cesford's servants, he [Bowes] gave order to the minister with him to know of him whether he shot Lord Russell or not, but his death was so hasty as the minister could not learn the truth. His friends confidently affirm "that he was fully cleane of that slawghter." The Chancellor will be thankful for any favour showed to young Cesford during his abode in England.

Encloses a copy of the Act for resumption of the King's property. The property is taken to be the honours, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments of all possessions annexed to the crown. By this Act many gifts of the King shall be revoked "and the parcells to be taken agayne into the King's handes." Sir William Keith is like to sustain loss by the revocation of the King's grant to him of part of the earldom of Ross.

Returns the note of councillors and officers of state sent in Burghley's last letter, with the addition of their names, titles, and dignities, according to Burghley's direction. On the King's return from Denmark it was

James VI. 1590–1.

agreed that the Secret Council should be altered, and the persons named in this note were accorded to be the only councillors and officers of state, but that accord proceeded no further, and they are not established as was intended, but the old Council remains, of whom he also encloses a list.

"Upon information geven by me to Colonell Stewart, that your lordship had receaved the answeres of the Estates to his demandes negotiated by Mr. John Skeyne, and what apparence of reason was fownd in the same, he shewed hym selfe very redy and willynge to conforme hym selfe to that which in the sight of your lordship and other wise men should be found reasonable, cheifly in this tyme wherein it is necessary for all Christyans to suspend contentions and knytt there forces together." He [Stewart] has written Burghley the enclosed letter, but will shortly resolve further with the King and write again, and send his solicitor to prosecute the same.

Sir Alexander Stewart will surely acknowledge that he told Bowes that he intended to serve the Duke of Parma, having obtained commendations to him, "and therwith of his owne accord offered to do her majestie service by any intelligence that he could gyve": he named the persons commending him, and the means for his furtherance, and offered his service before he [Bowes] dealt with him at all, and before his nephew, the young laird of Pury Ogilvie, wrote to him [Bowes] on his behalf. He [Bowes] recommended his offer to Burghley, and received direction to wish him to do some service before he came to England or might look for reward; which he [Bowes] imparted to him, telling him of her majesty's liberality to those found worthy. He seemed content, but liked not to pass by sea, but to come quietly through England. After his long abode, he brought his nephew's letters, signifying the cause of his delay, and showing himself ready to start. He [Bowes] gave him letters to Burghley, and wished him success, but without any promise of gifts from her majesty or any other before service rendered. Trusts he will readily confess the truth of this information.

The Chancellor has already, in the King's name, required a letter from Burghley to Sir John Selby to apprehend and send hither John Dickson, that killed his own father, and sojourneth still in "Horkley" near Norham. Burghley wrote that he would give the order desired, but as nothing had been done, the Chancellor prays him [Bowes] to remind him of the matter.

The Master of Glamis promised to return hither about the 8th instant, but is not come, "so as the matter betwixt the Chancellor and hym remayneth in great drynesse, and lykely to fall to further danger to them bothe and the good causes. The Erle Marshall sent for Glamys for some especiall causes particulerly specifyed in his letter." But this was before the agreement of Huntly and Marishal, effected by Lord Hume's mediation; therefore it is thought that Glamis was a chief instrument of that reconciliation, "owt of the which it is looked that some stormes shall aryse."

Means have been made to reconcile Morton and Maxwell by a marriage of their children, which Glamis sets forwards by all the means he can, and to draw Maxwell from the Chancellor, who has discovered the practice, so as they are now uncertain how to proceed.

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Sir John Carmichael is purposed to give up the wardenry of the West Marches, being unable to endure the charges thereof: the King is unwilling he should resign, but not so able as willing to relieve him therein. "He haith beyn laytly boasted by Bothwell, but he trusteth to putt over the same withowt great danger."

Bothwell tells him that he has bought the Isle of May, "the place whereto the capten of the Spanish barke nowe brought into England had appoynted to have made his *rende-vous* in the next sprynge." He doubtless hopes to meet there with some Spaniards and be partaker of their gold. His buildings by Kelso proceed, and he seems to intend to become a good neighbour, his house being so near to England.

"In the King's retourne the other day from the Tolbuthe, the yonge lard of Loggye—nowe in displeasure with the Duke of Lenox by his disobedyence shewed in the King's chamber—parted from the King and sodenly mett the Duke in the strete and followynge the King. The Duke drewe his sword and stroke Loggye. And so many swordes were drawen and suche concourse of people neare the King as Angus, Glencarne, and other noblemen then with the King did—partly agaynst his will—drawe hym into a shoppe for his surety, and untill the cause and state of the affray should be discovered. Loggy is lightly hurt on the head, but the Duke is commanded from the court for some tyme, and for his unseasonable attempt so neare the King's person."

Atholl, Murray, and the rest of the northern party against Huntly remain here by command, until certificate shall be made by the commissioners appointed to enquire of the attempts passed betwixt Huntly and them. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

8 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Act of the Scottish Council.]

Order to denounce Mr. James Gordon, uncle of the Earl of Huntly. 6 Jan. 1590-1.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed.* See *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 562.

Second enclosure with the same:

[Colonel William Stewart to Burghley.]

"I haif understand be my lord ambassadour heir resident, as the onlie anser of my last letters direct unto zour honour, that the Estaittis of the Low Countries United hes sent unto zour lordship ane copy of thair answer gevin unto Mr. Johne Skene tweching his negotiatioun with thame in my effairis: as also he hes declarit unto me zour lordship's gude will and favouris to be employit upoun my adverteisment for ony farder reasonable consideratioun to be had of my clames thair; for the quhilk I am at this present onlie to geve zour lordship maist humble thankis, intending—God willing—or it be lang to direct ane speciall servand of my awin, quha is weill acquent with the caus towardis the

James VI. 1590–1.

saidis Estaittis, to deall farder and tak ane finall resolutioun alsweill anent my dett as thair desyre to be servit with twa thowsand futemen moir nor thay haif, under my charge."

"At quhilk tyme I will with all humilitie craif sic furtherance as zour honour than may schaw me in the premissis, being resolvit that reasoun salbe refusit on thair pairt, or utherwayis I sall endevoir my selff in that actioun and caus quhairin I haif with trewth travellit in all respectis unto this hour." Edinburgh. 9 January 1590-1. *Signed:* William Stewart.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. 518. JAMES VI. TO ROBERT BOWES.

Lansd. 66, fol. 22.

"The pitiefull complaint maid to ws be Thomas Pairman of his miserable estait and conditioun, being presentlie exyled and fugitive frome his native cuntrey and not able to abyd our darrest suster the Quene your maistresse her lawis, for ane slaughter committed by him, houbeit not of his awin motion or of precogitat malice but ensewing of accident upon ane suddane conflict, hes moved ws to requeist yow verry earnestlie, having weill considdered the verrie trewth of that matter sa far as we cowld learne, to employ yowr haill credit, moyen, and freindis that by yowris and thair mediatioun the said Thomas may find mercie and grace at our said darrest susteris handis."

"And lyk as he hath alreaddie satisfied the pairtie offendit by the said slaughter, sa it wald please her extend hir gracious favour towardis him in receaving him her peceable subject." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Jan. 25. 519. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Difficulties have fallen out which stayed the execution of redress on the Borders agreeable to the Act of Council; whereupon the King and Council held a second deliberation for the satisfaction of Bothwell's demands and the progress of the cause, with public promises given to the King by Bothwell, Maxwell, Hume, Cesford, and Carmichael. The King and Council have resolved to proceed in the redresses to be made to England for the bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick for Mindrum, and attempts done since that time, as by the copy of the Act enclosed. The time appointed by the first Act is now prolonged to the 8th of February, when it is promised that these redresses shall proceed. Bowes has warned the English wardens to be ready to do the like justice to Scotland, for the preservation of the peace of the Borders.

The Master of Glamis promised to be here long since, and was desired by letters of the prior of Blantyre to hasten hither, but delays his coming. His friends are amazed at his doings, especially as they have heard that he lately offered to render his office of Lord Treasurer of Scotland into the hands of the laird of Spynie, "the King's especiall mynion, and one muche favoring the Erle of Huntlay." His reconciliation with the Chancellor is stayed by his absence, and there is now little hope of it.

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Sundry well-affected councillors are so discomfited as to be minded to retire and await events. Some of the servants of Glamis give out that he will be here in two or three days, and he [Bowes] purposes to push the matter of the reconciliation. If he fail—through Glamis's absence or other actions—it will be meet to unite the Chancellor and other well affected councillors without Glamis. "The Chancelour is ridden to the Lord Claud Hamilton's house at Paislay, mynding to retorne hither the 27th or 28th hereof. It is looked that Glames shalbe then here, or els that he will not come at all."

Sundry Papists here have consulted how to avoid the dangers likely to fall on them through the King's displeasure stirred up by her majesty. Some wish to seek general toleration, and to compass it by large sums of money "to be aventured amongst the fittest courtiours"; but others "have advised rather to imploy that charge to worke a change in court and governement"; and in the mean time to forbear any suit for such general oversight, "and also by chosen instrumentes to solicit particuler courtiers and Catholick noblemen to shrowde and defend those heades of the Papistes." Persons are chosen to carry out this last advice, and he [Bowes] has been moved in favour of the Master of Angus "by an honest gentleman that neither sawe the bothome of the practise, nor yet will hereafter deale further in the cause. They have suche lures to call the hungry courtiers to them," that he fears they may get their desires.

Angus Mackonell and Macklen have been arraigned upon divers crimes. Mackonell readily put himself in the King's mercy, but Macklen justified his actions by the King's commissions given to him: yet in the end he submitted himself to the King's clemency. It is not yet resolved whether their possessions shall be united again to the crown and kept in the King's hands for maintenance of his house, or they shall pay a yearly rent, or a gross sum into the King's coffers; a "grosse somme shall litle proffitt the King but be given to courtiers. Donnell Gormond remayning in this castle is not yet arraigned, but he is like to follow his fellowes."

Upon a law suit of the laird of Inderwick against Sir John Carmichael for the house and lands in Fenton, whereon Carmichael has built a fair house, he [Bowes] entreated the King to mediate betwixt them, telling him that the same done in favour of Carmichael would be well accepted by her majesty. Whereupon the King has dealt effectually for Carmichael, who acknowledges himself greatly beholden to her majesty, and desires that she would vouchsafe—by a letter from Burghley to him [Bowes] to be shown to the King—to thank him for his grace shown to Carmichael for her sake.

"The grefes amongst Huntlay against Murray, Atholl, and others in the northe continew, and are increased by the kuff that Murray gave openlie in the Tolebooth before the Counsaill to John Drummond, servant to Huntlay and in especiall creditt. Murray and Atholl remaine still here, sekeing to have leave to retorne, which hitherto they can not obtaine."

The King granted Maxwell his warrant to enter into such lands as he had before he went to Spain, to hold as he held them then; but Morton procured the revocation thereof so far as concerned himself, upon reasons laid before the King and Council.

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Bothwell has again prayed the Captain of Edinburgh Castle to have that office, offering so largely as the captain is much tempted, being also so wounded with the King's dealing against him in open court on behalf of the laird of Inderwick as he begins to tire of that office and of his good course so long continued, minding to retire and live privately at home. He [Bowes] has hitherto stayed him, and if the Chancellor and Glamis be reconciled "he shalbe comforted to kepe still his rowmes."

"The other daie one especiall witnes was brought by Cragmiller to prove the adultery betwixt the lard of Neddery and the wife of Cragmiller, who sought to be devorced thereby from her. But as this witnesse was standing at the barre before the lords of the sessions and readie to depose, Bothwell came and arrested him for fellony committ within his rule and offices, and pulling him violentlie with fowre men from the barre did bothe cary him awaie and also still deteyneth him. At the same tyme the King was in the next chamber in the Tolboothe, yet the complaint was not brought to him before that Bothwell was departed with his prisoner mencioned." Many offenders are countenanced by noblemen, with great contempt of the laws and justice. The King has been specially moved with the facts of the lairds of Cesford and Niddery, and David Edmonston of Burnehouse. Thinking to have found them all three at the single combat appointed betwixt Niddery and David Edmonston of Wowmett at Kelso on Wednesday the 20th instant, he called suddenly to him on Tuesday last after supper the Earl of Mar and Lord Hume, Spynie, and Sir George Hume, and rode with them that night to Bothwell's house at Kelso, trusting to find there Niddery and Edmonston, and young Cesford at the Friars, whereunto his wife was come to meet him. But Niddery and Edmonston, being warned, fled from Kelso; and Cesford could not be found at his house at the Friars.

The next day the King remained with Bothwell at his house at the abbey in Kelso, and calling Bothwell to him before the noblemen, recounted how he had advanced and loved him, pardoned his odious offences, "that he was his soveraigne, his graciouse lord, a Steward, and gave him the honour to accompt him nere of his bloode." Yet Bothwell had requited all with the greatest unthankfulness and indignities that could be, so that by him the King lost the hearts of many good subjects and was deeply endangered. He concluded that he would once again freely pardon all his faults, upon condition, that from henceforth he behave himself dutifully in his office of Liddesdale, doing good justice to England for the same; and also forbear to receive persons known to be guilty of blood or other crimes: wherein if the King find him negligent, he vowed to God that he will call to memory all his former faults, and punish him as far as the law allows. Bothwell submitted himself with show of great sorrow, promising to change his course to the King's contentment. Great inconveniences might have ensued had this combat proceeded, for it is said that Bothwell purposed to relieve Niddery upon sight of any danger of his defeat, and Hume of Pollard had promised to rescue Edmonston his brother-in-law in his distress, and had brought with him above 800 men.

The King is resolved to choose certain of his Council to provide for his house and estate and the managing of his affairs. "For this purpose

James VI. 1590–1. the Chancelour is sent for; but it is like that the King shall enter this day into this deliberacion before his comming; for the King is presentlie amynded to hasten the matter," and to choose well-affected councillors, who fearing to be hindered by those of the King's chamber seeking their own commodities, will be loth to undertake this burden without the King's firm promise to support them. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Letters from the north say that Huntly, Erroll, Montrose, and others have appointed to convene at Montrose on Wednesday next: Hume is to be there, and Glamis will send his commissioner. If this convention hold, surely matters of importance will be broached there. This meeting is intended to entertain familiarity betwixt Huntly and Marishal, and to solemnize their accords. These two receiving letters from divers courtiers, and finding therein "contrariouse dealinges" towards themselves, have interchanged these letters, "espieng suche dublenes in courtiers as moveth their spedie conference."

Has sent to Berwick Abraham Lawes and William Daniell. Had they been tried here by Bothwell they should easily have escaped.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Act of the Scottish Council.]

"Edinburgh 13 Jan. 1590."

"The which daie the King's majestie proponed how earnestlie he is urged to cause delivery and redresse to be made for the six bills of the Middle Marche of England filed by the commissioners against Liddisdale, and for the bill of attemptate at Myndram done in his highness' absence furthe of this realme: and therefore enquired of Francis Erle Bothwell, Lord Haillis, Chrithon, and Liddisdale, John Lord Maxwell, Alexander Lord Hume, and John Carmighell of that ilk, Warden of the West Marche, being all personally present, how his majestie might be releived of the redresse of the said bills according to justice and the treaties betwixt the realmes. Wherto their answers and reasons being hard and considered, at last every one of them made promis to his majestie as followis, that is to saie:"

"The said Erle Bothwell: that he shall garre his men filed in the said bills, viz., Sym Armestrang of Mangerton, Sym Armestrang yonger of Quhithaughe, Will Ellott of Harth Scarth, Arche Ellott, called 'Martyn's Arche,' Arche Ellott of the Hill, Niniane Armestrang of Twadane, Hectour Armestrang his brother, Andro Armestrang, Francis Armestrang and Hob Armestrang, sonnes to the lard of Quhithaugh, Alexander's Archy Armestrange, John Armestrang, called 'the lard's Jok,' Thome Ellot of Chopschaw, Will Ellot of Gorrounbery, Davy Ellot, called 'the carleing,' Syme's Tom Armestrang, Thome Armestrang, called 'Rowe's Tome,' Ade Ellott of the Schawis, Sym Armestrang, called 'Rakkas,' John Armestrang his brother, Anthony Ellott of the Benkis, brother sonne to Martynn, Archie Ellott of the Hill, John Ellott of the Hughe-house, John Ellott, called 'Bowholmes,' Archy Ellot brother to Will of Falneesh, Archy Croser, called 'Quintin's Archy,' John Croser brother sonne to Martyn, Martyn Croser of Blackstanelev [Bastonley], George

James VI. 1590–1. Nickson sonne to Will of Callaley, John Nickson of Larestaneburne, and Mark Turneball of Nether Bonechester, answere and redresse for the partes of all others their steilfellowes dwelland in Lyddisdale or other his landes."

"The said Lord Maxwell promised that he sall garre his men filed in the said bills, they are to saie, Jok Armestrange of Kynmouth, Hectour Armestrang of Hilhouse in Kirktoun in Evisdale, George Armestrange of Arkleton, John Batyson, called 'Jok of the store,' Will Armestrang, called 'Kynmouth,' young Tom Armestrang of the Gyngills and Ade Armestrang his brother, answere and make redresse for the partes of all others their steilfellowes dwelland upon the Lord Maxwell's landes."

"The said Alexander Lord Hume promised that he sall garr his men filed in the said bills, viz., Robert Ellot of Glenvoren, Archie Armestrang sonne of the lard of Quhithaugh, Nicoll Scott in Mospeble and Andrew Scott, called 'the braidis Andro,' answere and redresse for the partes of all others their steilfellowis dwelland upon his landes."

"As also the said Sir John Carmighell, Warden of the West Marche —if he continew in that effect—and failzeing quhairof the King's majestie him self sall gar all others the steilfellowis of the attemptates contened in the said bills dwelland upon the landes sometyme debatable releif the parsons that shalbe entred for their partes of the said bills within twentie daies after delivery be made."

"And for the greater suertie of the said relief, the said Lord Maxwell promised to enter and present Jok Armestrang sonne to Will of Kynmouth, young Tom Armestrang of the Gyngills, Adie Armestr[ang] his brother, Tom Armestrang, called 'Rowie's Tome,' to the said Erle Bothwell at Kelso upon the 4th day of the said month of February, to be kepit by him in his strength ay and quhill a perfect suertie be made unto him to releive the parsons that shalbe entred for the bills that they are filed in respective."

"And in like maner the said Alexander Lord Hume promised to enter and present Robert Ellott of Glenvoren, Archy Armestrang of Quhithaugh, Nicol Scott in Mospeble and Andro Scott, called 'the braidis Andro,' to the said Earle Bothwell at Kelso upon the said 4th day of February next to come to the effect foresaide, saulfand that it salbe lefull to the said Earle Bothwell to enter and deliver in England any ane of the said two Scottes fowle in the said bill of Myndrome as it sall happen ether of them to fall by lote to be entered therefore."

"And so soone as the steilfellowes salbe declared to his majestie, he sall burden the Wardens of the West and Middle Marches, and they to burden the landes lordes and their suerties, who throwe the said releif may be made in due time and the persons entred fred of all perill and danger which they may incarre in default thereof; and that the said steilfellowes sall not onely make releif for their partes of the said bills, but also of the expences of the persons that salbe delivered ay and quhill they be frede."

"In respect of the quhilk releif faithfully promised in manner foresaid, the said Francis Erle Bothwell likewise faithfully promised that he upon the 8th day of February next to come sall kepe meting with the Warden of the Middle Marche of England, and there sall make delivery of these persons following for the six bills filed against Liddisdale, viz., Sym

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Armestrang younger of Quhithaugh for the bill of Hadingbrigges, Arche Ellott, called 'Martin's Archie,' for the bill of Fetherstonhaugh and lard of Bittillsdeane, Andro Armestrang sonne to the lard of Quhithaughe for the bill of Prendik, Sym's Tom Armestrang for the bill of Jenkin Hunter, Hob Armestrange sonne to the lard of Quhithaughe for the bill of Christian Fynwick, and Hectour Armestrang of Twedane or Nynian Armestrang his brother for the bill of Thorneburne."

"And also the said Francis Erle Bothwell faithfully promised, that he be him or his depute upon the [——] day of February next to come sall deliver six persons fowle in the said bill of Myndram to the Warden of the East Marche of England or his depute, that is to say, ane Armestrang, ane Ellott, ane Croser, ane Nixson, ane Scott, and ane Turneball, under the paine never to looke his majestie in the face againe if this be not done."

"In consideration of quhilk faithfull promis made for his majestie's releit, his highness promised to cause the said Erle Bothwell's men that sall happen to be entred for the said bills be releived be his highness's Wardens and their lands-lordes and cautioners, swa that in default of the saide releif they sall not be in danger of their lives: and that his majestie's self salbe debtour for the partes of all outlawes besides Liddisdale in the said releif: and that his majestie sall deale with the Inglish ambassadour in sic as the principall factours of Englishmen filed in the six bills of Lyddisdale salbe delivered to the said Erle Bothwell, as he delivers principall offenders Scotishmen; otherwaies if any offers salbe delivered to him that he salbe na further urged but to deliver offers againe; and that mutuall redresse salbe given and taken and procede indelately till all the bills filed by commissioners be delivered for, and metinges keped to that effect at least every monthe anes."

"And sic like that the said Erle Bothwell sall have duetifull answer and redresse according to the treaties and law of Marches for his bill of Sprouston when it sall please him to pursue therefore."

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

Feb. 3. 520. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The convention of Huntly, Marishal, and others appointed to have been at Montrose on Wednesday last was put over for a few days. Huntly and Marishal were to meet there, and thence to come hither with Erroll and Caithness and their friends. Huntly's friends at home urged him to show himself in court, "whiles Murray, Atholl, and his other adversaries were here dressing their busines for their most proffittes"; but his friends in court advised him to return and tarry at home, promising to advance his affairs better than he could. The King's goodwill towards him continues, but he likes not of his repair hither in this forcible sort. Huntly sent hither to excuse his fault that he did not give bond for his good behaviour within the time limited, promising to do it, and seeking thereby occasion for his repair hither. Murray and Atholl hearing of his coming sent to call their friends, and Murray rode to Bothwell at Kelso, whereat the King is much offended. Bothwell and other Stewarts have warned their friends to attend here, but the King has given order to restrain them, and sent to Bothwell to remain at home. He likewise

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sent John Drummond—Huntly's servant, in great credit—to Huntly, to will him to retire to his house: it is uncertain what he will do. Murray and Atholl, seeking this day to have spoken with the King, could not have access, wherewith they are deeply wounded.

Lord John Hamilton, under pretence of assisting his kinsman the laird of Enderwick at his day of law against Sir James Hume, captain of this castle, has warned his friends in great numbers to come hither with him; and Lord Hume, supporting Sir James, has put his friends in readiness: but the King has sent Captain Hamilton to Lord Hamilton to stay him, and has charged Lord Hume to depart out of this town to his own house, "and not to retorne with any extraordinary company." Hume has departed, but remains near this town.

"The Erle of Morton and Maxwell have their freindes under warning to come to them at the day of lawe in the matter in variance betwixt them, which now approcheth nere. But their bringing of forces is discharged and restrayned." Under these pretences many noblemen were ready to resort hither with extraordinary forces, and many already fill the streets and some attempts are feared. "Thereon the rest of the assemblies shall shortlie breake, without great effectes to be done at this tyme." Their plot is shaken by the restraint of assemblies, and they will appoint a new convention within this month.

The Master of Glamis is come, but he [Bowes] has not spoken with him, as—until he acquit himself—he can neither accuse nor excuse him. Sees no hope of his reconciliation with the Chancellor.

Francis Dacre has earnestly pressed to know her majesty's pleasure towards him and his petitions: he has not enough to pay his table and lodging, and seeks relief till he may know her mind, protesting that he can neither tarry here nor return to England till he hear her resolution. He might pass to Spain by a ship now bound thither, but is loth to take that course.

"Some of the worst sort of witches—discovered here—are eschaped and fled into England." The King desires that they may be apprehended and delivered to him, and would send David Seaton of Treanent, gentleman, —who knows them—to search them out. Has agreed to give Seaton letters to Sir Henry Woddrington, Sir John Forster, and Sir John Selby to assist him, and to arrest and keep in safety such as he shall find, that they may be delivered into Scotland or otherwise as shall best please her majesty and her Council.

The King has been informed that sundry persons—especially some of London—have been examined before Alderman Martin for false coining of money current in Scotland, and that the depositions taken are delivered to Burghley, which he thinks "wold discover a great nest of noughtie persons in this realme," and therefore desires that these depositions may be sent to him.

He [Bowes] understood that Bothwell was bitten on his arm near the elbow by his horse, and feared this should hinder the redresses on the Borders promised by him at days now at hand, so sought to prevent that danger; but it is answered that this accident shall be no hindrance to those redresses, "and that Bothwell hathe promised not to see the King's face untill he shall administer justice therein."

James VI. 1590–1. "Maxwell after his late retorne home did apprehend, condempne, and hang two Johnstons, whereupon the warres are like to begin againe betwixt him and Johnston"; but present tempests may be blown over as greater have been.

The King cannot maintain his pastime of hunting next summer without some "fallow dere masles" out of England, and desires Bowes to entreat Burghley to commend his request to her majesty in this behalf. For Burghley's information how to obtain and send them he will send an Englishman—being a woodman and serving him with the charge of his hounds—to attend Burghley; and he [Bowes] has directed his servant Christopher Sheperson to wait upon him also for the expedition thereof, as the time is short. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 6. 521. ROBERT BOWES TO [SIR JOHN FORSTER].

This morning before five o'clock I received your letter of the 4th instant, with the copies of your letters to Earl Bothwell and his answers. I resorted immediately to the King and told him thereof, with the contents of your letters to myself, moving him to take order with his Council that Bothwell might be speedily certified "that it was ther pleasure that this metting appointed to be betwixt the Earle and you att Stawford on Monday next the 8th hearof, for the administracioun of justice," shall be put over to some fit day at the same place this month.

The King is pleased that this meeting be deferred agreeable to your desire, and will advise with his Council this afternoon for appointing a new day, the place, and fit number to meet, and will give advertisement to Bothwell by Sir William Stewart or Mr. David Collesse. So soon as the King or Council shall acquaint me with their resolutions, I will give you timely knowledge thereof. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Feb. 13. 522. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By his last letters he informed Burghley as to the Borders. Her majesty's officers of the Marches, having lately met with Bothwell for the execution of the bills for Liddesdale and Mindrum, have doubtless already made their report. Sir John Forster had no liking to meet Bothwell with such numbers as he had prepared to bring with him to Stawford on the 8th instant, and by his desire he [Bowes] obtained the King's consent to adjourn the meeting, and to prescribe a convenient number for the next assembly. The King sent David Collesse to acquaint Bothwell with his pleasure, and to persuade him to hasten the redresses promised; whereupon such effects were done by Bothwell at his meeting with Sir John Selby and Nicholas Forster as have already been advertised. The King has shown such care to preserve quietness on the Borders that he [Bowes] desires Burghley to send him special thanks "to stirre him to continew in that course."

Bothwell acquainted him with his doings at the last meeting, and his progress in the administration of justice for Liddesdale, offering to make all offenders within his office always answerable according to the laws of

James VI. 1590–1. the Marches, "and also to charge his owne person and possessions for the accomplishment thereof" Since the King is resolved to run his course with her majesty, he would also with his whole power advance the same, "and in manner to become an Inglishman"; protesting solemnly to Sir John Carmichael and Bowes that since he offered her his devotion during the King's absence in Denmark "he had not used any intelligence with any forren prince or person whatsoever, nether consented to any thing offensive to her majestie; promising now the performance of all good offices." He has renewed his request for restitution of his barque, ordenance, and tackling, carried into England from this Firth by Cowpland, an English pirate; and prays Burghley's help therein.

Huntly had timely warning of the King's restraint of the intended assembly of noblemen, so "stirred not out of his house." Erroll and others were on their way, but retired. The Chancellor and officers of the King's house believed this assembly to be for greater causes than was pretended, but know nothing certainly. Bowes was informed that a generall petition—grounded upon the inconveniences to the state and nobility by the grant of the King's commission to persons of no noble houses to govern in matters of state—should have been exhibited to the King by noblemen at that assembly in the names of the rest; seeking to remove the Chancellor and others. And although their purpose was stayed by the stay of this assembly, it is said they will come together here at the end of this week, on the departure of the Chancellor to his house in Lauderdale, and then draw out the plot devised; and that many noblemen have already resorted thither, contrary to the King's charge, and Huntly and others of like stamp are expected shortly. Whereupon the Chancellor and other councillors, for avoiding of all danger, purpose to acquaint the King with all these circumstances.

Has laboured to reconcile the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, and that whole fellowship which has fallen asunder by their discord. The greatest difficulty "standeth onelie in the manner of their course to be taken, and in the chose of noblemen to be intertained and added to this fellowship." For the most peaceable sort of government these councillors should join with the King's favourites in his chamber; "butt the Chancelour and some others do not fullie allow as yett that the noblemen shalbe added, as the Master of Glames hathe bothe advised and also indented that without the associacion and support of some well affected noblemen he will not beare any part of the burden in this course and service, but rather retire him self and live privatelie at home. Next, in the choise of the noblemen to be called they do most disagree." The Chancellor would draw in Claud Hamilton and Maxwell; Glamis would rather have Morton and Erroll, whom the Chancellor suspects, while Glamis fears mischief from the other two. He [Bowes] has persuaded them "to committ the loosing of this hard knott to the consideracion and handlinges of the rest."

"It is muche merveiled that Crawford and the Master of Glames should be thus sodenly agreed. And it sticketh fast in the stomackes of these counsellours, that Glames without their privitie should make offer and covenaunt to assigne his office of the Lord Threasurer of Scotland to the laird of Spina." Glamis assures him that it is still in

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his hands; that he did not offer it, but it was sought by others; and that he is not entangled by promise or privity with any new association. But the other councillors are not satisfied.

The King continues his favour towards Huntly, and seeks to compound his feuds with Athol, Murray, and their friends. It is said he has given commission to Huntly to apprehend all under Athol, Murray, and their friends who are at horn, but that Huntly will not hastily execute this and so hinder the agreements sought by the King. Also that the King has by private letter given Huntly leave to come hither, "but he will not hasten so to do before that Atholl, Murray, Grant, and Mackentoish shalbe departed from this towne." They have leave to depart and will return within a day or two. The Duke of Lennox is ridden to meet Huntly at Montrose to set forward the reconciliation. Some look that Huntly will come hither with him, but others think this enterprise is so shaken as it will stay his coming, "or at least suspend the attempt of the matter."

"The Chancelour hathe made him self so sure of the King and chamber as in great securitie he is departed this day towardes his owne house in Lawtherdell to the mariage of his nece in his house, purposing to retorne hither the 17th hereof. The Chancelour, distrusting partlie Huntlay, is contented to enter into frendship with Atholl, Murray, and the Stewarts; wherein the advise and consent of Bothwell was sought by Atholl, and Bothwell well imbraceth the motion. Huntlay for his good behaviour hathe given in caution the lardes of Aughendowne and Bagwhen. And Atholl and Murray have given the bondes of the lardes of Grantullie and Tarbott."

Albeit it is given out that James Gordon is in Flanders, he is in Scotland under Huntly, saying mass daily. Fentry has newly gotten the King's warrant for his liberty, and is to repair to Balwearie, and be ready to enter when called for. So the punishment threatened to the Papists is like to be easily passed over.

The laird of Buccleugh is returning to England to seek remedy of the gout. He may be a good neighbour to the Borders, wherein the Chancellor will urge him to good offices, and prays Burghley's favour to the laird for his sake.

Prays Burghley to remember to give order for Francis Dacre; for warrant to Sir John Selby to send hither the Scottish witch taken in England and committed to prison in Berwick, for whom the King earnestly calleth; and for the delivery of John Dixson, Scottishman, that killed his father and remains in the East Wardenry. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4¼ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 13. 523. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 10th instant he received Burghley's letter of December 31, at the hands of Alley. The said Alley came from Berwick on the 4th instant, but did not make him [Bowes] privy to his coming till the 10th, but entered into matters with George Carr and others, to whom he was addressed with letters out of Flanders, "as myn intellygencer, of his owne stampe, hath informed me." Whereupon, being ignorant of his

James VI. 1590–1. errand, he [Bowes] provided for his arrest in case he left without stating it. Being sent for, he came, and delivered Burghley's letter, opening no part of his affairs, alleging that secrecy promised best success and stood most with Burghley's mind, promising to return when he had obtained his desire, or at least a full answer, and impart the matter and obtain advice from him [Bowes]: who let him depart, and has not heard from him since. Hears that by George Carr's means he obtained "the King's warrant, with the privitie of the Chauncelour, to lycence and protecte Henry Dathicke, Inglyshman, with his two or thre servantes, to come into and remayne in this realme for recoverye of his helth; as also his desieres in other thinges." Wherein he [Bowes] makes no curious search, lest he hurt his cause; if he please Burghley he will be atisfied. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Feb. 15. 524. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Richt excellent, richt heich and mychtie princesse, oure dearest suster and cousine, in oure heartyest maner we recommend ws unto zow, thanking zow richt heartyle for the gude furtherance quhilk oure distressed subject Archibald Johnnstoun, burges of oure burgh of Edinburgh, hes be zoure speciall favoure and directioun found be the ordoure of zoure Counsale, in the prosecutiown of the heavye spoyle of certane guidis pertenyng to him and his pertiners, committed twa zeir syne be Roger Windhame, now inwardit upoun thair sentence in the Marschall seas."

"In quhilk ordoure, albeit they have uttered their honorable and worthye zeale to justice, and in the executioun thairof a cair to se oure subject helped, zit nottheles we ar informed that the said Windhame, cairless of his imprisoment, hes resolved to remane continit thairin rather or the said sentence sould be effectuat upoun his guidis; thairby baith to elude the intentioun of thair said decrete, and frustrat the compliner of that satisfactioun quhilk justice hes adjugit unto him."

"Quhairupoun we have accordit to requeist zow zit anew, as we do rycht effectuuslie, that be zoure favoure, and directioun of zoure Counsale, the said Windhame may be compellit to refound to oure said compliner the sowme quhairin he is adjugit, of the readiest of his movables, according to thair first decre and reasoun; that thairby oure said subject may reap the benefite and confort of thair sentence quhilk equite allowis unto him, unfrustrat ony mair be his parties fruictles and ineffectuall imprisoment, quhilk can be to him na satisfactioun nor relief." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

½ *large p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 15. 525. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"The furtherance and favoure quhilk, be this berars gude report, he hes found with zow, in his expensive proces deducit be him agains Roger Windhame befoir oure dearest susters Counsale, movis ws with oure hartyest thankis for this guidwill effectuat to him at oure requeist, to

James VI. 1590–1. recommend unto zoure favoure the executioun of the sentence gevin according to zoure first decre and sentence, that thairby he may reape that satisfactioun quhilk justice and gude raisoun allowis him be zour decrete. Seing the end of all sic sentences gevin in favoure of ony partye respectis alwayes the reparatioun of the partye grevit, without the quhilk it can import na benefite to him, cheiflie in this particular, quhairas baith the decretis adjugeing the said Windhame in a pecuniall sowme to the compliner, for satisfactioun of his heavy losse incurrit be his meane, gude raisoun cravis that they have executioun in sic forme and maner as best may mak the same effectuat, to the contentment of the partye in quhais favoure they ar gevin; quhilk can be by na bettir meanis nor by comprising of his guidis, according to the tennoure of the first decrete; seing that his restraint, he being obstinat, can be na payment to the party, and consequentlie mon frustrat the intentioun of zour sentence in caiss he be na further preissit."

"Quhairunto we requeist zow very hartelye to interpone zoure meane, and to perfyte the ordoure begun be zow for oure said subjectis help be executioun of the said sentence upoun his parties landis and guidis, as ze will do ws rycht acceptable pleasyur and report thairfore oure hearty thankis." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your assuered guid freind and cusing James R."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 23. 526. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The first quarrels between Huntly and Murray arose for the fishings in the Spey, claimed by Murray and occupied by Huntly, as parcel of the bishopric of Murray, to which Huntly pretended title. The griefs between Huntly and Grant sprang from the slaughter of one of the Grants by Huntly's servant. "Thereon Huntlay procured commission to apprehend one Grant for slaughter of one towardes Huntlay, who, comming to the lard of Grantis house to take his kinsman, was so encountred by the lardes of Grant, Cadder, Mackentoish, and the freindes and tenauntes of Atholl and Murray, as Huntlay was driven to retire with disgrace." Huntly in revenge came to Tarnaway, Murray's house in Murray, to arrest Grant for that slaughter and surprise Murray, Grant, and Mackintosh being all in that house. But the brother of the laird of Cluny—being a Gordon specially beloved by Huntly—was there slain. Huntly's commission was revoked, and he returned home with this loss and dishonour.

The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland, the lords of Elphinstone, Drummond, and Inchafray, the barons and lairds of Auchendown, Cluny, Gethe, Buchan, Patlurde, Innermurchy, Findlater, and other barons, are ready to assist Huntly. Athol and Murray are especially "partied" by the lairds of Grant, Caddell, Mackintosh, and others, strong enough to encounter Huntly in his own bounds without the aid of the King. Bothwell and the rest of the Stewarts are also ready against Huntly; but the Duke of Lennox remains neutral, Huntly having married his sister, and Athol and Murray being of his name and blood. He is employed by the King to pacify these feuds; wherein he has greater desire than power. Huntly's disposition is known to Burghley; Athol

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and Murray are well affected in religion and the amity between the realms.

The laird of Niddery, in a fray in Edinburgh, killed the brother of David Edmonston of Womet, and by the mediation of friends the matter was compounded. "Neddry riding latelie by the barne doore of Edmonston, espied him in the barne, and divers tymes crossed and rode to and fro. Whereby Edmonston conceived that he purposed ether to assault him or els to offer some wronge and shame to him; and thereon sent his servantes for horses and weapons. In the meane tyme Neddry rode to Rosling nere adjoyning and sent home his servantes, who retorning by the barne, Edmonston and his men pursued them; but finding Neddry absent he lett them depart without hurte." Hereupon Niddery charged Edmonston with breach of the agreement, and a combat was appointed at Kelso. Bothwell countenanced Niddery, and Hume of Pollard—that married Edmonston's sister—took part with his brother-in-law, bringing many Humes and gentlemen to the field.

Encloses a note of the matters proved against the witches, whereof some are already condemned and executed. "These witches have confessed many other thinges in their abuse of Godes name and yealding them selves to evill spirittes. And many thinges are told to please the examiners—chefelie the King—to wynn grace, and that are farre more strange then trewe, as my self and others touched with a shamelesse and drunken woman can witnesse and prove: wherein my name and place sufficeth to give them matter to rattle at as they list and were—I thinck—suborned. And yet in the discription of my person they have so farre erred as the King and the examiners sufficientlie condempned the tale, notwithstanding that this rogish woman perswaided that the Inglish ambassadour, being a litle black and fatt man with black haire, and soone after the King's departure into Denmark—as I am informed—had bene with them in a celler and given them gold to hange up and charme a tode for the hurte of the King in his life, and to hinder the issue to come of his bodie." Many things they told which they recanted at their execution. John Fianne, executed in Edinburgh, at his death denied all he had acknowledged, saying he told those tales by fear of torture and to save his life. The King will have their examinations printed soon after they are ended.[1] At his request he [Bowes] has written to the officers of the Borders to apprehend such witches as have escaped to England; and asks Burghley to send warrant to Sir John Selby and other officers that they may be delivered for the King to the deputy warden of the East Marches of Scotland.

Angus M'Connell and Maclane were arraigned for burning houses, murders, and other outrages, being treason in this realm. Maclane claims the farm of the King's possessions in the Isle of Islay in the Hebrides, where M'Connell has a good inheritance and occupies those possessions by force. Maclane long ago entered the isle with his forces, and slew all the men, women, children, and cattle he could bring together, and long wars ensued. At length they were reconciled, and Maclane married M'Connell's sister. Afterwards M'Connell feasted his brother and all his friends in a barn, but in the night assembled the country and killed 80 of Maclane's kinsmen, saving him alive for his wife's sake: "yet

1 "Newes from Scotland," reprinted in *Criminal Trials*, ed. Pitcairn, i. Pt. ii. 213-233.

James VI. 1590–1. he kept him prisoner, bynding him with an iron cheyne to the arme of an other man." Maclane escaped, and the wars were renewed. Donnell Gorman and M'Leod of Lewis party M'Connell, whom Argyle has also assisted. And M'Leod of Harris joins with Maclane, who is valiant and wise.

M'Connell's possessions lie in Kintyre, Islay, and the adjacent islands. He has other possessions in Ireland. Maclane possesses the isles of Mull, Terry, and little islands there. Their lands are forfeit to the King, but he will not take them, but rather take of each of them a fine of 10,000 marks Scots and as much in yearly rent. But M'Connell's possessions being of greater value, he is to pay more. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Confession of Agnes Samsone.]

"Certane notes of Agnes Samsone her confession, 27 Januarii 1590; quhairupon sche was convict be ane assise and brint in Edinburgh 28 day for ane witch."

"Imprimis the said Agnes confessit that efter the death of her housband the devill apperit unto her in the nicht quhill sche was solist and pensive for the sustentation of her and her bairnis, bidding her be of gude cheir and leive of that cair for her children, promising that gif sche wald serve him sche nor they sould lack nothing. And being movit with her povertie and his fair promisis of riches and revenge of her ennemies, tuik him for her maister and renunceit Christ. Efter the quhilk he gave her ane sore scart upon the right thigh, ane large span above the lid of her kne, quhilk continewit sore half ane zeir; and appontit their nixt meiting half zeir efter in ane churchezard."

"Item, that the devill appeirit unto her somtyme like ane blakman, somtyme like ane dog, and somtyme like ane turse or ruk of hay, at quhe sche socht her whole responses."

"Item, that kept convention nixt at Barro kirkzard with other tua; quhair efter common talk with all, he callit her apart and axit yf sche felt anie sore sence ther last meiting; and quhen sche confessit sche had, he answerit it was his mark and sche sould feil it no more sore; quhilk sche fand ever true: and efter her apprehending, being brodit with prenis, felt no pricking at all."

"The thrid meiting was ben of Garvet kirk at the wattersyde, five in November."

"The fourt betuene Cousland and Carbarrie thre [*sic*] in November, quhen he commandit to be gude servands to him."

"The fift convention was at Foulesutherw Mure, nyne in November, quhair thei raisit the devill with ane rope quhilk sche bade them haill. They axit, 'Quhat sall we hail'? Sche answerit, 'The devill zour maister'; and thei drew him up and consultit for wracking of David Setoun and his gudes, efter the quhilk hes followit great deads of his beasts."

"The devill gave them glistering things as thei had bene peces of stampit glass, quhilk he commandit them to saw in the mure, and quhatsoever came first over sould perish. And the hynds daughter hes bene vexit with strange and terribill apparitions, as namlie of ane man callit

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Jhone and ane woman callit Bessie quhom sche saw and herd bot none els. Thei scratch and nip her, and pullis her with violence from the hands of them that holds her. And in the beginning of Februar instant tuke of the zarne of her spindle quhairwith sche span, and tyed it about her neck to wirrie her had it not bein takin fra her neck."

"Item, sche confessit that the devill appeirit to her in mannis likenes, and warnit her to come to ane convention at North Bervick the last Michaelmes, and sche raid thither and her sone in law before hir; quhair was convenit manie persons of quhom sche knew bot a few. The men were dint nyne tymes weder schinnis about, and the wemen fyve tymes, quhair the devill apperit and spak manie thingis unto thame, and thei maid homage to him and kissit his ers. They opinit tua graves within the kirk and ane without, and [tuik of] their fingers, toes, and noses, and pairtit the joints among thame, quhilk the [*sic*] kept upon them until thei were dryit, and then maid powder of thame to doe evill withall."

"Item, sche confessit that sche had bene out of Scotland be sea tuise, and in her veyage slaid away suiftlie, and remanit somtyme 48 houris somtymes langer, and was in ships upon uncouth costes; and had bene oftener on the sea, namlie upon Hallow Even was ane zeir ane and tuentie sailit in ane bote and came to ane ship quhairin the [*sic*] drank gude ail and wyne: ther maister the devill went before them on the sea and gydit them, and drownit the schip quhairin their were, quhairof the [*sic*] recevit som part of the spoill; and the said Agnes gaif of her part 20*s.* to her servant Jhone Gordoun *alias* Graymeill, quha alwayis awatit upon her."

"Item, sche confessit that upon ane complent of ane woman of the frowardnes of her father-in-law and her earnest desyre to be quite of him, sche maid ane picture of wax and raisit ane spirit at ane wattersyde beside ane breire bush, desyrit him to inchant it to serve for his destructioun, and send it to the said woman to be put under his bed feit or bed heid. The like sche did against ane Archie quhom ane other feirit and wald be quite of."

"Item, that sche did put inchantit powder or muilds maid of the dryit joints of deid bodeis in ane clout under som wemens bed feit to releive them of the dolour of their birth."

"Item, sche confessit that sche knew quhen anie was bewitchit be the smel of their linning clothis or the sueit therein, and be luiking on them. And gif sche never saw them sche wald knaw it be her words, quhilk sche callit her prayer quhen sche said it to that end. And likewise that sche understude be her said prayer gif the patient wald die or leive: for gif sche stoppit in rehersing of it the patient wald die, sche wald never come to visit such persons; bot if sche did not stop in her prayer, nothing wald aill the patient. The words and verses quhilk sche had to this use were these, quhilkis sche practisit upon hundreths:"

"I trow til Almichtie God that wroght
Both heaven and earth and all of nocht:
Into his dere sone Christ Jesu
Into that aullholie Lord I trow,
Was gottin of the Holie Ghost
Borne of the Virgin Marie:
Steppit to heaven that all went then

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And sitis at his Father's richt hand.
He bade ws come and there to dome
Baith quick and deid as he thocht quhome.
I trow als the Halie Ghaist,
In halie kirk my hope is maist;
That halie ship quhair hallowaris wynnis
To ask forgevenes of my sinnis;
And syne to ryse in flesh and bane
The lyf that never mair is gane.
Thow sayis, Lord, lovit mot ze be
That formed and maid mankind of me:
Thow coft me on the halie croce,
And lent me bodie, saule, and voice,
And ordenit me to hevins bliss:
Quhairfore I thank ye, Lord, of this,
And all zour hallowers lovit be,
To pray to thame to pray for me,
And keip me from the fellon fea
And from the sin that saule would slay:
Thow, Lord, for thy bitter passioun
To keip me from sin, warldlie scham, and endless damnatioun:
Grant me thy joy never wilbe gane
Sweit Jesus Christus, Amen."

"Sche usit likewise other verses, quhilk sche repetit in releving of wemen of the pains of their birth: and men and wemen, young and old, of sondrie diseasis cassin on be witchcraft, quhilkis were these:"

"All kynd of evils that ever may be,
In Christis name I conjure the;
I conjure the both more and less,
With all the virtues of the mess;
And richt swa be the nailes sa
That nailit dere Jesus and na ma
And richtsa be the samyn blude
That raikit over the ruithful rude.
Furth of the flesh and of the vane
I conjure the in Godis name."

"Item, sche confessit that sche charmit innumerabill beastis of ther diseasis. Her accustomit maner was to gang betuene everie couple of thame and graip ther backs and wombes, and say *Ave Maria* over them as thei stude in their stales."

"Item, sche confessit that sche inchantit ane ring quhilk had ane stane in it, quhairwith ane gentilwoman sould procure hir maistres favouris."

"Item, sche confessit that sche raisit the devill be her evocations to ask yf a gentilwoman sould leive or die. He apperit to her in liknes of ane blak dog before supper, sche being alone; bot efter supper, having the gentil woman's thre daughters with her, of quhome ane wald have drownit her self in the well out of the quhilk the dog came and quhether he went, and was hardlie stayit throcht the violent pulling and halding of her sisters and the said Agnes Samsone. The said gentilwoman was mad ane quarter of ane zeir therefter."

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"These are the cheif and generall poyntis of her confession, quhairunto the rest being particular practises may be almost referrit. For of the 102 articles of her dittey sche confessit 58. Sche deit maist penitentlie for her sinnis, and abusing of the simple people renuncet the devil, quhom sche oftentymes callit 'Fals decever of God's pepill': and had hir only refuge to God's mercie in Christ Jesus, in quhom alane sche was assurit to be saif, as that theif quha hang at his right hand."

"Besids this Agnes Samsone there are brint in Hadintoun Gilbert Mackgill and Jhone his sone, Catharin Gray na les skillit then this Samsone, Jhon Gordoun *alias* Graymeill, Erish Marioun, Meg Dun, and other twa, quhose particular pointis were long to describe, ane in Dalkeith, ane in Dumfreish, quha for the most part confirmit sondrie of the saidis conventionis quhairat Agnes Samsone was, and manie other points of her dittey; quhairin they them selfis hath bene partiners."

"One Jhone Feane *alias* Cunynghame confessit him self partiner with Agnes Samson and others in sondrie of these conventions by sea and land, and that he wrote ane letter at one convention and send it to Leith for raising ane storme there, as their convention in the Pannis sould doe the like, to stay the Quene of Scotland to come in Scotland. Quhilkis all he denyit obstinatlie unto the death."

"There are moe then fourtie apprehendit and under triall and examinatioun instantlie, quhairof we remit the severall pointis unto the ischue."

4 *pp.* *Copy.*

Feb. 23 527. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Burghley's letter of the 10th instant reached him on the 15th, whilst the King was at the Chancellor's house at Lauder, at the marriage of his sister's daughter to the young laird of Lugton. The King and Chancellor returned the next day, but owing to the King's great affairs and the Chancellor's "sicklie disposition" he [Bowes] could not get access till Saturday the 20th. Entreated the King to show favour to Sir John Carmichael in the matter between him and the laird of Inderwick, telling him that her majesty sent him hearty thanks for his goodwill already shown in this behalf, praying its continuance. The King has already brought the parties to some agreement, "and is readie to induce the other copertners and sisters of Enderwick's wife's—claming these landes in the handes of Sir John—to come to like order." For which Sir John renders thanks to her majesty.

He acquainted Francis Dacre with her majesty's answer to his requests, and with Burghley's doings in his favour, and what it behoves him to do to obtain her goodness upon his humble submission. He was at first willing to acknowledge his faults for his entry into and abode in Scotland without licence, and attempt to pass to Spain, resolving to set down the same in writing to be presented to her majesty, and praying him [Bowes] to give him in writing the sum of Burghley's letter in this behalf, that he might thereby frame his confession and petitions; and he [Bowes] did so. Dacre framed a draft, but thinking it too rough to send to her majesty forbears for this time to send his submission in writing, offering to make it upon his knees or to deliver it in writing as it shall please

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her to direct. He says his debts grew by his law-suits, being driven at one time to answer 140 actions; that his creditors and kinsmen being sureties for him sought to arrest him for sums he could not pay, whereby, and by the delay of justice in his suits, he was forced to fly, and dare not return to England without her majesty's pardon, and also her goodness to enable him to content his creditors and sureties.

"William Cowburne, burgesse of Edenbrough, bothe brought hither from Lynn two Scotishmen charged to have counterfeited the coynes of this realme, and also delivered the deputie Thresurour some depositions taken in England and concerning the discoverie of that offence: but the King being still informed that Sir Richard Martyn, late maior of London, tooke other and further depositions touching those causes, which depositions remayne ether with your lordship or in the handes of Sir Richard, therefore he prayeth your lordship to cause searche to be made for them, and in case they shalbe founde, that they may be sent to him."

As to fallow deer to be had in England, the King will send Cuthbert Rayne, an Englishman, to Burghley about it: he is ready to start.

The assembly in Edinburgh—whereof Bowes wrote—was speedily scattered after the King declared "his constancie to resist the attempt of any innovacion, and to punish whosoever should be knowne to interprise the same." To compass this the Chancellor and chamber were newly reconciled, binding up their freindship by the surest knots they could; and thereon they opened to the King the danger of those numbers and forces, without discovery of the plot intended, which is not yet disclosed, though smelled by the Chancellor and others. "It was thought mete that the King should withdrawe his eare from suche populer motions." Early in the morning he passed to the Chancellor's house at Lauder, and tarried only one night. There he openly renewed his former graces to the Chancellor, and "hereupon it is thought that the late flame likelie to have heated the Chancelour shall not hastelie be kindled, but rather raked up in the ashes for a tyme, notwithstanding that some new grudges lately conceived against him by some noblemen offended with his course in their causes and sutes in lawe threaten to blow the coles ones againe."

Before the Chancellor departed to his house he [Bowes] drew him and the Master of Glamis near to an agreement "by the mediacion of the societie, who wished that Glames might be received togither with some noblemen well affected and the chamber for the better strengthning of their cause." The difference is such in the chief of the noblemen as they are now omitted and the Chancellor and chamber united, with purpose to take in Glamis and other officers in the King's house. Glamis has since—by the King's secret direction—met the friends of the young Earl of Argyle at Campbell to treat in the marriage betwixt the young Earl of Casellis—Glamis' sister's son—and the sister of Argyle; which match the King wishes broken. The Chancellor, claiming interest in the tuitions of Argyle and Casellis, hinders it, ill pleased that Glamis should deal therein.

The matter betwixt Glamis and the town of Forfar—whereby Glamis fell in great danger—was submitted to four of the Sessions, and Crawford and Glamis were agreed by the King's mediation; yet now

James VI. 1590–1. Crawford has left Glamis, renewed the contention betwixt Glamis and Forfar, and made friends with the Chancellor. Some think that Crawford, Ogilvie, and Indermeath have given their bands to the Chancellor, to the prejudice of Glamis, "and to beard him at his owne dores."

By the Chancellor's means the laird of Lugton—father of his new nephew—obtained a decree of the Sessions on Saturday last against the Earl of Morton, father-in-law to Glamis, for a good portion of inheritance: "Glames is sharplie pricked, and Morton mightelie stormeth" against the Chancellor. The Justice Clerk and the young laird of Whittinghame—the Chancellor's nephew, who acknowledges Morton for his chief—absented themselves from the Session at the time of the determination hereof. Thus jealousies are nourished betwixt the Chancellor and Glamis, so as it is hard to join them; under colour of society each shall seek to undermine the other. The Council and state is distracted by these occasions; peace may be looked for in the morning, but the alarm sounded before night: sundry councillors are resolved to retire and await events.

Albeit the King has shown readiness to compound the feuds of Huntly against Athol and Murray, employing the Duke of Lennox therein, yet by the sight of the favour still given to Huntly the matter has hitherto had small success. "Hereupon the King and Counsaill have by their act of Counsaill declared the rode of Huntlay at the house of Murray at Terneway—where John Gordon his kinsman was slainle—to be done for the King's good service; with a proviso that it shal not prejudice Murray in his lawfull defence for that slaughter before the Lord Justice." Huntly thus countenanced by the King, and comforted—as is believed—by the Chancellor and Chamber, purposes to come to Spynie castle and plant his forces at Elgin. He has increased his retinue by fifty gentlemen, allowing to every one of them two geldings. He has drawn to Elgin many of his Highlanders, who daily spoil all passengers and many inhabitants thereabouts. To encounter Huntly, Murray prepares to lie at Forres, near to his house at Tarnewaye and within eight miles of Elgin: "for Atholl and Murray with their followers thinck them selves strong enough for Huntlay and all his forces, in case the King shall stand indifferent betwixt them. . . . It is said that Glames chefelie procured this act of Counsell for Huntlay, and that the Chancelour and Glames contend whether of them shall possesse him: whereby Huntlay gayneth no litle proffitt betwixt them."

The King purposes to take pledges of M'Connell and Maclane to pay 10,000 marks Scots a-piece for a fine, and the like yearly for the increase of his revenues. M'Connell having the greater possessions shall be taxed at some higher rate. To draw together the King's possessions in those isles, he will exchange parts of his land there with M'Connell. Maclane will not be able to deliver the pledges, for many of his followers, hearing of this new charge on his lands, have revolted and left him.

The officers of Exchequer have travailed this long time to increase the King's revenue, and for the sustentation of his house; and by drawing into his hands such part of his property as he had during his minority granted away they have advanced his revenue 5,700 marks Scots, besides the thirds of spiritual livings and the temporalities of all monasteries. Many of the King's servants will be pinched herewith, but great courtiers will easily escape.

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Bothwell continues his good course for the redresses. He [Bowes] has sought "that he might be releived for suche faulters under him as he hathe delivered above his owne rate and porcion," as by the enclosed copy of the act of Council will be seen. By his offers to deliver any offender under himself or any warden in Scotland for whom the wardens will not answer it is deemed he would declare himself worthy of the lieutenancy of the Borders; which room the King is loth to grant.

George Carr shall shortly be sent into Flanders for Catholic causes. Erroll, Montrose, and Fentry met lately at Calender with the Master of Livingstone to confer of Catholic affairs: "where Montrosse accompanied with his page kept him self secrett in his chamber, and his page, demaunded whether he was there, denied, saieing that his sonne and not him self was commed thither and was sick." Fentry during his imprisonment has married the laird of Balwearie's sister, and obtained the King's warrant to transfer his ward from John Graham's house, his near kinsman, to Balwearie's house, where he and his wife remain, with all liberty they can desire. This favour to him and other Papists breeds great discontent. James Gordon remains still in Huntly's limits, notwithstanding the late proclamation, but the laird of Auchendoun keeps him to be conveyed before Easter into Flanders.

By the King's favour—through Sir George Hume, a gentleman in his chamber—the laird of Inderwick has obtained a decree of Session against Sir James Hume, captain of this castle, for the abbacy of Eccles. The captain, finding no remedy without loss of his office, intends to assign the office to one well affected to England. He [Bowes] would have the captain "comforted with best advies, and the office bestowed in the best handes: he thincketh him self litle beholden to the Chancelour and the Master of Glames in this matter," who have desired to satisfy the King's appetite rather than equity. He [the captain] and the best sort of the Council have considered how to preserve the custody of the castle, and have resolved to leave the government of court and state to the Chancellor and chamber at the beginning of next month, and to abide at home until they see amendment of the present errors. This day the captain has sent to the Chancellor to take his determinate answer, he [Bowes] having dealt with the Chancellor in his behalf.

On Saturday the 20th instant he heard that an Irishman accompanied with three or four others arrived the day before at Glasgow, "bringing with him six faire Irish hobbies and fowre great dogges to be presented to the King here." He kept himself close in the town, purposing to come hither the Monday following, but was stayed. His name is "Orowrick" [O'Rourke]; his son, being delivered to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, escaped out of ward, and gathering some rebels killed some of her majesty's subjects in Ireland, and continues rebel amongst them. His father fled hither to obtain succours, intending to return to Ireland and join his son, and such Spaniards as should by then be landed in Ireland. He said two thousand Spaniards were already in Ireland, but that is not true. He [Bowes] acquainted the Chancellor with his arrival, praying that he might be taken and kept surely; and also complained of this government, being so mild towards Papists and the seditious, as Spain and Leaguers were encouraged to practice here, and traitors durst boldly enter this realm to seek succours against religion and her majesty. The

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Chancellor, approving this government, offered his whole endeavour to defeat the designs of such persons, and promised to stay this stranger at Glasgow, but he [Bowes] desired he might be drawn hither, his errands discovered, and himself committed to safe keeping till her majesty's mind were known.

This day the King received a letter from O'Rourke, and sent Roger Aston to him [Bowes] to signify the contents thereof, and to offer to stay him at Glasgow, or do whatsoever might best please her majesty. By his letter he certified—as Aston reported—that the deputy of Ireland had dealt severely with him and his son, otherwise than stood with her majesty's knowledge and pleasure. He prayed that he might come to the King's presence, and remain in this realm for his safety, "doubting to come hither before he had obtayned the King's licence, least the ambassadour of Ingland should procure his trouble." The King had no liking that he should come hither, and he [Bowes] prayed that he might be safely kept at Glasgow until her majesty should send hither her pleasure; which the King granted.

Leaves Border matters to the report of the officers of the Marches. The King and Council have agreed to give redress for Mindrum and other bills, as by the copy of the act enclosed. They seem willing to execute justice for all attempts since the meeting of the commissioners at Berwick, and Sir William Stewart of Tracquhare has been with Bowes, persuading that one gentleman from every March in England—knowing the laws of the Borders—should come hither and confer with him [Bowes], the Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael, the Clerk Register, and one other gentleman of Scotland, to consider the bill for those attempts, and give order for redress, leaving the execution to the ordinary authority of the Wardens. Knew not how this might content her majesty, so spared to embrace this overture.

The King daily calls for delivery of the Scottish witch taken in England, and John Dixson that killed his father and remains in the Marches of England. The Spaniard imprisoned at Berwick craves by his letter to Bowes "to be ether releived by her majesty's mercies or rid of his paynes by her justice." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7⅔ *pp. Marginal notes by Burghley. No flyleaf or address.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Act of the Scottish Council.]

Cf. *Reg. of Privy Council of Scot.*, iv. 805.

"Holyrood House, 12 Feb. 1590-91."

"Forsamekle as for surty of releife of the personis enterit for redres of the sax Inglish billis filit at the Mydle March be the comyssioners aganis Lidisdaill, as also for releife of the Kingis majestie and his wairdants for attempttat [comm]yttit at Myndrome, Johne Lord Maxwell faythfully promeist and become actit and obleist in presence of his highnes to cause Jok Armestrang sone to Will of Kinmonth, Hectour Armestrang of the Hilhouse in the kirktoun of Ewisdaill, George Armestrang of Arkiltoun, Johne Batysonne callit Johne of the Scoir, Will Armestrang callit of Kinmonth, young Thome Armestrang of the Gingilles and Adye Armestrang his brother, answer and make redres for the pairtis of all their steilfellowes dwelland upone the said Lord Maxwelle's landis:"

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"Lyke as also Alexander Lord Hume promyssit faythfully and became actit and obleist in his hienes presence that he soulde gar his men fyllit in the saidis billis, viz., Robert Ellot of Glenveren, Archie Armestrang sone to the lard of Quhithauch, Nichol Scot in Mespeble, and Andro Scot callit the Braidis Andro, answer and make redres for the pairtis of all uther thaire steilfellowes duelland upone the said Lord Hume's land for releife of the personis that soulde be entarit for redres of the saidis billis within twenty dayis after delyvery were made; and for greater suirty of the said releife the said John Lord Maxwell and Alexander Lord Hume promissit and became actit and obleist to enter and presente the personis above written, thaire men, tenauntis, and servandis to Francis Erle Bothuile, Lord Crychtoun, Heallis and Lidisdaill, Great Admirall of this realme, at Kelso upone the fourth day of Februarie instant, to be kepit be him in his strenght aie and quhill ane perfect suirty were maid unto him for releife of the persones that sould be enterit for the saidis billis that thay are fylit in respectyve, saulffand that it sould be lauchfull to the said Erle Bothuile to enter and delyver in England ony ane of the said twa Scottis of Ewisdall foull in the said bill of Myndrome as sould happen ayther of thame to fall by lot to be enterit tharefore, and that the said steilfellowis sould not only make reliefe for thaire parties of the saidis billis, but alswa of the expences of the personis that sould be delyverit thairefore, aie and quhill thay were freed, lykeas at maire lenght is conteynit in the said promeiss and act made thereupon."

"And albeit that the said Erle Bothuile according to his promeis maid to his majesty enterit and delyverit his awne men of Lidisdaill for redres of saidis sax bailiis fylit by the commissioners, as alsua offerit to have enterit se mony of his as were appoyntit to be delyverit for redres of the said bill of Myndrome: Newirtheles the said Johne Lord Maxwell and Alexander Lord Hume faylzeit in entering and presenting thaire men, tenauntis, and servaundis above specifiet to the said Erle Bothuile for the greater suirty of the said releife; quhairthrow his men remainis unreleevit, the said bill of Myndrome as zit undelyverit for, to his hienes great offence and displeasure."

"Therefore his majestie, with advice of the lordis of his Secret Counsell, ordainis letters to be derect, charging the said Johne Lord Maxwell, and John Maxwell of Nedirpollok as cautioner and suirty for him, and the said Alexander Lord Hume, and George Hume of Wedirburne as cautioner and suirty for him, to releife his majestie, and his wardins, and the personis enterit for the saidis billis of the same billis, and the availe of the guidis and geir conteynit therein, as alsua of the expenses of the personis enterit for redres thereof, within sax daies nixt efter they be chardgit thereto, under the payne of rebellioun and putting of thaime to the horne: or ellis that thaye upon the 24th day of Februar instant compere personally before his hienes and lordis of Secret Councell at Halyrudhouse, or quhair it sall happen thame to be for the tyme, bringand with thayme enterand and puttand the saidis personis, men, tenauntis, and servandis to the saidis Lord Maxwell and Lord Hume, and shew ane reasounable cause quhy they sould not make the said releife in maner foresaid; with certyfication to thame and thay faylze, letters salbe derect *simpliciter* to put thayme to the horne, and to escheit etc. As alsua letters to poind and apprise the readyest landis and guidis of the saidis principall personis and thaire suirtyes conjunctly

James VI. 1590–1. and severally elkane for thaire awne partis for the avayle of the saidis billis, as they are sworne, togidder with the saidis expenses, according to justice."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 23. 528. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"Upon knowledge guven me of the arryvall of Orowricke att Glascoo, I supposed that he had beyn the same person for whome Alley laboreth here. Therfore that I shold nott crosse or hurte Alley's trode in any sorte, I sentt for hym secretly in the nyght, to be informed by hym whether this stranger was knowen to hym."

"Wherupon he opeyned then to me parte of his doynges and successe, with such plain[ess] as I trust he will kepe promys with your lordship: geving me to thinke that he knew nott this man nor his errandes, butt left me to followe myn owne course towardes this Iryshman, as I shold thinke best."

"Alley is nere the ende of his busynes here, with hope to compasse his desiere. He is presently gone to the Lord Seaton and other frindes theraboutes, intending upon his retorne hither to hasten into Ingland to your lordship. Butt I have wyshed that he myght expend some few dayes to visite Huntley and that crewe in the northe, outt of whose brestes he myght discover some part of the venym that poysoneth this realme. He hath defferred his resolution to his retorne hither." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Holograph.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

Feb. 23. 529. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Chancellor has expended 2000 *l.* for the King's affairs, and is now pressed by his creditors. The King cannot raise this sum without her majesty's help, which he is loth to ask, but is compelled to request that such portion of her yearly gratuity to him "as her majestie maye convenientlie spare" may be delivered for his use and to releive the Chancellor, to such as the King shall authorise to receive the same. And the Chancellor prays to know when it shall be delivered, that the King may send for it. James Hudson is appointed to attend upon Burghley herein. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Feb. 23. 530. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

"The cawss why the Chanceler sekith this means for pament of that whiche the King is in dettid to hime is this, that alwaes when hir majeste bestowith any thinge upon the King, he hath ether such urgent ocassyons for the present usse ther of him self, or ells his cheiff favoretts Sir Alexander Lindsay, laird of Spynei, or Sir Gorge Home have a promiss of a great part therof beffoar it be arryvid; so that the Chanceler can noct have his owin dew dept unless he should therby dissapoynt the King him self or his favoretts and so procuer his enemeis ane advantage agaenst him; but this poynt he hath prudently alwaes preventid—althowch

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with the danger of his lyff dyverss tymes—and with great expenssis, wher of I can particularly inform your lordship of my owin knowlege, whiche wer over longe to truble your honor with in wryttinge."

"Your lordship knowith the man by his acssyons passid, and how he hath bein loath to be chargeable to hir majeste at anny tyme him self, ye, loath that the King should so oft in unseasonable tymes have burdenid the queins majeste; but when he could not stae importunetei, then was he glad to instruct the King's ambassadours with the best reassons he could and to draw ther instrucsyons."

"He was drivin to furnish the King's hoal charge of his sudeyn voyadge to Denmark, al upon his owin credit. The King was so bent to it, and the peiple blamid so the Chanceler for a staer of that mach that they wer in a muttany agaenst him, whiche he also was glad to excuess to hir majeste."

"He hath dyverss tymes by havinge mony and credit staed great aparance of danger boath to the estaet of relegeon and the best affectid ther to hir majeste by a pressent livei of a gaerd, whiche other waes mycht have suffrid no delae; and the lyk dangers mae occur hear after, and the rather if the evil inclynid know hime to be unprovydid for a pinshe: for they know ther is no other that wil disburss but he; and becaws he is the head of the good faxsyon the burdinge lyeth alwaes upon his shoulders."

"Yit in this he is very modderatt, for his request is only to know secrettly whatt tyme it wil pleas hir majeste to apoynt for the King's pensyon whiche it pleassith hir majeste to bestowe yearly upon the King, that therby he mycht keip the King from importunattinge hir majeste til hir highness owin pleassuer and apoynttid tyme cume: and witth al that then he myght adress the King's warrant to suche as shalbe apoynttid for the resseyt ther of, least he should—if it came hoam—be preventid or els loass sume frendship therby."

"He doeth very confidently beleive that hir majeste wil noct refuess this his reassonable suett, and alsso trustith that by your honor's good means onley with hir highness he shal resave by me sume asurance in this matter boath of the quantety to be hoppid for to the King, as alsso for the apoyntid dae off pamentt."

"I ame the moar boweld to move this suet and the laerd of Carmichel's for that I sei it is wel spent on them that hath and wil doe al dewteful service to hir majeste that lyeth in ther power; seinge alsso that it is monny goen from hir majeste howssoever, for the King wil never forgett that hir majeste hath promisid a yearly penssyon, nether wil he forbear to crave it."

"The Chanceler is loath to usse this means, but that he seith no wae to help him self at hoam; and for the matter it self it is moar fit for hir majeste and your lordship to juge upon then for me to usse moe words in."

"If it shal seame good to hir majeste to gratefye hime in this his first suet with a favorable grant, it will tye him as muche as if hir highness had givin him as muche furth of hir owin coffers: and in that estaet he is the worthyest to keip suer in al respects."

"The King hath left his extreordenarei travell and now hath takin him self to a moar eas and warmness: and the longe gowin that he was

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wunt to haet he hath now takin for a disseas in his syd whiche he hath bein a longe tyme trublid with. I prae God send hir majesteis hart and syds to be longe sownd." *Not signed.*

Postscript—" Mr. Aston hath willid me humble to beseach your honor to send for Jhon Rattsey laett servant to Sir Walltter Mylld . . . es and that he mae be comitid to sum w[ar]d til he pae him 300 *l.* and moar wh[ich]e he owith hime for the 600 whilk hir majeste bestowed upon hime thre years agoe, wher of he hath gottin nothinge as yit. He dryvith hime of with bad shifts and delaes, and he wil never gett peny unless it be by your honor's good means, for he never kept one promiss to hime as yit in thre years; and now the gentleman is abil to bear it no longer." *Unsigned.*

3 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Feb. 23. 531. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

" There is anyerland [*an Ireland*] man come to Glaskoo and has writen to the King to crave his presenes ": he has brought horses and dogs. He is commanded to remain where he is till the King be advertised for what cause he comes. If he come as rebel to the queen he shall have neither audience nor benefit of this country; if for poverty to seek the King's favour with her majesty he will do him all the good he can. Has carried this word this day to the ambassador.

Sir James Sandilands will have Aston to come with him; if he can dispatch his business in time he will.

Hudson is to be careful to get " Rattse," and not to spare to give largely for that purpose. M'Connell and Maclane are fined at 10,000 marks apiece, "and shall geve in soure pleyges to the King, every one of them 10,000 marks be yere." The King has taken in all the property that was given out in his own time, which has greatly augmented his living.

" Delever this other letter according to the dereccion."

" I soud the Chansler and my lady the nott you sentt inclosed. He is your fast frend, and so you maye acowntt." *Signed:* Roger Aston.

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

Feb. 24. 532. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO BURGHLEY.

" The decreittis gevin be ze lordis of the Quenis majesteis Previe Counsell in favouris of Archibald Johnestoun, burges of Edinburgh, being seine be the Kingis majestie my soverane, and quhat zeill ze beir towardis the administratioun of justice, as als to his majesteis requeistis, quhilk deservis thankis, I could do no les upoun my awin creditt, lyk as of befoir, nor to pray zour lordship, seing the differrence usit be his partie adversar, albeit he be retenit in ward upoun decreit pronuncit, nor pray zour lordship effecteouslie, as ane quhome I knaw to be cairfull in all guid caussis, and speciallie tweching stranegeris, to tak sic ordour quhairby the berar may have satisfactioun of his loss, and that of the reddiest of his parteis movabillis, conforme to zour lordships decreittis; sua that the persuit therof be not eludit be the restrent of his partie, in respect his retening can be no satisfactioun to the complener."

James VI. 1590–1. "In quhilk doing, besydis my soveranis thankfull acceptatioun of zour cair in this erand, I will think my self bund to do the lyk furtherance to ony zour lordships cuntreymen recommendit heir." Edinburgh. *Signed:* "Zour lordships assurit frinde at pouar to coummande, J. Hammilton."

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 25. 533. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit the King's letters to her majesty, the Privy Council, and Burghley, in favour of this bearer, Archibald Johnston, suffice to further his suit for recovery of his goods against Roger Wyndham, yet being moved by the Provost of Edinburgh and most of the well affected, he recommends his cause, having daily experience of the good offices rendered to her majesty by the said provost and other petitioners. The bearer has also given proof of his good affection towards her. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 26. 534. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Thir beiraris Frances Tennent and George Scott, burgessis of our burcht of Edinburgh, being refused of justice and redress of sindrie greit and havy wrakkis incurrit be thame be meanis of the inhabitantis of the townes of Sanct Valery, Tresport, Newheavin, and otheris on that coast adhering to the League, and forceit thairby to help thame be our derrest brother the King of France's and our proper letters and permissioun to repair thair losse upoun the personis, schippis, or guidis of quhatsumevir inhabitant of the saidis townis quhair evir thai can apprehende thame: we have accordit to thame to requeist zow be this present that following zour former favour utterit sa effectualie to the help and outred of our uther subjectis dampnifeit be the same meanis, for the quhilk we hartlie thank zow, ze will likewayis procure to thir saidis beiraris our derrest suster zour soveranis gude favour and allowance to restraine and sease quhatsumevir personis, schippis, or guidis they can find and comprehend within any pairt or heavin in England pertening to any of the foirsaidis townis, use and dispone thairon according to the tennour of our said darrest brotheris letters and ouris, without ony trubill or oppositioun to be made unto thame be any officear executar of hir lawes, or any hurt or danger to be incurrit be thame thairfoir in any sorte."

"Quhairanent, praying zow to let thame have sic letters as may best further thame to the premissis in any pairt quhair thai sal happin to comprehend or challange ony of the foirsaidis, as ze will do ws acceptable and thankfull pleasur, we committ zow, rycht trustie and weilbelovitt cousing, to Goddis gude protectioun. Frome Halyrudhous." *Signed:* "Your assuired freind and cousing James R."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Feb. 535. OBSERVATIONS BY BURGHLEY CONCERNING SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 9. "[4]* September [1590]. On Blythman delyvered to Alexander Hume of Huton Hall for a Spanyard brought to Barwyk."

* Decayed.

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"16 September. Manny English fishermen taken about Orkney by Spanish shipes to the nomber of 100."

"17 September. Sir Jhon Carmychell kept a day of march with the Lord Scrope at Rockley [*Rockcliffe*] neare Carlile and kept good justyce."

". . . October. The Spanish Papistes in Scotland offer ayde to the King to render England without chang of the relligion, and therin the Chancellor hath . . . delt withall."

". . . a multitud of Papistes intended at Edinburgh but di[scovered]."

"6 November. Henry Lock at Edenburgh."

"20 November. The King disavoweth Archibald Dowglass to [do] any service for the King."

"28 November. Francis Dacres sheweth his discontentment . . . pass into Flanders to receave 2000 *li.* which Edward hath left at his deth."

"5 December. A revocation of all grantes made by the King of [Scots which] war of the property of the croun."

"7 December. The Chancellor of Scotland wryteth to the Lord Tresurer of England . . . commandment. The King's resolution ageynst the [Papists]. A fray betwixt the Earl of Huntley and Murray."

"17 [*December*] 1590. *Anno* 24 Jacobi 6. A remission to the Erl Huntlay of all crymes . . . in May 1589, and of his fact at the brig of Dee, &c."

"20 December. The yong Lord Zanchar cam into England to travell . . . frende; have sought meanes to stey his . . ."

"25 December. Monsieur Morlans sent to the King of Scottes from the . . . letters from the King to sondry princes in . . . of sold[iers]. This Morlans cam to England . . . ted by sea out of . . . ."

[1591] ". . . [Ja]mes Gordon declared a[nd] published a rebell, and . . . erss with hym."

". . . of Januar. Ordred by the Kyng upon promises of the Erle Bothwell for Liddesdale, the Lord Maxwell for his land dwellers, Sir Jhon Carmychell as warden of the West Marches, and the Lord Hume for his land tenantes, that a nombre of Scottish men by names of Armstronges and Ellottes and such lyk shuld mak satisfaction for six bills fyled for the Midle Marche of England. And the Erle Bothwell promised for the attempt of Myndram which was committed in the King's absence to be also answered."

". . . January. A combatt intended betwixt the laird of Nederay and David Edmonston of Bornhouss; Bothwell frend to Nederey, Hume of Pollard brother-in-law to Edmonston."

"[Willia]m Carr, that was named to have killed the Lord Russell with a shott, was hurt at Edenburgh by Cesfordes men, who avowed afor his deth that he did not kill the Lord Russell."

"Francis Dacres maketh meanes to come to England if he may have some relyffe to lyve."

"[Fe]br. Lord Maxwell sence his retorn hath hanged two Jhonstons. Alley hath by George Carr's meanes obteyned the King's passport for on Henry Dethyck an Englishman to come into Scotland."

James VI. 1590–1.

"[Feb]r. The King licenseth Francis Tennant and Georg Scott to arm ther shippes against the Leagors."

"The Queen's majesty wryteth to the King of Scottes for apprehension of O'Rork."

"The King wryteth by Roger Ashton how willyng he is to apprehend O'Rork to be delivered, affirmyng that if he had the King of Spayn in his hand he wold delyver hym to the Queen, and affirmeth all hir ennemyes to be his ennemyes, not exceptyng his co[usins]."

"The Erle of Westmoreland wrot letters to the King and the Chancellor, wherof the King hath advertised hir majesty by Roger Ashton."

"[Th]e M'Conell was imprisoned by the King, and uppon his delyvery the King [res]tored hym to his landes, addyng a clause for his good behaviour . . . of England."

". . . hir majesty ageynst M'Conill, Donnell . . . Master Og[ilvy], so to . . . Innes, Eleich of Macdareych . . . Donnell M'Conell Gorn payeth to the King . . . the rentes which he hath receaved of the Kinges landes . . ."

"These two ar also bound to kepe peace with the . . . Jhon Cambell of Caddell becam a suerty for these two."

"M'Conell hath much land in Ilay, wher M'Clan for . . . and M'Conell impeacheth M'Clan therin, wheruppon . . . them. Afterward beyng reconciled M'Callan marryed M' . . . Jhon M'Conell invited M'Clan with all his frendes, and after that he had feasted them in a barn he killed the gretest nombre of M'Alan's frendes, . . . M'Clan, kepyng hym as a prisoner."

"Donnell Gormon and Macclode of the Lews tak part. Maclod Henry favoreth M'Alan. M'Clan possesseth the iles of Mull, Terry, &c. M'Conell possesseth Ila and landes in Cantyre."

"December 1589. Mr. Robert Bowes sent to Scotland in the King's absence to the Lord Jhon Ha[milton] to be informed by Mr. William Ashby ther ambassador."

"24 March 1589 [90]. Erle Bothwell offreth to send to the Duke of Parma to . . . enterprise in Scotland is not sperable, by reason of . . . she hath in Scotland, but hir majesty did not lyk . . . of Fentry thyther, who might promise the contrary. [Richard] Douglas was used by Bothwell for this ma[tter]."

". . . Englandes . . . *anno* 1590 . . . [Earl M]arischell sent out of Denmark from the King of Scottes."

"Thomas Foular that servet the Lady Lennox dyed at Edenburgh."

"King discharged Sir William Kyth of his chamber, because he was more rychely apparrelled than the King at the mariadg, and placed Georg Hume son to Alexander Hume of Manderston in the office of the King's wardrop."

"Bishop of Dyrry [Derry] lurketh in Scotland."

"The Kyng of Scottes and the Queen departed from Elsygnewe [*Elsinore*] the 21 of April."

"Erle Bothwell offreth by his letters to the Duke of Parma to renounce his forrin intelligence with hym, and to be a favoror of the religion and the amyty."

"Anna Cambell, wiff to Tyrlogh Lennogh, is in Scotland."

James VI. 1590–1.

"King and Quene arryved at Leth."

"Bowes saluteth the King and Quene with gratulation for ther arri[val]."

"The Quene of Scottes crowned, wher war made fifteen [*sic*] knights; Drumlanrygk, Douglas, Cesford, Car, Ormiston, Cockborn, Johnston, Carmickell, Master of Glamis, Home."

"Decree to apprehend James Gordon as a Jesuit contrary to an act of parlement [of] 1587."

"King promiseth to send Colonell Stuard and Mr. Skyne to the assemble of the [D]utch princes to negotiat for a peace with Spayn."

"[Earl] of Worcester arryved at Edenburgh. He advertised the King that he was chosen . . . the order of the Garter with the French Kyng."

"Carmychell sent from the Scottish King to the Queen's majesty."

"[Queen of] Scottes wryteth a kynd letter to hir majesty by the Erl of Worcester."

"[Sir] Jhon Carmichill had 500 from the Queen which he imprested to Collonel Stuard and Mr. Jhon Skene."

". . . to his promiss delyvered to the Erle of Worcester . . . Huntley, Arroll, Craford, Bothwell, and Montrose . . . Bothwell and Master of Gray . . . the Lewes . . . others that the Master of Glamis shall kill the . . . ."

"The Master of Anguss offreth to be reconciled to the kyrk."

"The mariage of Arroll with the Erl of Morton's doug[hter] . . . to the King's commandment for which Morton was charged to . . ."

"20 July [1590]. Jhon Lisle [Leslie] neveu to the bishop of Ross prisonor in the gal[leys] delyvered for Jhon Farrior prisoner in Paris."

"23 July. Sir Alexander Stuard commended to the Duke of Parma from Lennox. Huntley, &c., offreth secret service to the Queen's majesty."

"7-8 Augusti. The King hath stated a nombre for his Counsell, promisyng . . . that shall be by them devised."

"Lord Chancellor, Tresorer, Tresoror Deputy, Controllour, Collector, Justyce Clerk, Clerk, Carmichill, Callothy, Captain of the Castle."

"5 August. The Erle Bothwell sought to have of the Queen's majesty 1000 with . . . hym for this surrender of Drumfermlyng."

"6 August. Mr. Bowes the ambassador offred a memoriall to the Chancellor of . . . answered to hir majesty."

"Erl Bothwell refusyng to be bond for Lyddesdale is committed to the castle, but next daye gyvyng suertyes of the Erl Murray and the Lord Hume he was delyvered."

"The order promised to the Erl of Worcester to be performed, and the Quene to affyrm the same."

"Twoo commissioners to be sent to Spayn to furder the nego[ciations of] Stuard at Brunswyk."

"Jhon Penry to be banished."

"The presbytery to be forbidden to condemn the eccles . . ."

"13 August. A memoryall delyvered by the Chancellor of sondry thynges."

James VI. 1590-1. "14 August. The Kyng gave good answer to the memorial presented by . . . The ministers ar commanded to call for all the . . . at the brig at Dee . . . named to be sent . . ."

6 *pp. In Burghley's hand.*

March 6. 536. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

"Right excellent, right high and noble prince, our deerest brother and cosin, wee greete you well. Where by our ambassadour Robert Bowes wee perceive that an Irishman named Orork should be lately come into your realme to the towne of Glasquo, and that he hath by his letter to you surmised that he ys come to obtayne your favour, pretendinge that he hath had greate wronge done unto him in our realme of Ireland by our deputy and one Sir Richard Bingham, who indeed ys our governour in the province where this Orork did lately dwell: and that uppon this his writinge you did cause our ambassadour to understand thereof, and did staye the sayed Orork at Glasquo untill you might understand our pleassur: for this your brotherly and very honorable dealinge with us—as is most commendable for on prynce to deale with an other—wee do moste hartely thanck you, beeng no otherwise then wee allwayes mynd to deale with you in all like causes."

"And nowe for declaracion of our mynd, what wee would have you to understand and what wee requyre to be done."

"First, for the man. We assure you of our owen meere knowledge that this Orork, called Brian Orork, ys a professed rebell and a moste notable traitour toward us and our crowne of Ireland, havinge been—as the Irish manner ys—a hed or a captaine of a sept of his name in a parte of a province in Ireland called Connaught, and hath been a rebellious subject against all forme of justice these many yeeres; and of late received into his contrey all the Spaniardes which he could hire that wracked in those maritime partes when the Kinge of Spaine's navy fled abowt your realme of Scotland; and with those Spaniardes did openly rebell against both our deputy and Sir Richard Bingham, withstandinge them both in open armes for commynge into his contrey."

"Whereuppon Sir Richard Bingham the governour was forced to levy a power of our good subjectes, neighbours to the sayed rebell, and entred his contrey; but he with the Spaniardes our manifest enemyes withstood him and offred to fight; but beeng overmatched, he burned and destroyed firste as much of the contrey as he could, and then fled with the Spaniardes into a remote corner of our realme, where he hath secretly with the Spaniardes hid him self: and dowtinge that he should be there taken—as we perceive nowe—he ys fled into your contrey, and most untruly doth suggest that without our knowledge he hath been injured, whereas both wee knowe the contrary and do certainely knowe that his rebellious actions hath forced us to a greate charge, almost these two full yeres; and at this tyme wee knowe no one like rebell of all that land, nor in our opinion wee knowe of none at all of any accompt but he and his sonne, who also within these fewe moneths since the father fled came into the contrey and made a new stirre with some Spaniardes, and spoiled the contrey; but shortely he was also forced to flye."

James VI. 1590–1.

"And therefore to conclude wee do moste ernestly, not onely as your good sister, but accordinge to the tenor of all ould treaties betwixt us and our two crownes, requyre yow that this so notable a traitor may be delyvered safely either to Carlile or Berwicke, where the charges of his conduction shalbe defrayed."

"And wee assure yow that yf he may be fownd to have repentaunce of his former faultes, and yeld us hope of his becomynge a quiet subject, wee shall temper justice with mercy, in respect that he hath sought your favour, though uppon false suggestion."

1¼ *pp. Copy. Indorsed.*

March 9. 537. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The state is now in good quietness. Last week thirteen earls and sundry other lords were assembled in Edinburgh without apparent cause, yet there has been no suspicion of any evil practice. The Chancellor thinks himself in surety, and that this calm shall endure, but others look for a storm to follow, either soon after the departure of the court and end of the session—that shall break up on the 15th hereof—or else at the next parliament shortly to be holden: by which parliament it is feared that sundry restitutions before granted to particular noblemen shall be revoked, "and thereby the King's revenues to be increased with like profittes to courtiours now in favour." For prevention of dangers sundry noblemen have moved him [Bowes] to continue his labours, which he intends to do with all diligence.

The King and Queen have gone to Dalkeith, the house of the Earl of Morton, for six or seven weeks: after which they repair to Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland for most part of the summer. "It is thought that the pleasures about that house shall allure the King and Queen to like better thereof then the owner would wish, cheefely untill the former restitucions made to Morton shalbe confirmed by parliamente, after that the King have accomplished the age of twenty five yeeres."

Maxwell and Hume have been here to present "faulters" for the bill of Mindrum, and to relieve Bothwell for their rates in the delivery that he has already made of his men entered to Sir John Foster for the whole bills. "They have gotten day untill the 15th heereof. The King promyseth that then justice shalbe executed without further delay." The Chancellor thinks that for redresses to be made for bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick not yet satisfied, in the West Marches and Liddesdale, as also for all attempts since the treaty of those commissioners, it shall suffice that all the Wardens keep their accustomed meetings and administer justice by their ordinary powers, and that all questionable matters be referred to the Councils of both realms.

The dryness of the Chancellor against the Earl of Morton and the Master of Glamis continues; yet Erroll—Morton's son-in-law and brother-in-law to Glamis—is reconciled, and has promised kindness to the Chancellor for favour to be shown in Erroll's actions before the Session. "Glaymes gathereth together the fellowship att the rode of Sterlyng, doubting that they shalbe put at, cheefely by the next parliamente." Both sides labour to draw the best party to themselves.

James VI. 1590–1. Bothwell, desiring to see her majesty and the English court, sought to be employed thither for the Borders and other affairs: "but the matter litle liked is laide in the decke for a season." He purposes to ride to the north and Caithness, "to compounde the fuydes aswell betwyxt the Earles of Caythnes, his brother and Sotherland, as also amongst Huntley agaynst Atholl, Murray, and the barons in the north." If he cannot reconcile them he will party Caithness, Atholl, and Murray. He has obtained commission to repair to Orkney to execute there his office of admiralty, looking to draw the Earl of Orkney, his uncle, to profitable composition, or otherwise take hold of some of his possessions in that isle. Under pretence of like effects to have been sought before, some hurt was intended to the common cause.

"Sir James Sandylandes—a gentleman of the King's prevy chamber, and one of the three in his especyall favour—hath obteyned leave to see her majestie and the court of England, purposing to be there shortly."

In order to knit Lord Hamilton to the Chancellor means are made to reconcile him and his brother Claud, but Glamis, offering liberally to Lord Hamilton, seeks to keep him still on his side.

Erroll and Crawford, Maxwell and George Carr, suspected of papistry, have been cited to appear before the commissioners of the church here to subscribe to the articles of religion. But the noblemen have a day given till the 15th instant, and Carr is referred to the commissioners of the church at Haddington. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 10. 538. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"The courtesie and favour quhilk this bearer, Thomas Hall, reportis to have found with zow in causing him be anserit of certane pieces of small ordinance furth of our dearest suster the Quene zour soveranis awne munitioun, anserrable to the lyke pieces bereft him be a pirate, bot recoverit thairefter be ane of our said dearest susteris pyernages [pinnaces], and imployit be the commander thairof in her service, hes movit ws at this tyme to thank zow for it be our speciall letters, and thairwith to requeist zow very affectuouslie, that howsoever he have found cautioun for restitutioun thairof, according to the ordour injoynit to him for the tyme, zit seing the graunt thairof procedit upoun consideratioun of his lyke pieces imployit as said is, ze will give ordour that nather he nor his cautioners be preissit with restitutioun of the anes till he be first restorit to the uthers, according to equitie and reasoun." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "You loving cousing James R."

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

March 15. 539. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Friday last, the 12th instant, he received Burghley's packet of the 7th, her majesty's letter addressed to the King, the common letter from Burghley and the Lord Chamberlain, and some other letters to himself. Her majesty's letter he delivered to the King at Dalkeith, with thanks for his goodwill testified by the discovery of O'Rourke and his practices.

James VI. 1590-1. The King protested in very friendly terms "to kepe unviolably this course of kyndenes betwixt her majestie and hym, and presently to become her solycytour to his Counsell, to wynne ther votes and consenttes for the delyverye of Orowrick, agreable her to majesties request," grounded upon old treaties, confirmed at Berwick in 1586.

The King liked well the order advised by Sir William Stewart for redresses on the Borders; and for these, and some of his own affairs, has appointed the Council to meet him tomorrow, desiring him [Bowes] to confer with the Chancellor for preparation of these weighty causes. The Chancellor told him, in great secret, that the Earl of Westmoreland, Charles Paget, and others of her majesty's rebels in France and Flanders, had written to the King and himself, seeking licence to repair to Scotland and live there, "with the benefytt only of the ayer," at their own expense. He prayed advice: first, whether to deliver their letter to the King, who—he says—knows nothing of the matter; but he [Bowes] believes the King and Chancellor have already signed letters and instruments for those persons, as by his former letter, and by Alley, will sufficiently appear. "It may be—and Alley ones was of that mynde—that the King culd be contented to pull his fote outt of this bote;" secondly, whether he [the Chancellor] should be means to prolong, or thoroughly deny, their repair into this realm, where he thinks their privy works for the Pope and Spain have bred great dangers among the evil affected; lastly, whether they shall be suffered to come hither under conditions to be prescribed by her majesty, upon due consideration of their persons, qualities, and plots. He [Bowes] made much of the matter and its perils, and prayed the Chancellor that he would warily entertain the messengers sent by these rebels until he could know her majesty's pleasure; to which he consented, desiring that the matter might rest only between themselves. He [Bowes] promised to let him know her resolution with all possible speed. Therefore has not spoken with Alley, but has advised him to hasten to Burghley with the news already obtained; but so soon as he may safely confer with him, he will put him into the best way he can find. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 21. 540. BURGHLEY TO ROBERT BOWES.

The letter written by Bowes' own hand on 15th instant came to him on the 20th. He thought the matter very strange, and acquainted her majesty therewith, who "did sharpelie reprehend" Bowes "for making such a matter questionable as never neaded to have had her majestie's opinion thereunto."

Bowes is to declare to the Chancellor that she thanks him for imparting the matter in secret. She doubts not that as long as there is any intention to have the amity kept and religion preserved in both realms, there will never be any good councillor in that realm, nor true servant to God and the King, that will once question whether the King shall give favour and liberty of his country to such manifest papists as the parties named, that have so many years continued in rebellion, seeking to subject their country to the tyranny of Spain; "being also such as in regard of theire vowes and bondes made to the Pope and the King of Spaigne cann never

James VI. 1590–1.

assente in theire hartes to anie prosperitie of the King or his realme." Such traitors should rather have thought it impossible to recover any such favour with the King, and their messengers have been terrified to dare to attempt any such motion to the King or any good councillor. And though these weighty causes be not remembered, yet her majesty thinks that the Chancellor, "beinge a principall counsellour of that state, and of that understanding whereof he is," should not forget that by the treaties betwixt the realms it could not be lawful to suffer such rebels as have been notoriously attainted and convicted of treason against her person and crown to have refuge within the King's dominions: but if they are already come there, yet they ought to be apprehended upon her demand according to the treaty, "and delivered into hir majestie's realme to be justefied accordinge to theire desertes."

There are many other reasons to reject and condemn this offer for licensing such pernicious traitors to come into that realm: her majesty judged it necessary "rather to exterminate the like vipers in the same realme, that seeke to eate owt the naturall blood and lief both of the King himself and all his good servantes and subjectes." The matter propounded "is soe far beyond her expectacion as she cannot tell howe to assure heir self of the former promises made by the King to chastise and expell the King's owne unnaturall rebells and conjured traitours to his estate": she looked rather to have had advertisement of further prosecutions of them than of any token for admitting others into that realm.

"Hir majesty wold have yow to use all the meanes yow can possible to procure good assurance that Owrork do not escape, which hir majesty feareth greatly will be wrought by some papistes, or els will fall out by negligence of saff kepyng of hym, which accident hir majesty hath to offen seene fall owt, even in persons apprehended for very great offences to the King hym selff; and therfore yow can not use to much care to prevent this which hir majesty dowteth." From the court.

2 *pp.* *Draft, partly in Burghley's hand.* *Indorsed.*

March 22. 541. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"The parting of this bearer my servaunte—Madame and dearest sister—towardes your countrie, his native soyle, for certein particuler affaires, have moved me to accept the occasioun for writing theise fewe lynes unto you."

"I received a letter of yours within theise fewe dayes, requesting me for the deliverie of an Irishe rebell of yours, fugitive in this realme. How I behaved myself in that matter, before I received your letter, from the first hower I hard of that man's arrivall in this countrie, I remytt to the informacioun of your ambassador here resident, for I did nothing therein without first acquainting him and forewarning thereof alwayes."

"Uppon the receipte of your letter I willinglie yealded unto your request, and am sorie I could not have the man him self to accompanie this letter: but I have geven order for his apprehension with all spede and meanes possible, and if successe succede my unfayned goodwill he shalbe delivered at Barwicke: but if I had knowen it or the receipt of your letter you had bene satisfied or nowe in this turne."

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"I would to God your greatest ennemyes were in my handes: if it were the King of Spayne him self he should not be long undelivered to you; for that course have I taken me to, and will professe it till I dye, that all your foes shalbe common ennemyes to us boathe, in spighte of the Pope, the King of Spayne, and all the Leagers my cossins not excepted, and the devill their master."

"As to the affaires of the Borders, I remytt likewise to your ambassador's information, wherewith I truste you shalbe well satisfied, as you may assure your self to be in all thinges that shall lye in my power."

"As to the particuler discourse of the state of all thinges heare, and especially of my behaviour concerning your Irishe man, I remitt to be larglie declared unto you by this bearer, for that he knewe somewhatt more particularlie then others did, whose honestie and faithfullnes to us both I recommended to you of before, so I can not cease to renewe it unto you at this tyme, which I pray you may fynde the dewe effectes at your handes for my sake in any thing wherein you may reasonable further him." Dalkeith.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "22 Martii 1590. The King of Scotts letter to the Queen's majestie by Roger Ashton."

Another copy in James Hudson's handwriting, indorsed by Burghley.

March 24. 542. ROBERT BOWES TO LORDS BURGHLEY AND HUNSDON.

His doings since receiving Burghley's letter of the 4th instant have been as follows. After labouring with the King, the Chancellor, and sundry of the Council severally—according to Burghley's and Hunsdon's direction—he was called to them assembled together in this town. He let them know that her majesty did well like the overture tendered to him by Sir William Stewart for redresses of the Borders—opening at large the particulars of that overture—and also had left to their choice the persons to be appointed on behalf of Scotland, and the place and time for the meeting.

"Some few dayes after their delyberacion taken, the Lord Chauncellour shewed me that they had chosen Sir John Carmychell, knyght, Lord Warden of the West March, Alexander Hume of Huton Hall, deputy warden of the East March, Andrew Carre of Faudonside, deputy warden of the Mydle March of Scotland, and Sir William Steward of Trakquarre of Lyddisdaill, to meete and conferre with such foure gentlemen as it should please her majestie to send to this towne of Edenburg the 15th of May next"; that they, with the Chancellor and himself [Bowes], might take order for all attempts since the meeting of the commissioners at Berwick, according to the said overture. The meeting is deferred so long, in order that they may have all things ready. Liddesdale being distinctly "bowndred," and under Bothwell, "answerable only for the same to England," a special person shall be appointed to treat for it, increasing the number of three gentlemen to have met in this behalf. Has advertised Lord Scrope, Sir John Foster, and Sir John Selby of this resolution, that they may accomplish Burghley's and Hunsdon's orders herein.

At this time he moved the King and Council for the liberty of John Crakenthorpe, delivered as a pledge by Lord Scrope for the bills of

James VI. 1590–1. Liddesdale and other causes. They readily dismissed him upon Lord Scrope's promise—certified by him [Bowes]—that he should re-enter upon fourteen days warning. And they have promised that the pledge before entered to Lord Scrope for the West Marches of Scotland and Liddesdale, and afterwards delivered upon bond, shall duly re-enter within fourteen days after Lord Scrope shall call for him.

Bothwell, at his late meeting with Sir John Selby, offered to deliver to Sir John "two foule men" for the bill of Mindrum. Sir John refused to accept them, being ordered by the King and Council that Bothwell should deliver six men for that bill, as appears by the indenture betwixt Bothwell and Sir John. "Now by this refusall the Earle alledgeth that the bill is thoroughly quyt and dischardged by the treatyes. And he seemeth now willing to take the advantage thereof, because he acknowledgeth to have bene the cheefe author of this rode and attempt att Myndrom, in revenge of the wrong that Sir Thomas Gray did openly and with greate violence agaynst his tenauntes, being in their lawfull trodde in Ingland." But Bowes showing that no treaty, law, or practice can be approved which shall discharge this bill for Mindrum, he has promised either to prove before the 15th of May that by the treaties betwixt the realms the said bill is thus quit and discharged, or else to give then due satisfaction and make delivery for the bills with all justice and goodwill. In this he [Bowes] has informed Sir John Selby.

The King and Council sent the Clerk Register to inform him that Bothwell has delivered to Sir John Foster seven of his own men, for the redress of six bills filed by the commissioners at Berwick, in one of which are two complainers. The King has promised that Bothwell's men shall be relieved before they shall be in danger of life, and some of Maxwell's men are entered into Bothwell's hands for his relief, with provision that they shall be not delivered into England. Upon travail taken to bring in the rest of the offenders to relieve Bothwell, it is found that most of them dwell on the debateable lands, and the King is answerable for them. Neither their names nor habitations were known before this time, so they cannot be brought hither before the 15th May. Therefore the King and Council have required that Bothwell's seven men before delivered may be let home into Scotland upon the King's bond, to be re-entered into England on May 15th, for before then a sufficient number of "falters" will be brought to relieve Bothwell. It is thought that this favour shall greatly advance the further execution of justice for the residue of the bills filed at Berwick and redress of later disorders. Has given notice of this request, and of his informing their lordships of it, to Sir John Foster, with advice to deal favourably with the seven Scottishmen delivered by Bothwell until he receive direction therein.

According to Burghley's and Hunsdon's direction, he has declared to the King in her majesty's name—letting him know that she would have written herself had not her right hand "bene payned with a could"—how gratefully she accepted Bothwell's service for the late justice done to Sir John Foster for Liddesdale; and that, knowing that the King's own care and his commandment to Bothwell have been the ground of this good success, her majesty sent hearty thanks to himself, and required him so to encourage Bothwell that he may continue as he has begun. The King received her thanks in good part, and promised all care for the

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preservation of peace on the Borders, and to hold Bothwell in his present good way. Afterwards, upon Bothwell's coming to his lodging, he [Bowes] told him all his doings herein, and of her majesty's goodwill and of her commending him to the King, to his honour and comfort. He rejoiced at her goodness, and with offer of special service for peace on the frontiers, yielded hearty thanks, promising to endeavour to be worthy of her good opinion.

"The witch lately taken in Ingland and comytted to safe custody in Barwicke is delyvered into Scotland agreeable to the King's desyre; wherewith the King is well pleased. This woman hath accused many others, and is found to have practysed sundry wicked actions by her sorceryes."

The King still calls for John Dyxson that killed his father, who hitherto cannot be gotten, as Bowes trusts Sir John Selby has already certified.

When delivering her majesty's letters he gave the King her great thanks for the discovery of O'Rourke and his errand, recounting his notorious treasons in England and wicked devices, "proving him not only a traytor and rebell to her majestie, but also an open enemy to the comon cause of religion and amyty betwyxt these two crownes"; and that she has called for his delivery to her, agreeable to the old and new treaties betwixt these two nations. He [Bowes] pressed that he might be delivered at Berwick or Carlisle, according to her request signified by her letter, and grounded as well on the treaties mentioned as on the assurance of the King's good affection towards her, who would thankfully requite his kindness herein in any like case of his rebellious subjects being in England. The King readily agreed to deliver O'Rourke, adding that he would solicit the Council to give their assents thereunto, that her majesty might be pleased, and that this matter being settled by act of Council might be a good precedent hereafter, to enable him to do like pleasures to her majesty, and terrify traitors and rebels to fly unto or remain in either realm. He [Bowes] prayed that O'Rourke might be so safely kept as his body might be always at the King's disposition. The King doubted little thereof, saying that such as dealt betwixt them would bring O'Rourke to him wishing him [Bowes] to move the Council for his delivery. Thereupon he [Bowes] travailed with the Chancellor and other councillors—who promised to further her majesty's desire herein—and also at the assembly of the King and Council he renewed the cause, and the Council, seeing the forwardness of the King, willingly assented that O'Rourke be delivered at Berwick.

"The King seeking to have Owrorke brought to him—that he myght heere what he would say, and afterwards to send him to Barwicke—found that he was fled and departed—as is said—into Ireland. And thereon the King shewed to me his greate greefe, and how farre he had bene abused, affyrmyng that he would cause dyligent serche to be made for his apprehension, and prayed me to employ my best meanes for the same." He [Bowes] said that because the King and Chancellor had promised to have O'Rourke put in safe hands, he had not sought to know further of his state, lest they might think him possessed with needless jealousy and suspicion, and now it was too late, he being thus warned and at liberty. Is informed that O'Rourke was counselled ten days past to beware to come to the King, and thereon sent his horses and furniture into the Isle of Bute to be ready for him; that he sought to be received

James VI. 1590–1. among the Papists here, for he dares not return into his own country. "This intelligencer" thinks he still lurks in this realm, although he has heard that he withdrew to Sir John Smallett's house in Dumbarton town and now is returned to Ireland, with purpose to pass into Spain, where sundry sons of Irish noblemen have been resident these two or three year past.

Their lordships will be further informed hereof by this bearer, Roger Aston, as also of the present condition of this state. Commends the said Aston's diligence and good behaviour.

Bruits have been given out of attempts made by Huntly against Murray, and of a secret practice intended to have been executed against the Chancellor on Friday, the 13th instant, but they are at least partially untrue.

At the writing hereof he is informed that on 22nd instant O'Rourke was still in Glasgow, in no haste to depart. The King shall be speedily moved and means made for his apprehension, but he is too well friended in this court. The act of Council for his delivery is not yet registered, so he [Bowes] has required—and it is granted—that it be registered, to stay the repair of rebels hither, or get hold of them when they come. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

March 24. 543. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has seen, in the Chancellor's hands, the original letters directed by Charles late Earl of Westmoreland to the King and Chancellor. The report thereof is committed by the King to this bearer Roger Aston. "The endes of the letters in the Chancellour's handes were not fully shewed to me, butt as my sight served me I thought them to be dated in September, making me marvell that they have lyen thus longe in the decke, and have fortune to come to light att this tyme." Alley denies having brought hither any letters from Westmoreland, so that course is entertained by another, seemingly a Scottishman. All which shall be opened by Aston.

"This day Macklane sentt his servantt secretly to me to offer his service to her majesty, and to make a partye agaynst Mackonnell, Donell Gorom, Owrorke, or any others of the league—as he termed them—or rebels to her majesty in Irelande. His request is that I wold be mean ether to stay the liberty of M'Konnell untill he may be lykewise enlardged with hym, or els to hasten his own delyverye, that M'Konnell do nott wracke hym and his frindes whiles he remayneth in warde. He offreth to gyve his sonne in hostage for the performance of all dewtyes promysed. I am nott hastye to intertayne his sute, lesse therby I myght occasion M'Konnell to starte from her majesty's service in Ireland, cheyffly att this tyme, when the King and Chancelour have inserted a clause and artycle in the feoffment—as they call ytt—made by the King to M'Konnell for his landes, that he shalbe of good behayvour and loyall to her majestie. Neverthelesse I have nott denyed to do M'Klane the pleasures in my power, the rather bycause his servantt told me that Mr. Wotton before this sought to have interteyned hym for her majestie's servyce." This servant said that not only O'Rourke and other rebels, but many

James VI. 1590–1.

professing obedience to her majesty, have conspired against her and gathered money to draw M'Connell, Donald Gorme, and others to join them. He says that the young and loose men in the west isles, Kintyre, Argyle, and other places will be readily allured to aid those rebels. Wherein albeit the King has promised, and will endeavour, to restrain his own subjects, yet a letter from her majesty will be a good spur and quicken him greatly therein.

The English crew in Flanders and France, and other Jesuits and Papists of this nation, labour to be received into this realm, purposing to raise work here and in Ireland to occasion her majesty to withdraw her forces from France.

The submission drawn by Francis Dacre to be presented to her majesty is enclosed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Francis Dacre to Elizabeth.]

The remembrance of her accustomed clemency towards such as be in trouble, but especially towards her loving subjects, whereof he has had experience in his greatest adversity, causes him to think that either—through her great affairs—his adversity is altogether forgotten, or that she is not so acquainted as he would wish with the true causes of his calamity.

"Where by the senister information of my adversares, who be my dispossession injoyes the most parte of my levinge, your grace haith not onely taken the advantaidge against me of the Dacre's lands by my brother's offences, where of I proteste before God I am altogether innocent, and by my lief and my sonne's your majeste doethe injoye them, but also by your heighnes' offecers haithe dispossesteme of those landes wherein I was sesed and in possession." Therefore he came into these parts, thinking that upon letters of recommendation from the King of Scotland her majesty would deal more favourably with him. He obtained also letters of recommendation from Bothwell to her. After the King's return from Denmark, Dacre understood that his majesty had no answer from the Queen about him, so was constrained to seek in foreign parts such money as his brother had bequeathed to him: but lest his adversaries should misrepresent his purpose to her majesty, he acquainted Robert Bowes with his hard estate and the cause of his journey, requesting him to signify the same to her majesty, desiring her to suspend her hard judgement conceived upon information of his adversaries till she had better proof of his intention.

Bowes afterwards sent for him, and told him that he had acquainted Burghley with his former declaration, whose answer was that he had "meaned" Dacre's present estate and declared the causes of his journey to her majesty, who was so affected by it that if by lack of justice he had lost his own country and was to take further journey, and not through any disloyalty, Burghley would so deal with her majesty that he should have no cause to follow that course. Bowes wished him to signify to Burghley by letter as much as he had said to himself, requesting his intercession with the Queen; and assured him that he would find her

James VI. 1590–1. so gracious as he would not be denied her laws and would obtain some support at her hands. He wrote as directed, with petitions which he craved Burghley would present to her highness, hoping for such answer as Bowes had led him to expect. But so far as he can collect by Burghley's answer, all his petitions are refused, and chiefly concerning the payment of his debts, and it is plain that her majesty is not rightly informed of the cause of those debts, for they did not grow by his departure out of England but by his suit with Lord Arundel, through an order of Council—against all justice—whereby he was debarred from rents due to him.

It seems by Burghley's answer that her majesty thinks that before making further suit to her he should acknowledge his offences in coming to and remaining in Scotland and determining to go to foreign realms. He would willingly confess any fault which might seem offensive to her highness, and seek pardon on his knees, but fears the determination of his adversaries is such as to overthrow his house for ever, such is their unfavourable dealing toward him: "whereby I shall be compellid to attempt soume crime as I shall be dreven within the compasse of your grace's lawes to forefaulte the juste title I have; and so by that meanes they may injoye those landes which they knowe they can not otherwayes by lawe hould. The lyke injorye was used by the meanes of the unfrendes of my howse against my unfortenet brother Leonard Dacres after the deathe of the Lord George Dacre; first in commaundinge him not to taike upon hym the title of honor which was dewe unto him, as also in obtaininge one injunction that he should nott enter to his lefing which your majeste now injoyes by his title"; which injuries drave him to forget his duty, which the writer laments, never meaning to give his adversaries that advantage against him.

Although without hope of such relief from her majesty, till it please God to turn his mighty adversaries' hearts, yet he beseeches her to grant him such a pension as he may live upon in Edinburgh, with some maintenance for his five daughters, till such time as she think him worthy to enjoy his own at home; or otherwise that he may use means to procure that which his brother Edward bequeathed to him. If he receive no relief, he and his son must beg.

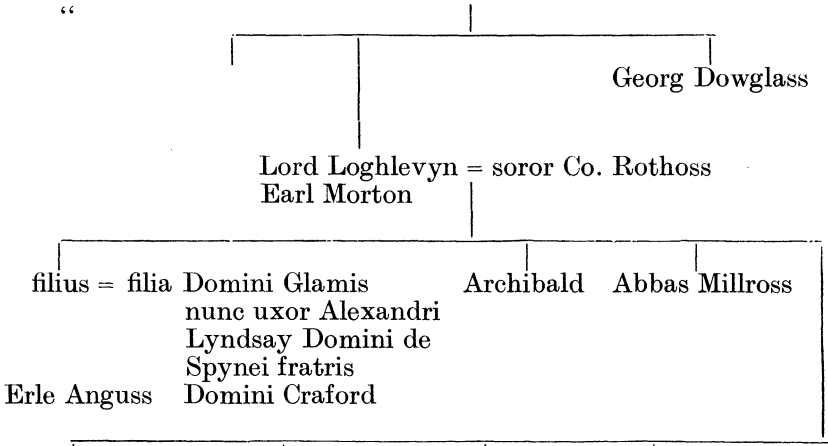
He cannot abide in Edinburgh on account of the charges, so acquaints her majesty that he is going to Caithness within twelve days where he may live at small charge, and also for safety of his life "which divers tymes hath bene sowghte, and more money offered to brynge there wicked purpose abowt then of hymself were able to paye, which causeth me the rather to dowtte from whence the practis dyd first begyne." If their wicked intention had taken place in killing him and his son, those lands which were his ancestors', which her majesty now enjoyes, surely had returned to Lord Arundel and the Lord William. The man that attempted it was Thomas Carilton, one that served Lord William and in great trust with him; he is her majesty's officer of Gilsland, part of his ancestors' lands, and daily preferred to more credit under her. Hopes for her clemency, having viewed his hard estate and the practices of his adversaries, and that she will bear with his homely, rude, and long letter and pardon any offences or omissions considering that he has no counsel to advise him. Edinburgh, 22 March. *Signed:* Francis Dacre.

3¼ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

James VI. 1591. March 25.

544. GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

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Dowglass of Ganbarry.	Erle Anguss = Gray Kenned	Contrary.
Dowglas.	Erle Morton. Erle Marshall.	The Duke.
Arskine.	Erle Marr = filia Drommond.	The Chancellor.
	Lord Jhon Hamilton	The Erle Huntley
Ruthen.	Erle Gowry = Kennedy	Erle Arroll
Stuard	Erle Atholl—Ruthen	Lord Maxwell
Stuard	Erle Bothwell = D.	Erle Glancarn.
	Erle Rothoss	
	Lord Hume = Dowglass	
	Lord Drommond	

Preachers: Mr. Brewe at Edenburgh, David Lyndsay at Lethe, Andro Melvin St. Androos, Jhon Row, Patrick Gallowey at St. Johnston, David Wymes."

1 *p.* *In Burghley's hand.* *Indorsed.*

April 3.

545. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received Burghley's letters of March 18 and 21. Before the receipt of the first of those letters he had signified to the King and Council her majesty's liking of the overture for redresses of the Borders: they have appointed men, day, and place as already certified.

The journey of Sir James Sandilands is stayed. It was not meant that he should seek the yearly gratuity given by her majesty to the King —which rather is to be employed for payment of the King's debts to the Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael, and others—but that for his own pleasure, and to see her majesty and the court, he might spend some time and his own money.

James VI. 1591. "Upon apt opportunyty and agreeable to your lordship's letter, I have in mery manner cast out in discourse with Collonell Steward that the late negotiacion caryed into Germany by himselfe and Mr. John Skeane—presentely visited with long sicknes—and the myndes of the princes with whome they travelled have bene frosen up with the could of this wynter, as the wayes were." Finding that the Colonel could say or do little to content him, he let it fall by accident before the King and Chancellor. The King seems nothing pleased that so weighty and well advanced a cause should be thus passed over with silence. He looks daily to hear of its progress, purposing to hasten it by his letters.

Roger Aston has doubtless made known O'Rourke's actions, and the act of Council concerning his delivery. The King has earned further thanks of her majesty in this matter, providing, at his [Bowes'] request, that the said act of Council should be registered and signed by the clerk, to be a precedent in times coming for mutual delivery of traitors and rebels entering into either realm, and also "an inward terror to all rebelles to adventure to shroude themselves in eyther of these kyngdomes." A copy of the act is enclosed. And the King earnestly protests that he will firmly observe all treaties with her majesty, especially the last. Has told the King that O'Rourke remained secretly in Glasgow, where he might be found and taken, and the King with speed and secrecy wrote to the prior of Blantyre to search him out. Upon the prior's certificate that O'Rourke lurked indeed in Glasgow the King gave notice thereof to him [Bowes], and at his request charged the prior to apprehend and keep him safely, the warrant to the prior being carried by a servant of Sir John Carmichael that the matter might be kept secret and executed with surety. The prior afterwards certified that he had apprehended O'Rourke, and would see him safely kept till the King directed some transporting of him, which he desired to be done with diligence for the benefit of the town of Glasgow, as will be seen by the copy of his letter enclosed. Soon after the King secretly addressed Sir John Carmichael —who only, with the King, Blantyre, and himself [Bowes], was privy to this course, and did good offices therein—with warrant to receive O'Rourke from the prior and deliver him speedily to Lord Scrope at Carlisle, being nearer to Glasgow than Berwick, and fit for his transportation into Ireland or England, as her majesty shall direct. "The King gave order to defray the chardges of Owrorke resting unpayde to his host at Glasco." But that all such things might be cleared without the King's charge, and for greater certainty, Bowes sent Henry Locke with Sir John to Glasgow, trusting to hear on his return of the execution of these things. To compass the apprehension and delivery of O'Rourke he has used the help of the Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael, and the prior of Blantyre, who have shown good endeavours for her majesty therein. Desires Burghley to acquaint her with their good offices, and procure thanks for them.

He showed to the King and Carmichael the clause in Burghley's first letter directing him "to put Carmyghell in mynde to acquyt himselfe of the promisses made by him in the King's behalfe for the suppressing of open Papistes in this realme, and to weaken the force of the conspiratours of the brigg of Dee. Wherein the King, acknowledging the errour past and excusinge himselfe thereof—as he did the like to the mynisters

James VI 1591. in this towne that very lately moved him in the same cause—promysed to see speedy reformacion, and hath gyven order that sundry of the pryncypall Papistes heere shalbe taken and comyt to close warde, willing the mynisters to call on the Counsell for speedy execucion thereof, and to informe him of any defalt succeeding in this matter." Carmichael has so moved the King in the matter, for his own honour, that he has made the like promise to him, and directed him to remind him of it until it be accomplished, to quit them both of their promises and satisfy the church. Thus Burghley's letter has wrought this good effect, that either the Papists shall be roundly dealt with or the means of their escape discovered.

According to the direction in Burghley's last letter he told the Chancellor that her majesty, finding he had imparted to him [Bowes] the receipt of the two letters from the late Earl of Westmoreland in secrecy, out of goodwill to her, did heartily thank him. Yet it seemed strange to her that the matter should be made questionable, for reasons given by Burghley, and because of the estate, qualities, and actions of that Earl. He [Bowes] enlarged upon this, saying that at the first breaking of this mystery to him he thought it to have been brought hither by the Englishman presently travailing here and now in his return. The Chancellor answered that his meaning was not to bring it in question whether the party sending the letters—or any other of his stamp—should be received in this realm, but how the matter and messenger might be used for the common benefit and her majesty's contentment; and he was ready to further the most profitable course. Since her majesty likes best that no dealings be granted here to any such persons or their messengers, "with purpose to draw on good effectes to the common causes," his ears from henceforth shall be utterly closed against them. He [Bowes] having told him "that sundry of the fowles of this feather seeke to buyld their nestes in this realme," he promises to persuade the King, and by all means in his power to defeat their designs.

Understanding that the King was acquainted with this matter, has told him her majesty's mind therein. He [the King] commended her resolution to give no entry to seditious practisers, or suffer their messengers to escape without chastisement, like as he himself had dealt with Alexander Dixson that brought those letters from Westmoreland, whom he had so sharply warned as he thought Dixson would beware to commit the like fault hereafter. "He seemeth to take compassion of such persones as by necessity and for small offences shalbe constrayned to leave their natyve cuntryes and seeke refuge in forayne realmes: but he resolutely protesteth to shew no favour to any knowen traytor or rebell agaynst her majestie that shall come into this realme."

The King earnestly calls for delivery of John Dixson that killed his father, resident in the east wardenry of England. Burghley and the Lord Chamberlain gave order to Sir John Selby for the apprehension and delivery of Dixson, who cannot hitherto be taken. The King is nothing pleased, still pressing the matter, chiefly upon the apprehension of O'Rourke.

The laird of Caddell, one of the tutors of the Earl of Argyle and in special credit with him, has offered his devotion to her majesty, promising on behalf of Mackonell and Donald Gorme that they shall not only do

James VI. 1591. her the like service, but that none under them shall aid her rebels in Ireland: offering to do his whole endeavour that none of the young and loose men in Argyle, Kintyre, or thereabouts shall offend any of her good subjects in Ireland. Desires he may receive her majesty's thanks and be encouraged.

The King, being desirous to pay the Chancellor and Carmichael the sums due to them, purposes to employ her majesty's yearly gratuity to those uses; wherein further order will be given to James Hudson to solicit Burghley in this behalf. And because the King minds to continue Sir John Carmichael in the west Borders, where he shall have great expenses, therefore he has written to him [Bowes] to procure the payment of 500 *l.* to Sir John; who greatly needs this relief, but will not press her majesty for it except as it shall stand with her pleasure, which he prays may be made known to James Hudson.

"The Master of Glaymes is returned to the court to acquyte himselfe of the late brute raysed that the Lord Hume and he had practysed to have surprysed and killed the Chauncellour in Edinburgh. By his presence the rumour is readyly quenched, and the Chauncellour and he remayne outwardly in fayre termes without any inward love or trust in their hartes."

The King and Chancellor have heard that Sir James Stewart, late Earl of Arran, was secretly come to his brother-in-law's house, Afflecke in Leith, awaiting opportunity to work harm to the Chancellor or stir the boroughs against him, upon the questions depending betwixt the King and the boroughs for the new impost of three French crowns to be allowed to the King for every tun of wine transported by any Scottishman into this realm or any other place. "For this cause the towne of Dundye hath bene put to the horne, and the rest of the boroughes withstood the order set downe for the King. But now it is agreed that the King shall have three crownes for every tun of wyne brought into this realme onely. And that the towne of Edinburgh for the residue of the boroughes shall have the fermyng of all other small customes for 4,000 *l.* Scotish by yeere duryng the contynuance of this impost for wynes. By this the matters betwyxt the King and broughes are pacified, and the brute of Sir James Stewarte's doynges found to be of small truth or importaunce."

"In the late conference for the new reconsiliacion betwixt the Erle Bothwell and Lord Hume it is said that they have dyscovered that the Chauncellour underhand dealt severally with them to have increased and nourished the contentions betwixt them, and that this matter is greately stomaked by them and others."

The King and Queen are ready to ride to the Chancellor's house at Lauder, to pass some few days there and then go to Dunfermline. But it is now thought the Queen will rather remain at Dalkeith. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7 *pp. Addressed. Marginal notes and indorsement by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

[Act of the King and Council.]

Order for apprehending an Irishman named O'Rourke, and delivering him to the Queen of England. 16 March 1590-91.

James VI. 1591. ½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.* Abstract in *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 597.

Second enclosure with the same:

[The prior of Blantyre to James VI.]

"According to your highnes direccion I have apprehended the persone your majestie wret for, and sall, God willing, sie him surely kepit till your majestie direct sume transporting of him, quhilk I wold your majestie wald caus be done with diligence."

"It was thought at his first entry within this cuntry that he had brought with him mair nor to serve him selfe, but I will assure your majestie sa fer as I can trie he hes not presentely to make his awne chardges till it come out of his owne cuntry."

"Becaus this towne of Glasqow quhairin he is apprehendit hes their chife traffique in Ireland, and fears greately that this man's trouble salbe very hurtfull to their trade of levinge, I am moved therefore at the earnest desyre of this people to interceid maist humbly at your majeste's handis, that this man may be so freendly handlit as the qualitie of his offence will permit." Glasgow. 30 March 1591. *Signed:* "Blantyre."

⅔ *p. Indorsed by Bowes.*

April 3. 546. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Monday, March 29th, Alley departed hence, with purpose to repair to Burghley and inform him of all his doings here. If any of the guests, desirous to come hither by his means, shall be known to Burghley to resort into this realm, he [Bowes] trusts he will advise him thereof, that he may "ether encounter or els wynke att ther practyses" as he shall be directed.

Alley's whole address here has been to the Catholics, among whom he has had sundry times conference with Colonel Stewart, who seemed ready to further his business and give him some light on affairs here. It appears that the Colonel abused both the King and Alley when he told the latter "that the King had sentt privilye an especyall person to Glascoo to warne Owrorke to provide for hym selfe and sayftye." The Colonel still seeks to have charge either of men to serve in the Low Countries or France, or of some negotiation to princes in Germany or the Low Countries. By Alley's report Burghley will be able to determine how far he is now to be trusted. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

April 6. 547. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday last, the 3rd instant, Sir John Carmichael delivered to the prior of Blantyre at Glasgow the King's commission for the delivery of Sir Brian O'Rourke to the custody of Carmichael. The town of Glasgow sought to move Carmichael and Blantyre to suffer him to remain there for two or three days, that they might inform the King what loss of trade in Ireland should come to their town if he should be ill treated. Finding that they could not prevail, they let fall some boasts that Carmichael, Blantyre, and their friends about Glasgow should repent

James VI. 1591. any harm done to O'Rourke; "and spared not to to call them Queen Elizabethe's knyghtes, and said that the King was bought with Inglish angelles." Tumult arose in the streets, and one of Bowes' servants waiting on Mr. Locke—sent with Carmichael—had some ruffle done to him. At this it was thought necessary to hasten the carriage of O'Rourke out of the town that night, with pretence that he should be conveyed to the King. "Whereupon Carmighell late in the afternone brought fourth Owrorke without bootes or riding apparrell, and amyddest the people following in greate number and in tumultuouse maner caused him take his saddle, and so passed from them." After they had peaceably ridden eleven or twelve miles Carmichael dismissed Locke to certify the King and himself [Bowes] of these doings; and with his prisoner rode to his own house at Carmichael, about eight miles from the place where he parted with Locke. Carmichael purposed the next day—being Easter Day—to call more strength to him, and therwith to pass with his charge in the afternoon to Carlisle.

For charges left unpaid by O'Rourke, and for apparell newly made, he owed in Glasgow 47*l.* Has taken order for the payment thereof, that the King might not be burdened, nor the town have cause of offence. O'Rourke's friends say that he was warned of his apprehension intended: "yet being resolved to abide the comyng fourth of Mackonill, that he myght returne home with him and have his favour in the succours that he sought at his handes; and becaus his apparell—being fayre and costly—was not fynished, nor his servant come agayne to him with money, and trusting to have bene secreat and safe in Glasco, he adventured to abide still there and attend the enlargemente of Mackonill." Locke is ready to serve for his convoy from Carlisle to London if desired, and can inform Burghley of all that has passed. The King is greatly pleased at this success, as by Sir George Hume he has given Bowes to understand, and promises that this shall be but the beginning of the witness of his goodwill to her majesty. He is solicited to have regard to the weal of Glasgow, but affirms to tender more her majesty's welfare, and leaves the order of O'Rourke to her good disposition. Carmichael and Blantyre have likewise put her pleasure first in this action, praying that if any favour be given to O'Rourke it may be known to the town of Glasgow that it proceeds partly at their suit, or that at least such compliments may be sent from her majesty as Glasgow and other parts may think themselves favourably dealt with.

Is informed that immediately upon the first apprehension of O'Rourke by Blantyre, and upon this delivery to Carmichael, messengers were sent to M'Connell, to Edinburgh, and to some noblemen of this realm, "and that my selfe is barked at by some such as I trust will not bite me." Finding the King to continue this course with her majesty this storm will be speedily calmed. The King and Council have resolved that M'Conell, Maclane, and Donald Gorme shall be shortly enlarged. Encloses a copy of the act of Council concerning them, that they shall keep the peace with England. M'Connell and Maclane continue their offers of devotion to her majesty, and upon their coming abroad will come severally and secretly to confer with him [Bowes]. It is for her to choose which of them she will entertain, for they are too "contrariously bent" to hold together.

James VI. 1591. "The King and Counsell have appoynted that Barbara Naper, Effam Mackallem, and Robert Grey[r]son—lately accused by severall wytches—shalbe arraygned and thoyle assiss at Edenburgh the 12th heereof, for the conspiring of the King's death and compassing of the death of Archbald, late Earle of Angus, deceased. It is ordayned that the depositions of six witnesses of any quality whatsoever shalbe receyved for sufficient testimony and prooffe of the fact. Sixteen counsellours are appoynted to be heere in this towne at that tyme."

The Earl of Angus is dangerously sick. The Master his son is here to work his desires, wherein he may prevail more than he is worthy, being backward in religion. Murray is to come the end of this week to answer to things objected against him. Grant and Mackintosh will keep his forces together against Huntly at Tarneway until his return. Huntly continues at Strathbogie, and is no party against Atholl, Murray, and the rest against him. He is driven to disperse among his friends fifty men received from the Borders with Captain Carr, which he thought to have kept for his guard in his own house. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. Indorsed. No flyleaf or address.*

April 8. 548. ACT OF SUBMISSION OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

Printed in D. Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc.) v. 119-124.

"Brother, understandinge the sharpe procedinges of the assemblies in my contrarie, and beinge troubled with sicknes that I mighte not give confession of that doctrine wherein I hope that God shall call me, and that at his pleasure I maye departe in unitie of Christian faythe, I thoughte good to utter the same to your wisedomes, and likewise to crave your godlie wisedome's assistance, not for the restitution of anie worldlie pompe or preheminence, which I litle respecte, as to remove from me the slaunders which I raised into this countrie concerninge the variance of doctrine speciallie in my parte, wherein I protest before God that I have onlie ane single respecte to his glorie, and by his grace I shall abide therein unto my live's ende."

"First, I confesse the true doctrine of Christian religion to be taughte within this realme, and detest all papistrie and superstition, like as, blessed be God, I have detested into my harte the space of thirtie yeeres, since it pleased God to give me the knowledge of the truthe; wherein I have walked uprightlie aswell here as in other countries, as the Lorde beares me recorde, untill there last dayes, wherein, partlie for ambition and vaineglorie to be preferred to my brethren, and partlie for covetousnes, I have possessed gredilie the pelfe of the churche; I did undertake this office of bishopric, wherewith most justlie the sincerest professors of the churche and worde have founde faulte, and condemned the same as impertinent to the office of anie sincere pastor of God's worde; and albeit men woulde colour the same and the imperfections thereof by diverse clokes, yet the same cannot be concealed from the spirituall eyes of the faithfull, nether can the men of God where they are put to there conscience dissemble the same."

"Nexte, I confesse I was in an erronious opinion that I beleved the governmente of the churche to be like to the kingdomes of the earthe,

James VI. 1591. plaine contrarie to the comaundementes of our master Christ, and the monarchie whereby the churche is governed not to be onlie into the parson of our Saviour Christ, as it is, but in the ministers, who are nothinge but vassailes under him in an equalitie amonge them selves."

"Thirdlie, that I maried the Earle of Huntlie contrarie to the churche's comaunde at the Kinge's comaunde, without the confession of his faythe and profession of sincere doctrine of the worde, I repent and crave God pardon."

"Fowrthlie, that I traveled both by reasoninge and otherwise to subjecte the churchemen into the Kinge's ordinance in thinges that apperteynes to ecclesiasticall matters and thinges of conscience, I aske God mercie, whereuppon greate enormities hath fallen forthe into this countrie."

"Fiftlie, that I beleved and so taughte the presbyters to be a false invention and woulde have it so estemed of all men, which is an ordinance of Christ, whereof I crave God mercie. Further I submitt my selfe to the mercie of God and judgmente of the assemblie, not measuringe my offences by my selfe nor infirmities of engyne, but to the good judgmente of the churche, to the which I submitt my selfe alwayes, and beseeche you to make intercession to God for me, and to the Kinge's majestie, that I maie have some moyen to live and consume the rest of this my wretched life, for whose cause I have comitted all these errors, and God hath justlie recompenced me in his judgmente."

"As where I am burdened to have beene the setter forthe of the booke called 'The Kinge's Declaration,' wherein the whole order of the churche is condemned and traduced, I protest before God that I was so comaunded to write by the Chancellor for the tyme, but cheifelie by the Secretarie, where he himselfe penned the seconde article of parliamente concerninge the power and authoritie of judicatorie to be absolutelie in the Kinge's power, and that it shoulde not be lawfull to anie subjecte to reclaime from the same, under the penaltie of the actes, which I suppose was treason."

"Item, where it is alledged that I shoulde have condemned the doctrine pronounced and taughte by the ministers of Edenboroughe, and to have allowed onlie my owne opinion concerninge obedience to the prince, I confesse and protest before God that I never understoode nor knewe anie but sinceritie and uprightnes in the doctrine of the ministers of Edenboroughe in that pointe nor no other."

"Further, I confesse that I was the author of the acte dischargingе the ministers' stipendes that did not subscribe the actes of parliamente, wherewith God hath justlie recompenced my selfe. As for anie violent course, it is knowne well who was the author thereof, and my parte was tried at the ymprisonmente of Mr. Nicoll Dowgliche, Mr. Patricke Melliwell, and Mr. Thomas Jake, and others."

"As for your wisedome's desires to have my owne opinion concerninge the booke of the declaracion of the Kinge's intention, the same is at more lengthe declared in the confession which I have alreadie exhibited, wherein I have condemned the whole articles therein conteyned, like as by there presence I condemne it. As where yee require what became of the bookes of the assemblie which I had all preserved whole unto the returninge of the lordes and ministers out of Englande, and if I had not preserved

James VI. 1591. them my Lorde Arrone intended to cast them in the fire; and upon a certen daye in Folkelande before they were delivered to the Kinge's majestie, the bishop of Aberdeine, accompanied with Henry Hamilton, rent out some leaves and destroyed some thinges as made against our estate; not without my owne speciall advise."

"As for the bookes which I have sett forthe, I have sett forthe nothinge excepte one comentarie upon the first epistle of Paule to Timothie, which I directed to the Kinge's majestie and kepte no copie for my selfe, but understandes that Mr. John Gaddice gat the same from the Kinge and lent it to Mr. Robarte Habburne; further I wrott nothinge, but onlie made mencion in my preface upon the Apocalips that I woulde write one booke called 'Psillus,' which beinge prevented by diseases God woulde not suffer me to perfecte it, and the litle thinge which was written I caused to be distroyed; and likewise I have sett forthe the booke of Job with the Apocalips and Lamentations of Jeremie all in verse to be printed in Englande. As for my intention, I am not disposed nor able to write anie thinge at this time; and if it please God I were restored to my healthe, I woulde chaunge my stile as Caietanus did at the Counsell of Trent."

"And where yee require concerninge a booke latelie sett forthe in Englande called "Southlivius,' against the forme and order of presbyters, if I was partaker with it or had knowledge who set it forthe, wherby I am ignorant thereof but by the title thereof, and knowes not the man, but if it pleased God to give me dayes I shoulde write in his contrarie to the maintenance of the contrarie profession."

"I praye the brethren to be reconciled and at unitie and peace with me in askinge of them forgivenes, because sicknes suffers me not to come over to the colledge which I woulde gladlie doe, to aske God and you forgivenes, that it woulde please you to repaire hether that I maie doe it here. Lastlie, it woulde please you to interceede to the Kinge's majestie, that if God shall a litle while [*sic*] my wretched dayes, I maye have some litle quiet moyen to live, for it is not as some reportes."

"Moreover I condemne by this my subscription that whatsoever is conteyned in the epistle dedicatorie to the Kinge's majestie before my booke of the Revelation that is ether slaunderous or offensive to the brethren."

"Moreover I promise to satisfie the brethren of Edenboroughe or anie other churche within this realme, accordinge to good conscience, in whatsoever they finde themselves justlie offended and contrarie to the worde of God in anie speeches, actes, or procedinges which are passed from me; and concerninge the comentarie written upon the first epistle of Paul to Timothie, because there is manie thinges therein conteyned offensive, and that tendes to allowe the estate of the bishoppes otherwise then God's worde can suffer, I condemne the same."

"That which I have here written endited by me, Mr. Patricke Adamson, and written by my servitor, Mr. Samuell Cuningham, and subscribed by my hande, as acknowledged by most sinceritie of conscience and in the presence of God before there witnesses directed to me from the Sinadoll Assemblie because of inabilitie of bodie to repaire towardes them."

"*Sic subscribitur* your brother in the Lorde, Mr. Patricke Adamson."

Witnesses: David Fargyson, Nicoll Dowgliche, James Manypenie of

James VI. 1591. Pitmill, Androwe Woode of Strewethie, Robarte Wilky, David Russell, David Spence, John Calclithe, William Mury. St. Andrews."

2 *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.*

April 12. 549. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Forasmuche—if it maie please your good lordship—as at my last being with you I delivered unto your honour a pardon for one Thomas Peareman for the deathe of Thomas Michell, with letters of requeste, as also my owne intreaties for your lordship's honorable favour in the behalf of the saide Pearman, for the better putting your lordship in mynde theareof, and also your honour's more speedye answeare and dispatche of the poore man this bearer, whoe lieth here a suter for the same at exceeding great charges and expences, have I written this much, which I here comende to your honour's good liking: whereof not dowbting but the cause itself being a deede of charitie—the rather for my sake—your lordship will favorably consider, I cease from further troubling your honour." *Signed:* "Your lordship's at all powar to be commandit, A. Douglas".

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 12. 550. QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE TUTOR OF THE EARL OF ARGYLE.

"Wher as by our ambassador with our good brother the King of Scottes your soverayn we understand your good disposition, beyng tutor to the yong Erle of Argile, to cause all such as in Argile or in any of the out isles of Scotland do depend uppon the sayd Erle to conform themselves to lyve within the conditions of the good peace that is betwixt the sayd Kyng and us for our dominions and people, and namely towardes our subjectes of our realm of Irland, beyng ther neighbors; we have thought good to lett you know our good acceptation of your offer made herof to our ambassador, and to gyve you thankes for the same."

"And as ther lyvyng peasibly towardes our good subjectes in Irland shall be—as we dowt not—but pleasyng to the King our good brothar, so ther is no dout but the same shall be profittable to themselves, which we know the former Erle of Argyle wold have sene performed, as havyng had good proff of our favors to hym. And in lyk manner we will gyve streyt order that none of our subjectes in Irland shall attempt any thyng ageynst any of the dependantes of the Erle of Argyle, or ageynst any the good subjectes of our good brother the Kyng, wherby God shall be pleased who is the author of peace, and our countres and people on both partes shall receave comfort therbi."

1 *p. Draft in Burghley's handwriting. Indorsed.*

April 13. 551. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Having received a letter of Robert Allatt certifying that on the 8th instant he was at Durham, hopes he has ere now been with Burghley and reported his doings in Scotland. George Carr—with whom he chiefly

James VI. 1591. travailed—departed the 10th instant towards Huntly and the north, to make provision for the receipt of such persons as Allatt shall bring with him. Their coming is daily looked for, for it is believed "that they will bring in plentye of gold, and restore sondry jewels of greatt valewe that sometymes were the King's mother's and have beyn morgaged in France." It may be that the expectation thereof purchased such ready despatch as Allatt bringeth from the King and Chancellor by means of George Carr. But the King begins to enquire of the conditions of these strangers, and hath no great liking to deal with them, thinking that he may not alter his course, nor keep in this realm any that shall be offensive to her majesty, neither can they stay long hidden in this country.

In those matters in working by Allatt he [Bowes] keeps himself close, "that his [Allatt's] trodde shall nott be troubled," but he has pressed the Chancellor to turn himself directly and manifestly against the Papists, and has wrought with others to persuade him to the same, so that the Chancellor has now firmly promised "to shake them cleane from hym, without regard of any profytt that he can gather by intelligence with them," and to procure that they be so warded and dealt with as none shall have cause to think he will in any wise uphold them. Those who have travailed with him are satisfied that he will keep his promises, and wish him to be encouraged and preserved from the hurt of his enemies to proceed in this resolution, which shall preserve the King and government in peace. Desires the said Chancellor may have testimony of her majesty's favour, to remove doubts conceived by any report. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

April 15. 552. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday he received Burghley's letter of the 9th instant, rejoicing that her majesty received so well the King's proceedings and his own diligence in the matter of O'Rourke, and intended to signify the same to the King with her own hand. Desires that the Chancellor, Carmichael, and Blantyre may also receive thanks, and encouragement to continue their good offices. He gave notice to the King of her acceptance of his proceedings, who showed himself resolved to run out his course to do her pleasure. The King said that as Bothwell had been before charged of evil practices with the witches "so now upon the examinacion of Richard Graiham—the pryncipall of the witches heere—before the Counsell and others appoynted to deale with him, it is come to greater matter." For Graham, fearing to die either by the law or by Bothwell's hands, prayed to live in prison or banishment, promising to reveal all he knew. He confessed that Bothwell urged him to devise means to hasten the King's end, and drove him to it to avoid his own destruction. Bothwell told him that a necromancer in Italy had foretold that he should be very great in possessions temporal and spiritual, that he should with his own hands kill two men, that he should fall into the King's hands for capital causes, obtain pardon for the first, but lose his life for the second; and that the three first matters having taken effect, he would prevent the danger foretold. It was devised that a waxen image of the King should be made, "one tode to be enchanted and hanged up, and a peece of the

James VI. 1591. head of a yonge calfe newly calfed to be taken." This was uttered to sundry witches, especially Jely Dunkyn, who was wont to assemble the witches at Graham's command. The King said that Jely Dunkyn and others confessed at first that Bothwell had dealt with them, but afterwards denied it and accused him [Bowes].

Graham acknowledged that Bothwell—hearing that some of the witches had accused him, and that Graham was to be examined—dealt with him to accuse him [Bowes] of practising with him to destroy the King, saying that Bothwell and Bowes begin with like letters, which might suffice to make the witches think it was Bowes that had travailed with Graham. Therefore, at his late examination, Graham charged him [Bowes] with it, and Jely Dunkyn continues to accuse him; but he was supposed to have dealt with Graham four days after Lammas Day, and at that time Asheby was resident in Scotland for her majesty. Graham declared that during his imprisonment Bothwell had several times sent him money, persuading him to stand fast to the denial, "and to say that Bothwell had bene with him to enquyre whether his mother had bene bewitched or not," and for no other matter. The persons thus sent to him confess this to be true. For the further examination and disposition of these matters the Council entreated the King to be present, and to stay the arraignment of three witches. Whereupon the King came hither yesterday, and heard Graham confirm his deposition. He returned in the evening to Dalkeith, purposing to be here again to-day and to remain some time to proceed in these behalfs with diligence.

"The erle Bothwell is sent for to be heere to morow; and some towardes him, being especially chardged with knowledge and practyse of sondry particular matters heerein, are lykewise comaunded to appeare." Thus the truth shall be known. Bothwell has all in readiness to go abroad, and possesses an old licence from the King to pass to other countries; some think he will use it and refuse to come hither. The King wished her majesty might know how he was dealt withal, and seems to look for advice from her.

"The Duke of Lennox hath caryed one of the daughters of the Erle of Gowry from Wester Weames—where the King for the better surety of her keeping out of the Duke's company had placed her—unto the house of Atholl at Dunkeale, and there maryed her." The King is highly offended, but means are to be made that he shall be pacified. Before the receipt of Burghley's letter sundry of O'Rourke's company were departed from Glasgow to Ireland. But if Trevor—named in that letter—be in this realm, he [Bowes] will make some reckoning of him.

The Chancellor gives good contentment to the well affected, and is prepared to set his course against the Papist. Desires that by the sight of her majesty's good opinion towards him he may be encouraged. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—"This daye Robert Greyson, one of the three witches to have bene examyned, died, and as it is thought by the extremyty of the tortours applyed to him. He hath confessed litle, and yet it is said by the rest that he was pryvy to all their accions."

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1591. April 15.

553. ANDREW MOWATT TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"It pleasethe your heighnes to understand that I, Andres Motte, esqueyer, retayner, and subjecte under the Kynges majestie of Denmarcke, and, for carten causes which God hathe appoynted, dwellinge at this present in his majestie realme of Norway, which am of layte yeres come oute of Shottland, in which place my landes, goodes, and ineritance doth lye and remayn which God hath geyven me to enierett of my progeniteis, gevinge your moste excelent heighnes my greatte sorowe and heavei complaynt to understande that I have benne two seaverall tymes spoyled and robede with Inglysh men dwelling within your majestie realme of Ingland, unto my greate heyndrance and lose of manie houndrthe dolleris."

"Fyrste, in anno –86 the 12 in Auguste am I robede and spoyled in my dwellinge house called Olleberie in Shottlande bye Inglishe men, the capten beinge named Capten Beare dwellinge in Ratclyf beseides your majestie citey of London, or havinge his abbydinge in the same place. Which capten hade a shipe called the *Blacke Leyon* of Hull, master tharof called Ellexsander Chapman, dwellynge in Hull, havinge with them an other small barke to thare pennes and haveinge in bothe shipes a greate nomber of men. At which tyme they have not only spoyled my house, but allso have tacken from me in goulde and money and seylver warcke and other goodes the some of two thowsande doleris, beseides my apparell and obligacones and deades which I woulde not meyse for syxe houndrethe doleris."

"And now agayn in anno '90 I had occason for to sayll from Norwaye to Shottlande, and from thense to my soffrayne lord and prence the Kynges majeste of Skottlande upon sarten matteris I hade for to declare unto his highnes. And beinge come nere to the lande of Shottlande thare came an Ingleshe man of ware upon me and robede me of all that I hade in my shipe, and tocke from me at that present tyme in goulde, selver, and goodes, the some of foure thowsande and fyve houndrethe dolleris, beseydes a wryteynge which my soffraune lord Kynge Jemes his majestie be fore hade geyven unto me, with sarten other obleygacones and billes aperteyning to my sealf, the which I woulde not meise for a thowsande doleris. Upon vhich saide rover was a roppares sonne of Skarbroughe in Yorckshyar as nere as I can larnne by my shiper and marineris, which saide ropperes sonne hathe a marke in one of his checkes cout with a sorde."

"And beinge so spoyled and robed two seaveralle times with your majesties subjectes, and havinge by them had suche a greatte lose upon my goodes and monye, it hathe cawsed me to macke my humble sutt and complaint unto my souffrainte lord, the Kinges majestie of Danmarke, whoo hathe of his majesties heighenes wryten his lovinge letteres unto your souffrainte majestie in my behalf."

"And for that I do understand that my souffrainte lord and Kynnge his majestie wrytethe not so large instrouccones unto your highnes of theise persones as I my self with dyveres otheres can showe and testefye, it mackethe me the boulder to present this my humble suppleicacon unto your majestie, moste humble besechinge your heighnes not onlye to geyve me pardon for this my boulde enterprice, but also of your

James VI. 1591. gracious goodnes for my souffraynt lorde and Kynge his majesties sacke to be a healpe unto me, whareby I may come unto my ownne agaynne of theise forsaid parsones which have so crewellye meisowsed me, or other wayes to have lawe and justes agaynst them in suche order as it shall seme beaste unto your majesties heighnes. Wryten upon my hows called Gereis Weycke in Norway." *Signed:* Mowat of Howpland.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 17. 554. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Bothwell came yesterday to this town with eight servants and resorted to the King and Council assembled in the Chancellor's house. The Chancellor demanded whether he knew Richard Graham, and he answered that he knew him. The Chancellor enquired when and where he first knew him; he could not remember; it was three or four years since, "and he regarded the fellow so litle as he could not gyve any certen accompt in these behalfes." With passionate words he threatened the life of any that would affirm that he had conspired with Graham against the King. The Chancellor asked what had passed betwixt him and Graham, telling him that Graham had charged him with evil device against the King's life. Bothwell said that Graham had offered him a ring of sundry colours, showing him that there was a spirit enclosed in it whereby he might know what should betide himself, and whether his servants dealt truly with him, which ring he scorned: affirming constantly that no matter concerning the King ever came into conference betwixt them. He alleged that this matter grew not only by Graham, but sprang from his enemies, who conceiving that Graham should be an instrument to work reconciliation betwixt him and Sir James Stewart, doubted that he should bring Sir James again into court and the King's favour, whereby the court and state should have been altered, and some of his enemies should have fallen. For prevention whereof this practice with Graham was devised against him. He steadfastly denied the matter, and would not ask pardon of God or the King herein, praying that his accusers might be put into the boots or other tortures with him, and the truth discovered by the confession of one of them; or else that the accuser might first suffer death, which if he should endure without confession that he had falsely accused him, then he would acknowledge himself guilty, and willingly receive execution of death; praying that these may be tried with all expedition. He was dismissed and committed to the castle, with order that none should speak with him. In the way to the castle he sent Richard Douglas to him [Bowes] to assure him that he had not practised against him with Graham as the latter affirms. This day Graham shall be brought before him to justify his accusations.

"Albeit the King have bene much pricked forwardes to the execucion of justice, yet he appereth to be resolved to preserve Bothwelle's house in his children, whatsoever he shall determyne on the father's lyfe. And the King saith he wilbe loth to be the instrumente that the devill or any nicromancer shalbe found true in their answeres." But the most part so press the trial, and execution of justice, that his life is in danger. Archibald Chirnseede, Bothwell's servant, was charged by Graham to have brought him money sundry times from Bothwell, persuading him

James VI. 1591. to stand fast in his course promised, that Bothwell might get his life and liberty. Sundry other things, Graham says, passed betwixt them. Whereupon Chirnseede was sent for. Bothwell affirms that he had sent him to Aberdeen before the letters came, so Lord Lindsey is commanded to take him and bring him hither.

Amidst all these troubles the King prays that the fallow deer he looks for may be sent from England. He [the King] thinks Cuthbert Rayne —appointed to attend on Burghley in this behalf—is sick, and beseeches that order may be given to his [Bowes'] servant, Christopher Shepherdson, who will wait upon Burghley for this matter.

This day the Chancellor has resigned his office of Secretary, and Richard Cockburn is appointed to it. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—This day Bothwell and Graham, being confronted before the King and Council, Bothwell prayed the King to know what he would charge him with. The King answered, with practice to have taken his life. Bothwell asked if he would lay any other matter than that only. The King said it sufficed, and willed him to clear himself thereof. Bothwell desired that this might be recorded, and being granted, he asked Graham how he could charge him herewith. Graham still affirmed that he had urged him to do this against the King, and had sent Chirneseede and his man to persuade him. Bothwell utterly denied any such dealing with him, alleging that Graham's testimony was of no credit. And if Chirneseede or his servant had practised herein it was without his privity, and he left them to answer for themselves. Hereupon he is returned to the castle, showing a good countenance in hope of his speedy delivery.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 27. 555. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Upon receipt of Burghley's letter of the 13th instant he again signified to the King her majesty's good acceptance of the delivery of O'Rourke —now in her possession—her promise of reciprocal dealing, and of a letter. The King answered that her good acceptance was sufficient recompense, and promised to do her all the pleasures in his power. "The townes of Glascoo and others coastinge on Ireland have bene earnest peticioners to the Kinge to moove her majestie to gyve order for the preservacion of their trades in Ireland": the King prays her to direct the Lord Deputy of Ireland to provide for his subjects in this behalf. And the Chancellor, the prior of Blantyre, the Secretary, and others have prayed Bowes to recommend the matter to Burghley, offering that if her majesty will save O'Rourke's life, good bonds shall be given that he and his sons will hereafter be loyal subjects. Sir John Carmichael and the prior of Blantyre rejoice to hear that her majesty accepts their endeavours in the matter of O'Rourke, praying that if she give him any grace it may be known to Glasgow and the other towns to be at their request, to reconcile the inhabitants to them, "who are generally called the Queen of Inglandes knyghtes, and cheefely Carmyghell, of whome many thinges are said to be done for her majestie agaynst Bothwell and for her majestie's pleasure."

James VI. 1591. The King sent Sir George Hume to let him [Bowes] know his great need of money, and require him to entreat Burghley to move her majesty that he might speedily receive this year's gratuity. James Hudson is to receive it, to provide out of it some things in London, and to bring the residue to the King, who desires to know the time appointed and the sum to be delivered. Has laid before the King and Sir George the great charges that her majesty endures for the common causes of religion, the French King, and the Low Countries, "perswading some freendly forbearaunce untill her majestie's coffers myght be better replenished." But this state is not contented to suffer delay.

The King has called a convention of the nobility, boroughs, and barons to be at Holyrood House the 6th of May for the arraignment or other disposition of Bothwell, against whom little of importance is discovered beyond what was known to the King before his departure on Wednesday last by the depositions of Richard Graham, who steadfastly stands to his charges against Bothwell. Bothwell alleges that these troubles are brought on him by means of England, charging chiefly therein Sir John Carmichael and Mr. Robert Bruce, minister in Edinburgh. The King is much grieved therewith, telling Bothwell openly that before this he forged untrue suggestions against noble personages in England who with honour acquitted themselves. The Chancellor bitterly told him "that his fault heerein to the King was greater then consulting with witches, which is death by the lawes of this realme, and which offence Bothwell hath already taken on himselfe." The Chancellor, Clerk Register, Advocate, and others, authorised by the King's commission to examine Bothwell and take his answers in writing, offered to proceed; but he refused to set down anything in writing or to charge himself with any matter, unless he might be first assured of the King's pardon for all his offences except the practice of the King's death. In this he stood upon the King's promise passed to him; but the King affirms to have promised pardon only for the slaughter of the two men and for the treason at the bridge of Dee.

"Rynian Chirmseede—whome in my former letters I named Archbald Chirneseede—and David Nesbeth his servant have not hitherto appeared, notwithstanding that Bothwell promysed that they should come in." Proclamation is published in all market towns commanding them to appear upon pain of treason, but it is thought they will withdraw, for Graham has more matters against them, proving their dealings with him for the King's death and other sorcery and wickedness. Bothwell's friends and retainers are commanded by proclamation to depart out of Edinburgh, and not to come within four miles of it or the court. Barbara Naper, one of the principal witches, wrote to Bothwell to stand fast, showing that his enemies had devised his dittay—that is, his indictment, which letter was delivered to a woman to take to one of Bothwell's servants to convey to Bothwell. Being open it was read by sundry, whereof one instructed Robert Bruce, who advertised the King. But the woman burnt the letter.

Because the captain of the castle would not give leave to such as desired to speak secretly with Bothwell, he is angry with the captain. He begins to think his case more dangerous than he looked for, for the preachers in their sermons and in private exhortations to the King and

James VI. 1591

councillors urge that these matters be examined, the innocent protected, and the guilty cut off. Has not been idle in this, as opportunity served. The King has good will to punish thoroughly this fall in Bothwell if it be found against him, but says it appertains to the Council, and desires that they should prosecute the cause. But the Council, thinking that the King shall come to the best execution by the sight of his own danger, leave the matter to his own course, which they will agree unto without any gainsay, until the meeting of the convention.

William Leslie made petition to the King and Council that the act of Parliament in favour of the Bishop of Ross might be declared by act of Council to be good and effectual; but the matter is referred to the ministry, without hope of the success desired. In this Huntly was very earnest, but prevailed little.

The King and Chancellor had written so sharply to Huntly to confirm the assurances to the laird of Spynie, as Huntly thought meet to accomplish the King's will and to come to court, thinking that the Duke and Bothwell were so cast down as he might—by the help of Spynie and other friends—recover some room in court. But he is returned as wise as he came.

"The Queen, Chancellour, and counsellours have so prevayled with the King for the Duke of Lennox as the King is pleased that the Queen shall wryte to him to come to her. And it is looked that the Duke shalbe shortly restored to the King's good countenaunce and to his offices in court."

Richard Cockburn, sister's son to the Chancellor, is made Secretary by the commendation of the Chancellor, who resigned the office to him. He is a good scholar, well affected in religion, and ready to do her majesty service.

Cannot yet learn where Trevor is. Some Irishmen say that "he is called as well Trevour as also Charles," and that Charles—called by some Trevour—is a tall, slender man; that he had been some time in Ireland, escaped out of Dublin, and came hither with O'Rourke, and was his secretary. Here he hurt one of his fellows, and departed from his master with 40 *l.* into Ireland.

His [Bowes'] servant Shepherdson has advertised him that upon his suit to Burghley to understand her majesty's pleasure as to payment of the remains due to the garrison at Berwick, Burghley said that by her direction he had appointed all his [Bowes'] possessions to be seized, and the fees of his office at Berwick, his diet and entertainment at Edinburgh, to be stayed. In this and all things he submits to her pleasure, to which he yields life, liberty, and possessions. And forasmuch as he has taken sums from Scottishmen in Edinburgh to be paid to them at London, and has assured the payment out of sums now due to him, and those creditors begin to press him and must be satisfied, though it be with the sale of his plate and such poor things as he has, he beseeches Burghley to provide that the sums already due to him, thus assigned to his creditors, may be delivered to Shepherdson to save his credit. He cannot serve in this place upon the benevolence of his friends and his own means and credit, without her majesty's relief. And having offered all his other possessions, fees, and entertainments for payment of the arrears at Berwick, he prays her majesty to pardon his fault, grown upon the

James VI. 1591. ground of necessity, and would know her pleasure as to payment of the said remains to the garrison, and acceptance of his bonds for repayment of the same; and also as to his fees and allowances. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—Has just received Burghley's packet containing a letter from her majesty to the King, one from Burghley to himself, and three proclamations forbidding all persons to resort to any towns held by the French King's rebels, or to traffic with them.

6 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

April 27. 556. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"With your lordship's packet delyvered presently to me I receyved this packet inclosed, to my greate admyracion and plundge. For albeyt that it is subscribed with the name of Zachary Locke—an honest and faythfull gentleman—yet I suspect the matter, the rather because Mr. Henry Locke, his kynsman and knowing his hande, is of opinion with me that this dyreccion or superscripcion is not wrytten by him, who in his experyence would not addresse these thinges—touching such personages and matters—thus barely to me." Sends the packet as he found it, having read the letters left open, and trusts he has committed no error.

"The author of these letters being myne old host in St. Andrewes and using to doe good offices to me, hath my pasport to London in hope of his good behavour; but I fynd him occupied farre beyonde his promyse and myne expectacion. Therefore I leave him to the censures of them that may determyne of him and me." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

[April]. 557. JAMES VI. TO MAITLAND.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 40. "Chancellaire, I mervell that sa vyse a man and aulde a counselloure as ye are soulde have done sa unvyse a turne as to have founde fault with the generallitie of my revocation, especiallie considdering the purpoise I spake to you at my last going ovir in youre auin yairde, *sat sapienti*, as to the offending of any by this revocation. Ather it may praejudge thaim or not; gif it may not, it is nathing, and nathing can offend naboddie; gif it may, have I not aneuch adoe with my auin? And gif the people kneu quha ualde offende uith that thay neidit na maire but hisse till him."

"I have offendit the haill cuntrey, I graunt, for prodigall geving fra me, but quhen I take to me nane can be offendit but the particulaire person. But of all men it sett least the counsall or chekker to have found fault uith this turne, for by this uaye the vulgaire opinion conceavit of thaim thir manie yeiris, that thay uaire bettir freindis to my person nor my purse, uill not onlie be confirmid but hauldin nou as confessid. It is ill to be callid a theif and syne found stealling; gif I hadd bene present quhen thay articlis uaire redd to the counsall as Scoggain badd the greatest ghooke lay on the first strype, sa ualde I have biddin him that uas maist claggitt uith the Kingis geir finde the first faulte, and it

James VI. 1591.

ualde then have bene ansourid *cum alto silentio ;* but gif youre publike offer hadd bene parformid be everie ane, this ualde not have bene skarrid at."

"As for youre auin pairt, keip youre self fra ueill daunsit and ueill playde. Your felicitie uarldlie man depend onlie upon ane, and consist onlie by and in him."

"This farr I uritt onlie to youre self, for that goodeuill ye knau I beare you. Let the uprichtness of youre meaning be unspottabill by any als ueill in bearing uith as in doing. This farr I reccomend to youre auin onlie reiding. The rest followuing ye may communicat it to the counsall or sicc as it apparteinis unto. Gif I have bene shairpe, blaime the shairpeness of the humoure that hes trublid my heade and bredd sicc impatience. The incessant laboure I have tane upon effaires all this yeire, uith the residence in ill ayred Edinbrouch this tyme of yeire hes sa ueakinid my complexion and sa subjectid me ta sindrie shouris of diseasis, as it is unabill to me to mell in affaires quhill I be sumquhat restid ; and thairfor I reccomend unto you thir principall pointis to be rememberid in my absence."

"My uyfis ellevin hundreth pundis man be heir the morne at evin, uithout tryst breaking. Macleane is nou releivid, and the gentlemen I doubt not or nou hes keipit thaire promeis. This man be done and ather yone sone or never ; *car elle mesme y assigne ce temps.*"

"I gart the Secretaire writt yestirday a question to you about the claithis of sum Dutche fellouis ; ather monney or claithis, choose you quhilke of thaim, but I think rather claithis."

"The tua aydis of the kitchein rann out yesterday and ualde not make the supper readdie, saying condition uas not keipit. The maister cuike and his boy behovid to dress the meat. Call for the rou, see quhat is conditionid and yett unaccomplishid. Lett it be presentlie mendit, sen it is butt sa pigraill a maitter. Suppois ue be not uelthie, lett us be proud poore boddies. Remember youre promeis maid to the Quene of Denmarke ; take the thankis and honour of it youre self."

"The man that gatt the hundreth crounis the last yeir is cum heir againe the yeire. Advyse quhat to do uith him. The Secretaire sall tell you the particulairis of that the morne. Sen theire can na present tryall be hadd of the Erl Bothuell, I thinke best he præpaire him self to depairt uithin threttie or fourtie dayes, his absence to be na neirair hande nor Germanie or Italie. That he remaine quhaire he is quhill the schipp be readdie to pull up saillis. Onlie sicc personnis as mellis uith that præparation by speciall lycense at tymes to be admittid unto him. Great souertie to be taine, Louthian baronis being cautionairis for his depairting at that day, for his not returning uithout lycence, for practising nathing uithout the cuntrey and for leaving sum principall man to be ansourabill for Liddisdaill. In my opinion Bukleach uaire meittest for that chairge. Lett the mann and shippis namis that transportis him be notifeit uithin fyftein dayes, that burgess caution may be taine of him for transporting of him to sicc or sicc portis, and for that cause lett that mann be uarnid to be maister of his auin shipp. Quhat lettir is milorde craving of reccomendation to other princis, graunt thaim sa being thay be honorabill. As for the cullourid cause of his depairture, advyse upon sum honorabill excuse, for thair is na uant of maitter."

James VI. 1591. "Trye by the medicinairis aithis gif Barbara Nepair be uith bairne or not. Tak na delaying ansour. Gif ye finde sho be not, to the fyre uith her presesentlie [*sic*], and cause bouell her publicclie. Lett Effie Makkaillen see the stoup tua or three dayes, and upon the suddain staye her in hope of confession. Gif that servis, adverteis; gif not dispatche her the next oulke anis, bot not according to the rigoure of the dome. The rest of the inferioure uitchis, of at the naill uith thaim, but garr see that Richie Grahme uant not his ordinaire allouaince quhill I take farther ordoure uith him. Remember yone action before the counsall betuene the Grayes and the Atholl men. Fair ueill, for I ame ueirie of writting." *Signed:* James R.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Holograph.*

May 7. 558. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"My necessitie is so grit that evin yisterday I was constraned to borrow so much money as to pay the chargis of ane serwand send to Scotland wyth this gentillman that come from the Duck of Bruniswik; and wyth so grit difficultye I did obteyn the samin that I was forced to make promes to repay the samin wythin twenty four houris. Thayrfor I must hartlye pray your lordship to be so faworablye onto me as to gyve ordour that the patent of Sanct Katherinis may be caryed to the court, which it pleased hir majeste to grant in my favouris of hir speciall gudnes towardis me, to be signed, that I may sea what I can do thayrvyth for the releaving of my credit."

"Necessite forcis me thus farre to be importunat at this tyme; yea, albeit the patent will be of no grit effect quhill the monethis of December or Januar, for such ressonnis as I declared to hir majeste and schew to your lordship of befor; whearof I will pray your lordship to have consideration." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

May 8. 559. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

"Havinge prepared my pacquett to your lordship, and putte therin bothe one longe letter to effectes appearing in this letter inclosed—and beinge the true coppie of my letter then addressed to your lordship and nowe intercepted—and also my warrante to aucthorize Christopher Sheperson to be my attornie to make all myne accomptes to her majestie for my office at Barwick, I delivered to John Snowden, soldiour under Sir William Reade in Barwick, on Thursdaye laste in the morninge, this pacquett, together with one smale letter sente to Sir John Selbye by Mr. Richard Dowglasse, bringinge the same to me verie earlie in that morninge, and one other letter sente by Mr. Locke to Barwick." Snowden started with this packet and letters. Near Musselburgh he espied two horsemen following him, their faces covered with black scarves, and one footman, who drew so fast upon him as he left his way and joined the company of the bishop of Orkney, who, hearing that he came from him [Bowes], carried him to his house, and sent his servant to Cunningham [*sic*] to hire a fit person to guide Snowden to Berwick. Snowden and his guide met—within a quarter of a mile—an inhabitant of that

James VI. 1591. town, who, seeing him to be an Englishman, advised him to stay in that town for that night, for he had met two horsemen and a footman, muzzled, that enquired for such an Englishman as Snowden was. "This man tolde him playnlie that they wolde either take his letters, if he hade anye, or els his purse or lyfe. Snowden came backe againe to his hostes house there, and soone after the foteman came to the doore, and seinge him, returned to the horseman, who with the foteman came to Snowdens lodging, and in the sighte of twentie or thirtie people drewe him oute of the doores; toke him and set him on his horsbacke, bynding his feete under his horse bellye and his handes behynde his backe. After they tooke his purse, monye, and somme of his apparell, using him excedinge crewellie, to cause him to acknowledge and deliver the reste of the letters that he hade. Thus they lefte him bounde and sore beaten, that he coulde not come to me before yesternight."

The King, upon his [Bowes'] information, sent to discover the executioners of this, with the devisers. Thinks "that some plowinge with myne owne heiffer hathe turned up this stone to vexe me." Has got some light, and hopes to gather more within few days.

This convention is so slender, chiefly of the nobility, as the trial of Bothwell cannot proceed; yet his friends press for the trial. It is given out, so that it may come to the King's ears, that he will stay his progress until he receive advice from her majesty. This bruit is grounded upon the contents of his [Bowes'] intercepted letter; wherein he shall readily satisfy the King and Council. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

May 5. [Robert Bowes to Burghley.]

Upon receipt of Burghley's letter of April 23 he delivered to the King —then at Haughton—her majesty's letter, which he gladly received, commending the princelike style thereof, and rendering thanks, promised to continue in this course with her majesty. He then put the King in mind of the late accusations against Bothwell, pointing to his former faults and to the present dangers to the King and state and the peace of both crowns. He concluded with advice—in her majesty's name—to examine these matters thoroughly for protection of the innocent and punishment of the guilty, "as also to dandle no longer offenders to the perill of himself and common causes." The King seemed resolved to put this advice in practice, saying that the evidence against Bothwell for conspiring his death was so weak as the assize of the nobility would be hardly satisfied to declare him guilty. He was determined to try the truth to the bottom, and execute justice speedily. The King, the Chancellor, and other councillors still labour to discover all things clearly; and the King and Council directed the ministry to ordain a general fast with prayers for this discovery: which was solemnized on Sunday the 2nd instant.

"That it was an oversight to deferre the apprehension of Roynion Chernsyde untill Bothewell was chardged with the facte, as your lordship hathe noted: it is answered, that this was done that no skarre moughte be geven to Bothewell to staye his appearance." It was thought that

James VI. 1591. Chernsyde would have come with Bothewll as he used to do; and now, because Bothwell undertook to bring in Chernsyde and Nesbett, and sent Pennycowke his servant to Chernsyde and thereby knoweth his mind, which shall give little light to the truth, therefore no great labour is made to take Chernsyde, who is returned out of the north. Some have offered to search him out, but this seems rather meant to take hold of Bothwell's promise and actions herein; he [Bowes] leaves them to their own course.

"Upon the sight here of the proclamation published in England forbidding all persons to resorte to any townes helde by the Frenche Kinge's rebells, order shalbe taken aswell to renewe the actes of Counsell passed here in that behalf as also to inquire of the defaultes."

Has already written of the preferment of Richard Cockburn to the office of Secretary.

On Saturday the first instant he received Burghley's letter of April 25, with her majesty's to the laird of Caddell. The King has been so occupied with the fast on Sunday and the examination of witches as he could not have access to him nor opportunity to write, "my clarckes either absent or sicke, and my self latelie passed a sharpe and dangerous blaste." Trusts in a few days to write more of his doings in Bothwell's cause, wherein he strives not to be the first informer but rather to inform with truth and certainty, attending the leisure of the King and councillors. The King has promised to provide for Liddesdale that it shall be answerable to justice, but will suspend the matter till the convention proceed to Bothwell's trial.

By the examination of O'Rourke it may be disclosed that he sought intelligence with the Earl of Tyrone in Ireland: the report thereof made to him [Bowes] is more of conjecture than knowledge.

The laird of Caddell, visited with a tertian ague, departed from Edinburgh to his house—against his advice and the desire of his friends—before receiving her majesty's letter; has sent it to him.

The King continues desirous to have some fallow deer sent to him this year, "wishing proofe to be made for the carriadge," as will be seen by his letter to Roger Aston.

Bothwell has certified the King and Council that Chernsyde, being guilty of crime for consulting with Graham and other witches in his own particular causes, dare not present himself to answer in the actions of Bothwell before the King pardon his own faults. Upon special remission for himself in those particulars he will come in and abide trial for all things done by him in behalf of Bothwell. This is reserved to the deliberation of the convention. Bothwell has written to Mar for his favour, wherewith Mar has acquainted the King. He has also sought the goodwill of the Master of Glamis and other noblemen. Hereupon order shall be given to the captain of the castle for his straiter keeping, partly at the captain's request, who greatly desires that Bothwell might be committed to other ward; which will not be resolved before the convention. "The Ladie Bothewell, delivered of a sonne within these four and twentie dayes, hathe obteined leave to speake with her husbande and to remaine in the chamber with him if she list, otherwise to be restreined to have any further accesse to him. The first warrante graunted to her was so strayte as she refused the same. She hathe

James VI. 1591. earnestly soughte the goodwill and helpe of the Chauncelour by liberall offers of her eldest sonne, landes, the boundes of her husband's freindes and all other meanes. The Chauncelour answered that before this he passed over readylie all matters that concerned the taking awaye of his owne lyfe, but he mought not medle in thinges touching the lyfe of the Kinge." Bothwell, hearing that he shall be kept more close, and that his trial shall not be so soon as he looked, entered into great passion, saying that in time they might easily find others like Graham that shall falsely accuse him. He now fears to be charged with coining, and counterfeiting the King's hand.

The King has summoned many noblemen, boroughs, and barons to Holyrood House the 6th of May; many have sent excuses, and the assembly will be small, but is to advise on the sufficiency of the evidence against Bothwell, and either to proceed, or appoint a new convention for his trial. Lord Hume, thought to favour Bothwell, is sent away on errands, otherwise he should have been charged to depart. He has renewed his suit for a passport to come through England.

Encloses his warrant appointing his servant Christopher Sheperson his attorney to present his accounts to her majesty for all moneys received for payment of the garrison at Berwick and works there, from his first taking office there till this day. Has already delivered to John Conyers and Mr. Doddington, auditors of his accounts, all books and papers down to 1583, since which time he could not get the books of the works at Berwick signed and avouched by the surveyors; hence the delay in delivering his accounts and books to the auditors; the fault has been in the surveyors. Prays for redress of their default, that the accounts may speedily be made. Has already signified the sums due by him to the garrison at Berwick, and the occasions of his fault, and submits himself to her majesty's will. His servant employed in this suit lately tendered for him—as the whole revenue that can be levied of all his possessions—the yearly payment of 1,400 *l.* until the full sum of 5,600 *l.* shall be paid for the discharge of those arrears; and also that the manor of Aske and the coals and salt pans in the bishopric of Durham should be assured for the yearly payment of 1,000 *l.*, part of the said 1,400 *l.*, and that the other 400 *l.* should be detained in her majesty's hands out of the yearly fees of his office in Berwick. And because further surety was required for the said 1,000 *l.* upon Aske, the coals and salt, therefore he required the Earl of Huntingdon to accept the assurance thereof, and to give her majesty such bonds as Burghley should think fit. Is willing to yield all that he has to satisfy her majesty and pay the garrison, and for accomplishment of all assurances has sent his son to Burghley, "being right sorie that his healthe served no better to have attended on your lordship before this tyme. Besydes this I have nothinge savinge my lyfe and libertie, which freely I laye downe before the feete of her majesty." 5 May 1591. *Unsigned.*

6⅔ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Coppie of my letter addressed to the Lord Threasurer and intercepted at Cunningham in Scotlande the 6th of Maye 1591."

May 9. 560. R[ALPH ?] CARR TO WILLIAM JENISON.

"The oportunitye of so fytt a bearer, thoughe havinge small wheron

James VI. 1591. to write, mayde me so boulde as to have my hartye commendations remembred to your selfe with your good bedfellow and lytle ones, for yf ther was ought for me to be done in your behalfe at my comminge owte of Ireland."

"I advertised yow from London by my letters dated the 18th of Februarye 1590 ether of the successe of thinges done ther as allso what was to be hopte in such cawses as upon my retorne agayne into Ireland yow assured your selfe for ther more saffe convayinge over would be committed to my charge: but whether the successe have answered your expectation I know not; onlye heerof I dare saye that it wanted no furtherance I was able [to] mayke, though at the fyrst I perceived my journey backe as I looked for was frustrate."

"My selfe at this present remayninge in the countrye, I cane not reporte unto yow any of the news which London doth daylye afforde; nore dothe thes partes minister any worthe of the tellenge, more then that your Orworke, havinge mayd a skape from thence in goinge for Spayne, as heer it is reported, was putt by stresse a-land in Scoteland; wher being discryed and by the King's permision Carrmycheell hayth delyvered him into England whence he is sent to London. What is to be looked for for that he knows he semeth lytle to fear, with so much lesse cawse of sorrow for that his brother and sonne are cleane escapte."

"The Lorde Bothewell of Scotelande is committed to Edenboroughe castell for conspyringe the Kinge's death by socerye as they say. He standes upon his truthe and cravs that by combate agaynst his accuser, thoughe never so mean a person, he may defend him selfe. We say that he shall dye: the Scottes would the contrarye; but yf he dye they spare not to speake that to hyme as to others we mayke ther Kinge a boucher to serve our tournes."

"Sir, haste and the departinge bearer maykes me heer break of, with whom I thought, yf his goinge away sooner then I looked for had not been a lett, to have sent some small countrye remembrances to your selfe with some other of my good frendes; wherfor, God willinge, I will tayk heerafter a tyme. And so with many thankes for all your worshipps favours, the bearer pullinge me by the sleave maykes me heer tayke my leave." "Peersbrigge" [Pierce Bridge, co. Durham.] *Signed: R.* Carr.

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* "To the worshippfull and my most approved frend Mr. William Jenison at Castle Rycard in Ireland be thes." *Indorsed.*

May 9. **561. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

Since his letters to Burghley delivered yesternight to the post for Berwick, he was informed this morning that Barbara Naper, arraigned yesterday, was charged with practice for the destruction of the King, to have been done by the devil and the other witches, at the motion of Bothwell, as Graham affirms; as also for the death of the late Earl of Angus, and many other sorceries, witchcrafts, and consulting with witches. "By the counsell assigned to her, and by her chalendges and shiftes, she both put of the gentlemen returned to have bene of her assise, in whose places others of this towne—where she hath many kynsfolske

James VI. 1591. and freendes of good credyt—were receyved, and also contynued the matter in debate untill two of the clocke in this morning, before the jury or assise—as they terme it—could be chosen and chardged." The assize have acquitted her of practising the destruction of the King and death of Angus, and found her guilty for consulting with witches: no judgment is given, but she is at the King's pleasure. This is not fallen out as was looked for, and further consideration will be had of these matters, which daily slide into great dangers. It is thought she will either seek to redeem her life by discovery of things known to her, or else confess all things at her death. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript in Bowes' handwriting—"By these begynnynges your lordship may easely see what the ende wilbe; and that these are lyk to occupye the King with troubles nott fytt for hym. Yf I had a cypher with your lordship I wold wrytt somethinges more planely."

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 15. **562. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

"The earnest desyre we carye to have the insolencis and lewde attemptates committed on our Bordouris suppressed, joyned with the expected hope and contentment we heare you conceave of that suire intendit ordour gevin of lait thairanent, hath stirred ws up not a lytill to mak at the appointed tyme now aproching that project so effectuall as may be, to the quyet of both the realmes and avoyding of further occasion of daylie complaints; as we have more particularlie imparted to your ambassadour resident heir. And for that this incident restraint of the Erle Bothuell—who by his office is bound to be ansuerable for those of Liddisdale, wher the greatest enormities hath beine committed—may bread no stay in our resolution, we have in lyk sort gevin derection and sall be witnes in seing that pairt no lesse cairfullie supplied then him self was able to have dischairgit his duetye in that behalf."

"Wherof as we have thought meit to give yow knawledge, we luik to find suche correspondence on your opposite Marches as our ministers on both sydis, being alyk sincerlie disposed, thair travellis without dowbt shall produce they good offices may be to the benefit of our countreyis and encreassing of the happie amitie and good intelligence enterteynid betuixt ws: wherin of our pairt ye may rest assuired of all can be expected of a most sincere devoted cousing and kyndlie affected freind." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 15. **563. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

"The pitiefull estait and greivous complaint of certaine our subjectis, pairtnairis of that action of spoile so long tyme prosecuted be Archibald Jhonson agains Roger Windham, and motioned be our subjects the bourgessis and counsall of our burgh of Edunburgh, as the exemple thairof apperteining to thame and everie ane of our subjects accoustumed to traffique within yowr realme, hes moved ws to this our present suit, and as before to interpone our earnest requeist, that be our mediatioun our

James VI. 1591. distressed subjects may be saved from an evident wrak able to ensew upon the longsum delay and protracting of the execution of justice conforme to the decreis of your Counsall pronunced in favours of the said Archibald and his pairtneris; quhairby notwithstanding that Roger was anis decerned and committed to prison, yet the releasing of him thairfra—as we are informed—no satisfaction maid to the complainers, nather thair consent had thairto, signifieth to ws a lesse regaird and meaning of your Counsall to the pitifull estait of thes poore men and to the equitie of thair cause then we luiked for."

"This matter being maid knawin to yow, we doubt not but in respect of our mediatioun and the favour the said complainer having yowr guid countenance hes so often tymes found and rapported lairgelie to ws, the samin shall be amendit be sic derection gevin to yowr Counsall concerning that matter as our present requeist, together with our former suites, sall not appeare ineffectuall to our saidis poore and distressed subjectis, having thair recours under God onlie to that favour we may procure at yowr handis, quhilk we intend, God willing, to requyt towards any yowr subjectis that shall have the lyk occasion." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 15. 564. JAMES VI. TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

"Notwithstanding sindrie our former suitis addressed pairtlie to owr deerest suster the Quene your soveraine, finding allwayes her guid favour, pairtlie to certaine owr guid freindis of her Counsall quhilk we have found as yet to have procured but small pleasour to our distressed subjectis, Archibald Jonson and his pairtnairis, persewaris of that actioun of spoile agains Roger Windhame, upon the renewing of that complaint be the counsall and marchandis of owr burgh of Edunburgh in respect Roger Windhame, contrarie to yowr decrees, is released from prison without the consent or satisfaction of the complaineris, we have takin occasion to derect this present towards yow, quhairby we will verie effectuallie desyre of yow that ye wold have sic consideratioun of this mater as apperteineth, the exemple thairof twiching everie ane of our subjectis accoustumed to travell or traffique within the realme of England, having conceated a refusall, or at least small execution of justice, and littill regaird had aither to our former suitis or to the equitie of that cawse quhilk by yowr commissionis and uther cairfull dealling ye have so cleared as na thing laketh but execution onlie."

"We leave to yowr wisdomes and discretion to considder quhat illes may arryse upon this particulare cawse now meined be the generall consent of owr subjects, and what consequence the samin may carie with it."

"We dowbt not thairfor but ye will tak sic ordour thairanent as may tend to the satisfactioun of thes poore men, alluterlie ruined if further delay sall be used, and to the contentment of utheris our subjectis at quhais earnest suit we have graunted this present, quhilk we hope sall not be ineffectuall." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your assured guid freind and cousing James R."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1591. May 15.

565. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"We have, at the earnest suit and desyre of certain our subjectis, the Counsall and marchandis of owr burgh of Edimburgh, derected our letters to our deerest suster the Quene your soverane and to her Counsall, lyk as we are desyred to derect this present touards you, as ane quha in special may mak our foresaids mair effectuall then our utheris requestes maid often tymes befor hes beine in respect of the small regaird had to our distressed subjectis, Archibald Jhonson and his pairtneris, of that actioun of spoile againes Roger Windham, quha, being according to the decrees of the Counsall of our deerest suster committed to prison, was nevertheless released thairfra without any consent or satisfaction maid to the pairty complainer."

"This mater, as it is hardlie weyed be our subjectis as ane exemple twiching everie ane of thame, sa we dowt not ye will considder quhat illess may aryse of this particular, meined be the generall consent of our subjects, the redresse quhairof, being of no great consequence, as is the matter in it self, may easelie quyet and sattill the evill presumptions appearand to be conceaved be thame. Wherin we hope assuiredlie ye will have sic consideratioun as may move our subjectis to ane contentment and to the staying of further suitis at owr handis." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your assured good freind James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

May 16.

566. SIR ROBERT MELVILLE TO BURGHLEY.

"Hawing commoditie of the berare to pas in thai pairtis, I am bauld to renew my acquentance in recommending him, quha is my kynnisman and freind, in his lefull adois to zour lordship's gud favour."

"He hes bene nurischit thairof before, quhair now he is to remane and serve sum tyme. His father and him self ar maist affectionat to do service in that cuntrie afoir ony uther by thair awin."

"In respect of my office and charge heir, I am be thir few lynis to put zour lordship in memorie that as ze have tane panis alreddy for to try sic as counterfutis his majesteis cunzie in that cuntrie, that it wald lykwayis pleis zour lordship to continew, and to advertis his majestie of the personis and circumstanceis how thai sall be tryit."

"Gif it sall pleis zour lordship to kyss the Quenis majesteis hand in my name, it wald do me greit plesur, seing I rest hir majesteis maist affectionat servand, confessing my self to have ressavit by hir maist favour and courtasie of ony subject in this cuntree; and quhen the occasioun sall be offrit, hir majestie sall have prufe of ane thankfull hart." Holyrood House. *Signed:* Robert Meluill.

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

May 19.

567. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Information is sent hither that albeit Roger Wyndham was committed to ward by the lords of her majesty's Privy Council to restore to Archibald Johnston and his partners, burgesses of Edinburgh, their goods cast by sea on Wyndham's lands and so in his possession, yet now he is set at

James VI. 1591. liberty and redress delayed, so that the expences of the suit shall arise beyond their power to sustain. Therefore the provost, bailiffs, and chief burgesses of Edinburgh have petitioned the King to write in their favours to her majesty, the lords of the Privy Council, and Burghley—which he has done—and also entreated him [Bowes] to recommend this cause, that Johnston and his partners may have speedy redress, without greater expences than they can endure, being ready to give over their suit out of inability to endure the charges.

As this town has always shown readiness to do all good offices for her majesty, so they look for favour and help for these parties, being of good credit and specially devoted to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

May 21. 568. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The state of this country and his own condition can better be signified by some person well instructed than by letter; is therefore sending Henry Locke to make full report thereof to Burghley. Locke will show how greatly the King is disquieted by the absence of the lords summoned to the convention, and matters practised in the trial of Barbara Naper "to defeate the King's intended course for the execucion of justice agaynst witches and consulters with them"; out of which causes ill effects daily spring, threatening peril to the King, sedition to this country, and division in the principal boroughs. Next he will show "the resolucions taken to reverse by errour the verdict of Barbara Naper's assise, to arraigne Effam Mackalean and other chardged with witchcraft, with better regarde to proceede to an honourable tryall of Bothwell at tyme to be founde convenient."

Locke is to request her majesty for delivery to James Hudson of such portion of her yearly gratuity as the King now needs. He is also instructed as to the persons who intercepted his [Bowes'] letters and robbed the carrier; the stay of the meeting for redress of Border matters and the King's readyness to take better order therein; "what rode and attempte Lyddisdall hath lately made in Tyndall; the doynges of Justice Clarke in the motion to the King to wryte to the Duke of Brunswicke; the sute of the laird of Cadder for the liberty of Odonelles sonne," and his [Bowes'] own distressed state. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript in Bowes' hand—"Advertyshment is commed to Mr. Georg Carre that the gestes to have beyn brought by Ellott into this countrey arryved att Dovorr the 25th of Aprill last, farre contrary ther dyett and expectacions. And neverthelesse yt is now thought here that they are entred into this realme. Wherin I forbeare to medle or to mak any greatt serche untill your lordship directe me."

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

May 26. 569. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday he received Burghley's letter of the 20th instant. and this day acquainted the Chancellor and Secretary with the discovery of the

James VI. 1591. Spanish navy on the coasts of Scilly and Cornwall; and that some Spanish frigates, led by the Spaniards and pirates that last year spoiled the coastmen and fishers in these northern seas, were thought to be passed towards Shetland to annoy the fishermen of both realms now at their fishing there. "In respect of the presente condicion of this estate, ready to be rent in the myddest," he tempered his report, that the King and Council may be ready to prevent danger and yet no rumour of troubles should occasion the seditious to stir, or the King's designs for the next convention be hindered, or Burghley's purpose in any sort frustrated. He reminded them of the plot laid last year by the captain of the Spanish barque, promising to return about this time to spoil the fishermen at Shetland and proceed with practices with their confederates in this count y. At his request it is promised that speedy warning shall be given to the fishermen, and diligent enquiry made as to the pirates now on the coasts of Orkney and Shetland and their enterprises. But he cannot get a fit vessel set forth to take the pirates and defend the fishermen who must only attend their refuge from her majesty. By Mr. Locke he has advertised "that some pyrates in a barke like to a Spanish frygot, with twelve or thirteen oares on a side, have already robbed three Scottish shippes neere to Orknay, and now have made sayle for the fyshermen of Schetlande." But the parties spoiled still think that the captain of that barque is Gwyn, the company Englishmen, and the barque set forth from Ratcliffe near London.

"The Secretary—being thought more fyt to ymparte these to the King then my selfe—is sent this day to the King at Fawkelande, with report of these, and that the fortie masle deere to be provided about Colchester shalbe gotten and sent to the King with the best expedicion."

His thanks and power suffice not to requite Burghley for "the least sparke" of his singular goodness shown in his letter; he offers the hearts of himself and his son and all their possessions to pay their debts to Burghley and all his. In order to recover her majesty's good countenance, to shield Burghley from annoy, and to pay the garrison at Berwick, he has sent his son and his servant Shepherdson to arrange matters. That these offers exceed his own power, and cannot be performed without the consent of his son, who is ready to yield all things not covenanted to his wife and her friends, will appear by the certificate of the extents for her majesty lately executed of all his lands, leases, goods, and chattels. Having no more in himself and his son to be presented to her majesty, prays that these poor things may be favourably accepted: otherwise he lays down life, liberty, and all that he has to be disposed at her pleasure. The rest he refers to his son and Shepherdson, who will expedite the accounts upon Burghley's order to be given for the assignment [*sic:* signing] of the books of works.

"Sythence the departure of Mr. Locke from hence, there was set up on the King's chambre doore and brought to his sight one libell advising the King to examyne and chardge by tortours Mr. John Graham and Glanorthye for conspiring the death of the King, with the helpe and meanes of Bothwell. It is protested that this is not done upon any malice, but that heereafter it shalbe proved by wryting that these persones are prevy to this conspiracy: wherein it is wished that Bothwell may be pardoned, in regard that he was drawen into the accion by evill

James VI. 1591. counsell and not of his owne accorde. It is suspected that Sir James Stuard is pryvie to the making and setting fourth of this libell, and it is intended that in convenyent tyme he shalbe called to answer for the same."

The assize of error to reverse the verdict given in favour of Barbara Naper is proclaimed. The assizers are commanded to be here two days before their appearance in court, that the King may speak with them. Thus to reverse the verdict is lawful, but a great novelty, not hitherto practised. The King is earnest about it; it may open the way to other matters, and he would be present at the hearing. Many look that the success thereof shall not thoroughly please him.

Because the statute against papists and excommunicates ordains that they shall either be banished or committed to close ward until they satisfy the church, therefore the Master of Angus—being once brought in mind by his friends to satisfy the church—is committed to ward in Dundee upon bond to depart within forty days, and so to be abjured the realm. And Fentry is committed to Doune castle. The King and Council have promised that like order shall be taken with others, and order is given to the ministers to present the names of such persons to be chastised.

The Chancellor has resolved to leave George Carr to his own ways. "He is like to be put at amongst the other papistes," but will probably find some hole to escape.

Has moved the King to mediate between the Chancellor and Glamis, that their pretended goodwill may take root inwardly in their hearts, for the benefit of the great affairs in hand. The King travailed earnestly therein, but no other fruit is grown than came by former labours. "It is in head agayne to chardge the Chauncelour at this next convencion with some crymes." If this take effect it will hinder the King's course and work dangerous troubles. The King, in his conference with the noblemen before the convention, may possibly quench this fire kindling among the nobility and counsellors, who are so divided amongst themselves that storms are feared.

The King desires a guard of horsemen and footmen, not only for his own safety, but for the sudden apprehension of such notorious offenders as now range the country without fear of arrest. This charge is offered to Sir John Carmichael. But by want of money to maintain this guard until these storms be overblown, and by the Council's divided opinion about it, it is like to be stayed, and many good matters deeply hazarded. The King continues at Falkland, purposing to come hither on 4th June, to deliberate with the convention upon the assize of error and trial of other witches, and for the time of the arraignment of Bothwell.

Hears that sundry copies of his intercepted letter are given abroad. If promises be kept, he trusts to reckon with some of the intercepters, wherein he finds greater difficulty to apprehend them than to discover the haunt of the chief of them. Since the taking of O'Rourke most men of quality shrink from dealing in such matters, and his [Bowes'] purse suffices not, to his grief in regard of her majesty's service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

James VI. 1591. May 27.

570. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"This day I ressawed letteris from Scotland concerning that mater I wrote to the Lorde Justice Clerk. I wold be glayde hir majeste shuld be mayde acquaynted wyth the contentis when gud lasare may serve. To that effect I shalbe readye to come to hir hynes wythe thayme or wthirwayse obey hir majesteis derection in bringing thayme to your lordship, to the end hir majeste may onderstand what resolution is taken thayranent and some uthir matteris at home."

"This wthir day the lard of Buccleuche is cummed to this towne from Flandres, whear he is to remayn some few dayis wyth me quhill his cofferris may come to him from Deipe, which he expectis vilbe schortlye. Thayreftir he is to pray licence to kisse hir majesteis hand, and then to returne home to his cuntry readye to do all the gud officis he can for interteyning of gud quietnes betuixt these crownis."

"My present necessite is suche that I am forced to pray your lordship to ramember your promesse anent the passing of that which it hath pleased hir majeste of speciall fawour to gyve at my requeist to Doctor Cesar. Albeit the tyme be spent for this year whearin it mycht hawe done me some gude effect for borrowing of money, zit will I essay if I can onyvise helpe my self thayrwythe for to procure some releaf for my present neide at this tyme." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed:* "27 May 1591. Mr Dowglas to my Lord. His receipt of advertisementes from Justice Clark. Laird of Buckclugh. Doctor Caesar's bill for St. Katherine's."

May 30.

571. THE DUKE OF PARMA TO JAMES VI.

The "Sieur de" Stewart has delivered to me the letters which it has pleased your majesty to write me in his favour, having been very glad to see him and make his acquaintance, both for his worth and for the quality of his person, being akin to you as your letters testify, it being impossible for anything more agreeable to present itself to my eyes than those who come from you, by reason of the desire I have always had to render most humble service to your majesty, being grieved that no fitting occasion has as yet been offered to do so, and to show it effectually to the said gentleman, who has resolved to return hence awaiting some better opportunity: being able to assure you that whether he return or some other come hither with the same command from your majesty that the letters bear which I have received from you by the said "Sieur de" Stewart, I shall always endeavour to show them the desire which I have to render you for ever most humble service. Brussels.

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley:* "30 May 1591. Duk of Parma to the King of Scottes for Alex. Stuart, W.B."

June 8.

572. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday the 5th he received Burghley's letter of the first instant, and finding that the lords of her majesty's Privy Council intend to write to him about the King's letter to them on behalf of Archibald Johnson, he forbears to deal therein before the receipt of their directions.

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Has recounted to the King the excessive charges oppressing her majesty, but that she will provide for him 3,000 *l.* for this year's gratuity, in regard of the greatness of his affairs. The King purposes to write to her for an increase, and to press him with the convoy of his letters.

"On Saterday last the King assembled the lords of the session and learned officers of the estate, to determyne what witnesses might be receyved by the cyvill lawes in accions of *lesœ majestatis* and heresy. The lords of the session were nyce to declare their opinions therein, because they were judges in cyvill and not in criminall causes." The King pressed the same for his own satisfaction in knowledge of the law, and to decide present questions therein, and concerning the administration of justice. "Whereupon it is resolved and registred that women, infantes, infamous persones and *socii criminis* may be receyved in the accions mencioned." This resolution is impugned by many, chiefly the friends of such as must abide their trials in these causes, and interpreted not to extend to the evidence of witches. The authors of it are not wholly of one mind about it.

Yesterday the assize of error to try the verdict of the former jury for Barbara Neparre was ready to proceed, and the said jury was called to answer to their errors. "But the King so travelled with them to let them fynde their owne ignorances and his clemency to pardone the same as they put themselves into the King's will. Wherupon the assisse of errour was dischardged, and neverthelesse dyrected to remayne in this towne for two dayes." Effam Mackallean is to be arraigned tomorrow for consulting with witches and practise of the King's death. It is looked that by the evidence of other witches she shall be found guilty, but some of Bothwell's friends hope that the matter shall not be further prosecuted against him, but that he shall be at liberty within twenty days and pass into a foreign country of his own accord. The King's forwardness in these matters persuades many that they shall not fall so suddenly to such end.

Encloses a note of the King's oration and doings yesterday in the Tolbooth. He is to-day deliberating there with the Council and the lords of the session for the revocation of grants made during his minority and *infra annos utiles*, and for reformation of the abuses of the session in justice, and evil behaviour of ministers. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cf. *Criminal Trials in Scot.* ed. R. Pitcairn, I. Pt. ii. 242.

Enclosure with the same:

(Inquest upon Barbara Napier.)

"The inquest which first went upon Barbara Neper, called before the King in the Tolbooth the 7 of June 1591."

"Archbald Wilky of Cannygate, Chauncellour or foreman; David Fernely, burgess of Edenburgh; Robert Cunyngham, Hector Clevy, James Justice Patricke Sandilandes, John Mowbery, James Fergeson, *ibidem;* John Bell of Belles myll; John Bog, George Bog, David Seaton, John Seaton, James Carbright [Galbraith], servantes to the King's majestie. These at the first did simply yeld themselves to the King's will, refucing advocates."

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"Ten of this inquest—being not the King's servauntes—when they were demaunded whether they desyred an advocate or not, answered that they did desyre one, and among others named Mr. John Russell."

"The reason whie they desyred one was asked. They answered, because they were ignorant of the lawes."

"Mr. John Russell their advocate—being enterteyned and having conferred with them—in their name made protestacion that they had done nothinge but their consciences in their verdict, and that they did it with a loyall mynde to his majestie and with calling on the name of God; and yf they had any way fayled they referred themselves to the King's will. Whereupon the King said to Mr. Russell that his speach 'yf they had fayled' seemed doubtfull, and bad him tell whether they did symply yelde themselves to the King's will or not. He answered that they did. Upon this the King called one Mr. David Magill, his advocate, for an instrumente, and began a speache to the effect following."

"'My comyng hither at this tyme may seeme strange unto you in two respectes: first, because it hath not bene the custome that the Kings of this realme my forebeers should sit in persone upon cryminall causes, neither have I my selfe done it, save onely twise; once for the repressing of idolatrie and masse in this realme, and another tyme for slaughter; secondly, it seemeth strange that besides custome an assisse of errour should be chardged. To these I answere that all the strangenes of this matter ariseth from the nonage of my forebeers, who before they had gotten yeeres and streinght fit for these causes they were prevented by death.'"

"'But to the question whether I may sit in person upon cryminall causes or not, I affirme that cryminall causes are of twoo sortes, namely eyther touching the lyves of men or their goodes. Upon crymes touching men's lyves—as adultery, murder, theft, rebellion—yf the prince should sit in person it might be a note of rigour. And therefore it is forbidden in the civil lawe. But of errour or such like, which concerne onely men's goodes, and not their lyves, it is lawfull by that lawe. And whie should it not be so, seinge in all civill matters for goodes and geare no man denyes it to be lawfull for the King to sit.'"

"'The cause that moved me to be heere in persone for this assisse of errour is the greate neede which I see to be in this country of such assisses, sithence the common assisses which are heere gyven doe not aswell *noxios condemnare* as *innocentes demittere*, condemne the guylty as cleare the innocent, which are alike abhominable before God, as Solomon teacheth. For whereas assisses should goe *secundum allegata et probata*, and so eyther acquit or fynd guylty—I know not upon what ignoraunce—I fynde men make no conscience to fynde the guylty, to the greate perverting of justice. Therefore was I mooved at this tyme to chardge this assisse of errour, that it may be an example in tyme commyng to make men to be more wary how they gyve false verdictes, not onely in this cause but in all other causes. And this I doe of conscience of that office which God hath laid upon me.'"

"'Now I must advertyce you what it is that makes greate crymes to be so rife in this country, namely, that all men set themselves more for freendes then for justice and obedience to the lawe. This corrupcion heere bearnes sucke at the pap. And let a man commyt the most filthie

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crymes that can be, yet his freendes take his parte, and first keepe him from apprehencion, and after by feade or favour, by false assisse or some waie or other, they fynde moyne of his escape from punishmente. The experience heereof we have in Netherie [*sic*].' "

" 'I will not speake how I am chardged with this falt in courte and quyre, from prynce and pulpet. Yet this I say, that—howsoever matters have gone agaynst my will—I am innocent of all injustice in these behalfes, and for my parte my conscience doth set me cleare, as did the conscience of Samuell, and I call you to be my judges heerein. And suppose I be your King, yet I submit my selfe to the accusacions of you my subjectes in this behalfe, and let any one saie what I have done. And as I have thus begonne, so purpose I to goe forwarde: not because I am James Stuard, and can comaunde so many thousandes of men, but because God hath made me a King and judge to judge righteouse judgmente.' "

" 'For witchcraft, which is a thing growen very common amongst us, I know it to be a most abhominable synne, and I have bene occupied these three quarters of this yeere for the siftyng out of them that are guylty heerein. We are taught by the lawes both of God and men that this synne is most odious, and by Godes law punishable by death: by man's lawe it is called *maleficium* or *venificium*, an ill deede or a poysonable deede, and punishable likewise by death.' "

" 'Now yf it be death being practised against any of the people, I must needes thinke it to be—at least—the like yf it be agaynst the King. Not that I feare my death, for—I thanke God—I dare in a good cause to abide hazarde; and I am assured that when this my life is ended then shall it be farre better with me. But I speake this in regarde of the common good of this country which I tender, and which—I assure my selfe—enjoyeth peace by my life: as you may collect by myne absence, for yf such troubles were in breeding whilest I reteyned lyfe, what would have bene done yf my life had bene taken from me.' "

" 'As for them who thinke these witchcraftes to be but fantacyes, I remmyt them to be catechised and instructed in these most evident poyntes.' "

" 'You may happyly suppose that I myght have referred these matters to inferiour judges. Therefore I shew unto you that I tooke this labour upon my selfe: first, because I see no justice in inferiour judges, they being caried away eyther with feade or favour; secondly, because I see the pride of these witches and their freendes, which can not be prevented but by myne owne presence. And for these witches, whatsoever hath bene gotten from them hath bene done by me my selfe; not because I was more wise then others, but because I was not partiall, and beleffe that such a vice did reigne and ought to be repressed.' "

" 'Now then yf in the end I should have let this matter fall it must needes have bene no litle dishonour to me, having so earnestly pursued it in the begyning. And I would not that any of you should thinke that I prosecuted this in respect of myne owne particuler, for God is my judge I did it not, that being but a suspicion. But this I have done, that none may thinke that this is but a fantacy, wishing that none may be founde wilfully ignorant.' "

" 'The men of the assisse I will not prejudge, neither did I ever thinke worse of them then that they were ignorant. For I assure my selfe

James VI. 1591. they are loyall subjectes, and such as in no sort would for favour leane rather to a woman then to their prynce: and yf they had stood out with me I must besides their ignorance have thought them wilfull, which must have bene sharply punished.' "

" 'The thing that mooved them to fynde as they did was because they had no testymony but of witches, which they thought not sufficient. By the civill law I knowe that such infamous persones are not receyved for witnesses but in matters of herecy and *lesæ majestatis*, for in other matters it is not thought meete. Yet in these matters of witchcraft good reason that such be admitted: fyrst, none honest man can know these matters; secondly, because they will not accuse themselves; thirdly, because no acte which is done by them can be seene.' "

" 'Further, I call them witches which doe renounce God and yeld them selves wholely to the devill; but when they have recanted and repented, as these have done, then I accompt them not as witches, and so their testymony sufficient. In this I referre my selfe to the ministers. Besides, the inquest is to judge of the qualitie of the testymony and circumstances concernyng the same. Also it may be observed that never any of good lyfe were chardged with that cryme.' "

" 'For the civill law it is not requyred that such men as these should know the same. They are to knowe onely the comon lawes of this realme, and the knowledge of the civill lawe apperteyneth to the lords of the session and such like. Therefore I pardone them, yet so as I will receyve none of them to be lords of the session.' "

" 'In these matters I desyre helpe, least our country become most infamous for this cryme when the recorde of such witches shalbe founde, and no remeady thereof mencioned.' "

4 *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 67. Copy of the same.

June 10. **573. Privy Council of England to the Chancellor of Scotland.**

" Uppon delivery by Archibald Johnson, a Scottishman, lately of letters from the Kinge your soveraigne, both to the Quenes majestie our soveraigne lady, and others also dyrected to the lords of the Counsell, which wer endited in favour of the said Archibald and others called his partners: hir majestie conferring with hir said Counsell uppon the matter, and perusing aswell the letters to the Counsell as to hir self, and being also dulye informed in what manner hir Counsell had proceded very favorably at the first in the cause uppon the first complainte of the said Archibald, and how afterwardes, by good rules of justice, they had forborne to putt in execution that which the complaynant required and that was ordered only uppon a first favorable audience: hir majestie beyng duly informed of the whole procedynges thought it strange to see so earnest a manner of writing as was conteyned in the Kinge's letters to hir Counsell, in a sort taxing them by theise manner of wordes that his majestie's subjectes accustomed to trafficke in England had conceated or conceaved a refusall or at least smale execution of justice, or litle regard had to his majestes former suites or to the equitie of the cause;

James VI. 1591. and afterward in a kynd of conclusion his majestie by his woordes in his letters lefte it to the discretion of hir Counsell to considder what might arise uppon this particuler cause now meyned by a generall consent of his subjectes, and what consequence the same may cary with it."

"Upon which manner of writinge hir majeste's counsellors, remembring their former regardes had in all causes commended either by the Kinge him self or by his ambassadors or mynisters ever synce the conclusion of good amitie betwixt hir majestie and the said King, thought them selves not so rightlie censured as they had in ther opinions desarved; and therfore also hir majestie thought it very convenient for the reputation of hir whole Counsell, and to maintayne their creditt in their procedinges grounded uppon lawe and justice, that some letters might be written by three or four of the lords of hir Counsell to your lordship, the lord Chauncelor of that realme as the principall of the Kinge's majestie's Counsell, and one that of late tyme had exercised the office of the Kinge's principall secretary, to informe you how in this case of Archibald Johnson's hir Counsell had proceded in a more favorable sort for the complaynant then that ought to be taxed with woordes of refusall of justice or of litle regard had to the Kinge's former suites, or to be warned of such consequence as this case might cary with it. And for that purpose we whose names are subscribed, so directed by hir majestie, do lett your lordship knowe for a truthe that uppon the first complaint made by the said Archibald of his losse by a wrack of his shipp in the coaste of Norfolke sayling from Fraunce towardes Scotland, not havyng any intent to land in England, whereof the Counsell had greate compassion and wrate their letters very spedely in moste earnest sort, at the request of the complaynant, to one Sir Edward Cleare, and one or two more of inferior condition with him, to ayd the complaynantes save ther goodes and to recover their losses with all spede that might be."

"Wheruppon the said Sir Edward Cleare, certifieing by his letters that one Roger Wyndham, a neighbour of his, uppon a coulour of demanding recompence for grounding, had entermedelled with part of the goodes caste on land, the Counsell pytiinge their estate, and geving more creditt at the first to the certificat of Sir Edward Cleare then afterwards upon further examination was found in all poyntes trewe, they sent for Wyndham, and not withstanding his ernest deniall of the crymes imputed to him, he was committed to straight prison and enjoyned to make recompence to the partie uppon Sir Edward Cleare's report; which he refused to do, alleaging him self in no manner culpable, and that the report was made by Sir Edward Cleare, being his professed ennemye—as in dede he was found to be—and so still persisted to have his doinges to be examyned by indifferent persons, offring to recompence double or treble any thing by him or by his meanes that should be proved to have bene gayned from the Skottes."

"But notwithstanding this his allegacion and ernest requestes, such was the compassion that was had of the losse alleaged by the Scottes, and uppon presumptions conceaved agaynst Wyndham, because he came to the ground where the shipp did wrack and pretended to demande some recompence for the goodes saved, being uppon his brother's grounde, in name of groundage, he was contynued in close prison and urged to make some recompence, where he contynued above—."

James VI. 1591.

"But whan the Counsell sawe that such close imprisonment would not move him to yeld any thing to the Scottes, but still persisted that he was not culpable, and contynued his former requestes to have his doinges further tryed and examyned, and for that the imprisonment of him was not by any judiciall sentence but in favour of the complaynantes to procure them some releife; in the end also fynding the Scottes war not proffited by his imprisonment, and that without a judiciall proces and sentence in the ordinarye court of the admiraltie he could not be otherwise ordred, which the complaynantes would not uppon our advise in any sort followe; and the Privey Counsell of England do not otherwise proced uppon lyk complayntes—howsoever it may be that in Scotland the Counsell there may percase use a larger authoritie above the ordinary course of lawe—to inflict paynes by mulct or penalty of life, landes or goodes, it was thought mete and consonant to justice not to denye a further examination, which Wyndham required and the complaynantes refused."

"Therfore commission was graunted under the greate seale of England to the Vicce-Admyrall, Sir Robert Sowthwell, and to men of creditt and verie indifferent, who did examyne uppon oathes a greate nomber of persons that came presently to the ground where the wrack was; who have deposed in what manner the complaynantes were helped to recover as muche of their goodes wracked as possiblie could be, and that Wyndham did in no sort entermeddle him self with any of their goodes, otherwise then to save them from spoile, and by recovery of parcells that were imbessiled by unrulye persons, as in suche case it can not be altogether avoyded, and delivering the same to the Scottes."

"And uppon retorne of this commission, and the complaynantes not contynuing their former complaintes, Wyndham was delivered out of prison, but yet uppon bondes, with suerties to retorne to prison uppon warning geven at his chamber in London so to do."

"And thus the cause resteth at this daye not further determyned; but Wyndham againe is called afore the Counsell and constreyned to attend their furder order, and still pressed by them to yeld some recompence to the complaynantes. In which meane tyme the complaynant is retorned with the letters afor mentioned, renuing his sute, and exclayming against the Counsell for delivering Wyndham out of prison, and pressing them with greate vehemency of wordes to have good regard to the Kinge's his soveraigne's letters, which they all, and we with them, are ready to do as farr fourth as with our honors and our consciences we any wise may do."

"And now to end a long letter as the case requireth it. After that we have in this sort discharged the whole Counsell, and our selves with them, for the imputation to us all in the Kinge's letters of our refusall of justice, and of litle regard had to the Kinge's former sutes, we desire your lordship to inform the Kinge's majestie your soveraigne of the contentes of this our letter, wheruppon we hope our actions both in justice and in regard of all the Kinge's requestes shalbe found more cleare to the Kinge's sighte than the complaynantes by their instrumentes have sought to insinuate ageynst us: whereof we do require your lordship to lett us by some good meanes understand the Kinge's acceptation of

James VI. 1591. this declaration made in the behalf of all hir majestie's Counsell to whom the Kinge's letters were dyrected."

3½ *pp. Draft corrected by Burghley. Indorsed.*

June 11. **574. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

"Hearing of the apprehensioun of Maister Udell, Maister Cartwright, and certane utheris ministers of the evangile wit[hin zou]re realme, of quhais gude eruditioun and fructfull travellis in the kirk we heir a verye credible commend, howsoevir that thair diversity from t[he] Bisc[hoppis] and utheris of zoure clergie in materis tuitching thame in conscience hes bene a meane be thair dilatioun to work thame zoure myslyking at this present, we can not, weying the dewetye quhilk we aw to sic as ar afflicted for thair conscience in that professioun, bot be oure maist affectuous and ernist letter interpone ws at zoure hand to any harder usaige of thame for that cause; requeisting zow maist ernistlie that for oure cause and intercessioun it may please zow to lett thame be relevit of thair present strait, and quhatsumevir further accusatioun or persute depending on that ground; respecting baith their former merite in the furthsetting of the evangell, the simplicitie of thair conscience in this defence, quhilk can not weill be thrallit be compulsioun, and the great sclander quhilk culd not failzie to fall out upoun thair further straiting for any sic occasioun."

"Quhilk we assure ws zoure zeale to religioun, besydis the expectatioun we have of zoure guidwill to pleasur ws, will willinglie accord to oure requeist, having sic pruiffis from tyme to tyme of oure lyke dispositioun to zow in any maters quhilk ze recommend unto ws." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 12. **575. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.**

"As it hath beyn her majesteis gud pleasur to lat you onderstand that whatsoevir uthir princis usis to do anent the selling off officis hir hyenes hath no meaning that any such mater shuld be fownd to be done be hir majeste in this realme, so is it my deutye to satisfye hir princelye and lovable intention thayrin, which can not be bettir performed than be the declaration of the werray treuth of this mater that is in questione."

"It is trew that about four zearis passed Sir Francis Walsinghame of gud memorye, beand wearyed wyth the grit and heavye complaynctis off a nombre of Scottismen that wer distressed and spoyled be sea, called for Doctor Cesar to onderstand be what meanis best remedye mycht be provided: who mayd answer that the mater culd not be helped wythout making of a circuite for fynding owt the abbettouris of pirattis, be ressone that the cheife spoliatouris wold nevir be fownd at home."

"Eftir long conference, when I was presint, and urging of the sayde doctor to do somvhat heirin, he did tak upon him to mak a circuyte upon his chargis, so that hir majeste wold be moved to gewe to him the patent off Sanct Katherinis in reversione, which Sir Francis did tak upon him to obteyn, providing that he vold also tak some presint ordour that suche

James VI. 1591. Scottismen as wer distressed and present awayterris mycht depart home vycht some satisfaction to thayr cuntrye, to put utheris in hoipe that wyth tyme thay mycht be able to recowre thayr losse, and what sowmes shulde be layde owt be him mycht be recovered wyth tyme at hir majesteis hand."

"I do perfitelye onderstand that the setting downe of the sayd ordour did greitlye satisfye a nombre of Scottismen that wer then present sutarris, and that the sayd Doctor hath debursed at dyvers tymes to syndrye Scottishmen upon direction from the sayde Sir Francis and my self dyvers sowmes of money extending to such quantite as the particular derectionis vill testifye, subscryved by ather of ws."

"And presentlye and all this tyme passed the Scottismen that wer then distressed, and such utheris as hath byen mayde acquaynted wyth the sayde ordour, doethe ernistlye call upone me to humblye crawe the parformance of the sayd pactione. And besidis this, Doctor Cesar doeth call upone me for restitutione of his money, or than performance of the sayde cowenante, according as was promised be us boythe to him."

"All this I layde oppin to your lordship before Cristenmoss, and wythall declared that if it wold pleis hir majeste to be mowed heirin I wold obteyn the exchange of certayne Scottis money that I had lying in that realme to be payed in this towne be marchantis that wer sutaris for recovery of thayr losse, and transportaris of wyne in this ryver: whearbye I mycht paye some part off my debtis contracted throw my aboade in these partis."

"And sen that tyme all this also I layde oppin befor hir majesteis self, whose gud natur so favorablye consawed thayroff, as of a matter that did tend to no wthir fyne bot to the furtherance of justice to distressed Scottismen—to which hir princelye dignitie is naturallye inclined—hir hynes did villinglye grant the samin, speciallye because it did somvhat tend to ane small helpe for the releif of my present necessite."

"Off layt at Stepna I gave hir majeste most humble and hartye thankis for the liberall granting thayrof, whose princelye nature did lament that it was no sonnar performed, that thayrbye I micht hawe takin the best ordour I culd for the relewing of ane part of my present necessite."

"Thayrfor I will requeist your lordship to be so faworable as to pray hir majeste to call the premissis to hir rememberance for hir hynes satisfaction in this mater, wyth humble requeist that may be hir faworable pleasur to sea the samin exped, that thayrbye I may in conwenient tyme tak suche ordour vyth marchantis that travellis for vyne that I shall not be frustrat of the sayd exchange this year as it was my fortune to be the last." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

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

June 12. 576. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This bearer, David Hutchyne of Kirkcaldy, a Scottishman, having laden his ship with white salt and brought her to Hull, his servant Thomas Lambe—master of her—entered her in the custom house there as containing "42 weyes of salt or their abowte"; but when she was delivered she made out four weyes more; whereupon Anthony Atkynson, the searcher there, has seized the salt as forfeit to her majesty, "notwith-

James VI. 1591. standing this dowbting entrye." Wherefore he craves Burghley's help. He was not certain what his ship would make out, and his servant was willing to pay the uttermost custom that could have been demanded. Hutchyne is recommended by councillors and others devoted to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 14. 577. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King being at Falkland, has not been able to speak with him of Burghley's letter of the 9th, which arrived the 13th instant; but has spoken with the Chancellor, who has undertaken that speedy order shall be taken for redress for the late attempts done by Liddesdale in England, and to make Liddesdale answerable to justice. The pledges of sundry of the principal in Liddesdale are here, and by means of those principal parties the redress and justice are to be accomplished, "and such of Liddisdall as have let their tongues loose to utter dishonourable woordes agaynst the King their soveraigne shall gyve accompt for the same." Has acquainted the King with the truth of the words spoken, the names of the speakers, and the readiness of Thomas Hall, Englishman, the hearer, to prove his report by witness or combat; it is set down in writing and signed by himself [Hall], Sir John Foster and others being witnesses, and presented to the King by him [Bowes].

The King still purposes to write and entreat her majesty for an increase in his gratuity, in respect of his necessities: the trial of the witches has delayed the draft of his letters, but the Chancellor says they shall shortly be sent to him [Bowes] to transmit.

Francis Dacre, long before the receipt of Burghley's letter, was passed from Edinburgh with Lord Hume to the Earl Marishal. Has sent to enquire where he is, and upon meeting and conference with him will inform Burghley.

Commends his own needs to her majesty's good pleasure, praying that her service may not be prejudiced by the weakness of his estate. By his letters to his son and servant at London they will be ready to give assurance for the contentment of her majesty and satisfaction of the garrison at Berwick. Prays that he may speedily receive her resolution.

Has heard no further of "Allotte's gestes in this country," being glad that Allott has gone forward in his journey and purpose.

"The assisse for the triall of Effam Mackallean have gyven their verdict, and found her gilty in nyne severall causes: whereof six are for witchcraft and consulting with witches, one for murdering by sorcery—the childe of Captayne Yowstone—sonne of her husbande's sister, and two for treasones agaynst the King's persone; the first for treason for her presence at the assembly of the witches at Atkynson's Haven, and delyvering there to the devill the picture of the King to be consumed for the destruccion of the King; and the second for her like presence at the convencion of the witches at North Barwicke, and demaunding there to have the picture mencioned to be restored to them by the devill, that they might consume for the purpose resyted. The judgmente shalbe gyven to morrow, that shee shalbe burnt quicke, according to the lawes of this realme." This trial of Mackallean is thought to touch

James VI. 1591. Bothwell narrowly, and Kennedy the witch of Reydon, lately in England, has secretly told the King sundry matters against the earl agreeing with Graham, his chief accuser; whereby it is "deepely printed in the King's concept that the erle is fowle in the practyse of the King's death," whereupon the King hesitates to enlarge him; yet it is intended that he shall be delivered upon caution to depart out of this realm, and not to return without the King's licence, or practise any hurt against the King or realm, upon pain of treason and forfeiture of his bonds. This course is to be taken in regard of the weakness of any place in this realm for his ward, and the resolute minds in the noblemen to cleanse him from the evidence hitherto known.

Bothwell and his friends looked that he should have been at liberty ere this, marvelling greatly at the delay, since every courtier striveth to do him most pleasure that they may have thanks at his hands. He [Bowes] has not spared, for all the blasts against him, to warn the Chancellor and others of the dangers threatening.

The Earl of Angus is either d[ead] or not likely to live ten days. The Master his son was at Dundee, to pass into foreign realms as exc[ommunicate] for papistry. But hearing of his father's sickness, and the danger of prejudice to his title in his absence, he seeks to confer with the ministers here and to reconcile himself. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsement and marginal notes in Burghley's handwriting.*

June 19. 578. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Tuesday last judgement was given that Effam Mackallean should be burnt alive. The execution is stayed because she alleges herself to be with child, and still denies all matters in her indictments, though some appear very evident against her. "It is looked that in respect of her presente condicion shee will reforme her selfe, and disclose the truth in her knowledge; but the sownd of the prayses gyven by many—wishing the end of her lyfe to be rather with the danger of her owne soule then to the perill of their freendes to be accused by her—doth so prevayle with her as there is litle hope of any change in her."

The King has been earnestly moved for Bothwell's deliverance upon caution; but finding that some have dealt therein further than was with his privity, "said that he would not have so many kings in this realme, neyther should Bothwell be delyvered in tyme and maner as they had promised." And having sent this day a long letter to the Chancellor, written with his own hand, it is thought that he has given order to him to proceed with Bothwell, and that the matter shall be so carried as the King, the Chancellor, and gentlemen in the chamber shall receive thanks of Bothwell for his liberty granted on conditions allowed by the King by their mediations. Yet some may find little thanks in the end.

"The Erle of Atholl, Sesford, and the other cautioners for Bothwell are come hither to gyve their bondes, except the Erle of Murray, who is looked for this day. Sesforde hath agreed to gyve his bonde, and in

James VI. 1591. regarde of his weakenes is returned. He hath bene with me and promised his wholle endevour for the administracion of justice on the Borders, with his good offices to her majestie."

Huntly and Marishal, the commissioners for Erroll and Montrose, met together at Dunnottar—the house of Marishal—last week, and resolved that by their presence and that of their friends at court they should be able to beard the Chancellor in court and session and abate his greatness. Yet some say that at this time Glamis was at Erroll's house at the baptism of his daughter. Those thus assembled were expecting forces of Englishmen, or that her majesty would with money enable the King to levy a guard, wherefore great celerity was advised. Yet it is pretended that nothing shall be attempted by them against the King's pleasure, religion, or the amity between the realms, wherein means shall be made to satisfy her majesty and the King. The dispositions of the principals of this new faction were discovered at the Brig of Dee, "who by their nomber and power above their associates, being well affected, wilbe able to gyve the lawe at their pleasures."* The Chancellor is warned, and by the continuance of the King's favour towards him these storms may blow over, but the discontent of the nobility and evil condition of the state give reason to fear some attempt against the Chancellor, to draw the government to the guiding of suspected persons.

"Collonell Semple, Boyde, Robert Bruce, and others at Bruxelles have lately sent their letters to their freendes in this country, shewing thereby greater willes then powers to disquiet this isle." There is no news in their letters but that the Pope is raising men in Italy to aid the Leaguers in France. Encloses a copy of one of these letters, written by William Clitherow, an Englishman, to George Carr. Clitherow is familiar with Robert Allot, who by a letter addressed to Burghley is suspected both here and in Flanders.

The towns of Ayr and Irvine have advertised that two of their boats, sent into Ireland with *aqua vitæ* and other merchandise, were taken by Irishmen, who—for the hurt done to O'Rourke—spoiled them and killed some of their men. None of Glasgow or the towns adjoining dare now travel in Ireland without guard. They purpose to exhibit their complaints to the King, of whom many for this cause speak very disloyally, and he [Bowes] escapes not the bitterness of their tongues.

The King and Council are informed that sundry English pirates, in a barque or frigate of thirty tons or under, have robbed many coastmen and fishers in Orkney and Shetland; and seeing an open fly-boat lying at anchor, attempted to take her. In her was Captain Propp with eighty soldiers levied in this realm for supply of his bond in Holland. A fight ensued; two or three of Propp's men were slain, and others hurt. The frigate with the pirates was driven on land near Warkworth, and most of them are committed to ward at Alnwick. This country and the boroughs are grieved above measure. The outcry is so great for these piracies and other wrongs by sea—the complainants saying that they get no redress but sharp words and checks in England—and for the hurts done to their merchants trading with Ireland, that even the well affected are stirred therewith. Has satisfied many, and prays to be directed how to content the rest. Has written to Sir John Foster and

* *Marginal note by Bowes*: "Huntley hath advertyshed the Chancelour and will nott sorte with the rest, so as theyse matters are lyk to fall."

James VI. 1591. to the Lord Admiral's deputy in Northumberland that the frigate and men may be stayed till they receive warrant for their delivery. Some parties of this town that have been spoiled at sea are ready to repair to Alnwick, to try whether these are the pirates that robbed them, and to challenge their goods. Prays Burghley to give speedy direction for the satisfaction of the King and Council and of the parties wronged.

"The King being lately greeved with a troublesome rewme in his cheeke, supposed to drawe to a quynancye, is well recovered and ready to ride this day to the mariage of the lairde of Tyllybarnes' daughter with the laird of Grant, and afterwards to repayre with the Queene to St. Johnston, that the Queene may make her entry there on the 24th heereof."

The Earl of Angus is recovering beyond expectation. Sir William Keith is sent for to answer some matters objected against him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript in Bowes' handwriting: The Justice Clerk and the Secretary are newly returned from the King, with direction to the Chancellor to take order with Bothwell that upon entry of his caution to observe the King's conditions, he shall be delivered, and repair from the castle to the ship to depart without delay. The King offers so to confirm all Bothwell's assurances for the safety of his cautioners as he shall not need to crave either time for the accomplishment thereof, nor liberty abroad, that the law may adjudge him to be free and not in duresse during the making of the assurances. Thus Bothwell has found the King's mind more resolute than he or others looked for. It is doubted whether he will accept the King's offer under the conditions set down.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

(William Clitherow to George Carr.)

"To his good freend Mr. George Carr, Doctour of lawe, sonne to the honourable lady Maddam de Newbottle."

He wrote to Carr more than three months ago by an Englishman about the hundred crowns owing to Mr. Woodward by a nobleman. The said Englishman is "Robert Alot or Aliot," who has a kinsman in the court of Scotland, and told him he was to pass into Scotland through England. He would have Carr tell Allott that he marvels he hears not from him, and that his friend of Liege is in prison, and has been these two months, for a letter of Allott's that was taken at Dover, directed to Burghley. This imports some persons that Carr loves, and ought to love very much. He commends himself to Carr, Captain Seaton, William Shaw, and Andrew Leslie. Antwerp. $\frac{17}{27}$ April 1591.

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

June 20. 579. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"By these letters sent to me frome suche Scottesmen as have byn distressed by pirates neere unto Famouthe, and by others sent to your lordship frome one Mr. Killingraue whoe hathe stoode theire greate frend, your lordship may perceave how ilfavoredlie they have byn dealte

James VI. 1591. withall. I wolde therfore pray your lordship that some strait ordour may be given by my Lorde Admirall and the honorable of the Counsayle for remedying therof, and for the appearaunce before theyr lordshipes of suche as have committed suche insolent disordour as the casting of men over boorde after that they had yeelded them selves in the power of them of whome they looked for curtesye." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

Postscript in Douglas's handwriting—"Sen the vritting of this lettir I haif beyn informed that thayr is thre schippis belonging to Scottismen that hath beyn takin or trowbled be this vice-admirall compleaned upon or be suche as hath beyn sett furth be him: and all this hath beyn don vythin this moneth, as partly vill appeir be such letteris as this berar vill schaw onto your lordship."

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "20 Junii 1591. Mr. Dowglas to my lord. Certaine Scottishmen browght into Fawlmowthe by pirates. Complaineth of the viceadmirall of Cornewall."

Enclosure with the same:

(James Colville to Archibald Douglas.)

"Having obteinit from the Kingis majestie the government of Sainct Valerie opon Som, I vald not omit to lat zour lordship onderstand that in cace I may do zou ony service ze vil employ as ze have pouer sa far as I am able and shal ever have."

"It is causit me beleif that the place may be advantegeus for Ingland. Gif zour lordship thinkis gud to mak my humble commendationis to hir majestie and lat hir knaw that I and place and al is at hir service, and gif I have to do thair is no uther I can nether lipin in nor charge bot onlie hir majestie."

"Gif zour lordship find apeirance lat me knaw, for I have enterit bat puderis and al uther kynd of munition; not for laik of gudvil of my master bot for laik of moyen. Zour lordship mun lat me have zour gud counsel. My son shal se zow shortly, to quhom I refer al uther particularis."

"Thair is great bruit of pece heir, bot I beleve it not." St. Valery. 20 June. *Signed:* James Colvill of Est Veimes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address.*

June 22. 580. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday the Chancellor resorted to Bothwell to acquaint him with the King's pleasure for his delivery, upon conditions prescribed by the King as in his [Bowes'] last letter, saving that the King now binds him to find cautioners within Lothian, and limits his repair to Germany and Italy only. The Earl misliking some of the conditions, the Chancellor left him to allow the articles he accepted, and note those which he thought over strait, that upon reasons yielded the King might be moved to mitigate those conditions. "But this night last past the Erll breaking an hoelle in the rooffe of his lodging in this castell, he passed over the toppe of that howse to a place most easye to dissend, and ther commyng downe, he esscaped oute of the castell at the west port of this towne with one Lowther the servant of the capten of the castell. At the west

James VI. 1591. porte he fownd and tooke his horsse, with the Master of Cathenes, Gylbert Penycowke, and two or thrye moe, and ys nowe departed, as yt is thoght, towardes the sowth partes of this realme." This may disquiet the Border: he [Bowes] has warned the wardens.

This day the Council has advertised the King, now with the laird of Tullibardine, of this fact, and required him to vouchsafe to come hither, and to put his person in safety by the way. This town is to be surely and quietly kept till he come. It is hoped he shall be here before midnight.

The Earls of Erroll and Marishal, Lord Dingwall, Sir William Keith, the laird of Geythe and others are in Edinburgh, and the Master of Glamis comes on Thursday. The assembly is like to be great, yet the Chancellor and Council, knowing the causes of the repair of these personages, fear no trouble, but others are less confident. He [Bowes] has warned Sir John Carmichael of a rumour of harm intended against him. Sir John will probably come with the King.

This night the copy of his letter to Burghley intercepted by Gilbert Penycook, who escaped death this night very narrowly, was set up at the west port, and left there after Bothwell's departure to be seen by all that listed. The captain of the castle, through anguish for Bothwell's escape, is fallen into a dangerous ague. He desires, if he live, to be employed against Bothwell, of whose attempt he is thought to have been ignorant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 25. 581. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday the King returned to Edinburgh, and took order with the Council that judgment should be given against the Earl Bothwell for his treason of the Brigg of Dee, which judgment has been hitherto suspended, and which offence Bothwell alleges to be pardoned by the King. Nevertheless this day the judgment is pronounced, and by open proclamation he is declared traitor and to be forfeited, with commandment to all persons to forbear to harbour or deal with him, publishing many of his crimes at large. His possessions shall be seized by the controllor of the King's house for the King's use, and the offices of the admiral, Liddesdale, and others given to the Duke of Lennox. Sir John Carmichael has been moved to be under the Duke for the government of Liddesdale, but will be loth to deal therewith, and desires to be rid of the charge of the west wardenry, the burden and expenses thereof being over heavy for him. Bothwell alleges three causes moving him to break his ward. First, that the King would appoint him to embark, at such time as Bowes should give notice of, to her majesty's ship lying ready to surprise and take him. Secondly, that on Monday last the Chancellor and laird of Spynie, in their opening of the King's pleasure for the caution and conditions for his delivery, seemed to be much more strait towards him than the commissioners sent before unto him, "so as by the hardnes of the condytions proponed by the Chancelour, he fownd no hope of lyffe lefte to hyme." And lastly, that two persons in chief credit with the King had so dealt with him that he broke ward to save his life. If they deny it, he offers to prove his

James VI 1591. assertion by combat, first against one and then against the other. He further offers to re-enter into ward, and abide trial in all causes except for this late escape and for consulting with Richard Graham the witch. "For towching his fact at the Quarrell Holles at the tyme of the roode of the brig of Dee," he thinks himself pardoned by the King. He offers to challenge five noblemen, two councillors, four ministers and three burgesses. On Wednesday last he supped at Captain Maisterton's in Leith: from thence he came to Margaret Strawhan's house in Canongate and drank with some of his friends from Edinburgh; after he came to the ports, and rode about the castle. Yesterday he was seen in Teviotdale ["Tyvidalle"], with sixteen horse, for the gentlemen of Lothian are loth to join him, and few or none of the nobility aid him in this action. It is said that if he cannot obtain favour of the King he will seek the King of Spain, but that he will first entreat the Chancellor and Bowes to move the King for him.

The King will depart this night toward St. Johnston to the Queen, whose entry is to be made the last of this month. On Tuesday next the 29th instant the King purposes to return, and on the first of July to set forwards towards Kelso and Jedburgh, to provide for the peace of the Borders, to seek Bothwell, and to dispose of his lands and offices. For this purpose proclamation is made that all noblemen, barons, gentlemen, and others shall be at Edinburgh the 30th instant to attend the King, with armour and weapon and fifteen days' victuals. The chief of the Armstrongs, Elliots, and others of Liddesdale shall be here the same day that order may be taken for their obedience to such keeper as shall be appointed to govern them and for administration of justice on the Borders.

"The Lord Hume is commanded to kiepe his lodgyng in St. Johnston, upon suspicion that he had bein ane instrument of Bothewelle's escape. But at the King's comming thyther yt is ment that he shalbe delyvered."

The Earls Marishall and Erroll have satisfied the King and Chancellor of their innocence of any evil intent against the Chancellor; all jealousies are laid aside, and they departed to their houses with the King's favour, against the common expectation.

The King has revoked all grants made in the minorities of himself and his mother, not excepting those to the Chancellor, Spynie, or any other: all men holding such gifts and resting without confirmation by parliament, are now at the King's pleasure. It is doubted whether this revocation will be allowed by the session or ratified by parliament. The Chancellor has been much blamed in this, but without cause.

Has acquainted Francis Dacre with her majesty's pleasure to give him a yearly pension of 200 *l.* if he return into England and there behave himself loyally. He appears to rejoice at her clemency, showing that very lately he sent his son to Brussels to get the 3,000 crowns bequeathed to him by his brother Edward Dacre, deceased, but doubts how her majesty will allow of his doings in the same. He would know her pleasure herein, as also in the manner of her bounty to him, whether he shall thereby be restrained from any suit for his lands and possessions. He prays timely advertisement, that he may with the advice of his friends resolve and give answer with all loyalty and thanks. He is returned to the Earl Marishal and other his friends in the north to attend her majesty's pleasure.

James VI. 1591. Forasmuch as since the seizure of his [Bowes'] lands into her majesty's hands the coal mines at Offerton and the salt pans[1] at Sunderland have not been wrought for any profit to her majesty, himself, or his son, so that he will be unable to yield her majesty the yearly portion reserved to her; and because Mr. Vernon, since his return to Berwick, has not only denied to pay out of his [Bowes'] pay there six or seven pounds allowed by his warrant yearly to a gunner there, but also affirmed that her majesty's Council have signified that he [Bowes] is discharged from Michaelmas last; therefore it seems that his entertainments there are not stayed in part repayment of the 3,000 *l.* sent by her majesty for payment of the remains due to the garrison, but that the office is taken from him. Desires speedy understanding of her majesty's pleasure herein, having nothing left except his allowance. Prays that order may be taken, so as his son, now attending on Burghley, may know what to do. "For the dryfte of tyme by the weaknes of my myserabill estate shall dayly hynder the profittes to be gotten for hir majestie's satisfaccion, prejudice the service in my chardge for hir majestie, and worck myne utter undoing." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript [*in Bowes' hand*]: "The Catholyckes of this nation in Flanders and here are dryven to tak refuge at the handes of the Duke of Parma, who will nott now deale with any in this realme butt only with the King: and theron he hath wrytten to the King. The copy of his letter is sent hither, and in the handes of the Papistes, butt the letter is nott commed. Which letter, so soone as yt shall come to the handes of the Chancelour, I shall I trust gyve your lordship advertyshment of the contentes therof."

"This afternone Effam Mackalzon was executed by fyre and dyed very obstynatly without confessing any cryme."

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 25. 582. PROCLAMATION AGAINST FRANCIS, EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Proclamation by James VI. to his subjects to aid him against the Earl of Bothwell.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.* See *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 643.

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 50. Copy of the same.

June 25. 583. WRIT TO WILLIAM PORTEOUS, MESSENGER.

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 274. Reciting proclamation against Bothwell, and enjoining him to publish the same.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "Wm. Wylly writ this for me to send to your worship, so as you ar behoulden to the L. C. Register and Wm. Wyllye."

June 29. 584. WILLIAM HUNTER TO BURGHLEY.

"Notwithstanding thatt I am assuiritt your honour is be sindrie informitt of the estaitt off our cwntrie, nevertheles for the princelie

1 *Marginal note by Burghley*: "Order is gyven for the settyng of the salt panns on work."

James VI. 1591. benefettis thatt I have raissavitt off hir majestie I can nott be dischairgitt off my dewtie except I advyse your honour off our occurrantis so far as I have suir knawlege."

"My Loird Boithwell was the 28 off this instant att Kellso: a gritt nomber of horsmen, thay war rapoirtit to be five hundred, bott I can nott beleiff he cowld be so many, and notwithstanding off the heynous crymis laid to his chairge, yitt I assuir yowr honour all Scottland doith allow of his libertie, except itt be suche as bearis thair awin perticurlaris. The moist part off the nobill men and hoill comonis ar prevelie on his syd, notwithstanding he is, as your honour knawith, foirfalltitt. I assuir your honour thatt things ar wnabill to stand long in this forme, for our Chancelar is dealdlie haittitt and will have muche ado to keip his feitt, for thatt the comon rwmour is rissin on him, wiche in this cwntrie, whear the pepill ar wndanttitt, is a verrie evill sygne . Whearfoir keip a clos hand with him till your honour heir whatt becwmith off this convencioun, whearwnto war warnit the shereffdomis off Barrick, Haddingtoun, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Linlythgwo, Stirling, wnder pane off death, all betwix sixty and sixteen yearis, with fyftene dayis provisioun, to be att Edinburgh the last off this instant, quhilk is the morne. We ar in dowt iff thay will be all enemeis to my Loird Boithwellis faction thatt will be att thatt convencioun; whearfoir I advyse yowr honour to suspect the same. Our nobeletie doith hawnt muche togither att previe convencions. The hoill effect whearfoir I send my servand is thatt I wishe your honour to keip yowr hand clos till a month efter this, and befoirr thatt tyme be past itt will be sene aither victor or vinqwist. I send this beirar by sea becaus I durst nott hasard be land, and lykeways the wind was apperrandlie to be good."

"I reqweast your honour be good to my cosin Stanley who mareit the bishop off Yorkis dochter, and to do for him, since I have will [*sic*] ventour my lyff and valliant in hir majesteis and your honour's service, and to inanimat me to perseveir in the same cowrs. I hwmblie reqweast hir majestie and your honour thatt my said cosin may find justice with favouris: and God willing I schall cum to your honour schoirtly with suche advyse as I best can have suirest knawledge off." Edinburgh. [*Signed with a hunting horn.*]

Postscript—"Your honour may be assuiritt thatt I wryte naither for feid nor favour off any, bott as I will be answerabill to hir majestie and to your honour att meiting. Iff itt pleas your honour to wryte me any answer, dispatche this berrar, that his beyng thair be not suspectitt."

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley, giving short pedigree of Hunter, Young, and Stanley.*

June 30. 585. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

My father's business makes him command me to answer your letters. In yours of the 20th of June he finds that Earl Bothwell is dealt with to be reconciled to the other party. If it be offered by them, and but entertained by him without purpose to bind with them, her majesty does not disallow of that purpose and your counsel; but if otherwise, she would not think it an honest part in him to have been all this while against them, and now that they are proclaimed traitors to join with

James VI. 1591. them. "Her majesty museth why you shold think that her cawses in Scotland shall pass any particuler man's hand, you being there, but with your privity": so long as your time lasts, though she has no particular dealings with Bothwell, yet if he send to you she wishes you to direct him in good courses of duty to the King, good offices for the amity of both realms, and to continue adverse to the Pope's faction which the earls uphold.

As to Mr. Foulis's negociation, he has been with the Queen and very graciously used, and has been told how much for your recommendation he has been esteemed. His errand was all for money, a strange demand for twelve or fourteen thousand pounds, which the Queen utterly refused, and only yielded four thousand, whereof three was for her accustomed yearly gratuity and the other for the King's extraordinary occasions, besides that which she means to bestow at the christening, whereof you can well consider. Foulis said he would rather receive nothing than such a paltry sum, and that his commission was to receive no less. The Queen hearing of this, at once sent a stay to the Exchequer for the 4,000 *l.* Foulis has by all possible means sought to make up that breach, and is now contentedly dispatched with the 4,000 *l.* He confesses that the arrearages on which he grounded his large demands are by the King's ministers misconceived, for there is no such sum due. The Queen never meant it but as of good will, not a certainty. Foulis seems satisfied, both for the King and himself: he has been told that for your recommendation he has been much the more respected.

Concerning money for Lord Hamilton, the Queen sees no cause of giving any. She likes exceedingly of his election as lieutenant on the Borders.

My lord has obtained of the Queen that you shall return; and with her ambassador to the baptism one shall go to abide there in your place. She will in no wise have you omit your usual course of writing, how small soever your abode be there. *Unsigned.*

Postscript—Sir William Bowes being sent for to go in your place hath made wonderful means to stay, and by his importunity the Queen is altered. Sir Thomas Parry, brother-in-law to Mr. Fortescue, is now sent for, who shall, I think, succeed you.

3 *pp. Draft. Indorsed.*

July 2. 586. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King returned to Edinburgh yesternight, and this morning left for Kelso, Jedburgh, Hawick, and other places on the Borders, to take order for preservation of the peace there, and to establish his own affairs, with the quieting of the people there "whiles the Erle Bothwell remayneth in the King's displeasure." He intends to be again in this town on or about the 6th instant: and knowing the Earl to be advised of his coming, and resolved to give him place with all humility, the King purposes not to pursue him at this time. It is thought the King will in the end give him conditions to his contentment. Bothwell sent a gentleman yesternight to the King, with humble petition to accept his submission and offers, or to give commission to some of his Council to confer with Bothwell. The King refused to hear any offer or grant any condition

James VI. 1591. before he should put himself again in the castle, but this morning he has given commission to the Chancellor and Sir Robert Melville to treat of conditions with Bothwell: and the Master of Caithness, who met Bothwell with his horse and accompanied him ever since his escape, is licensed to solicit his cause to the King or his commissioners. It is said that if the King give him leave to depart the realm and receive the profits of his living during his absence, then he will assign all his livings to the Chancellor, in trust for his wife and children left behind him. The King's success on the Borders will be reported by the officers of the Marches. It is said that her majesty has been moved by Bothwell's friends to show favour towards him; he [Bowes] prays advice and direction herein.

The King looks in this journey to find assistance from her majesty's officers on the Marches, therefore he [Bowes] has given them all notice of his journey, wishing them to assist him for the benefit of both realms. This morning he moved the King for redress for the outrages committed by Liddesdale in the West Marches of England, entreating remedy, and order for prevention of like attempts. The King said that some of the chief of the Elliots in Liddesdale were come hither as he had appointed, but the Armstrongs and others appeared not: he would have them all before him in this journey, and give redress and remedy to the contentment of her majesty and Lord Scrope her warden there. He [Bowes] has advertised Lord Scrope hereof, with advice to send some one to the King at Hawick to remind him of his promise, and to call on the Chancellor and Sir John Carmichael, who have promised their whole endeavours in this matter. The King is very slenderly accompanied by a few of the nobility. "He looketh that the gentlemen of Lowthyan and other places nere the waies in his passage shall resort unto him."

Bothwell "roometh quietlie in sondry places," often near Edinburgh. He has been seen in Dalkeith with small company, and at night keeps himself at large and in safety. Lord Hume has satisfied the King, and remains at Dunnottar with his brother-in-law the Earl Marishal until the King's return. The Queen made her entry at St. Johnston's on June 29th. Some contention fell there, Erroll claiming as constable of the realm to precede Atholl who is provost of that town: but that matter and other griefs "are wrapped up for better opportunitie."

One Lammy, a Scottishman, sent hither by the Catholics in Flanders, is ready to return thither with letters to Colonel Boyd, Robert Bruce, and William Clitherow an Englishman. This messenger thinks that Boyd, Bruce, and some Englishmen will come hither very shortly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 4. 587. ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON TO BURGHLEY.

"There is a letter come to my hande from the Kinge's majestie my soveraigne unto the Queene's highnes, which I am comaunded to deliver, and as it shoulde seeme by my letter, it is in the favour of Mr. Udall, minister, who remaineth in prison here, and as I thinke obteyned by our churche and mayor of our citie: which I will in no wise deliver nor deale in, untill I make your lordshippe privie thereunto, wherein I humblie

James VI. 1591. crave to knowe your honnor's good pleasure. Touchinge my owne busines there is nothinge done, but the matter remitted to your lordshippe and the lordes of her majeste's Counsell againe. He offereth one hundreth poundes for recompence of our losses of sixteene hundreth poundes which your honnors hath geven your decrees upon, besides all our charges by the space of two yeeres and a halfe, which will amounte to five hundreth markes. In this I pray God to move your honorable wise hartes to have pitie of a poore straunger's cause, and as her majeste's princelie progenitors and your lordshippe's predecessors have enacted a speciall lawe in favour of straungers, that God which moved there hartes to make it maie nowe move your honorable hartes to put it in execution." *Signed:* Archebald Jhonstoun.

¼ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 6. 588. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By Burghley's letter of the 29th of June finds kindly warning of malicious intentions against him, and Burghley's goodness and care continued towards him. The like advice has often been given him by friends in Scotland, warning him of danger to himself and others devoted to her majesty. Fear of violence, "or losse of goodes presentlie at the bothome with me," could never draw him from his duty; "so in this worne estate nere the grave and voide of joyes in worldlie possessions," he will not "start at these monsters breaking the priviliges of the lawes of nacions." Hears that his revocation is determined and a fit gentleman appointed to succeed him. This will work sundry effects: prays direction, that he may work out his task "or wrapp up the clewe" for the most profit of her majesty's service. Has directed his son to attend upon Burghley to know her pleasure.

Leaves the advertisement of the King's journey to establish order on the Marches and in the feuds betwixt the Armstrongs and Elliots in Liddesdale, together with his course for Bothwell, to the advertisement of her majesty's officers on the Borders. Has heard nothing of Bothwell's doings since his coming from Crichton on the 2nd instant by Dalkeith towards Edinburgh with nine persons, before the King took horse to dine with the Chancellor and lodge at the "Freers" near Kelso. His [Bothwell's] friends think he shall obtain leave to depart out of this realm, with enjoying of his possessions during his absence. The King is of the same mind towards him as he was before his departure.

The Earl of Angus is lately deceased, and his eldest son seeks the earldom, but the obtaining thereof will be costly to him except he reform his religion and devote himself to the course of some courtiers. The Earl of Huntly is come to St. Johnston's, with two hundred horses for his convoy thither to the Queen, and purposes to be here this day or tomorrow, except the knowledge of the delay of the King's return stay him. "He hathe caused the cobbles of Murraie's fishinges to be cutt to his great losse." Some of the clans lately following Mackintosh are revolted to Huntly and entered into blood against some under the laird of Grant. Some matter against the Chancellor was to have been exhibited to the King at St. Johnston's, but the contention betwixt Erroll and Atholl stayed it. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

James VI. 1591. Postscript—This night Huntly came secretly to this town, purposing to go to the King, but the commissioners of this General Assembly for the church have summoned him to be before them this day.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 6. 589. WILLIAM HUNTER TO BURGHLEY.

"Since I wrote my wther letter wiche is off a long daitt be raisoun the wind was nott good and this berrar boun by sea, I thoght good to adverteis your honour how the King is past to Kellso verrie sklenderlie accompaneit, and befoir his departour raissavitt the keyis off my Loirdis Boithwellis howsis. Carmichell is appoyntitt Loird off Liddisdaiil: we heir no wther thing his majestie hes done since his departour. My Loird Huntlie is in the north, and was in Aberdene accompaneit with eight hundred hors of his awin gentillmen and freindis: this word cam yisternycht, and thatt my Loird Boithwell was mett within two mylis to Aberdene ryding thither. Mirrie companyouns say atte thair wyne that all our trubillis ar bott tryfills to gett moir gowld frome Ingland, and thay seik my Loird Boithwell whear thay knaw he is nott, for Aberdene is neir fowr scoir mylis derrect north frome Edinburgh and Kellso is twenty eight mylis derrect sowth frome Edinburgh."

"I pray your honour to redd and ryff my letters, for your honour knawith whatt danger my lyff hes bene in befoir for the goodwill I have borne to hir majesteis service; and lett nott my letters cum owt off your handis till itt be reiffin. I can get no remeid off thatt tratour who broght me in all the trubill in Spain, for thatt the Chancelar is becum his freind, bot I hoip be your honouris assistance to be eqwall with him: the way how this berrar will schaw yow, who was with me in a part off the same trwbill; for thair is bott two wayis to remeid the same. All Ingland suche as fear God awght to revenge wpoun thatt tratour, saying his treasoun was onlie agains Ingland, and is yitt a traffiker with Spayne. Thus I beseiche your honour to heir this berrar, whome I have expreslie sent: his name is Archebald Schoirswod. I have no farther, bot that his majestie is nott yitt cum bak, who is taking in plegis thatt the cuntrie schall be obedient to Carmichell." Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

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

July 14. 590. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received yesterday Burghley's letter of the 8th instant, with news from Brittany. Has to-day acquainted the Chancellor with the contents of that letter, and purposed to go to the King at Falkland, but was advised by the Chancellor to defer that journey, looking for the King's return or that of the Secretary to-morrow. Having opened to the Chancellor, as directed, the practices of the Catholics, he [the Chancellor] confesses that the discovery thereof made to her majesty concurs with intelligence come to himself: adding that the papists in the Low Countries have procured a letter from the Duke of Parma to this King; it is in this realm, but not yet delivered: a copy is promised, which shall

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be sent to Burghley. The Chancellor promises to endeavour to prevent the evil, and to take the party at Aberdeen with his letters and traffic, of whose arrival in this realm he has not yet heard.

The Chancellor at Kelso offered some motion in behalf of Bothwell: the King was offended, saying that he looked not for such matter at his hands, and that according to the example of James IV. he must make known to his subjects that he will be a prince constant in his word, "and not to be caried allwaies after the appitite of any especiall person." They then deliberated how Bothwell's house should be kept. The service of young Cesford was commended as necessary, for otherwise Bothwell would enter the house two days after the King's departure; but the King finding that this tended to a remission to Cesford, would hear no more thereof. The King seeks by all means to have Bothwell in his will. He has called Lord Hume and his friends, exhorting them to keep Bothwell out of the March. They have promised their services, Hume telling the King that if he come in person he shall find his readiness to serve him. It was looked that the King would charge them further, but he has not done so. It is said that the King had before this dealt with Hume against Bothwell, and that Hume promised service therein, yet has since been familiar with Bothwell, "and that Marshall and Hume have commed from Keeth to Bothwell at Crighton, and there frendlie agreed." But Hume denied to the King all these things. The Master of Glamis has promised to draw Hume to please the King in all things; yet it is seen that Hume and other noblemen have little will to do anything against Bothwell; and it is thought that these matters shall turn to some action against the Chancellor, by whose defeat all things shall be "wrapped up," both for Bothwell's releif and the contentment of many now discontented with this government, who are ready to aid in the disgrace of the Chancellor, who walks in very great peril.

The King has given to the Duke of Lennox, out of Bothwell's possessions, Crichton, Hailes, and the offices of the admiralty and sheriffdom of Lothian, but whether he will accept this without Bothwell's assent is not known; Bothwell's friends think that the Duke cannot enjoy those possessions with Bothwell's kindness. It was meant to offer to Hume the profits of Kelso and Coldingham, and the North Field at Coldingham, worth 200 *l.* yearly, but it is uncertain whether these are offered, or he willing to accept them. The keeping of Liddesdale is to be committed to Buccleuch, son-in-law to Bothwell, and one that will be loth to grieve him: such disposition of his lands and offices will not draw many friends from Bothwell. The Queen, making suit to the King in Bothwell's favour, found him so moved, chiefly against such as had entreated her to deal therein, as she let it fall, with his good contentment. The Master of Caithness came to the Chancellor in his way from his house at Lauder to Edinburgh, requiring him to speak with Bothwell, being at hand with a small company; the Chancellor refused, wherewith Bothwell was ill pleased. Soon after, in the night, the Master of Caithness and Captain Haggertson came quietly to the Chancellor in his house in Edinburgh, seeking his favour for Bothwell. They offered that Bothwell should reveal all practices intended against the King's course, or for the Chancellor's overthrow: the Chancellor advised them to disclose all to the King to procure his clemency; for furtherance whereof he promised

James VI. 1591. his whole endeavour. But some say that these two pressed the Chancellor for assurance of his speedy help for Bothwell, or else they would leave him to his own ways and join with others that will better support him, when Bothwell would think that the Chancellor was the author of all his troubles and of the declaration of forfeiture: and that the Chancellor then bound himself to repair to the court with speed and there remain until he have purchased grace for Bothwell. Bothwell has been lately in this town, with four or five in his company, and is received wherever he likes without fear. "And to cleare his eschape it is now alleged that he did the same *ob justum metum*, justifiable by the lawes of this realme; so as standing upon his triall the rest of the nobilitie may thinck that he is over sharpelie delt withall."

The King will not pardon young Cesford, although his service is very requisite in the impotency of his father, and although the wife and friends of William Carr, slain by him, shall be satisfied, being already willing that he be received to the King's grace; therefore the Chancellor, old Cesford, and his friends pray Burghley to procure letters from her majesty to entreat the King and Queen here for Cesford's pardon. It is promised on behalf of the Chancellor, Cesford, and their friends that they will remain devoted to her majesty's service and be instruments for the preservation of peace on the Borders, especially in the Middle Wardenry, the March most subject to trouble, where young Cesford has shown many good deeds since his coming into England. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsement and marginal notes by Burghley.*

July 20. 591. MEMORIAL TO BURGHLEY FROM WILLIAM HUNTER.

William Hunter, having the King's letters of commendation into Spain as his merchant, one Alexander Scott, a Scottishman, being also there, accused Hunter to have dealing with Englishmen's goods, whereupon he was brought in question, to his great danger and charge. Complaint being made to the King of Scotland, he deemed the said Scott worthy of punishment; whereupon Scott absented himself. Scott being now in Edinburgh, Burghley is entreated to write to the Chancellor "to stand good lord to Hunter, and to further the punishement dewe to the said Scotte."

½ *p. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 21. 592. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has been to Falkland and told the King the contents of Burghley's letter of the 8th instant. Upon hearing of the actions of Sir Alexander Stewart, with the practices to be enterprised in this realm by the Catholics, the King gave her majesty thanks for such friendly warning, which would enable him to prevent those dangers, acknowledging that the papists never ceased their endeavours to work trouble in both realms. The King told him [Bowes] that in June last he received two letters: one from the Duke of Parma, advertising his readiness to take into his service Sir Alexander Stewart, commended by the King to him, and after, at his own request, dismissed with the Duke's safe conduct for the

James VI. 1591. King's sake: the other from Sir Alexander Stewart, certifying that albeit the Duke was ready to receive him at the King's commendation, yet he pressed him to give testimony that he was a Catholic, agreeable to the order taken by the churchmen there, and appointed two of his chaplains to examine him in four articles of religion, whereunto he answered in general terms for fear of his life, praying to be suffered to depart, being so suspected as his service could not profit the Duke. And so obtaining passport, he departed with the Duke's said letter to the King. Afterwards he turned to serve the States in Holland, and was received by Count Maurice, and being with him in camp, sent to the King the two letters mentioned and required the King's letter in his favour to Count Maurice, which letter is ready, but stayed till the King be further advised. The King thinks that Stewart has not been to Scotland since his passage from London to the Low Countries.

He [Bowes] told the King that her majesty might think it strange that he would commend Sir Alexander to the Duke's service, and that his dispatch, and his recall to serve the States, were not void of suspicion; and that he [Bowes] had received credible intelligence concurring with the discoveries made to her majesty. The King answered that he looked that Sir Alexander should so have carried himself in the Duke's service as some profit should have come to her majesty and himself: he will try all his doings, "and cast a watching eye to the progresse of this practise," which he doubts the less since he knows the fellowship of the Brigg of Dee to be broken and divided amongst themselves; and that the noblemen have been lately with him protesting loyalty. Being reminded "that this manner of dealing in the suspected sort of the noblemen was foretold to be the ground and entrie into this practise against religion and himself," the King says that he may not despise their good affections and services offered, but he will watch the rising of any smoke or spark and quench any fire kindling. He prays her majesty for further intelligence, promising diligent search, and to acquaint her with his success.

Has received information from a person in the north that the papists in Flanders intend some dangerous enterprise to disquiet both realms, and have sent their instrument into Scotland to lay the foundation. Has sent for that person to come to him, and trusts to speak with him shortly, as will appear by a letter enclosed, and will give further light to her majesty and the King of these things, "and whether Sir Alexander Stewart hathe bene at Aberdene or any other part in this realme."

Has acquainted the King with her majesty's disposition to send into Scotland such of the English pirates in ward at Alnwick as robbed his subjects near Orkney, to be an example for the satisfaction of this nation: as also with the hurt done by Captain Lastock to the ships of Kirkcaldy and "Emdon" by their own defaults, wherein redress is already made to the parties acknowledging their erorrs. The King was glad, saying that he should thus be quit of many exclamations of his subjects. At the coming of the Chancellor and Council he will give notice which of the pirates he desires to have delivered.

Has pressed the King and Chancellor for redress for the attempts of Liddesdale in the West Marches. The King has promised that at the coming of the chief of the clans in Liddisdale before him and his Council next month, with their keeper the laird of Buccleuch, he will satisfy

James VI. 1591. Lord Scrope for past offences, and take order for future execution of justice.

"Paulus Knybius, doctour in lawe, and ambassadour for the King of Denmark to the King of Scottes, came into this river on Saterdaie the 10th hereof, and on Sondaie last the 18th hereof had accesse and audience of the King at Fawkland." His errand was to signify to the King, that whereas Colonel Stewart and John Skene, by commission of the King, had negociated matters to sundry princes in Germany, moving a treaty for peace betwixt her majesty and the King of Spain, and betwixt the French King and the King of Spain; or otherwise that the Kings of Denmark and Scotland and the princes in Germany should assist the princes inclining to peace against such as were obstinate; and they left the answer to their negociations to be certified to the King here by those princes; since which time this King has written to those princes, with Monsieur Morland employed here for the French King, that they would aid the French King against his rebels: therefore the princes conceived that the King here intended no further treaty for peace, but rather wished succours to be sent to the French King for defence of the common cause endangered, without looking for other answer to the articles proposed by his ambassadors; hence the answers of the King of Denmark and other princes have been thus deferred. In the mean time the King and state of Denmark have sent to the King of Spain to move the treaty for peace; having hitherto received no answer, they cannot enter into action against that King, and must forbear to join with other princes to aid the French King. Therefore request is made to the King here "to commend all these to the knowledge of her majestie and the Frenche King for the excuses of the King, Queen, and estate of Denmark and others interessed herein," and to testify their readiness to take part with other princes of the religion for the defence of religion, themselves and their dominions. This ambassador for Denmark purposes to be with him [Bowes] shortly. The King received letters from the Duke of Brunswick, again written in Dutch, although the King had answered his former in Latin. The effects are of small weight, containing nothing touching the matter opened by the ambassador for Denmark. "The other gentlemen of Denmark are imploied to bring hither a young gentlewoman to serve the Queen, and to cary home two other gentlewomen that came hither in service with the Quene."

The King has examined the offence conceived by sundry of the nobility against the Chancellor; the parties suspected of seeking his hurt do resolutely deny the same, and "offer to be ordered by the Kinge's owne doome," so that the King trusts to take up these griefs with speed for prevention of evil. He sent Lord Hume to the Chancellor that they might be agreed, and that Hume might receive advice for execution of the King's pleasure concerning some part of Bothwell's possessions; wherein they jarred in the first conference and had almost given up kindness, yet they accorded better in the end. The showers looked for are with this wind blown over for some time.

The King is still in one mind against Bothwell, and offers the Duke of Lennox part of his possessions. The King thinks the Duke has accepted them, but the Duke, thinking that the King will take in exchange other profits of as good value, and that he will offend Bothwell and

James VI. 1591. other Stewarts, "staggereth muche to take them," but to avoid the King's displeasure is advised to stand to them, the rather that he may obtain therewith the keeping of Edinburgh Castle, which is to be taken from the Captain and given either to the Chancellor or the Duke. The rest of the fellowship of Stirling have no liking that the Captain should leave it. Lord Hume is not yet possessed of any of Bothwell's livings, but Buccleuch is keeper of Liddesdale, some think with Bothwell's consent. Bothwell haunteth by day at Crichton with seven or eight in his company, having sent the rest of his servants to their friends: at night he keeps the woods at Crichton or rides abroad to Leith, the neigbourhood of Edinburgh, and other places; he has been again in Leith, and the watch of Edinburgh discovered him the other night. He is now fearful of suspected snares; his servants are weary with watching, and their horses tired with night riding. The young laird of Niddry, "the chefe about him, and a man entered into great bloode," sought the King's pardon on Friday last, and is ready to leave Bothwell and this country as the King shall appoint. The King hears that Bothwell can be content to depart and serve the French King or any other as the King shall direct, and to leave all his possessions to the King's disposition, but the King will give ear to no petitions till he render his body into this castle; which he finds too perilous.

Huntly and his wife continue in court at Falkland, pretending to be desirous to live in the country. He is an earnest suitor to the King for the lieutenancy in the north: it is flatly denied by the King, but he trusts by the help of his friends in court to obtain his desire. He protests great loyalty to the King, who thankfully accepts the same. The assembly of the church have ordered the King's ministers to call for his declaration in religion, but he will probably avoid the summons and retire to his house. The Master of Glamis has moved the King for the wrong done him by Huntly in making the Chancellor think that he and others at Dunnottar conspired the hurt of the Chancellor. The King has referred him to Huntly. Councillors lately mediating between the Chancellor and Glamis "found this pyke betwixt Huntlay and Glames, and other like quarrelles betwixt the Chancelour and Glames so cast in as their labours were in vaine," and they left the cause in worse case than they found it. The Master was to be forbidden by letter to come to court or Council till the King sent for him, but received good countenance of the King and is departed with great contentment, which may stay the letter: otherwise the fire will shortly flame betwixt the Chancellor and him.

The King, discontented that Sir William Keith should marry the Countesss of Gowrie, had him called before the Council. Had he appeared he should hardly have escaped ward, but he was departed out of the town before the charge could be given.

Is wounded to hear by Burghley's letter that her majesty finds no readiness in his son and servant to pay anything for the garrison at Berwick, and that Burghley is likewise offended by default of payment of 1,000 *l.* from his revenues and salt-pans. All his lands, salt-pans, etc., are already in her majesty's hands; the rents are received for her, the pans lie unoccupied and yield no profit to anyone, whilst she delays to determine of the offers made by him [Bowes] and his son: this long delay has wrought the present default of payment. Expresses his deep

James VI. 1591. devotion to her majesty, and desires leave to return and repair to such place as shall please her, that he "may finde some ende of these miseries more grevous then death." The sight of her good countenance withdrawn from him at home breeds contempt for him in Scotland, and the expectation of his revocation has abated his credit and quenched his intelligence with many, as may appear by a letter enclosed. Prays Burghley, for God's sake, to procure her majesty's resolution. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 26. 593. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has this day received his [Burghley's] letter of the 21st, with a letter to the King from Monsieur Morlans, and the good news of Arnhem. Fears for the convoy of his letters, seeing such stirs rising, therefore spares to write particulars, trusting these "ruffelles and bravadoes" shall soon pass over.

The King, hearing that Bothwell had been entertained in Edinburgh and Leith, did by sharp letters reprove them, and by proclamations published in both towns on Saturday the 24th instant commanded all the inhabitants upon great pains to apprehend him in case he should come thither again, and upon his resistance to ring the common bell and use all their forces. It is bruited that some noblemen have communed with or sent to Bothwell, and that something should be attempted against the Chancellor within four or five days. Yesternight, after that the Earls of Huntly and Marishal and Lord Hume were come to this town about midnight with a small company, the watch of the town espied and challenged a hundred horsemen well appointed, who, finding themselves discovered, withdrew. The Chancellor stands upon his guard. This afternoon Bothwell came openly into Canongate, riding under the walls and near the gates of the town, and departed towards Leith with about twenty men. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 28. 594. WARRANT AGAINST THE EARL OF BOTHWELL AND LORD HUME.

"James by the grace of God Kinge of Scottes to our lovittes messengers our sheriffes in that parte conjunctlye and severallye speciallie constitute gretinge. Forsamekle as we are credeblye informed that Francis somtyme Erle Bothwell resortes and hantes in our East Marche and ther is ressait of our unnaturall subjectes inhabiting within our sayd Marche, to the apparante disturbance and inquietaunce of our estate, for remedye wherof it is our will and we commaunde you straitlye that ye chardge our traisty cusinge Alexander Lorde Hume, Warden of our saide East Marche, to appeare before us and lordes of our Secrett Counsell at Edenburgh, or wher it shall happen us to be present for the tyme, the first daye of August, to give he [*sic*] anefaulde and good counsell for reformacion of this hienous and proud attempt committed thus unnaturallie within the boundes of his warranrye under the payne of rebellion and puttinge of him to our horne: and gif he faile ye the

James VI. 1591. said daye beinge bypast that ye incontinent denunce the disobayours or rebells and put him to our horne, and eschit and imbringe all his movable goodes to our use for ther contempcion, as ye will answere to us theruppon. The quhilke to doe we committ you conjunctlye and severallye our full power be thir our letters, delivering them be you dewlie execute and againe to the bearer." Edinburgh. *Per actum Secreti Consilii.*'

½ *p. Copy.*

Cott. Calig., D.II, fol. 23. Another copy of the same.

July 31. 595. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has delivered to the King the packet enclosed in his [Burghley's] letter of the 21st instant, containing letters addressed to the King by Viscount Turenne and Monsieur Morlans. The letters were shown to him [Bowes]. The Viscount gave thanks to the King for his letters sent to the princes in Germany with Morlans, and for his readiness to aid the French King against the rebels; recounted his success in this negociation with the princes in Germany, the coldness of the Duke of Brunswick, and the good hope that Denmark would join in the furtherance of those affairs. Morlans yielded compliments to the King, and sent news of events in France, contradicting false reports of the Catholics.

The King is still persuaded that Sir Alexander Stewart remains in service with Count Maurice, in the Low Countries, and came not to Aberdeen or any port of Scotland. Hears that Sir Alexander passed immediately from the Duke of Parma to Count Maurice. The letter sent to the King by the Duke of Parma, testifying Sir Alexander's being with him, was dated the 30th of May: but some say he, or his brother, was in Aberdeen in the beginning of April. Encloses copy of the Duke of Parma's letter to the King, who says he received none other from the Duke yet he [Bowes] looked and called for another procured by the Catholics, whereof the Chancellor promised the double. The Secretary cannot yet find it.

Hears from the Danish ambassador that the princes in Germany have sent no answer to Denmark to the negociations of Colonel Stewart and John Skene, but upon the coming of Viscount Turenne from the French King and with the letters of the King of Scotland, they thought it best to contribute money for the defence of the reformed religion and its professors, and agreed to employ that money to pay an army to aid the French King against his rebels. This army he trusts is on the march under Prince Christian of Hainault. The King of Denmark has consented, as Duke of Holstein, to join in this contribution: but because he had sent a gentleman to the King of Spain to treat for a general peace, and had no answer owing to the King of Spain's sickness, and because the King of Denmark is in his minority and not yet crowned, therefore he and his state suspend their resolutions in this cause until they receive the answer of the King of Spain, purposing, if he embrace the notion of peace, to proceed thereon with other princes; if he refuse, then to join with the princes in Germany. The Danish ambassador's errand is to ask the King's advice herein. The cause of the coldness of Brunswick

James VI. 1591. is that the Duke desired his uncle, the Duke of Brunswick, to have the conduct of the army, and was denied. Because it seemed that this position of Denmark would cause delay, he [Bowes] in conference with the King, laid before him the commodities to come to all princes professing the religion, by the union of the King and state of Denmark with other Protestant Princes in Germany, and the honour he should gain by expediting the same. The King lamented that some remnant of Spanish faction rested in Denmark, and that a Colonel in Brunswick's country, a special gentleman about the Duke, had lately gone to serve the King of Spain. He promised to deal with Denmark and Brunswick, that they may join with the other princes.

Told in his last letter of Bothwell's coming to Edinburgh. The troubles are grown to dangerous height; regrets that this should happen just when the general expectation of his revocation has damaged his credit. Desires to know her majesty's determination, that he may either leave all things in order for his successor, or seek to recover his former means and credit.

The King was lately informed that Marishal, Bothwell, and Hume would come to Edinburgh to lie, with purpose to kill the Chancellor; whereupon he sent his letters and warrant to the Duke of Lennox, the Chancellor, and Huntly to apprehend Bothwell, and to ward Marishal and Hume. Further, that the Master of Glamis was privy to this enterprise, and should have met Bothwell at Leith, and that Sir William Keith did chiefly draw it on: the like charges therefore were sent to take and ward them. But the King's letters were not delivered till Monday morning last, and before the Council could resolve on the manner of the execution, and the provost be ready to do it, Marishal and Hume were warned, and withdrew on Monday last. Bothwell came that afternoon to the port of Edinburgh, and understanding of their departure, entered not, but passed down Canongate. He found the Duke and Hume in the fields near Leith, and would have spoken with the Duke, who refused, whereupon Bothwell turned to Hume, and after some words rode to Leith with his company. The officers there threatened to apprehend him, according to the King's proclamation, but he refused to depart, saying "that he had prepaired his supper there, and wold eate it in dispite of his enemies." The bailiff caused ring the common bell, and gathered the people, whereupon by the advice of Captain Haggertson he left his supper and returned to Crichton. The Chancellor and Council advertised the King of this ill success of his letters, requiring his presence in Edinburgh with expedition, but the King, greatly offended that his directions were not accomplished, stayed his journey, although ready to come, sending Roger Aston with his pleasure. The next day, being Wednesday, he came.

Marishal came to the King at West Wemyss, on his way to Edinburgh: the King would not give him access, but sent him to Wemyss. Yesterday he was brought hither, and examined before the King and Council. He denied any knowledge of hurt to be done to the Chancellor, saying that he and Hume came thither for their private affairs. He denied any dealing with Bothwell: and was committed to the Castle. The King sent John Shaw to Hume, to remind him of his promise to take Bothwell within a month if he haunted his accustomed bounds; and also to will

James VI 1591. him to come to the King to clear himself. Hume offered to come to the King at Falkland, or any other place where the Chancellor was not, fearing to be harmed by him. He confessed that Bothwell had come to his house at Douglas and elsewhere, but denied having made any band with him, or devised hurt to the Chancellor. The King has been informed of sundry trysts kept betwixt Bothwell and Hume: the latter is to be charged to come in upon pain of treason, and if he refuse, his possessions shall be seized and himself prosecuted according to the laws. He has sought the advice of his friends in Edinburgh, who purpose to persuade him to submit himself to the King. The Lords Ochiltree and Spynie are sent to the Master of Glamis to charge him to ward, or to bring him to the King. He seems ready to enter, and free from these practices. Sir William Keith shall be likewise charged, being considered a principal instrument to brew these broils. He lay in bed with Bothwell at Morham once or twice. It is not yet known where he is.

The King being advised that Bothwell was at Roslin, sent the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Huntly, and the Master of Ochiltree, nephew of Sir William Stewart slain by Bothwell, with sixty men to take Bothwell and the laird of Roslin. Bothwell, with only one man, was very near them in the night, yet being not discovered, withdrew down the little brook on the end of Borough Moor and escaped. The Duke and others coming to Roslin found him gone from his house to Bothwell; so he will be charged with the rest. The King continues resolute to proceed against Bothwell to the uttermost, purposing to advance the Duke with Bothwell's possessions, which the Duke cannot refuse without loss of the King's favour: he has already taken part thereof, and will follow the King's pleasure. The King intends to pursue Bothwell and Hume with his forces, if Hume does not submit, and has moved him [Bowes] to procure her majesty's order to her wardens to aid him in pursuit of his fugitive subjects, and to keep them if they come in their wardenries, and deliver them to him.

For the safety of the King's person and execution of his commands he will entertain one hundred horsemen, to be paid out of the revenues of disobedient persons. John Lindsay, brother of the Earl of Crawford, shall lead one fifty, and the Master of Ochiltree the other. Sundry noblemen are sent for; Lord Hamilton will be here this night. Others, being sick, cannot come so speedily. The custody of the Castle should have been taken from Sir James Hume, the captain, and given to the Duke or Chancellor, but the office is not to be taken from him without recompense, because of the great charges he has endured. The Duke and Chancellor sought this office for the benefit of a house in Edinburgh, and Colonel Stewart and Sir William Stewart persuaded the Duke to this suit, that Sir William might be deputy captain, but his favour to Bothwell shall be some block in his way. It is suspected that Bothwell has met with the laird of Johnstone, but not proved. The laird of Buccleuch is returned from Edinburgh to his house; some think he should have been charged, "in regard of the love he beares Bothwell and his children commed of his mother"; others think he is delivering himself from Bothwell's importunity. He purposes to give over Liddesdale, and travel through England into foreign countries: suit will be shortly made to her majesty for his safe-conduct. If young Cesford

James VI. 1591. were now pardoned this office would be given to him, for Carmichael will not have it. Cesford will do good offices to her majesty therein if he obtain his pardon by her means, and her letters to the King and Queen. William Carr, slain by young Cesford, had given his father "sondry ruffles," taking a prisoner at the bar forcibly from him in his warden court, and seeking to thrust him out of the office of provost of Jedburgh; with such proud words uttered against old Cesford as the young man could not digest, but rashly commanded his servants to shoot him with a pistol, which in this heat was executed over hastily. He has with all humility sought the King's grace, and composition with the wife, children, and friends of the party slain, wherein they are accorded. The King acknowledges that the young man's service might profit him, in the impotency of his father; so that her majesty's mediation will probably be sufficient to obtain his pardon: therefore the Chancellor, his father, and friends continue their suit to her in this behalf.

Huntly is like to be a great courtier, and to be employed in the south. He has obtained the reversion of Dunfermline after the Queen's decease. Commission is granted to him to apprehend all persons at horn in the north: he will be busy with Mackintosh hereon, and wars will soon rise amongst them. Little care is taken to pacify the discords in the north, so as troubles hereabouts may be quenched.

Is sorry that his son departed from Burghley without order taken for her majesty's satisfaction, and for repayment of the money for the garrison at Berwick. Will be glad to amend this default by all means in his power. Desires leave to return to England, that he may yield her majesty better contentment. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginal notes by Burghley.*

Aug. 2. 596. PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE EARL OF BOTHWELL AND LORD HUME.

Summoning an armed levy to attend the King in person for pursuit of them and other rebels.

$1\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Broadsheet. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.* See *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 662.

Cott. Calig., D. ii, fol. 23. Another copy of the same.

Aug. 2. 597. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit, we greit zou hartlie wele." Understanding that the bearer, John Marscheall, merchant, burgess of our burgh of Edinburgh, was lately in his passing along the coast of England in a ship of Kirkcaldy laden with sugar, spice, and such other costly wares "pertening" him and his partners "unbesett" by a ship of Falmouth called the *Pager Vice-Admiral of Cornwall*, and not only so "extreamlie persewit and invaidit" that Edward Marscheall, his brother, George Law in Kirkcaldy, and three others his mariners were most cruelly slain, but also his whole "guidis" and "laidning" of the said ship "bereft" and violently spoiled, and himself threatened and compelled for fear of his life to give his "handwritt" and oath never

James VI. 1591. to pursue nor "sute" redress thereof by law or otherwise, to his utter wreck, hardship, and undoing. "Off the quhilk gif he sall not ressave justice and sum spedy and gude redres—he being ane of honest fame and credeit—salbe weappit in extreame miserie," and his wife and children compelled through the loss of his whole substance "consisting thairin" to beg, "quhilk wer a piteous and lamentable cais"; and therefore upon information to be given of the particular goods spoiled from him, and of the names of the malefactors "committeris thairof," we request and hereby desire you very earnestly and "effectuuslie" to see this grievous enormity condignly punished and good and full redress made to this "complinar" for his great loss and "heirschip" with such promptitude and celerity as the case merits, that he be not wearied with long attendance upon justice, but may return to his wonted trade. Wherein as you shall "utter" your good affection toward equity, justice, and the continuance of the amity betwixt the realms, so shall you do us right thankful and acceptable pleasure. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James R.

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

Aug. 6. 598. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday I received your lordship's letter of 31st July with the good news therein, which news I drew forth and delivered to the King, and which he gladly accepted and communicated to others.

The custody of the castle in this town of Edinburgh shall still continue in the trust and charge of Sir James Hume, presently the captain thereof, agreeable to your lordship's motion in your letter mentioned, and as in my last before this I have certified; for he has so carried himself to the King's good contentment in these late actions towards Bothwell and Hume, and the same is so well reported to the King—wherein I have not been behind with my part—that the King has now turned his good countenance and favour to him.

Albeit that the King and sundry others of this nation and also myself have been so confidently advertised by letters and otherwise that I should be speedily revoked, that the same was generally credited and wrought the effects specified in my several and former letters to your lordship, yet by your lordship's last I am both satisfied therein and also ready to continue my duties, endeavour, and service to the uttermost I can to please her majesty during her highness' pleasure that I shall serve here. Nevertheless, may it please your lordship to make known to her majesty how much my means and credit in court and elsewhere in this realm are "maihemed" by the common expectation of my revocation and by experience of my bare estate, and how necessary it is that I shall not only in person timely amend the fault which my son has lately committed by his departure from your lordship without order taken for the surety of repayment to be maid for the "remaynes" to the garrison at Berwick, but also personally to proceed in all my accounts to her majesty, and to answer to such objections of my errors past in my service here as I hear have been laid against me and informed to her majesty. Wherein, in case her majesty pleases not to grant me leave to "come" and accomplish these things, then I shall send and instruct my servant,

James VI. 1591. Christopher Sheperson, to supply my absence and to give the best contentment to her majesty and your lordship that shall lie in myself and my son and our whole power, right humbly praying your good lordship to return to me speedy advertisement of her majesty's pleasure herein, that in best time I may obey and perform the same with all humility and readiness. This much to the contents of your lordship's last letter received.

The King by his letters called hither the Lord John Hamilton, the Earls of Eglinton, Rothes, and Mar, the Lord Maxwell, Lindsay, and others to give their advice and assistance in these present affairs: and by proclamations published the noblemen, barons, gentlemen and others of the inhabitants in Lothian, Merse, and Tyvidale were commanded to come to this town with armour, weapons, and victuals to attend on the King in his expedition against Bothwell and Hume to be entered into this day. Whereupon 3,000 barons and gentlemen of the best affected sort were gathered and ready to serve the King; and for the more surety of the accomplishment of their allegiances and duties to the King in this service, sundry of the barons and gentlemen have subscribed to a band devised for that purpose and to the effects appearing in the copy of the bond enclosed. In the meantime the friends of the Lord Hume—being religious, loyal, and serviceable gentlemen—made their earnest suit to the King and diligently solicited the Chancellor to be mean for the King's grace and favour to be showed to Hume, and that they might be suffered to treat with him to withdraw and retire himself from Bothwell to the King's obedience and pleasure, and to be reconciled with the Chancellor. For which reconciliation with the Chancellor the King directed them to confer and take order with the Chancellor's self. It was granted that the goodman of Huton Hall, the Laird of Brokesmouthe, and Alexander Hume of North Berwick should travail with the Lord Hume; and they have so prevailed to draw him to submit himself to the King and to be agreed with the Chancellor—in which last point they found the greatest difficulty—that he has come in and rendered his body this day to ward in the Blackness, where he shall remain for five or six days in company of his three friends who travailed for him, and afterwards to be bound with his friends to depart this realm or to do as by the King and Council shall be appointed.

Whilst Hume's friends were thus labouring with him, Sir William Keith, as it is told me, was employed and sent to Hume to hold him fast with Bothwell, and great means were made to Buccleuch, as I have heard, to join with them: wherein he made no haste, but rather resolved to preserve his duty to the King before his love to Bothwell and his mother, as by his own words and declaration I can witness, and have testified the same to the King. Nevertheless, at the earnest request of Bothwell and the lady his wife, mother of Buccleuch, and upon respects known to himself, he rode to meet Bothwell and Hume at Moreham on Wednesday last the 4th hereof. In the way his friends both warned him that his journey and purpose were discovered to the King and Chancellor, and also advised him to return. Yet he held still his purpose, and met Bothwell and Hume, letting them know that they had so disclosed their own secrets that he would not take any part with them, but faithfully obey and serve the King, and wished them to address

James VI. 1591. themselves to the same course. Hereupon Hume readily resolved to break fellowship with Bothwell, and hastily leaving them came to his friends at Dalkeith and followed their counsel, as before is expressed. Bothwell and Sir William Keith returned that day to Kelso, and Buccleuch came back to Edinburgh. So that by Buccleuch's refusal to join with them that knot amongst them was loosed, and Bothwell and Sir William Keith left to provide for themselves. On the next day Bothwell called before him his servants with him, opening to them his present case and distress, and with great sorrow dismissed them. At night he and Sir William Keith with three men departed towards the north, and this day they passed this water of Firth, purposing, as it is thought, to ride into Caithness. The King is advised that Bothwell will speedily address himself to the Duke of Parma; and the same is so confidently given to the King and told me that I have thought good to advertise your lordship thereof with better expedition.

Before this the King had been informed that Bothwell openly reported that he had written to her majesty for her favour, complaining and proving by my letter intercepted that I had greatly stirred the King against him, and that her majesty had disclaimed to have given me any direction or warrant therein, showing to such as travailed for him her majesty's good countenance and mind to be favourable towards him; and finding the King partly occupied with this report, I readily satisfied him. At this time it came also to my hearing that I had been charged to have been so carried in course with the ministers that thereby I had set the King and nobility in sunder, a matter which here has gotten so small credit, in regard that the truth is so evident to all men, that I need not to travail greatly therein, and whereunto I shall so answer and clear myself by manifest means to her majesty as I trust shall well content her majesty and discover the drift of the authors of this surmise. Albeit that I have had means about Bothwell to know his own doings and place of repair, with the times of the resort of sundry of his servants and their abode in this town, Canongate and Leith, yet I have walked within my tether and bounds, forbearing to deal in causes touching him, further than to advertise your lordship of the progress thereof; and I shall not refuse to let the contents of my letter intercepted, or any other matter to be tried to be done by me, to be the evidences to prove me guilty of blame in any thing, either in my actions against Bothwell without her majesty's warrant, or yet in matter in any letter appearing to condemn me, as at any time when it shall please her majesty to call me to account I shall well verify.

Bothwell's coffers, with his plate and apparel left at Roslin, are taken and possessed by Mr. William Leslie, to whom Huntly, having the escheat of the Laird of Roslin, had committed the keeping of that house; so that Bothwell, as himself hath told, is not so furnished as he purposed to have been. His servants remaining here attend and look for his return to them within one month, but by good advice the King is informed that he will hasten to Parma, as before; which I leave to your lordship's good consideration, with humble request to direct me speedily how I shall now carry my course in matters concerning him, chiefly in case I shall be moved by the lady his wife, or any other, to be mean for him to the King: for seeing none of this nation will now adventure to present

James VI. 1591. anything to the King for him, I am given to understand that his wife at her coming hither this day or tomorrow, or some other, will entreat me to enter into that office, wherein I dare not meddle before I shall receive direction from your lordship.

Sir William Keith, taking his fortune with Bothwell, is gone with him, but it is doubted whether he will serve the Duke of Parma, or rather travel into Italy or other nations. His lands and possessions are given to Mr. William Leslie, and the King's wrath is so kindled against him that he shall hardly recover and find any grace at his hands.

At the coming of the Lords of Ochiltree and Spynie to Glammis, to apprehend the Master of Glammis, they found there the Earl of Erroll and the young Laird of Glammis; but the Master was departed before they came about the house. Erroll and young Glammis entertained the King's commissioners with all courtesy, but the young laird is now removed, doubting that he should have been commanded to come to the King, and committed to such as should have tendered him marriage to his misliking and hurt of his house, and in such sort as he could not refuse without the King's offence and displeasure, notwithstanding that the King has granted to the young laird himself his own wardship and marriage. The Master thinking to have been severely dealt withal, in regard that the King has honoured him with so great an office, and that he had been lately with the King and so sufficiently declared and proved his innocency in the crimes objected against him that he thought the King to have been satisfied therein, therefore he sent unto and prayed me to move the King in his behalf, which I have done, and also acquainted the Chancellor with my doings, and so far prevailed that I trust in time and in some convenient order to bring the matter to good end: yet distrust of true meaning reigns so highly in the hearts of the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis for the particulars betwixt themselves, that I find very great difficulty to wade through this cause; but I shall spare no labour, in regard of the great advantage that may grow to the establishment of quietness in this realm by the King's favour to be showed to the Master and the reconciliation to be made betwixt these parties. And as I shall proceed and find success your lordship shall be advertised, humbly praying your good lordship to give me timely advice and order how I shall stand betwixt those two especial persons, whose qualities and quarrels I have so largely certified by my sundry letters before sent to your lordship that I need not recount anything thereof for the consideration to be had in the address of your lordship's said advice to be directed to me.

Marishal remaining still in this castle stands upon and earnestly prays to be tried. It is intended, as I am informed, that he shall be set at liberty shortly, with restitution of the King's good countenance; and that the griefs betwixt the Chancellor and him shall be compounded; so that all these quarrels breeding these late troubles in any other than in Bothwell shall be once again wrapped up. But sundry of the Chancellor's friends, and other wise men, think it needful that he shall now fasten his door with double bars in manner like the "Hyelandsmen" after their reconciliations with their enemies. And it is thought that by the late signification of the King's pleasure to him, in the appearing of these storms, he shall hereafter carry his course more plausibly towards noblemen, and chiefly to such as have had pikes against him.

James VI. 1591. The King had purposed on the 9th hereof to have set forwards with all his forces against Bothwell, Hume, and all others with them, but seeing they are dispersed it is advised that he shall stay that journey. It is left to be determined tomorrow at the assembly of the Council, and the journey likely to be broken. Buccleuch has put in surety to depart out of the country and has the King's licence for the same, with notice given to my self that his passage through England or abode there with her majesty's favour shall please the King and will be thankful to the Chancellor, who wishes him well and desires that he may find her majesty's goodness towards him, which he trusts Buccleuch shall with good offices well deserve. Therefore it is required that it may please her majesty to grant him safe-conduct to pass through or remain in England for some time, and that this safe-conduct may be very speedily sent to me that I may deliver it to him in such time as he may depart and come into England, agreeable to his bonds entered in that behalf; wherein it may please your lordship to have in memory to procure and send to me his safe-conduct with speed, or to let me know what I shall answer and do in the matter for the contentment of the parties suing for the same.

Her majesty's letter or commendation to the King in the favour of young Cesford will suffice to obtain his pardon, wherein his father hath been with and delivered to me the notes enclosed, and showing the grounds of the quarrels against William Kerr slain by young Cesford. He and his friends, offering their good devotions to her majesty, are earnest suitors for her majesty's goodness to intercede to the King for this young gentleman, that may and will be ready always to do all good offices to her majesty, and presently accomplishes especial services to the King: in which respect it is required that it may please her majesty with better expedition to write for him or otherwise commend his cause to the King as shall best like her majesty; wherein I pray your lordship to let me know her majesty's pleasure, that I may in season content the suitors herein.

The Duke of Lennox is by proclamation published to be admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Lothian, and constable of Haddington, offices lately the inheritance of Bothwell: these are granted by the King to the Duke for nineteen years. The "factorie" of the honours and lordships of Crichton and Hailes, other parcels of Bothwell's possessions, are likewise given to the Duke; and it is intended hitherto that at the next parliament the inheritance thereof shall be assured to the Duke.

Huntly is become a very great courtier, and has made such liberal offers to serve the King "and kepe his quarterage against the King's rebelles" that the King much cherishes him for the same. He has made means to myself to win her majesty's good opinion towards him, wherein I look that the Laird of Cluny will shortly deal further with me. I am ready to entertain him with courtesies requisite, but I dare not enter further with him than I shall be directed by your lordship with her majesty's will and pleasure, which it may please your lordship to send timely to me. The lieutenancy in the north is prepared and made ready for him, together with three several commissions to be proclaimed lieutenant in three several shires, yet not delivered, for wise and good councillors impugn the same in regard of the troubles that shall arise

James VI. 1591. thereby in the north. It is said that Atholl Murray, and the rest of that fellowship, hearing of this great authority given him and doubting that he shall annoy them and their friends by the colour thereof, have lately knit themselves together by band to withstand all wrongs to be offered or done to them by Huntly, and "they thinck them able to put him to foile" in case the King shall hold of his hand betwixt them: so as it is looked that new troubles shall arise there in case Huntly shall obtain the lieutenancy as he looketh for. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Cf. *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, iv. 666.

Enclosure with the same:

(Band of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen against Bothwell.)

"We the lordes, earles, barrons, gentlemen, and others under subscrivand faythfullye promissethe by theise presentes that we and everye one of us shall trewlye serve and obaye oure soveraigne lorde his leiutenantes, wardens and officers or others havinge his majestes comission in all thinges tendinge to the advancement and forthsettinge of his highnes autorytye and service, and in speciall in the searchinge, seikinge, persute, takinge, and apprehendinge of Francis sometyme Earle Bothwell, Alexander Lord Hume, and others whatsoever declared traitors, rebells, and consperators agaynst his highnes and his authoretye, ther asisters, partakers, resetters, intercomonars, and furnishers of them meit, drinke, house, harbrye, or other necessaryes. And in casse they or anye of them shall happen to resorte or repayre throughe anye of our boundes, landes, rowms, posessions, or annye other partes to our knawlidge, we shall take them if we be of power, or otherwayse shall showte and rayse the fraye, rayse ourselves and our haile forces, that we may make and concurr and joyne everye ane of us anfauldlye with others shall [or] repayre to his majestes leiutenantes, wardens or others havinge his highnes comission, and passe forthwart, assist and take playne parte with the persute, takinge, and apprehendinge of the sayd trators, rebells, and other forces, or expellinge and haldinge of them fourth of the contrye, suffrenge them to have noe resett nor refuge therin so farr as we maye lett. The skaethe, harme and subversion of his majestie, his present estate and authoritye we shall not knowe nor heare by anye means but disclose and impind the same to our utter power; and finallye for the better furtherance of his majestes service sall laye asyde lyke as presentlye we laye asyde all particulers quarrells, deadlye feades and contreversyes standinge amongst us; and for noe cause shall shrincke from his majestes service as we and everye one of us will answere to the almightye God and his majestie, uppon our faythe, honours, and aleageances, and under the payne everye one of us of 10,000 markes monye of this realme to be payed to his highnes. In witness wherof we have subscribed our handes to theise presentes as followethe, at Edenburgh, the 5th of August 1591. *Sic subscribitur.* Cesforde, Mincto, Hundelye, Wat of Badrowll, Hunthill, Bun Jedburct, Harlwood, Mincto, Wedderburn, Hutten Hall, Alexander Hume of North Berricke, Mayns, Aiton yonger, Jams Bronfeilde for the surname of the Bronfeildes, John Readpithe, Patrike Dickson, Blacader younger, East Nesbet, Spot, Bass, Freinton, Inderweik, Salmeston elder,

James VI. 1591. Swinton, Congilton, Fortoun, Smetoun, Byllye, Renton, Pranderguest, Androw Carre of Fawdonsyde, Beinston, Salt Cottes, Hermiston, with sondrie others."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Cott. Calig., D. II, fol. 53. Copy of the enclosure.

Aug. 11. 599. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Saturday the 7th instant at midnight the King embarked at Leith and passed over to Falkland, where he remains, intending to take his pastime with his hounds and not return before Michaelmas. The Chancellor departed on Monday last to his house at Lethington, where he purposes to abide until the King's return to Holyrood House, for the sessions shall break up on Saturday next, and thereby the Chancellor shall have little occasion to be here before the King's coming. Quietness is expected in the meantime.

Lord Hume was yesterday enlarged out of Blackness upon bonds by himself and his friends to quit the realm before the 26th instant, whereupon the goodman of Huton Hall and Alexander Hume of North Berwick have in Lord Hume's name required him [Bowes] to procure her majesty's safe-conduct for Lord Hume with six servants to pass and repass through England, as well from the Marches as from any port in England where he shall fortune to arrive; and that the safe-conduct may be sent speedily, that he may seasonably enter into his journey for the King's contentment and discharge of his bonds. Prays that the safe-conduct may be sent, or direction to satisfy Lord Hume and his friends, being very well affected to religion and the amity of the two realms. Hears that some of Lord Hume's servants will seek to persuade him to take his voyage by sea for Flanders within ten days, but his better friends travail to draw him to England and keep him there some time, for reasons to be signified later.

John Ogilvie, the young Laird of Powrie Ogilvie, intending to travel into foreign parts, desires her majesty's safe-conduct to pass through England, purposing to repair to him [Burghley] and acquaint him with his errands, which he trusts shall please her majesty and his lordship. Walsingham often employed this gentleman, and found good offices done by him: therefore commends him.

A friend of Bothwell's has sounded him [Bowes] whether he would make suit to the King in his behalf that his pretended voyage into Spain might be stayed, to avoid evil to himself and troubles in the realm. Has pointed out that princes "seldome well disgest threatning peticions," and parted in even terms, doubting to be assayed in more plain manner, in case Bothwell remain in this realm, or settle in Germany or other place not offensive to the King. Prays direction, as he dare not wade deeply without warrant. The King has given commission to the Master of Ochiltree, captain of fifty horsemen, to apprehend Bothwell and sundry of his servants present at the slaughter of Sir William Stewart, uncle to the Master. It is given out that Bothwell is in the north and purposed to pass by sea into Germany: Atholl advertised the King that he sent to have spoken with him, but Atholl refused. Some say

James VI 1591. he is departed in a barque of Dundee lately bought by some about him, others that he is again in these parts with Sir William Keith, who was seen in Edinburgh on Monday last at night.

Lord Hamilton brought Huntly to him [Bowes], who promised devotion to her majesty, seeking her favour. He [Bowes] reminded him of former errors, of Papists about him, and employed with intelligence to foreign princes; he stands on his trial and offers amendment in all things. He has assured Mr. Bruce and other ministers that he will embrace and maintain the reformed religion, whereunto he has before this subscribed; will remove from him his uncle James Gordon the Jesuit, and receive a preacher to instruct himself and family. Has received him in good part for her majesty, and now attends his actions to confirm his good meaning. That he may be drawn forward in religion and in action against Bothwell the King intends to give him Kelso in recompence of Dunfermline conveyed to the Queen.

Earl Marishal was delivered soon after the King's departure. The Queen was an earnest suitor for him, and intended to come hither to the King for his delivery if the King had not set him at liberty.

The Master of Glammis has by letter renewed his request to him [Bowes] to intercede with the King for him, and also to procure that he may be received and remain in England, and that he [Bowes] would "write quietly" to the English Wardens for the same. Because the Chancellor is "conceited" against Glammis, and mistrusts him, therefore he [Bowes] acquainted him with this desire of Glammis that he should sue to the King for him; but the Chancellor was so much against it that he could not press the matter; nor dare he meddle as to the Master's going to England, without direction from his lordship. The Chancellor and Glammis cannot be reconciled; an especial ground of troubles in this realm. It is thought that the Master's office of Lord Treasurer shall be given to the Laird of Spynie, and his place in the session to Huntly.

Lord Claud Hamilton is again visited with his former disease, and is troubled in his conscience in matter of religion. He strives to confer with Mr. Robert Bruce, but his friends, thinking the desire to proceed from his sickness and being loth that the same shall be discovered, have withdrawn him from the town to his house, hoping for his recovery. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 11. 600. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Lord Hume presses earnestly for her majesty's safe-conduct to him to pass through England, therefore he [Bowes] writes again in haste about it. Hume says he dare not tarry beyond the 26th instant, and is loth to take his voyage by sea, purposing to start within two days after the receipt of the safe-conduct. His friends also beseech his lordship to commend his suit to her majesty, and with all speed to send down this licence. He [Bowes] is ready to pass over the water to Falkland to the King. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed.*

James VI. 1591. Aug. 12

601. Queen Elizabeth to James VI.

Printed in Tytler's *Hist of Scotland*, (1877 edn.), iv. 341-2.

"Manie make the argumentes of theire letters of divers subjectes, some with salutations, some with admonitions, other with thankes; but, my deare brother, fewe I suppose with confession; and that at this time shall serve the meetest for my part. I dowbt not but yowe wonder whie yt is that in time soe perillous to your person, soe dangerous for your state, soe hatefull to the herers, soe strange for the treason, yowe finde me, that from your birthe held most in regard your seurtye, showld nowe neglect all, when yt most behoveth to have watchfull eies on a most needy prince."

"Nowe heare thereof my shrift. It is true that my many councelles I have knowen oft thankid but seldome followed. When I wished you raigne you suffered other rule; if I desired awe you gave them libirtye; my timely warnings became to late performance; when it required action it was all to beginne: which when I gathered as in a handefull of my memory, 'I will now trye,' quoth I, 'what at a pinche he will doe for him selfe, for nearer then with lyfe may no man be assayled.' And hearing how audacity prevayled in so large measure as it was made a question whether a wich for a king's lyfe might serve for a sufficient prize, and that the price of a king's blood was sett at so low a rate, with many wondring blessings I in attentive sort attended the issue of such an error, and not seing any great offence layd to so slight a care I feare-fully doubted the consequence of such an act: yea, when I heard that quakingly men hasted to tryall of such gylte, I supposed the more loved where least it became, and the most neglected to whom they owed most bonde, well was assured that more addition could never my warnings make, and to renew that so ofte was tolde should be but *petitio principii*. With saffe conscience having discharged my office, I betook you to your best actions, and thought for me there was no more remayning."

"And now I trust that this may meritt an absolution. I will make you partaker of my joy that I heare you now beginne—which wold to God had sooner been—to regard your surety and make men feare you, and leave adoring false saints. God strengthen your kingly heart and make you never fayle your selfe, for then who will sticke to you. You know me so well as no blowdy mynde ever lodged in my brest, and hate beare I none to any of youres, God is witnes; but ere your dayes be shortened lett all youres be. This my charity."

1 *p.* *Copy.* *Indorsed.*

[Aug. 12].

602. James Hudson to Burghley.

"Mae it pleas your honor to pardon the longe staie of the inclossid, which came upon missinge your honor at court wher I sent my man to waet upon your lordship. The Lord Sanker of Scottland hath dyvers letters to your honor from Scotland in his favor: the efect of them ar to request your lordship to deswaed hime from travellinge towards Italy and thoes paerts. He is a very younge genttilman boath of years and untravellid."

"This slawchter of Wilyam Ker off Ancram wil breid great mischeiff and increas the jarr betwixt the Chanceler and the Master of Glams. I

James VI. 1591. understand the Chanceler haeth derecssyon from the King to serttefyc your honor of theas matters, of Huntley and al other things there. It mae pleas your honor to let this other goe in your honor's paquet, which is ane answer tuchinge a payntter the King wrot for." *Unsigned.*

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 12. Enclosure with the same :

(Occasions moving Sir Robert Carr to kill William Carr of Ancrum.)

" Item the said Sir Robert Keris father, Warden of the Midill Marcheis of Scotland for anent England, at ane tyme haifing ane warden court at Kelso for trying the innocencie and giltynes of persouns fyllit in Englis billis, conforme to the order usit to sich as hes occasioun to clame to that judgment, ane man enterit to his tryall in that court, the said umquhill William, unluikit for be the Laird of Cesfurd his cheif, being so neir of bluid discendit of his hous, sister and brether bairneis, the fourt persoun of that discens; nochtwithstanding quhairof, to the said Laird of Cesfurdis grit ignomynie, schame, and dishonour, did with forthoucht purpois conwein the Lord Home, the Laird of Wedderburne in the Mers, and syndrie uther his grit forceis quhairwith he was accompaneit, wiolentlie reft out of judgment in the wardens awin presence Sir Robertis father the sam man accuissit, and in manyfest and proud contempt of his office and authoretie conwoyit him away, sua that the lyk schame and injwrie that hous newer sustenit befor."

" Nevertheles the said Sir Robert Ker, upoun the ernest sute of the said somquhill William, with the intercessioun of freindis weill effectit to baithe thair weillis, mavit his father to remit that grit contempt, at quhilk tyme the said William promist never to faill agane to his cheifis displesour. Nochtwithstanding quhairof, within werre schort space thairefter, the said Sir Robertis father being dyvers zeiris proveist of the burghe of Jedbruct, for the better sustening of the charge of his majesteis serweice in the Bordowr effairis was authoreisit in that office be speciall directioun of his hienes : zit the said William contenuing still in his misbehawiour, raisit sich factioun in that brughe schamfullie to disgrace him of his prowistrie and to promot utheris thairin, quhill it broucht the sam in questioun befor the King and Counsall. In the quhilk actioun the said umquhyll William nocht onlie prewelie be quhat moyane he could bot also oppinlie kythit and declairit him self injwrious enemie to his father and him self, quhairin dyvers dyatis was appoyntit, and baithe the parteis being at Edinburgh for the tyme, it happynit be accident the said Sir Robert and William to meit in the nicht on the Hiegait, Sir Robert being woundit with the greif of the utheris misbehawiour rakleslie happenit to slay him. Theis tuo grewous particularis, besyd syndrie uther dishonouris and greifis done be him agains that hous quhairof he was discendit, broucht on that unhappie deid : sua that the same proceidit nocht throucht ony wantonnes of the zoung manis estait, bot rather be the wnhappie procurment of the said umquhill William, quha sould hawe reverenceit his cheif in condignne knawlege."

1 *p. Indorsed by Burghley :* " 12 Aug. 1591. The case of Sir Robert Carr, yong Lard of Cesford, for Killyng of William Carr."

Cott. Calig., D. 54b. Copy of the same.

James VI. 1591. Aug. 16. 603. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Richt excellent, richt heich and michtie princes our dearest suster and cousine, we recommend ws unto zou in hartlie maner. Having of befoir be sindrie our letters maid zou acquaint with a certane spoyle committit be ane Nycholas Qwattis and his cumpany, pyrattis, upoun the berare, David Gardin, burges of oure burgh of Dysert and his partineris, quhais commissioun he beiris, foure zeir sensyne or thairby, with the greit travell and expenssis sustenit be him in persute and recoverie of decreit in zour court of admiraltie of the sowme of fyve hundreth pundis sterling in sum recompance of thair losse, and in the sute of executioun of the same decreit, first agains the said Qwattis, and consequentlie ane Captane Raymount, bandisman and cautionare for him, quhairby our said subject neglectit his uther effairis and treade, and involvit him selff in sic debt within that zour realme as without zour protectioun he may not frelie persew his caus: off quhilk spoyle and losse he and his partinaris resting zit unrepairit in defalt of executioun of the said decreit, to thair greit hinder and undoing, thair haill substance consisting thairin, he hes taikin occasioun to cum in sute of redres at zour handis in esperance to attene thairunto, being accumpanyit with this our recommendatioun. We requeist zou heirfoir, our dearest suster and cousine, to gif commandment to put the said decreit in executioun, cheiflie agains the said Capitane Raymount, cautionare and full debtour to our said subject in this caus, quhairby he may have satisfactioun and sum recompance of his and his partineris greit losse, be maid able to pay the debt contractit be him in persute of that caus, and may returne to his wounted treade." Falkland. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

½ *broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Copy of the same.

Aug. 16. 604. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt trusty and weilbelovit we greit zou hartlie wele. The berar, David Gardin, burges of our burgh of Dysert, efter lang proces, greit travell, and expenssis recovering the admirallis decreit in a caus persewit be him for him selff and his partineris agains ane Nycholas Qwattis, Englisman, and his associattis, pyrattis, quha had violentlie be way of pyracie spoyled thair guidis foure zeir sence or thairby, the same decreit restis zit unput in executioun agains the said Nycolas and ane Capitane Raymount his cautionare, quhairby our said subject hes sustenit greit losse and na les hinder in his treade. Quhairupoun we have be our letter recommendit this mater to the Quene, our dearest suster, zour soverane, requeisting that he may ressave redres and favour heirin aggreable to equitie and justice. We have heirby alsua taikin occasioun effectuuslie to requeist zou to interpone your help in the furtherance and favour of our said subject in this his honest caus, and specialie to gif directioun for putting of the said decreit in executioun baith agains Nycholas and Capitane Raymount his cautionare, alreddy adjudgeit in the sowme of ane hundreth pund sterling for not reentrie of him in ward: as alsua seing the said David may not frelie travell in persute of this

James VI. 1591. caus be ressoun of sum dett contractit be him in Londoun, that ze will purches him libertie to pas and repas quhill he may be able to releiff him selff thairof, as ze have done to him of befoir: quhairin ze sall do ws verray thankfull and acceptable plesur." Falkland. *Signed:* James R.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 16. 605. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

When he was at Falkland with the King the latter declared himself willing to give speedy redress for the attempts done by Liddesdale on the West Marches, yet there is difficulty in the execution thereof, Buccleuch, present keeper of Liddesdale, being about to leave his office and the realm, and no fit person found for that room other than young Cesford, whom the King will receive to grace and put in this office if her majesty write for his pardon. The friends of young Cesford have arranged for composition to be given for the slaughter of William Carr, and again press him [Bowes] to entreat his lordship to procure such letter from her majesty in favour of young Cesford with good expedition. Desires speedy understanding for their satisfaction and the relief of this young gentleman, who may be readily brought home, and so placed in office as to do especial services, which his friends promise.

The King desires safe-conducts for Lord Hume and the Laird of Buccleuch to pass through England, and that the same may be sent speedily to hasten their departure out of this realm.

By his [Bowes'] motion to the King, and by means of the Earl of Mar, the Master of Glammis shall have access to the King at Stirling this week; where albeit he shall declare himself free from all dealing with Bothwell or practice against the Chancellor, yet the King has been so persuaded that the violence supposed to have been intended against the Chancellor was devised by the Master, that he is minded to commit him to ward at Stirling in the custody of Mar. The Chancellor condemns the Master and his actions toward himself, and fears to renew any friendship with him. Forbears to meddle till he receive direction.

Has been entreated to move the King to show grace to the Earl of Roslin. As recompence it is offered that he shall be made acquainted, by means of a Catholic in Scotland, of all the practices of the King of Spain and his instruments here and in the Low Countries. But the King is loth to hearken to any suit for Roslin, because he showed favour to Bothwell and his escheat is given to Huntly, whose profit the King will not hinder. Therefore dares not embark herein without warrant from his lordship.

The wife and friends of Sir Alexander Stewart affirm that he was not in Aberdeen or other place in Scotland since his departure out of England about January last; but two honest persons of Aberdeen say they saw him there about Easter; that he ate and drank in the house of the Earl Marishal in Aberdeen, whilst the Countess lay there. They say that Sir Alexander never lodged in Marishal's house, but in some place unknown to them. These two persons have promised to send further testimonies, to remove all doubt. The Earl Marishal was with the Chancellor on the 12th instant, and departed with great kindness. Lord Hume was expected to visit the Chancellor, but passed by to North Berwick without

James VI. 1591. sight of him: yet Hume's friends travail to reconcile him and the Chancellor. Thus these late griefs are stayed for this time, but most men think that the roots remain and will yield worse fruits hereafter.

The King has ridden this day to Stirling, intending to pass to Inch-Murin to hunt the buck and take his pastimes. Sundry noblemen have promised their endeavours to preserve the country in quietness. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 27. 606. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received her majesty's letter addressed to the King,[1] the safe-conducts for Lord Hume and the Laird of Buccleuch, with his lordship's letters of the 14th and 17th instant. Resorted to the King, then at Dumbarton in progress, and delivered her majesty's letter, with report of his lordship's opinion "in the weightie contentes flowing sodainly from her majeste's penn" in his lordship's sight. The King gravely noted the frame and substance of the letter, and with pleasant countenance, declaring his good acceptance, commended the excellent order, singular wisdom, and rare friendship that he found therein, acknowledging that his lordship's opinion was built upon a sure foundation. He said he would not return further excess of thanks, or new promises "to aventure any surfeit thereof," but rather that his future actions, grounded on her majesty's advice, should witness how much he honoured her counsel and embraced her goodwill. Upon some proof given of his good accomplishment he intends to write to her majesty.

The safe-conduct sent to Lord Hume was delivered to him in Edinburgh on Sunday the 22nd instant. Nevertheless he embarked yesterday at Leith to save his bond entered for his departure out of this realm on that day at the farthest. He pretended to take his course for Lynn or other port in England, but misliking the vessel and finding the wind unfavourable, he returned to Leith yesternight at eleven o'clock, and this day departed towards the south with pretence to pass through England, which his wife and friends greatly wish. Some think he shall be entreated to stay in this realm longer than shall content his friends accompanying him and being cautioners for him, but others hope that the counsel of his religious friends shall prevail. The Chancellor and he are agreed, and eight friends on either side bound for the performance of the accords.

Has delivered her majesty's safe-conduct to the Laird of Buccleuch. He wished to have entered England at Berwick rather than by Carlisle, as by the passport is directed, yet accepts it with great thanks, purposing to begin his journey on the 7th of September next. The King is pleased that these passports are granted, and resolved not to give any prorogation of the days prescribed for their departures.

The King acknowledged that the service of young Cesford was very necessary for him and for the quietness of the frontiers, yet said he had hitherto forborne to pardon him for the slaughter of William Carr, and stayed the agreement to have been made with the said Carr's wife and friends, that some example might be given for the terror of others, and that the composition might the better please the parties offended. Now,

1 No. 601 *supra.*

James VI. 1591. upon his [Bowes'] motion agreeable to his lordship's direction, the King is contented to further the agreement, to grant remission to young Cesford, and soon after to commit to him the keeping of Liddesdale, in hope that he shall well serve him and do good offices to her majesty for preservation of peace and justice on the Borders, the rather as he has obtained grace by her means.

Bothwell has lately written to the King requiring his goodness to be shown to his children, and to know his pleasure to what foreign place he shall resort. This letter Colonel Stewart brought to the King at Stirling at the request of the Countess of Bothwell: the King read the letter openly, that all the presence might know the contents and his evil acceptance thereof. He utterly refused to promise favour to the children or appoint any limits to Bothwell, but to leave him to his own course as his rebel whom he would pursue. Because the Colonel only received the letter open at the Countess's hand, and refused to present to the King any suit for Bothwell, therefore the King passed over his doings, declaring that no person hereafter should trouble him with any matter for Bothwell, against whom he remains resolved, intending to dispose all his lands to others without regard of his children, saying that otherwise he shall enable them after his own death to execute their feud against such as serve him faithfully against Bothwell. Has been dealt with to move the King on behalf of Bothwell, that he might be drawn from Spain and Spanish courses, but the King is so resolute against him that he [Bowes] might not meddle in the matter. Although many "made curtisie before to take any part of his lyvinges," many now strive to get them before others. The Master of Ochiltree abides at Kelso with his horsemen taking the profits thereof for the King's use. Bothwell begins to see himself abandoned by his friends, and the burden of his distress and danger of his overthrow work great grief and fear in him. He returned lately into these parts, but now carries himself so close that none but a few special friends know where he is. It was suspected that Mr. Richard Douglas and Captain Haggerston met him last week in Angus, and thereupon the guard, having commandment to apprehend Mr. Richard, sought him in Edinburgh but could not find him. Trusts he will come in shortly and acquit himself of this crime.

The Master of Glammis entered into ward in Edinburgh castle on Tuesday the 26th instant. He had conference with Hume in this town before his entry, but they agreed little. Sundry of the Council are trying to reconcile the Chancellor and the Master. When he [Bowes] was with the Chancellor at Lethington, by request of these councillors he broached that reconciliation, which is likely to take effect; and the Master shall be at liberty within few days.

Parliament is summoned and proclaimed to begin on the 20th of November.

Upon controversy betwixt the Earl of Argyle and Lord Ogilvie for the "seigniorie" of Cupar abbey, the Master of Ogilvie, understanding that the Dean of Brechin was keeping the Court for Argyle "did take and ruffle the Deane with such disgrace" that some men of Argyle's killed fifteen or sixteen of Ogilvie's tenants in the rescue of their goods carried away by Argyle's [*sic*] men. In revenge the Master of Ogilvie slew four of the Campbells dwelling near him and ever ready at his

James VI. 1591. commandment. These men were under Atholl, who joined with Argyle and put in readiness four thousand to revenge that slaughter. The King has sent Sir James Chisholm, the Laird of Tullybardine, and Mr. John Graham to Argyle, Atholl, and the Master of Ogilvie to stay their forces and pacify their griefs.

Last week God called to his mercy Alexander Erskine, a man specially devoted to her majesty. And this morning Sir Lewis Ballantyne, Justice Clerk, died: his office is like to be bestowed on the young Laird of Whittingham, his place in session on Mr. Richard Cockburn now Lord Secretary, and his room of Master of the Ceremonies on William Shaw. The King is at Hamilton where he [Bowes] was entreated to have been, but his occasion to write to his lordship, and his present state unfit for such great assemblies, drew him hither. The King will be at Stirling on Monday next, and after some few days return to Falkland.

Will send up Christopher Sheperson, who will enter in his ledger the payments made at Berwick, clear those reckonings, and wait upon his lordship. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 2. 607. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Was informed yesterday by a person of quality that Earl Bothwell would remain in Scotland and had sent for some of his horses; and also that it was intended to surprise the King riding between Stirling and Falkland or in other fit place, in which conspiracy sundry noblemen are named who would never enter into such traitorous action. The informer said that the Chancellor was advertised thereof and had warned the King. Knowing that the King purposed to ride yesterday from Stirling to Falkland he [Bowes] sent to find out in what sort he passed thither, and hears the King to be safely returned to Falkland without impediment.

It is said that the Chancellor seeks the goodwill of Bothwell, offering to procure the Earl's peace and remission, and has employed a nobleman to expedite this knot of friendship. Bothwell mistrusts this kindness as meant to entrap him, yet some instruments are chosen by the nobleman and the Earl who are busy to effect the matter. A more credible party says that Bothwell seeks the Chancellor's favour, so that the Chancellor has no need to hunt for his friendship or to endanger his credit with the King by his dealings with Bothwell or by "any dishonorable traine to be cloked with amitie." The Chancellor has not yet passed all dangers, but is in little peril so long as the King continues his good countenance towards him.

The Master of Glammis is delivered from his ward in Edinburgh Castle upon caution of 5,000 *l.* Scots that within ten days he shall pass over the water of Dee until he be freed of that ward by the King. This day he departed, without visiting the Chancellor or any reconciliation between them, neither was his liberty procured by the Chancellor; which will little further the agreement sought by their friends. The King has written to William Carr's friends for the expedition of the composition between them and young Cesford for the slaughter of William Carr.

Lord Hume's entry into England and repair towards the court will be known to his lordship before the receipt hereof. Buccleuch has to-day come

James VI. 1591. to Edinburgh, to put all things in readiness for his journey, pretending to start on the 7th instant, according to his bond, and to pass through England.

Encloses the copy of Bothwell's letter to the King mentioned in his last letter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Earl of Bothwell to James VI.)

"Maye it please your majestie to pardon my presumption in addressinge these humble lynes unto your gratious hande, moved hearto not by anye giltines of the supposed and devysed crymes forged and told hitherto agaynst me, but uppoun the confidens of your majeste's indiferent favor in tryall of my inocencye, which nowe of late hathe bene smored and suppressed by the vyle subgestions and calumnyes of my adversaries, at that tyme when as my actions were vowed, yea begune and entred in a course and race for the service of your majestie and peace of your neighbour's realme, purposinge with my self to dischardge the dutye and office that be my chardge I was called unto, and to pacefye the quarrells and quarellours of the comon peace that might have brought disorder unto your majeste's honourable and intended resolution."

"But suche are the judgmentes of my God—of whom I yet looke for mercye, and throughe him hops for some farther releif of your majestie—to stop the fawde [*sic*] of my services with a newe devise of a devilishe accusation, and to move your majeste's mynde over suddenlye to embrace an apprehension of my ruin; wherthroghe I am inforced to withdrawe and retiere my selfe, not from the tryall which bothe in warde and out of warde I have sought and cannot have it, but from the iniquitye of tyme and vehemencye of that passion that possessethe that gracious seat of yours, to the which I was and am more faithfull then ever I was obedient to my God, who for my sines hathe as with thunder throwne your majeste's undeserved displesure uppoun me: beseichinge your majestie most humblye, seinge I am bothe forced and resolved to departe, to take my beloved wyfe and children in your majeste's gratious protection, and suffer not that by anye extraordinarye course of lawe they be berefft of that which with lawe they justlye maye posesse and be ells provyded unto; cravinge this farder of your majestie to derect me if so it stand with your gratious pleasure, howe I may in my absence eschewe the calumnyes of my evill willers and followe that course that nether may be prejudiciall to your majeste's estate nor offensive to your majestie. So, sire, after the humble submission of my triall and humble harte, I take my leave of your majestie, beinge nowe in poynt to depart to what place it maye please your majestie ether to allowe or derect me unto." Francis Stewart.

1½ *pp. Copy. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Sept. 10. 608. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Refers to what he last wrote as to conspiracy to surprise the King. The Chancellor was warned of it, and advised the King by the Secretary

James VI. 1591. that the Master of Caithness when with him at Lethington had wished him to persuade the King to have regard to himself whilst beyond the water, and to hasten his return to Edinburgh. The King was also informed by others that the Master of Caithness had been at Lethington with the Chancellor, and in his return in the night was taken by Lord Hamilton: also that the Chancellor had dealing with Bothwell for a band to be knit between them by means of Montrose and Inch-Effray for the Chancellor, and the Master of Caithness for Bothwell, who came purposely to the house of Inch-Effray for the furtherance of this motion. The King has taken in good part Lord Hamilton's taking of the Master of Caithness, but is offended that the Chancellor should entertain this matter without his privity and allowance, and has sent him by the Secretary a gentle check for his error. The Chancellor has answered and given account of his doings that the King may be satisfied, but some labour to nourish this conceit in the King's heart against the Chancellor; some of the latter's friends are persuaded that the coming of the Master of Caithness to him and raising this course of kindness between him and Bothwell has been purposely practised to bring the Chancellor into the King's disgrace.

The Chancellor and others counselled the King to stay his intended journey to St. Johnston's and hasten his return hither, but he would not hearken, or think that any person meant harm to him, resolving to ride this day to St. Johnston. The Earl of Atholl was accused of having Bothwell in his house, and charged to appear yesterday before the King to answer for the same; the King has therefore called some barons to him, purposing with them and their small forces to pass to Dunkeld to take Atholl in case he disobey or fail to make his appearance. Atholl sent to the King to excuse the coming of Bothwell to his house and his abode in his lands without his privity or consent, but the King is not satisfied, and prepares to journey to Dunkeld unless Atholl comes to him at Falkland or St. Johnston's. He is accompanied by no noblemen except Huntly, whose presence and forces will the more deeply move Atholl and others against Huntly. The King is persuaded to have Bothwell so lodged that he can get hold of him, but this thing is so commonly known that the success shall little content the King. It is said that Bothwell continues in the bounds of the Earl of Atholl. The Countess Bothwell's wife presented to the King a letter from him, a copy whereof is enclosed. The King is pleased that justice shall be done to the Countess and children, to have such portion of Bothwell's livings as he had lawfully conveyed to them before the time of his conspiracy against the King, and for that purpose the corn at Kelso shall be put in neutral hands; but the King is resolute to prosecute Bothwell to the uttermost.

Buccleuch misliking to enter England by Carlisle or come in the West March is ready to embark for Flanders. He sought to have the time of his departure prolonged, but the King liked not thereof, though he shows favourable countenance towards him, saying that immediately after the known passage of Bothwell out of this realm Buccleuch shall be called home with all favour.

The Earl of Argyle and his friends have appointed to be in Edinburgh about the first of October to call for redress against Lord Ogilvie and the Master his son for the slaughter of the four Campbells; for although

James VI. 1591. Argyle raised letters of horning against Ogilvie for his appearance, yet by means of courtiers the King stays the process, purposing to reconcile the parties; which shall be difficult. The Laird of Spynie, hearing that the Master of Glammis was in Edinburgh castle and to be shortly delivered upon caution, came to the King to persuade him to detain him; but Glammis was enlarged before his coming: whereupon he has returned to Spynie with great discontentment.

The Parliament summoned is not likely to be held at the day appointed, for it was suddenly called without consideration of the causes to be treated and few noblemen will come. Difficulty will be found to establish the revocation of the King's grants. The Laird of Roslin is in ward in Blackness. His friends press him [Bowes] to move the King to be favourable to him, offering in return intelligence in all the courses of the Catholics. Prays direction in this matter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Earl of Bothwell to James VI.)

"As the infinit mercy of God could not shewe it self in any wark if it were not through the multitude of the sinnes of man, sua, Sir, the swete clemency of your majestie could not sa farr be commendable in the oppen mouthe of your majestie's subjectes nor made knowne in this or other realmes, gif the errouris, offenses, and rebellions of your subjectes ingendred not the subject and gave argument of your royall courtisie and clemency. The consideracion hereof hes given me a farder baldnes to have recourse yet againe to your majestie by this my humble letter, confessing all my faultes, and requiring humblie your majeste's pardon for the same. Great cause have I, if my ungratefull hart could be thanckfull to my God, to render him all humble thanckes that hes enclined your majeste's gracious hart to accept, albeit not to give answere unto my last and humble request, and not so muche to ponder the crimes for the which I was committed as having neither soliditie nor substance in them, but the circumstances of my escape and the contempt as your majestie doth interpritt that hathe lately accompanied the same. Sir, to occurre to this with a just defence were a thing very tedious and yet true, and God beiris me record that my passing by the portes was not to suche end as your majestie hes conceived, or yet to give thereby any farder showe of disobedience, but to lett him knowe who gave out that he wold make me gange about or els to make my way the shorter, that I neither feared his presence nor his powre; which thing as I believe hes bene declaired by the Lard of Trackquare afore to your majeste. So, Sir, will I forbeare from longer or more prolixt excuses; and yet, Sir, seing the same is so ill taken withall, and as I heare hevily exaggregated by your majestie, I confesse I have offended and humbly craves [*sic*] your majeste's pardon therefore. And if my presence had not bene as I judged it more intollerable and offensive to your majeste's sight nor hazardfull to me, I wold have already humbly addressed my self to your majestie, that your majestie might rather have hard the sound of my sigheing voise then the report of my complaintes and humble

James VI. 1591. sute in this paper: for by this course I am assured to have putten in your majeste's handes a most notable subject of your endles praise and an immortall memory of your sacred name; and yet the stay hereof did not growe neither through the giltines of conscience, for my innocency confirmes me mare confidently in the same, or throughe a dispaire of your majeste's mercie, or yet through a conceate of the severitie of punishment, seing in weightier crymes your majestie hes never bene so rigorous neither with me nor yet with others: but the default hereof was occasioned by the promised favour of some who, as I have nowe discovered, were neither willing nor able to performe it, for the hope given to me by them and by their creditt to reenter in the haven of your majeste's mercie hathe stopped me from that resolucion I had to prostrate my self at your majeste's royall feete and imbrace your majeste's knees as the alters and mercy seate of my peace. But nowe I see my errour that hathe leaned to the intercession of powerles saintes and suffered the frutefull tyme unfrutefully to my farther ruyne slyde away, which as your majestie reportes is nowe irrecoverable. Therefore, Sir, having regard of your majeste's pleasure and will more then to my awne welfare, I am resolved to suffer constantly all perill and hasardes, and hereafter to endure all sic incommodities as dispitefull fortune may present afore my end to make me dailie more miserable; yet in my greatest grefe it were some assuagement of my sorrowes to have my cause and innocency tried before my departure, or if this can not be obteyned of your majestie, to direct me where I sall go, and so to avoid by a better behaving of my self your majeste's farder displeasure. And with this I am humbly to crave of your majestie not so muche the abolishing of the sentence of my forfaltage furder nor sooner then it shalbe thought good and agreable to your majestie's gude will and pleasure, for if I have deserved it by this vild supposed cryme I crave not that any grace should be extended towardes me or to suche an unnaturall parricide, but this onelie, that your majeste's ire and undeserved wrathe may be quinshed and take end in my misery, and not extended on my comfortles wife nor exercercised [*sic*] on my sackles children. It may please therefore your majestie to oblishe them and me by this kinde of clemency, who by my passed faultes hathe given a sufficient discharge to your majeste's future mercy, to the end the warld may see a farder proofe of your accustomed grace and favour, being contented with the downethrawing of me who hes had but onely by your highenes both life and lyving, and who nowe threw the great offenses committed against my God lies justly spoiled of your graciouse countenaunce, and whose langer life shalbe but a witness both of your majeste's clemency and my ensueing misfortune." Francis Stewart.

1¾ *pp.* *Copy.* *Indorsed by Burghley:* "The second letter 10 September."

Sept. 17. 609. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Earl of Atholl, according to the charge given him, came speedily to the King at Falkland, and confessed that he had spoken with Bothwell by accident upon his sudden access to him which he could not avoid. He promises that if Bothwell remain within his bounds, or he may be his master to take him, he will apprehend and bring him to the King to

James VI. 1591. dispose of him at his pleasure. Nevertheless the King has committed Atholl and the Laird of Gartly his chief counsellor to ward in Glasgow, where he shall not remain many days without liberty and order to do service for the King's contentment. Bothwell has left Atholl, fearing to be surprised there, for the King's "rode" intended was sufficiently made known to him. Nevertheless the King has ridden to St. Johnston with small number, intending to return within five days to Falkland, thence to Dunfernline, and to come to Holyrood before Michaelmas or thereabouts; when the Council will convene to take order for the Parliament and other causes.

Buccleuch embarked on Tuesday last at Leith with William Fowler and one lacquey only. He seemed purposed to touch at Yarmouth and to come to the court of England, hoping to be shortly called home with the King's favour.

Blood is drawn daily in the north between Huntly's friends and the followers of Atholl, Murray, and Grant; which matters are to be ordered at the next meeting of the Council, when the new feuds of Argyle and Athol against Ogilvie are also to be ordered. The Laird of Spott, an old honest gentleman, was the other day foully murdered by some of the Humes of his own name, accompanied with the Craws; whereat the King is highly offended.

His [Bowes'] servant Christopher Sheperson is with him, and ready to return and take order in all causes with his lordship. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript—The Earl of Angus has subscribed this day to the articles of religion.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 23. 610. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King has continued at St. Johnston's longer than he intended, and done little but place some ministers in the churches by advice of the ministry there, and seek to appease the quarrels between Huntly and the Lairds of Grant and Mackintosh. Lately the Laird of Lochaber and the clans of Cameron appertaining to Huntly have killed forty-one of Mackintosh's men, and twenty-four tenants of Grant's: they have hurt the Laird of Ballindalloch, "who escaped by takinge a stone house for his saftye," and they took a great prey of cattle and sheep to Strathbogie, the house of Huntly, now lieutenant in the north, where they sold this booty "very good cheipe." In revenge, the Lairds of Grant and Mackintosh, with the assistance of Atholl, Murray, and others, are gathering to invade the bounds of Huntly. Some action is expected about Strathbogie, notwithstanding Huntly's lieutenancy and his forces. More blood will be drawn unless the King prevent it.

By means of the Earl of Crawford and Lord Ogilvie the King has caused two of the clan of Gregor to be taken and executed in St. Johnston's, for slaughter of some of Ogilvie's men. These Gregors belonged to the Earl of Argyle, who has appointed to be at Edinburgh the 3rd of October to prosecute Ogilvie for slaughter of the Campbell's mentioned in his [Bowes'] former letter. Argyle, Atholl, and their friends are greatly grieved that these two were so hastily executed, without trial before the

James VI. 1591. King and Council; and they prepare to come hither with very great forces: some of the Council are to be sent to the King to persuade him speedily to prohibit such forcible assemblies.

The King has returned to Falkland, purposing to come to Holyrood on the third of October to meet the Council and deliberate on matters of the Parliament and state. He was advised before his coming to St. Johnston's that Bothwell had come over the Forth towards Fast Castle; and has been informed that soon after the King's journey to St. Johnston's he visited some of his friends in the Canongate. Atholl, committed to ward at Glasgow, is at liberty in regard of his wife's sickness. The Earl of Angus has subscribed to the article of justification by faith and the approbation of the church in Scotland; whereupon he shall be received into the church and to the King's favour.

William Walker, late comptroller of the customs in Berwick, died the other night in Edinburgh. He did her majesty good service in affairs with Scotland, as Mr. Wotten, himself [Bowes], and others can testify. His son, now with him [Bowes], is well acquainted with that office, and is ready to bring up his poor brothers and sisters if he may obtain it. He [Bowes] and others will give bond for him; his mother and many young children shall be comforted by his lordship's compassion; the said John Walker will faithfully serve in that office. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 24. 611. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sends his servant, Christopher Sheperson, according to direction, to attend upon his lordship, and declared his readiness to satisfy her majesty for the repayment of the 3,000 *l.*, and the residue due to the garrison at Berwick; and to urge the necessity of his own return to England for settlement of accounts, which shall no less profit her majesty than his service in Scotland can do, seeing the state is now in quietness and his own cause so wretched. Entreats his lordship to favour his suit and give access and credit to Sheperson. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Sept. 30. 612. ADVERTISEMENTS FROM AN ENGLISHMAN IN BERWICK.

Forasmuch as now upon the fall of this office coming hither to Berwick but for two or three days for better conveying of my letters, so as here being out of Scotland "therfore more bolder of the King and Erle Bothwell writing now, yeat as your worshipe after redeing not mete commondlye known," but to your private friends, as I wish your showing this same to Mr. Killigrew.

First, for the King. There be of the nobility, gentlemen, boroughs and common people generally, grown to that disliking of the King for his careless guiding and government as uncredible writing. These open exclamations of the King general amongst all sorts of his subjects, and daily such murders and havoc amongst his subjects who should be preserved under his protection, and a muttering amongst them for that

James VI. 1591. the King doth nothing to it; in times past both in England and Scotland kings have been deposed for far less occasions than now are given them. As also their great disliking of their Queen, for that she proves not with child, so that in the Parliament in November next it cannot be but that great mischief will be "ruffling" amongst them through their many feuds, as they "will not let to saeinge openlye," that so long as this King reigns over them never any luck or grace will be in Scotland. The King from Falkland is drawing towards Dunfermline, where provision is made for him and the Queen till the 10th of November, when they come to Edinburgh for the winter.

For Earl Bothwell. The last certainty known he was with his good brother the Earl of Atholl in Atholl, for the which receiving Atholl is committed and warded; "which I can not what to mak of the fashon of wardinges, unless lik unto the stik and the list, todaye captive, and next daye at libertie." Earl Bothwell will never recover himself in this King's days. I am bolder to write, being in Berwick, that the Earl, with his devilry practising among witches, either had or attempted, or however it was or secretly is kept quiet, "that Erle and Quene som unlifull maner atwixt them": so that none in Scotland dare name the Earl to the King, he is so odious to him. "How ever herafters the same proving or not, as may be, but his contraris slanders to the King; therfore unlesse to your selfe, for Mr. Killigrewe and Mr. Benefild, not thus writing unto anye."

For the Chancellor. At present at his house by Haddington; the only man with the King not in the King's power, "for the Chanceler's still standeng." But they will be sundered by a sudden cutting off of the Chancellor from the King, besides the King putting himself in great hazard in so long standing with the Chancellor, who is "evell thowght and openly spoken of" by the nobility, gentlemen, boroughs, and common people.

The Earl of Eglinton, surname Montgomery, and Earl Glencairn, surname Cunningham: between these two twenty or thirty persons slain in one day and nothing accounted of. From Argyle out of the Highlands they have been with Lord Ogilvie in Angus and have slain thirty persons, men, women and children, a young child of Lord Ogilvie's and two ministers at Brechin, "wher as I was with your worshipe in Anguishe." In the north the Earl of Murray, the Lord of Grant, a great man of the Highlands, besides Mackintosh and such-like, gathered, killing eighty or a hundred men in one day of Huntly's friends, not even sparing the beasts and cattle that they cannot carry away, but killing three or four hundred a day. Whereupon Huntly got leave from the King, "lyk young men bothe ther consenttes according," to go against them with fire and sword. Huntly treacherously sent to a principal great man to say that a certain Earl known to be his friend was hunting near his house, and would come but to his door, not alighting, and drink. The gentleman, simple, not distrusting, himself, three sons and servants came out, with bread, ale, and wine to give him entertainment: but who should it be but the Earl of Huntly, who with his company shot and slew with pistols the nobleman, three of his sons and some servants. Some say it was Lord Boyd that was slain, and with him a learned minister also slain. In revenge, the friends of those persons that were slain have sought out young children of Huntly's friends, learning abroad

James VI. 1591. at schools, cruelly killing them. The Laird of Spott, a good gentleman of the March in Lothian, being in the fields looking to his shearers, suddenly sundry persons passing by like hunters shot him through the head with a pistol, so that he also is slain. "The cause of this over leng a discourse" some words the King passed which now he is sorry for but cannot help. The parties that did this were the Humes of Ayton near Berwick; and the cause was a very great command that sundry good towns and gentlemen command upon, which the King gave to Sir George Hume, "one of his new upstart mayd cowr[t]iars."

The Master of Glammis still rests warded, so that the people greatly dislike the King, the Chancellor, and our ambassador. And Earl Bothwell, what will become of him? Of these four every one is speaking. "So resteng expecting apperantlie by tyme, this ruened confussed rages havock commeng to in the eynd, or els not unlike putteng the King to a street." Our ambassador here now very quiet, not any coming to him except Mr. David Lindsay of Leith; not receiving any letters from our court or the Lord Treasurer these forty days, which is marvelled at both in Scotland and in Berwick. Three women whose husbands were slain went with their husbands' bloody shirts complaining to the King at St. Johnston's. The King answered that their husbands being fugitives he could do nothing to it. Whereupon one of the women prayed God, he that made him King, again to unmake him; and another woman said "more fite he was to be a king of tikes, dogges for hunteng, then of his people, being so carles of them, being under his protection." The King growing angry, Mr. Patrick Galloway, the King's minister, a notable man, said to him that the poor women having their husbands slain were so desperate as not to fear what they said, even if the King would burn them, charging the King with his only default, "dowing notheng to it"; as truly in my opinion. Albeit he has goodwill to remove these disorders, he dislikes making himself a party to suppress them.

A discourse of the lamentable confused state ruling now in Scotland, "which for that I am owte of Scotland and now in Barwik the bolder my more writing," being sorry time serves me not to write over again more plainly, referring to your worship, Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Benefild, and Mr. Aulgor; sending this by Captain Selby. Berwick. *Unsigned.*

3¼ *pp. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 56. Copy of the same.

Oct. 3. 613. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Was appointed by the King to be here the first or second instant to meet him and hear his resolution in Border causes and other affairs, but the King has delayed his coming for two or three days, whereby the Council is deferred. Huntly's feuds in the north against Atholl, Murray, Mackintosh, Grant and others are not yet appeased. Argyle and Ogilvie were directed to stay their access to this town until the King and Council had deliberated on the outrages passed between them, yet now the King has sent Mar to bring Argyle to him with small company, and the Lady Ogilvie is already come to call for justice. The King is desirous to draw on a marriage between Argyle and the Duke of Lennox's sister, whereof

James VI. 1591. Argyle and his friends have no good liking, but his refusal will set the King stiffly against him. This and other matters shall be deliberated at the next assembly of the Council.

Bothwell has lately much haunted these parts. He lay in Canongate and showed himself openly at Leith, where he entered into a boat, pretending to repair to the King with hope of his pardon; boldly saluting his friends he passed over the water with five servants. Finding the Duke of Lennox on the shore where he should have landed, he took his course from Kinghorn towards Burnt Island, and passed into Fife where he made short abode, and without sending anyone to the King returned over the water to these parts. He has spoken with some courtiers, and his friends pretend that he shall shortly recover the King's favour, though it is said that the King's mind is still set against him. His friends give out that he will hastily leave this realm if the King still frown upon him, but others say he will not depart before the Parliament, which the King presses to hold at the time limited, though most of the Council think it ought to be adjourned: resolution herein will be given at the meeting of the King and Council. The King was moved by Powrie Ogilvie on behalf of Sir William Keith, that he might enjoy his livings during his absence in foreign countries; but the King denied, with sharp words against Sir William.

On the last of September Francis Dacre secretly took boat at Newhaven near Leith, and embarked in a flyboat called the *Thomas* of Leith laden for Bordeaux. The master of this ship is William Lamore, and the merchant James Nesbett, an honest man, who knew little of Dacre's going in that ship until he was on board. This ship will tarry some time at Yarmouth, but Dacre will probably provide some other vessel and direct his course to Dunkirk to see his son at Brussels. He has paid all his debts in Scotland, and told his friend the day he embarked that if he find not in Spain entertainment to his contentment he will come again into this realm; it is said he is minded to return hither howsoever he be treated in Spain. Four ships, severally of Dundee, Anstruther, Burnt Island, and Leith are ready to sail for Spain, trusting to come to the Scottish fleet for Bordeaux before they depart from Yarmouth.

The bishop of Glasgow in Paris has sent hither his servant Clode, a Frenchman, with pretence to gather here such debts as are owing to him and his wife, a Scottish woman. He denies having brought any letters or messages, but some of his familiars say he has other errands for evil affairs, and also that he was in Flanders with Robert Bruce, and was directed by him to sundry Papists here. Is informed by a Catholic privy to their affairs that William Holt, an English Jesuit, "intertayned with the Duke of Parma as the cheifest practizer for Ingland and Scotland," has written in Latin to the fathers James Gordon and Robert Abercrombie, Jesuits remaining in this realm, requiring them to provide for the safe receipt of James Tyrye, who is lately returned from Rome and shall be sent hither before Christmas with new wine, that is, with money. Holt urges them to send good information by the bearer of his letters—an Englishman, who has returned into England from Dumfries with the certificate of the fathers of the state of this realm—assuring them that all things succeed well in France, and willing them to travail effectually with all such as they shall find willing to attempt the enterprise of the cause of religion, that they may be ready when advertisement

James VI. 1591. shall be given that all things are prepared and that the time serves to enter into action. In the mean time every one of the noblemen and persons best affected shall keep with them a messenger, to be sent by Holt with an especial token that they come from him, to instruct those Catholics in religion, and to stir them to take arms when the alarm is given. He promises that these persons shall be furnished with money and instructions, and advises them to send speedily some person of good quality to the Duke of Parma with credentials and instructions from the chief Catholics here, and that the fathers here shall commend this person thus chosen and employed at the Duke's court, *tanquam dignus adveant.* The abbot of Inch Effray, brother of Lord Drummond, shall be required to take this office. And he concludes that there is good hope that Sanquhar shall be a good instrument in this work, "for he is nowe in a good waye and a sufficient labour is put to him." Four of these messengers being Englishmen, and coming through England to the West Borders of Scotland, shall be shortly received by the abbot of New Abbey, in Galloway, for which purpose Abercrombie will be with the abbot this week to take order for their receipt. These four seem to be of the crew which Robert Elliott at his being here promised should come hither. Two other English Papists came to the Laird of Linton and are disposed by him in this realm; two more are already in Northumberland to be brought into this country.

Further enquiry proves that Sir Alexander Stewart was at Aberdeen. His wife, ready to repair by sea to him at Holland, is stayed, upon bruit that he has returned to the service of the Duke of Parma. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅛ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 7. **614. ALEXANDER HAY TO WILLIAM ASHEBY.**

Eg. MSS., 2,598, fol. 275. "Quhairas I understand that sundry letters, beside myne, wer sent suiting for Mr. Kelsterne, of quhilkis before this I expected sum gude anser be zour meanys; and presentile I am the mair desyrous thairof, yf it may be had, for that of late ane William Walcar, Englisheman, departed this lyf here at Edinburgh, quha had sum offices at Baruik now at my Lord Thesauraris gift: sa yf his lordship wer now bot put in memory by zou or Mr. Kyllegrew of my letters, with other letters of late from the counsell at Beruik, my hope is that Mr. Kelsterne mycht happely be helped, as daylie thair be pensionis and rowmes falling at Beruik bestowed on personis, in my opinioun, less deserving."

"Quhat may be done I doubt not in zour freindly furtherance." Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Hay.

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

Oct. 16. **615. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

"Understanding that this gentilwoman the berare, Agnes Swyntoune, cousine germane to Sir Johnne Melvile of Carnbie, knycht, having spent and past ower a lang tyme in service within zour cuntrie, sua modestile and vertuuslie behaved hir selff in the menetyme in all respectis as a gentilman naymit William Reynold, Englisman, fell furth in sic favour

James VI. 1591. and gude lyking of hir as being persuadit in hart of hir loyaltie, discretioune, and honest demaynour, he become of dispositioun to sute hir in mariage, and insisting a lang tyme thairin, at last gave his band and solempt promeis to accomplische the same with hir; in sic sort as in ayther of thair hartis and befoir God the same mariage wes consumat; albeit the gentilman of him selff be well resolved to performe his dewitie thairanent, zit he is forceit to stay quhill he may obtene the consent of his father and freindis, quhilk he hoipis sall the rather be granted gif zour commendatioun and favorable requeist wer interponit to that effect. Sen the affectioun and gudwill of thir personis tendis to as honorable and godlie end and purpois, it appertenis the courtessie of all Cristianis to extend thair furtherance thairin: quhairupoun we have taikin occasioun to recommend this gentilwoman to zour favour and ayd in this mater, ernistlie and effectuuslie requeisting zou, our dearest suster and cousine, to command that this gentilman follow furth and performe that mariage without protracting of farder tyme, according to his solempt band and promeis afosiraid; as alsua that zour ernist and effectuall requeistis may be granted and interponit for procuiring the consent and gudwill of his father and freindis thairunto." Holyrood. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin James R."

⅔ *broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 19. 616. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday morning Bothwell came to Captain Masterton's house in Leith, and tarried there until two o'clock this afternoon. Between one and two this afternoon the servants of the Earl of Huntly, being in the town of Leith whilst the Duke of Lennox and Huntly played "goffe" on the sands at Leith, hearing that Bothwell was in Masterton's house, advertised the Duke and Huntly of the same: whereupon they sent advertisement to the King, who so hastily took horse to come to Leith to apprehend Bothwell, that he passed without boots, and not above eight in his company. At Leith he met the Duke and Huntly, who had attended his coming before they would environ Masterton's house or search and make sure the town: yet it is said that some of their servants saw Captain Haggerston come out of that house and let him depart, and the King was told that three men armed, every one leading a gelding, were seen to pass out of the north west part of Leith towards Queensferry, in which company Bothwell was thought to be. The King at his coming to Leith disposed sundry men to search the town and the fields, and appointing Sir James Sandilands to wait on the north west part of Leith, himself entered Masterton's house, where he could not find Bothwell. Soon after Sir James Sandilands espying Robert Scott, brother of the Laird of Balwearie and servant to Bothwell, to come that way, leading "Valentyne," Bothwell's principal horse, he took Scott and the horse and presented them to the King; who, finding that Scott would not confess where Bothwell was, committed him to Edinburgh castle, saying that by torture of the boots he would draw out of him more than of his own accord he would confess. The Chancellor, having received physic these two days last past, and hearing that the King was thus suddenly ridden to Leith slenderly accompanied, followed the King in all haste and returned with him, finding his body much disquieted.

James VI. 1591. Was informed that four English and Scottish Catholics were in Colonel Sempill's house in Edinburgh, ready to pass to Dunkirk in a barque of James Kincavell's of Kirkcaldy, and that Captain Haggertson and other servants of Bothwell had taken this barque against the owner's will and purposed to pass themselves and carry these Papists with them; therefore procured warrant of the King and Council to stay this barque. The Chancellor had agreed to surprise those guests today in Colonel Sempill's house, but the accident at Leith has deferred it. Thinks this alarm will chase them this night out of the town. Understands by a Catholic that an Englishman naming himself James Holland is lately come hither, addressed to Captain Carr, who intended to have sent him to Aberdeen, but he attends the coming of one Browne, a young Englishman now in Northumberland.

Upon his request to the King that twenty of the tenants of Mr. Thomas Hilton in Alston Moor in Cumberland, taken and detained by Liddesdale, might be delivered and their bonds discharged, the King sent letters to William Elliott and Martin Elliott to execute that request. All the prisoners are delivered, with their horses and furniture, and their bonds declared void, with promise of redress for goods taken. As to Lord Scrope's complaint of attempts done by Liddesdale, the King and Council have promised that before Martinmas a fit person shall be appointed keeper of Liddesdale, to give redress for these wrongs. The King is determined to give this office to young Cesford, but is loth to do so before his composition be made for the slaughter of William Carr, whose wife, children, and friends, far beyond the King's expectation, have suddenly become backward in this reconciliation. The King is purposed to mediate the matter, and put young Cesford in this place. Colonel Stewart's journey into Holland is stayed for this time.

The feuds between Argyle and Ogilvie, and between Huntly and others in the north, are not yet appeased. Argyle has returned to Stirling, with order to be here again the 27th instant, when the Council will assemble to determine these matters and the holding or prorogation of Parliament, which is meant to be continued for some time, and to be turned into a running Parliament, to begin at the King's pleasure upon ordinary warning.

In other things the state is calm; therefore prays his lordship to procure him leave to return to England to give contentment to her majesty for his debts, to render his accounts, and dispose of the small things that he and his son have in coal, salt, etc., that they fall not into such ruin that her majesty can have no profit of them and he and his son be frustrate hereafter of the use of them. Feels daily increase of impediment in his sight and other infirmities of age, drawing him into some errors. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 20. 671. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt trustie and weilbelovit cousing we greit zow hartle weill. We have understand be report of a subject of ouris, James Colden, merchant of Edinburgh, how upon complaint of the wrang and losse sustenit be him at the handis of ane Aitkinsoun, sercheour at Kingstoun upoun Hull, recommendit be ws of before unto zow, ze have bene verie

James VI. 1591. cairfull and weillwilling to se the compliner satisfyit of his guidis and damnagis, according to justice and that guid amytie and intercours that is betuix the tua realmeis; for the quhilk we mon rander zow oure richt hertlie thankis, with oure eirnist request to continew as ze have weill procedit hitherto, quhill the honest man may returne with his dew redres, quha utherwyis wilbe utterly undone in consideratioun of his lang attendance following this suit. In this we doubt not bot ze wil have the gritar regaird for that the wrang receaved hes not bene done be inobedient pirattis on the sea, bot in ane of the portis of that realme quhair oure subjectis hes had very frequent trad in freindlie maner: and the mair grevous is the injurie resavit be this complener for that the same was done under pretext of the name and authorite of oure derrest sister the Quene zour soverane, be ane professing him self hir officiar and under zour chairge, quhilk injurie also hes bene augmented be the hard and unkyndle deilling with a gud nowmer of our subjectis sensyne in Humber, procedit cheifly of ane Hew Scott, deputy sercher at Hull under the same Aitkinsoun, quhilk cravis spedie redres and amendiment: bot quhill the personis that resavit the harme may informe the same at thair returne from Burdeaulx, we will end oure letter in the favour of this James Colden, forbering to write any thing further presentlie at this tyme ather to the Quene oure derrest sister or generallie to hir Counsell, bot reposing upoun zour guid remembrance and equitie thairin, quhairin ze sall do ws verie acceptabill plesur, committis zow in the tuitioun of God. At Haliruidhous." *Signed:* "Zour very loving freind James R."

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Oct. 24. 618. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Diligent search has been made whether Bothwell was in Captain Masterton's house or other place in Leith at the King's late coming thither upon information brought to him by the Laird of Buckie that Captain Haggerston was seen in Leith and that Bothwell was likewise there and environed by the Duke of Lennox and Earl Huntly; yet it cannot be certainly found that Bothwell was that day in Leith, as was certainly given the King to understand. Robert Scott, servant to Bothwell, taken at Leith and examined by the King and Council, will not say whether Bothwell was at Leith or not on that day, as by Scott's deposition enclosed will appear. Some affirm that they saw Bothwell pass towards Queensferry, and one Frenchman says he saw him leaping over some broken walls in Leith, but knows not whither he went. Thus Bothwell's being in Leith that day is still questionable. Haggerston was certainly there, seen by some who told the Duke and Huntly, who willed them to bid him come to the Duke, but Haggerston escaped. It is said that Bothwell remains in Fife, purposing to pass into Spain with Haggerston and other servants lately denounced rebels, in the barque of James Kincavell of Kirkcaldy which is ready to sail. Hears by more credible intelligence that Bothwell mislikes to take the seas at this time and will abide in covert places in this realm. Lady Bothwell, being in Leith, is charged to ward in Aberdeen, as by copy of the charge and letter enclosed will be seen. Encloses also copy of the act prohibiting all persons to aid

James VI. 1591. Bothwell: agreeable to that act proclamation is published in all the boroughs. Whilst the Chancellor attended the King at Leith for the apprehension of Bothwell, the Countess of Bothwell uttered some bitter words towards the Chancellor and Huntly. She told the Chancellor that all matters were compounded between him and her husband, and the latter had done him many good deeds since their agreement. The Chancellor answered that he had recompensed those good deeds with triple benefits, and that whilst Bothwell pretended friendship he was seeking his life. The knot of friendship pretended is thus utterly broken. The King and Council have been occupied this week touching Bothwell, the maintenance of the King's house, and some private suits. Other matters are referred to the assembly on the 27th instant.

Perceives by letters from Mr. Ralph Gray that he has stayed one Mallory who was lately in Scotland, and whom he [Bowes] found neither well disposed nor of great experience, and therefore dismissed him to return into England, where Gray met him in the company of young Powrie Ogilvie, as his Lordship already knows. Two other Englishmen are in Edinburgh, Roger Teisdaile of David's Inn and John Johnston of Clement's Inn. They are commended to Lord Scrope by Mr. Orpher in Cumberland, and with his commendation are come hither, pretending to come only to see this realm and the schools. Their behaviour hitherto has given little suspicion. The English Papists lurking about this town departed towards Aberdeen before the search made by the provost for them.

Represents the mischiefs that will fall on him unless he have timely knowledge of her majesty's resolution towards him. Will be unable to content her for the debts he owes except she be speedily gracious to him. Has directed his servant, Christopher Sheperson, to open his case to his lordship. Expresses his devotion to her majesty, and prays his lordship's succour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Deposition of Robert Scott.)

"At Hollorodehouse the 20th of October 1591, in presence of the King's majestie, the Duke of Lennox, the Erle of Huntleye, my Lord Chancelour, Secretarye, and Sir James Melvill of Hallhill, and Clerke of Requests."

"Robert Scot, brother to the Laird of Ballwerye, sworne and examined, declairs that he rancountered with the Erle Bothwell on the Burrowmore that tyme quhilke he cam to the Netherbowe."

"He grantes that he sawe my Lord Bothwell, but not sen he was in Leith the tyme that the King was in Burleye and paste over the water in ane boate. This deponent paste that nycht nych to Kyternye [*sic*] and wher the Erle Bothwell paste this deponent cannot declaire."

"Ther was in the Erle Bothwell's companye at that tyme Gilbert Lauder, John Sinclaire, brother to the Lord and to the Erle of Cathnes."

"This deponent harde no worde of the Erle Bothwell sensyne."

"He sayes that the horse called 'Graye Vallentyne' was brought from Murrowham to Leithe uppon Sondaye, and delivered to this

James VI. 1591. deponent uppoun Monondaye, the 18th daye of this monethe, by my ladye's derection. The horse was keped by Willison and delivered by Allen Stewart."

"He denyes that he met with the Erle Bothwell in Fyffe at anye tyme."

"He declairs that he never met with the Erle Bothwell sen he came out of the castell of Edenburgh but at two tymes; therfore he saythe that he was with him in Dunkeithe [*sic*] and past in that contrye to visitt his aunte the Ladye Graunteleye."

"He will not saye that the Erle Bothwell was yesterdaye in Leithe or not."

¾ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 58. Copy of the same.

Second enclosure with the same:

(Charge against the Countess of Bothwell.)

"James be the grace of God King of Scottis to our lovittis [ ] messingeris our shereffis in that part conjunctlie and severalie specialie constitute greting. Oure will is and we chairge zow straitlie and commandis that incontinent thir our letters seene ze pas and in our name and auctorite command and chairge Dame Margaret Douglas, Lady Bothuile, to pas and enter hir persoun in waird within our burgh of Abirdene thair to remane upoun hir awne expenssis ay and quhill she be fred be ws within ten dayes nixt eftir she beis chairgeit be zow thairto under the pane of rebellioun and putting of hir to our horne. And gif she failzeis the said ten dayes being bipast, that ze incontinent thereftir denunce the disobayar our rebell and put hir to our horne and escheit and inbring all hir movable guidis to our use for hir contemptioun as ze will anser to ws therupoun. The quhilk to do we commit to zow conjunctlie and severalie our full power be thir our letters, delivering thame be zow dewlie execute and under sale agane to the berar. Gevin under our signet and subscrivit with our hand at Halyruidhous the 21 day of October and of reign in the 25 zeir 1591. *Sic subscribitur* James Rex."

½ p. *Copy. Indorsed.*

Third enclosure with the same:

(Proclamation against the Earl of Bothwell.)

"Rex. We command and chairge all and sindrie inhabitantis within our burgh of Edinburgh that nane of thame tak upoun hand to ressett, supplie, mantene, harbrie, nor furnes meit or drink to Frances, sumtyme Erll Bothuill, nor to nane of his servandis, assisteris, defendaris, or partakaris, under the pane of deid to be execute upoun thame with all rigour and extremitie and to be repute haldin and estemit as tratouris, and the proces and dome of forfaltour to be led and pronuncit aganis thame as aganis the said Frances, sumtyme Erll Bothuill, without ony favour to be extendit to ony the saidis personis of quhaumtsevir qualitie or degre thay be of; and forder ordanis this our directioun to be proclamit be sound of drum throw our said burgh of Edinburgh that

James VI. 1591. [none] pretend ignorance of the same. Gevin under our signet and subscrivit with our hand at Halyruidhous the 21 of October and of reign in the 25 zeir 1591. *Sic subscribitur* James Rex."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Nov. 10. 619. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Soon after the receipt of his lordship's letter of October 19th he delivered to the King her majesty's letter concerning the leave granted him to repair into Yorkshire and the bishopric of Durham for his private causes, returning to his charge after six or eight weeks; explaining his condition, as directed, to the King, who willingly consented to his leave, only wishing him to remain till he [the King] had finished the composition between Sir Robert Carr and the wife and friends of William Carr slain by Sir Robert, and planted a fit keeper for Liddesdale. The King appointed him to return about the 12th of January for the beginning of Parliament, which is prorogued to the 10th of January, and the lords will be assembled on the 12th. In order to settle Border matters, especially Liddesdale, before his departure, he wrote to Lord Scrope and other wardens his purpose to come to England, and before his coming to procure some Act of Council for expedition of the redress for attempts done by Scottishmen in England, praying information as to those attempts. Whereupon Lord Scrope sent him a letter directed to the King, requiring the delivery of two Englishmen fled into Liddesdale for the cruel murder of a woman in his office, and also a note of late complaints to be redressed, advising him [Bowes] to keep the letter and wait to confer with Sir John Carmichael, who is not yet come to Edinburgh; hence the delay in these present letters and in his repair to England.

According to her majesty's pleasure Roger Aston is very willing to have care of affairs here in his absence. Has provided that Aston's letters shall be safely conveyed to him [Bowes] that he may give his lordship intelligence thereof: will leave a sufficient person for the convoy of such letters and for sending other information.

That the King and state may see the dangers arising by the resort of Jesuits and seminaries into England and Scotland, and be moved by her majesty's wise example to prevent those perils, has delivered to the King one of the proclamations published lately in England and sent him by his lordship. Has opened to the King, Chancellor, and others her majesty's purpose to send forth commissioners to enquire of these "vermyn," as his lordship so well terms them, and to defeat the plots of the enemy, and has also prayed that the English Papists and seditious persons lurking in Scotland may be apprehended. Has discovered to them the haunt of William Holland and other Englishmen in Old Aberdeen, and the receipt of four other English Papists by the abbot of New Abbey, with other Englishmen of quality that lurk near Edinburgh, kept so secretly that no harm can come to them, of which "rabble and crewe" his lordship may be better advertised by others. Her majesty's wise policy appearing in that proclamation is much commended, and diligence is promised for the apprehension of these fugitives.

James VI. 1591. His lordship thinks it strange to see his letters certifying the King's earnestness against Bothwell, and yet Bothwell's riding up and down and haunting the places where the King travails. His lordship would be satisfied herein if he knew how the King's secret enterprises to surprise Bothwell are always revealed to him for his safety, "and howe fewe or none will take Bothwell's feade for the King's sake or favour": and otherwise Englishmen seeing the condition of this realm would praise God they were English born and under the happy government of her majesty.

As it is her majesty's pleasure that he shall not come to court, but use such expedition that he may return to the King at the time limited, and as his lordship wishes him to strain himself to the uttermost for the satisfaction of her majesty and the garrison, and tells him that in all her speeches she seems deeply offended, charging him with the danger that might follow on the betraying of Berwick by soldiers corrupted by the enemy upon lack of pay through his default, he will with all humility obey her direction and follow his lordship's advice. Has given order to his servant Christopher Sheperson to present to his lordship for her majesty whatsoever he can yield for her satisfaction and that of the garrison, and prays acceptance thereof. The sight of her offence thus heavily lying on him shall not only take from him all credit and comfort in service, but also drive him to think rather of his grave than to find any power to do acceptable service; therefore prays his lordship to present to her majesty his petition that he may come to sue for her grace and to give satisfaction to the uttermost of his power, agreeable to his lordship's counsel; or otherwise may know that her displeasure, thus working death in his heart, is appeased, and may return into her service with her good opinion.

The King being greatly grieved with the late slaughter of the Laird of Spott, and seeking delivery of some of the principal offenders, lately in Berwick, has written to her majesty by a letter sent to James Hudson, and also moved him [Bowes] to commend the matter to her consideration. The King by his letter to her majesty prays to have two or three of the principal offenders delivered to him, but some sent from him show that he really will be contented with such one as he shall call for, to give exemplary punishment for the crime, and will yield the like deliverance of any offender to be called for by her majesty in like case.

Captain James, a Scottishman, has long served in Muscovia, and coming to some wealth desires to return to Scotland with his wife, children, and goods, but the emperor there will not suffer him so to do. The King prays that his lordship will move her majesty to write to the emperor of Muscovia for leave to be granted to the said captain to depart, and to give order that the same letter be conveyed, with the advice of Mr. Fletcher, to such for her majesty in Muscovia as may best deliver the letter and advance the cause.

Long ago told the Laird of Calder that her majesty thought it not convenient to set at liberty upon bonds Hugh son of O'Donell; yet that laird, by means of the Earl of Argyle, has renewed his suit to her in that behalf, and offered that the second son of O'Donell, and two other sons of the chiefest men of the blood of O'Donell, shall be delivered to the Lord Deputy in Ireland to be pledges for Hugh O'Donell and for

James VI. 1591. his good behaviour; and that Angus Maccnell, uncle to Hugh O'Donell, will be cautioner for that good behaviour, and also seek to draw the said Hugh to her majesty's good service; and Argyle will be ready, for her majesty's favour herein, by himself and all under him to do her all good offices.

In the late slaughters between Argyle and Ogilvie it is ordered by the King and Council that either party shall either bring in, or else by themselves banish and keep out of the realm, the principal offenders in those outrages. Argyle is only charged with three men of his name, for whom he alleges he is not bound to answer, yet offers to deliver or banish them if Ogilvie will do the like; which Ogilvie thought not equal, because Argyle's dependers, being but broken and base men, had given just occasion to Ogilvie and his sons to take revenge; therefore in taking revenge they ought not to be measured with the order to be given to offenders on the part of Argyle: but this order is accorded, and either party bound in 20,000 *l.* Scots for performance of it.

The ministers have exhibited their petitions to the King for the administration of justice and punishment of malefactors. Hereupon the King and Council are entered into a course for reformation of the state and punishment of offenders, chiefly in murders and slaughters: enquiry shall be made in all counties that the principal offenders may be committed to ward to answer for their offences; and the chief of each surname, in any feud for murder, shall be bound in great sums to bring in the persons under them charged with crimes, and to be of good behaviour: and assurances shall be taken between the parties in feud, that justice may be ministered and composition taken as expedient. All sheriffs and officers of justice shall be enquired of, and charged with defaults in their offices; with other orders promising more than is likely to be performed.

Parliament is prorogued to the 10th of January. It was doubted that the assembly of the nobility at this time might stir troubles; therefore the next convention at the Parliament at the day appointed shall be more peaceable, of tractable persons ready to do the offices required; otherwise Parliament to be prorogued again. This Parliament shall not be free from storms, if they do not fall before it begin. A slanderous libel against the Chancellor has been cast into the King's chamber, whereof some one now passed into the Low Countries is thought to be the author.

Is informed that Bothwell has not spared to say that he was once "in handes" in Leith when the King came thither to apprehend him, and that after he passed from Leith he was in Niddry, in Spilaw with Sir John Carr, in Kelso and other places thereabouts, as such as adjoin those marches and have lately spoken with Bothwell's "familier" can advertise. It is said that he was purposed to have sought his trial by this Parliament had it been held; that he has some special enterprise in hand to be attempted at or before the next Parliament; that Captain Haggerston, Gilbert Pennycooke, and one other servant of Bothwell's will embark on the 11th or 12th about the mouth of the Forth for Caithness, to receive there Bothwell's letters to the King of Spain, William Creighton, and others in Spain, and to pass by the west seas to Spain; that James Gordon and Robert Abercrombie, Jesuits, have written to

James VI. 1591. William Creighton, requiring him to commend Captain Haggerston and the others to the King of Spain, signifying to that King the present state of Bothwell and offering his service to him: his answer shall be taken to know what he will do for Bothwell, and returned to Bothwell and the Jesuits with all expedition, for Bothwell purposes to remain in Scotland until he receive that answer, and is ready to pass to Spain next spring or tarry here as the King of Spain shall direct. Bothwell has told these Jesuits that by their means he received a thousand crowns before the bridge of Dee, therefore he will pray their favourable letters to the King, and promises them part of such entertainment as the King shall give him. These Jesuits, fearing a reconciliation between the Chancellor and Bothwell, nourish the unkindness between them, whereby Bothwell may be driven to repair into Spain, to become a good Catholic and be entertained by the King of Spain. Thus much by information of a Catholic of good intelligence, who says that letters sent hither by the bishop of Ross, now in Rouen, and others, are intercepted in England, whereby he thinks the bishop travails for his private causes here, whatsoever he do in the common matters for the League. Some English Papists shall pass with this company into Spain, yet at present none of them are ready, but rather desire to abide here till next spring.

The Master of Glammis is like to lose his offices of the Lord Treasurer and in Session, and to be charged to bring in Lord Glammis to the King and Council, which if he refuse then the Lord, his nephew, and himself shall be put to the horn, "a matter pinching him more narrowly than the losse of his offices." Montrose, preferred by the Chancellor, procured warrant to be signed by the King, whereof he [Bowes] gave warning to Morton, father-in-law to the Master of Glammis; but Morton, trusting to have the King's favour and to stay all those matters by means of Spynie and other friends at court, moved him to forbear speaking to the King till Montrose by the Chancellor got the King's hand to the warrant for the office in Session, wherein he is now received and placed. He had likewise got the office of Treasurer if he [Bowes] had not dealt with the King therein, for Montrose only required that the King would grant it to him in open Council, promising to surrender it to the King the same day. Now the King is purposed that Sir Robert Melville shall alone occupy the place of Treasurer, and that the office of Lord Treasurer shall be in the King's own hand until the next Parliament; but he will be too pressed to delay so long his grant of that office. By this occasion storms may arise, chiefly against the Chancellor, with whom he [Bowes] has so dealt that he agrees to join hands with the Master of Glammis if he may have surety for performance of the accords to be concluded between them; which surety he thinks shall not be found, "whereby the drynes still contineweth betwixt them." To others of the Master's friends, seeking the Chancellor's favour, and offering the marriage of the Master's son to the Chancellor's daughter, he answered that "he liked better the Master's ward then the marriage of his sonne." Huntly desired the place in Session, aspiring to be afterwards Chancellor: this being noticed by the Chancellor, he laboured more diligently for Montrose: Huntly smothers his grief for the time.

Marishal, Erroll, Forbes and others have banded themselves for mutual defence against Huntly, and other bands are made which may work

James VI. 1591. troubles to particular persons. A like meeting was at Dunkeld between Atholl, Murray, the commissioners of Argyle and others, who agreed to party one another. It is suspected that Bothwell was privily at this assembly, but some of good account present there deny it.

At Morton's suit the King has discharged the Master of Glammis from ward, but he shall not come to court. His liberty will bring him little profit unless the Chancellor and he be reconciled, for during his ward he could not be charged to bring in Lord Glammis.

Lord Claud Hamilton is again sick, and laments that he has so long dissembled in religion, desiring to be instructed by Robert Bruce or some other minister. It is thought that he is now grieved more "by the corosy of his conscience" than by his old infirmity. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—This bearer, John Aleyn, can satisfy his lordship in all things omitted in this letter.

6⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 11. 620. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"It is meanit to ws on the behalff of ane Vicus Jhones Dilmarsian, subject to our dearest broder and cousine the King of Denmark, that he being passing in his lauchfull treade in a schip laidnit with corne toward the pairtis of Spayne in the moneth of * wes taikin and interceptit be sum of your awne schippis, spoyled of the same his schip and guidis, and brocht to Londoun, quhair the same wer declaired to be a lauchfull pryis; zit remembering him selff to be a symple merchand quha never for his awin offence had meritit any sic extremitie, in esperance of redres of that his heavy losse he attendit at Londoun this haile zere bigane, greitlie to his hinder and dampnage, bestowing in the menetyme large and sumptuous charges in sute of the samyn, beside the restraning from his welthie and honest treade; quhair throuch his distressed conditioun being signifeit to the Quene our dearest bedfallow be sindrie lettres direct from Denmark, we have at hir desyre taikin occasioun to recommend this mater to your courtessie and gracious favour, effectuallie signeifeing you our dearest suster and cousine be your ordour and commandment to caus restitutioun be maid to this strangeare marchand of his said schip and guidis; at the leist that he may be sum part redressed and satisfeied of his heavy losse that he be not utterlie ruynit, bot may have that confort to returne to his wounted trede. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 13. 621. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

The bearer, Garett Carew, your born subject in Ireland, after his peregrination in foreign countries, having entered our service at our being in Denmark, hoped upon our recommendation directed to you to find your gracious favour in his lawful suit, grounded on good right and equity, for that one Tybbot Dillon, merchant of Dublin in Ireland, by sinister information and indirect dealing procured and made the means

* Blank.

James VI. 1591. that Tirloch Carew, the father of this Garet, was excluded and dispossessed from his proper inheritance called Carew Lands in West Meath in Ireland, and obtained your grant thereof, not to himself, but under pretence to acquire the right of the same to one of the name of Carew —" meaning na sic thing "—has by violence and " owirsicht " of your officers in Ireland continued these thirteen years bypast in possession of the same, and in that " haill tyme " the said Garet, his goodsire, and father " hes bene trubled in pleyding of thair richt thairto be law," and now " quhen as " the matter stands at the point of conclusion " it stayes thair " upon the late apprehension and captivity of the said Dillon; " quhairthrouch thay rest still distressed and secludit " from their ancient inheritance to the " appeirand extinguischeing " of their name and house, " quha evir hithertillis hes profest thair obeydience to the croun of England," and contrary to all conscience, right, and equity. We have therefore taken occasion to recommend this matter to your gracious favour and clemency, " effectuallie " requesting you, our dearest sister and cousin, seeing these distressed persons cannot endure a longer suit of law, that with your order and commandment they may summarily be " repossest to thair said ancient inheritance, upoun restrictioun that gif the law determyne aganis thame they sall alwayes be astrictit in dew obedience thairto," and in the meantime that you will take the said " Garrett " under your protection, prefer, entertain, and employ him in some of your services most convenient and fit for one of his profession. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

Postscript in James VI.'s hand.—" Madame, as I have great cause to thanke you for youre favourable ansoure gevin to this poore gentleman allreaddie at my request, so I pray you to contineu in ending nou his suite, quhiche I uill accoumpt as a speciall favoure done to me, and I truust the gentleman shall deserve it by his treu service."

1 *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 15. 622. JAMES VI. TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Requests them to assist Garet Carew in his suit, the possessor of whose estate has been convicted of treason. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

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

Nov. 21. 623. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of your lordship's last letter of the 7th hereof I had advertised your lordship, by John Aleyn, [of] my purpose to procure some resolute orders for redresses to be made for the late attempts done by Scottishmen in England and for preservation of peace on the Borders; in which behalf I have been so occupied and holden that I could not with full resolution therein come hither to Berwick before yesternight. The delay in these Border matters—detaining me thus long in Scotland—grew chiefly by the difficulty of the choice and appointment of a fit person to be keeper of Liddisdale. Wherein, albeit the King and Council were disposed to commit this charge to Sir Robert Carr, the young Laird of Cesford, and sought the same to be done after the agreement should

James VI. 1591. be concluded betwixt Sir Robert and the friends of William Carr, slain by Sir Robert's procurement, yet the wife and mother of William Carr has been so persuaded, since their coming thither for this reconciliation, to refuse all offers or treaties for composition that they could not be brought to agree to any manner of accord herein either by the several motions of the King and Council or by the request of the Queen—who thinking to do her majesty some pleasure in this behalf, so earnestly travailed therein, and for that end, that she worthily deserves great thanks—or yet by the advice and entreaties of their own friends. In this meantime the chief clans and surnames in Liddisdale offered themselves and services in very liberal sort to the Duke of Lennox, who is still thought to tender the welfare of the Earl Bothwell, and I found the King disposed to hearken in some part to the offers made by Liddisdale to the Duke, in which I gave the King light of such dangers to himself, service and amity with her majesty, and to the Duke himself, that the King was pleased to settle his choice on young Cesford, to whom he has given remission and the keeping of Liddisdale; and who, finding these graces granted to him by her majesty's special means, promises all good offices and thankful memory of her majesty's goodness for the same. Further, I have received such answer and order by the King and Council for redress to be made for all the late attempts done by Scottishmen in the three several wardenries of England and for the due administration of justice in time coming as will sufficiently appear to your lordship by the note enclosed, and expressing the same answers and orders, first digested and resolved by the Lord Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael, and the Clerk Register upon sundry articles exhibited to them by me, and next "consented" and enacted by the King and whole Council. For the execution of which common cause I have thought it my duty thus long to attend, rather than with the omission of the same to seek the expedition of my own private business, whereunto I shall now address myself with all diligence that I may give her majesty the better contentment in all duties.

In the travail for the composition for the slaughter of William Carr, the Laird of Fernieherst, the chief of William Carr's race, has showed, himself conformable to the King's desire, [and] offered frankly his devotion and good offices to her majesty. The Duke, Bothwell, and others, as I am informed, have sought his favour and that the same should be meant to keep Farnyherst and Cesford—being near neighbours and in blood—still in sunder and in feud. But her majesty has power to knit them together at her pleasure, and by their union they may do good services for the peace of the Borders, which I leave to be furthered by your lordships' order and direction to be hereafter given herein.

Upon sight of the present disposition of the Court in the cause of O'Rourke, and finding that the Court should be shortly quit of some so affectionate to him that they might in some respects hazard some hurt, I have therefore chosen both to suspend for a while to report to the King the attainder and execution of O'Rourke, and also have delivered to Roger Aston the note of his treasons and barbarous behaviour to be in best season opened to the King; which, and all other things, he shall, I trust, so well dispose and execute as shall well please her majesty and profit her service.

James VI. 1591. In late session of the King and Council the Earl of Montrose was restored to the office of Lord Treasurer, before taken from him and given to the Master of Glamis at the raid of Stirling. This is pretended to be done for the reparation of Montrose's honour in this behalf, but it is thought to betoken the fall of the Master of Glamis and the establishment of Sir Robert Melville in that office of Lord Treasurer of Scotland. For at the same session of the Council Montrose surrendered that office to the use of Sir Robert Melville, and with proviso that if the office should become void by the death of Sir Robert or by his demission, then it should return to Montrose. The Master thinks his disgrace to be procured against him by the especial means of the Chancellor, whose mind I cannot reconcile to the Master in regard that the Chancellor cannot, as he affirms to me and other of the Master's friends travailing for the Master, find any surety of the Master's sound dealings with him, whereby we have left the matter to the choice of their own courses, which sundry wise men think shall bring troublesome effects very shortly.

By the occasion of these griefs betwixt the Chancellor and the Master, with the accidents falling therewith, the Provost of Linclouden, Newbottle, Blantyre, the Comptroller, and others absented themselves from Court and the Chancellor, whereby it was looked that that fellowship continuing together since the raid of Stirling mentioned should have broken; but I have prevailed so with the Chancellor that they are sent for and will be shortly in Court, whereupon they will labour to sew up those breaches betwixt the Chancellor and the Master. In which case I have no great hope of their good success, and yet I have set it forward by the best means I could. To increase the troubles of the Master of Glamis, it is told me that he is charged to bring in the Lord Glamis, his nephew—and to whom he is tutor—for assurance to be taken betwixt the Earl of Crawford and the Lord Glamis in the feud remaining for the slaughter of the Lord Glamis, agreeable to the late Act of Council for the appearing and taking up of all feuds in Scotland; and because the Lord Glamis has not appeared, that therefore letters of horning are awarded against the Master; which letters being once executed, he shall be thereon released from the horn and ward, and then other letters of treason shall be also addressed against the Master and for the taking of his houses; besides that he shall be called unto and charged by the Parliament for his defaults and disobedience in these things, so that he shall be in danger to be forfeited by Parliament, which I leave to the sight of the sequel herein, threatening still occasions of troubles in that realm. Some are of opinion that [it] is looked that the Earl of Morton, father-in-law to the Master of Glamis, shall "partie" his son-in-law, and thereby come into like peril, so that Maxwell shall have the advantage to be raised to the earldom of Morton by the earl's fall.

The King has been lately advertised that the Earl Bothwell purposed to surprise and keep Orkney, that thereby he might the better "pleasure" the King of Spain. Whereupon the King has sent the Master with some company to prevent the enterprise, which sundry think to have been to small effect or danger. For albeit that Bothwell told the Lady of Lindores, daughter of the Earl of Orkney, that he would visit her father in Orkney, wherein it was gathered that he purposed to take the castle and island, and that the same was confirmed by the discovery of twelve

James VI. 1591.

of Bothwell's servants said to have been embarked with muskets for Orkney or other attempt, yet he is thought to be so weak at this present that he will not adventure to enter into that attempt, but rather in secret to attend the return of answer from Spain and the success of this next Parliament: wherein he is like to remain awhile in doubtfulness, seeing that Captain Haggerston and the rest of his servants embarked with letters for Spain, as before I have certified to your lordship, have not yet put from the coast of Scotland: and it is not certain whether the Parliament shall hold at the time appointed or not.

The Duke is not pleased, as it is said, with this manner of the disposition of the office of Treasurer, and still would have the ordinary fee thereof, exceeding little one thousand pounds by year. He seeks again the castle of Edinburgh, which will not be readily obtained without composition and favour of the captain thereof.

Huntly pretends to be purposed and ready to depart from the court and return to his house with his lady, whose departure from the court will well please the best affected in Scotland, that fear to find no good fruit in religion coming by her company with the Queen, who presently is thought to be with child, and such signs thereof appear, that albeit she doth modestly deny the same, yet many think that it is so and shortly will be known.

The friends of the Earl of Argyle, pressed to further the marriage between the Earl and the Duke's sister, have shown themselves ready to assent to the same, referring the matter wholly to the good liking of the Earl, whom with some difficulty they have drawn home, wishing that they may be able there to keep him, or at least that Argyle shall not be urged further in this match than his own mind shall lead him.

Sir William Keith has made means to recover the King's favour and his own livings, wherein hitherto he has obtained little comfort. In this behalf I have moved the King, and have found plainly that the King will lend no ear to any suit for him before he shall with some sign of obedience depart out of the country.

As by my former letters I have been an humble suitor both for the expedition of her majesty's pleasure and order to be determined and made known and executed towards me and my offers for her majesty's contentment and the satisfaction of the garrison here, as also that thereon, and before my return into Scotland, I might have the comfort of her majesty's presence and good countenance towards me, that kissing her majesty's gracious hands I might re-enter into that service with credit and comfort, and be enabled thereby to do the better service to her majesty; so I do "eftsoones" and most humbly beseech your good lordship seasonably to renew and recommend this my most humble petition to her majesty, and to vouchsafe to give me understanding of her majesty's resolution in the same, that according to her majesty's good pleasure I may dispose of my self and actions. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Nov. 25.

Printed in Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, (1877 edn.), iv. 342-3.

624. Elizabeth to James VI.

As my care for your weal, my dear brother, has been full long the desire of my endeavours, so, though my many letters do not oft cumber

James VI. 1591. your eyes with the reading them, yet my ever loving watchful heed has never been neglected, as by proof even now the errand that this bearer brings you may make you know: which being even that nearly doth touch your surety and state, I conjure you, even for the worth that you prize your self at, that you "forslowe" not, after your usual manner, this matter, as you too much ere now have done such-like, and ever remember that the next step to over-turn a royal seat is to make the subject know that whatever he doth may be either coloured or neglected, of which either breeds boldness to shun the pain whatsoever the offence deserves. Far better it were that all pretence of cause be debarred, than threaten ere one strike and so the prey escape. Shun in the handling of my overture of what is meant [*sic*], but after wise resolution what behoves let few or, if possible, none know afore it be ended what is thought to be done. This is in short my advice, as she that too plainly sees that if you defer you may fortune repent; yea, an you trust too much some that can have many cords to their bow, they may perhaps overthrow the mark, or you hit the blank. Excuse my plainness, and let goodwill plead my pardon. God bless you. "Your most assured sister E.R."

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed:* "25 Nov. 1591. Copie of hir majestie's lettere to the King of Scottes by Mr. Hudson."

Dec. 4. 625. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By this letter from Roger Aston enclosed it will appear that little of importance has happened in Scotland since his departure whereof he has not given some notice by former letters. Has received several other letters from friends and a servant in Scotland, all giving little but what Mr. Aston gives.

Her majesty's kind dealing with the King in the contents of his last letter to her has given the King great contentment, as signified by Aston, and also won the hearts of Sir George Hume and Sir Alexander his eldest brother and the whole house of Manderson, who have promised to her majesty such offices on the Borders and otherwise as shall be profitable for her service.

Before his return to England had "laide the platt" to draw together fit instruments to reconcile the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis. By letters now received perceives that the mediators appointed have come to Edinburgh for that purpose, yet it is thought that their labours shall find little success; for the Chancellor has been advertised that secret means are made to take up all matters between the Earl of Crawford and the Master of Glammis, and that this office shall be done by Lord Ogilvie; in recompense whereof the Master shall agree Argyle and Ogilvie. Further, the Earls of Erroll, Marishal, Atholl, Morton, Murray, and Mar shall join to advance this agreement between Crawford and Glammis in case the mediators between the Chancellor and the Master fail. The discovery of this course by the Chancellor shall rather stir him to "pricke at" the overthrow of the Master of Glammis for his own safety, than to yield to any accord whereof he shall think the performance doubtful. The Chancellor shall be earnestly dealt with and warned for the "attonement" with Glammis. Wishes a happy end to this, for the better quietness of that realm.

James VI. 1591. Huntly, continuing still at court, has agreed with the Laird of Grant and Mackintosh, leaving out the Earl of Murray, otherwise than was promised.

The Master of Ogilvie, the Laird of Craigie his brother, and the Laird of Balfour, being banished for the slaughter of the Campbells belonging to Argyle, agreeable to the late Act of Council, and misliking to pass by sea in the winter, desire to pass through England, wherein the young Laird of Powrie Ogilvie—who has done good offices for her majesty and promises more—prays that in recompense of his services and to encourage him in the same, those gentlemen may find this favour to pass through England with safety; for which they all promise to be found thankful. Recommends their request to his lordship's consideration, and prays direction how to answer them. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Nothing has happened here worthy the writing. Has imparted to his majesty the execution of O'Rourke, with the treasons by him committed for which he suffered. When his majesty heard the matters against him, "which was nothing les be my reportt then the were in effec," his answer was that he thought by keeping him alive they might have reaped more profit than by his death, but seeing he was gone, and that for so odious offences, he was well away, saying, "'Be his delivering I could receve no desoner, in resspeke I was so bond both be promes and dettes: the best sortt will nowayes meslike of it; for otheres I care nott.'"

Since writing this there came letters from James Hudson certifying her majesty's answer to the King's request concerning the slaughter of the Laird of Spott; which answer he takes extremely kindly. It appears by Hudson's letters that she grants his desire, having given order to the Lord Chamberlain who is very forward in the matter. If it be followed up, it will give great contentment to this King, and incline the gentleman interested with all his friends to serve her majesty; Sir George Hume's credit is great, he has done good offices, and this will engage him further than before. He says her majesty shall have proof of his honest dealing. Only the King, Sir George, and himself [Aston] know what answer her majesty has given, "for fere the party be skertt."

There is great labour making for the agreement of the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis, by Mar, Newbottle, Blantyre, and others, who have come to Edinburgh for the Master's affairs. Whatever the Chancellor will set down the Master will perform, and the rest will give bond for him. They are sorry that his lordship [Bowes] is not here, for he might have done more than all the rest. If this take effect it will be a good work: the Chancellor is very hard as yet, but hopes he shall be "broken." The Laird of Spynie "takes a deling" for the Master, for which his brother, the Earl of Crawford, and he are fallen out and the Earl gone home. Montrose has taken his leave and gone home.

There is no word of Bothwell's going to Orkney. The Earl and his son depart this day with two hundred "hagbotteres." Bothwell is said to be in Caithness.

James VI. 1591. Mr. Archibald Douglas is summoned upon sixty days to appear to answer for dealing with false coiners, who have accused him. There was some dealing to agree the Chancellor and him, but it will not be, nor will the King suffer it. Has no quarrel with Mr. Archibald, but knows he cannot serve her majesty, for he is odious to the King and to all that have credit about him; how shall that man do service? If her majesty seek to advance him, she will lose all the rest.

Mr. John Graham is commanded to keep his house for forging false evidence: his brother is in the Tolbooth. The Countess of Murray is dead of child-bearing. The Countess of Atholl has a son. Lord Ochiltree is dead; the Master is now Lord. The ministers are now in hand with the Countess of Huntly, who is content to be reformed, and has desired to be instructed: for that purpose Peter Young and David Lindsay are appointed. Patrick Galloway is here and has dealt with the King concerning the practising of the Papists: the King has offered to do whatever they please. Mr. Patrick desires him [Aston] to learn what he can of their doings. The Chancellor intends to "soutt outt" the castle: he has already dealt with the captain in the matter. Edinburgh. [29 and] 30 November. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

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

Dec. 7. 626. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

"I have deliverid hir majeste's letter to the King, with the credit comitid to me, which his highness hath imbracid in a most kynd sort becaws it came from hir majeste's great caer of his wel doinge, and wil nocht only keip the matter most secret, but wil wachfullie regard the growinge of suche dangers as mae insew upon bussie headid practisers. His majeste is nocht of that mynd that ther is in his land anny great or ryp conspiracie at this instant, but that rather it is the relix of the oweld plat of Jesuits and practisinge preists, who for ther credit and profit must daely gyve far moar owt then ther credit is able to performe. His majeste devyssid that becaws hir highness had writin to hime and sent me, that sume generalls should be maed knowin, whiche was onlie that hir highness did advysse hime to have a regaerd towards practisers and bad peiple, who wer bussie in all princis dominyons, yea, in ther cuntreis and cowrts wher they could any waes have place. Hearupon he callid the Lord Chanceler, and debatid the mater with hime how ther could pressently be any danger, seinge that the instruments, wherupon they wer wuntid to wurk, wer takin awae: for first Bothwel havinge lost his place and so his power mae wel deal with them in words but can effectuat nothinge: then the Earl of Huntley is clein devertid frome thoes courssis and simplie folowith and dependeth only upon his majeste's pleassuer, acknoweledginge his former folies in thoes matters to have caryed hime into a laborinth of truble and unsuertei, boath of his lyff and howss: and for the Duik, he is but a chyld and uncapable of suche deip matters if anny wold maek overters to hime; besyds this he hath no servant nor person abowt hime but suche as the King plassith and displasith at his plesuer, and upon every good or bad occassyon that occurith. The rest of the nobiletei, or whosoever other, ar nocht now as they wunt to be, for they that ar evil effectid and wold truble the peace of the churche

James VI. 1591. and the yll fynd suche firme ressolucyon in the King to withstand thoes cowrssis, evin to blood and to the end, that they now rather sease to hoap then to practiss. Bessyds this the minesterei ar great watcheris in this cace, and ar nocht onlie cowntenansid by the King hearin but ar asurid, if neid requyer, to have the King's majeste in person, as a pryvat man, to persew or perfyt what shalbe requissit to further good and supress evil; and the good sort of peiple do exseid the force or number of the bad by great ods in the hoal estaets of the countrei."

"In this matter I have bein very caerful to inform my self wel, and have had confference with the best effectid and suche as knowe most, and in effect can fynd smal caws of dowt in the matter, for it is nocht as hath bein thowght that the King is governid or carryed by the Chanceler or any other, but he is the very sentter hime self and movith the Chancellor and al the rest as he turnith minyons, and al thowgh he bestow his favor upon sindrei in greatt messuer, therefor it folowith nocht that he is derectid by thoes. The Lord Chansseller is a great cownsseller, and the King seith that his gifts merit his place, and he folowith derectly his majeste's course in al, and by his majeste's favor and good cowntenance hath ridin owt al the great stormes of his enemeis, with owt whiche he had bein evin lyk unto the laet Chanceller, James Stewart, and Bothwel, who ar in many men's opinyons worss then dead, beinge by ther folies depryvid of al ther wuntid honors and goods."

"The King saeth he partesipatith with the Quein in natuer as wel as in blood in that he lovith nocht to draw the swoerd of justice with owt great ocassyon. Suerly when so ever ther shalbe anny thinge attemptid hear that mae hurt relegeon or the ametie it wil nocht be with owt great perill to the King's persson; for every man now seith that the King is immovable in thoes two poynts: and hearfor wil his majeste loek caerfully in to this matter of her majeste's advertisment, and upon better conssitheracyon wil answer hir highness' letter and derect me bak to hir majeste ther-withal. Asuridly, my lord, by al secret means that I can usse I sei no peril, and that oftin tymes advertisments be maed upon a show of greatter grownd then afterwards the end afourdith, and seinge the King's majeste hime self firm, and the Chanceller and Sir George Home, boath of them very wysse and very honest, who possesith muche of ther master's favor, hir majeste mae be good cheap servid and wel also, for this King meanith so uprichtly that he hath alwaes laed hime self opin to al intelygensseis, and carith nocht to yeild the best and trewist hime self when it is requisit."

"He exseptid most kyndly of hir majeste's grant to deliver the murtherers of the Laerd of Spot, and I fownd by Sir George the lyk thankfulness, and that his majeste was myndid befoar my cuminge hear to have singnefied no less by his owin letters, a paert wher-of also was acomplishid by the letters last adressid to me by Mr. Aston, whiche paquet I missid by the wae: howbeit that ther was a prevencyon in the performance of hir majeste's pleassuer hearin, and so the King was frustrat of his dessyer and expectasyon. Who so ever did this I can nocht tel, but the murtherers wer advertisid a dae befoar the Quein's pleasuer therin was singnefied to the governer." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

James VI. 1591. Postscript.—"Hear is no newis, but the King daely busyeth hime self in the foar none in the Tolboeth and in the afternoen in the Cownssel, takinge great caer and paen how to order this disorderid peiple."

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

Dec. 9. 627. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Encloses letter from Roger Aston. For the furtherance of the atonement between the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis has sent directions to his servant remaining in Edinburgh. Fears that the Chancellor, wounded with former breaches, and mistrusting the performance of promises, will be loth to accept any assurance unless the mediators and others deeply engage themselves. Has sought to "pricke forwardes the mediators," that by this agreement dangers may be prevented and peace continued. Finds the Master still charged to ward, and "put at," so that he must either yield his body or suffer horning. Has urged that those extremities be mitigated.

The Duke of Lennox earnestly seeks the keeping of Liddesdale,—in favour of Bothwell as is thought,—but he [Bowes] left the King resolved to place the young Laird of Cesford in that office, wherein he has promised to do very good offices: the King also protests that all he has himself promised for her majesty's contentment shall be accomplished. James Hudson will "staye the passage of the Duke to the porte of his desyre." Will put the said Hudson and others into the best course, and furnish them with fit instruments to prevent the peril that would come to the Borders by planting the Duke in this place, wherein he would only be guided by the advice of such as have been towards Bothwell and the chiefs of the clans in Liddesdale, whose actions towards England are evident. Yet Aston is in hope to win the Duke to her majesty's service: therefore commends the matter to her pleasure, and prays direction.

The secret efforts of the Chancellor and Duke to possess themselves of the castle of Edinburgh are known to his lordship, and appear by Aston's letter to be still continued. Has dealt "inwardlye" to persuade the captain to retain it, for his good offices to her majesty have many ways been proved, and he still professes devotion to her, but he finds the keeping of this place chargeable to him, bringing on him the displeasure of great personages, by whose practice he will be denied his due allowances. Thinks "with support" he might be drawn to hold it, but dares not promise anything out of her majesty's purse.

Other letters show that Scotland continues in quietness. It is doubted whether Parliament will be held at the day appointed if the agreement between the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis do not take effect. The Duke of Lennox has obtained the yearly fee of Lord Treasurer, and Sir Robert Melville still executes the office. Lord Claud Hamilton, lately ready to be converted to the religion, is revolted, and confirmed by Mr. Robert Abercrombie, Jesuit, to the Popish church, bewailing dissimulation. He will not suffer Mr. Robert to come in his house lest it be discovered, but is content to confer with him in the fields as he is in his pastime with his hawks. Great preparation is made by Bothwell's friends for money, and his debts are daily paid. The Catholics are

James VI. 1591. persuaded that he will hold his journey into Spain. Two Englishmen, Catholics, are newly entered into Scotland and have been in Edinburgh. One is sick, the other relieves him, and is found to be of wealth and estimation. Robert Elliott has lately written to George Carr and to his host in Edinburgh, thanking Carr for past courtesies, and showing that he has finished his affairs, requiring to be advertised of the present state of Scotland, and also that he trusts to be there with some friends shortly. But surely he is so discredited with the Chancellor that he need look to himself if he venture to return thither. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

His last was of November 29th. The next day advertisement came to Sir George Hume that before her majesty's direction came, all the malefactors—upon secret advertisement—escaped out of Berwick and came into Scotland. Has persuaded "both the King and the party" that their escape was sore against her majesty's will, and that it proceeded by Mr. Archibald Douglas's means. Knows by sound men here that he gave the advertisement; if her majesty was not privy to it she is greatly abused, for the advertisement came to them the day before her order for their delivery. Thus far because he has a sure bearer he thinks good to make known. However it be, all things are very well taken, and the King minded to give as great thanks as if the parties had been delivered.

There is great labour for the agreement of the Chancellor and the Master of Glammis. The Chancellor is very "strett," yet this night the Earl of Mar told him he hopes to put it to a good point. The Duke opposes himself plainly to the Laird of Cesford's commission for the keeping of Liddesdale, saying that in respect that Liddesdale is given to him by the forfeiture of Earl Bothwell, he will be as able to dis[charge] that as any other. He [Aston] has said to the Chancellor, if he want that, he shall want all the rest he has in Scotland. The King knows nothing of this matter, the Duke not having broken it as yet, but he [Aston] sounded the King's mind upon it last night. The King said he had already given the commission to Cesford and knew of no other, but the Duke is bent upon it, and thinks he is dishonoured if any other holds that place. Cesford was coming to Edinburgh to receive his majesty's directions, but hearing of the Duke's determination is returned back again. The Duke is very busy dealing with the captain of the castle for the keeping of the castle; the Chancellor also has an intent that way, yet the matter is not broken to the King. The Duke is condemned as a favourer of Bothwell, in that he has not so surely taken up that living as he might have done, and seeks to preserve all his offices for Bothwell's good rather than any profit to himself. Has means and credit to draw the Duke to her majesty's service if she wish it; if he get Liddesdale and discharge it well, there will be occasion to like the better of him. Desires news of English Papists. There is great want of his [Bowes'] presence for this agreement between the Chancellor and the Master: if that were done there would be no danger. The King's mind continues fast and none

James VI. 1591. dare to control him. Edinburgh. December 4th. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—When about to close this letter, word was brought that James Hudson was come, but he [Aston] saw him not.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Bowes.*

Dec. 11. 628. LORD JOHN HAMILTON TO BURGHLEY.

"Having directit this berar to find out ane man thatt can work the marble, I have thocht guid to wryt thir few lynes to latt zour lordship understand the guid affection I have to do in all thingis may tend to zour lordship's contentment and plessur, and to offer myself to zour lordship in quhatsumevir I can plessur zour lordship or ony zouris in this cuntrie; as also to pray zour lordship affecteouslie to caus gif ane pasport to this man callit Paull Sitoline, quha hes evir bene ane affectionat servand to hir majestie, quhairfore I will recommend him to zour guid lordship, and will pray zow that he may be exped bak with sic craftismen as he is to bring with him, and to gif him credit in sic thingis as he will schaw to zour lordship in my name. Hamilton." *Signed:* "Zour lordship's assurit frinde at pouer to coummande J. Hammilton."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed:* "11 Dec. 1591. L. Claude [*sic*] Hamilton to my lord, by his servant Paull Sistine."

Dec. 16. 629. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

"The King hath oftin promissid my dispache, but his affaers doe scarsly permit hime tyme for it, whiche delae makith me boweld once agaen to truble your lordship by wryttinge. The Duik wer greatly to be dowtid for his affecsyon secretly caryed to Bothwel and that comonwelth whiche the Stewards intertayn in ther naeme, if he wer a mane of great wisdome or curage, but that want staeth the perills that other wysse might folow by his credit, whiche growith upon the great love the King bearith to hime. His suttinges to be lord off Lidisdaell and so governer of that cuntrei and capptaen of the castell of Edinborow myght have bred great dangers and a continewal truble, but the King is fully bent that Sesford shal govern Lidisdael, and that he mae be possesid therof the King hath sent for hime to ressave the office; and for the cassell the Lord Chanceler hath a promiss of it in suche sort that ether he wil get it or els procuer it to rest in Sir James Home his hands stil, who is a very suer man for suche a charge and wil nocht depart with it but to the Chanceler, as they can agrei. The greattist matter that I sei hear is that whiche mae fal owt upon this dissagreiment betwixt the Chanceler and the Master of Glams, for the Master is compellid to usse his greatest enemei to save hime frome wrakkinge, whiche is the Earl of Crafford's brother, the Lord of Speyne, on of the cheiff of the chalmer. Hime hath he wune to get hime to court, whiche is grantid to be upon the 20 of this month; and this was concludid befoar the Chanceler knew of it, and to his great dislyk, thowgh he makith no semb[l]ant ther of; for the Chanceler had the matter at suche a poynt that if this had nocht occurid he had givin the Master a great fall. The Master sowght by al means and offers to have gottin the Chanceler's favor, but the other,

James VI. 1591. havinge the advantage, and loath to trust wher he had bein so oftin dessavid, evin with great danger of his lyff, for he hath oftin brokin faeth in vyl maner to the Chanceler upon his haet towards hime and greidyness to be revengid upon hime and so to fall in his place, whiche the Chanceler wel knowinge wold nocht trust any moar to his frendship. Now if the Master get by this means credit and place agaen he mae maek a step to the worsser syd: and so he [is] moar lyk to prove a head to that faxsyon that is to be fearid rather then the Duik. All this mae be dowtid, for the Master his honesty and conssyence wil disjeast as great a matter, and seinge ther be a great number lyinge at wayt to taek ocassyon by the foarhead, it is to be fearid that sume truble mae folow upon this matter, whiche cannocht wel be sein til tyme discover it. The hoap that is restith in the Chanceler's curage and wit, whiche hath preventid greatter matters then this; for thowgh the King be immovable in relegeon and keipinge the ametei, yit he loekith nocht in to the deipness of practisis and perills til they be almost rype; whiche the Chanceler knoweth and hath oftin felt doth greattly favor danger, and yit must suffer becaws he standith only by the King, and is the King his only secund to keip dowin the bad sort: what they be your lordship knowith wel, ther power and number."

"Now it is most serteyne that Bakclewgh at his last cuminge hoame had derecssyon frome the Duik of Parma and a comissyone to suche as ar hear of that facssyon, and this I dar asuer your lordship to be trew; he hath by al his frends hear bein very earnist to have bein lyssensid to cume hoame, and this was a part of that his mane browght that came in my cumpany. The Lord Home is lykwyss earnist to cume hoame, but the Chanceller hath stayd boath ther suets and seith into the matter. The Lord Sanker I think shal meit the Lord Home at Brussells, wher Home remaynith, and I fear theas thre be of to great aquaynttance with the prince. Now the King beinge sumwhat neklygent in lookinge to the begininge of matters til they be to ryp and the number of evil effectid men who lakith but a head to ther faxsyon, if the Master of Glams inclyn that wae with his craft if he get credit he mae do harme, for theas men befoar menssyonid, with Bothwel and hime self, who wer laet upon the practiss to have slaen the Chanceler, mae doe great hurt; and I think this practiss be nocht clein extingwishid, but dissperssid by the Chanceler his provydence. Upon the other part ther be dyverss wysse and off the best sort, whiche lye under the Chanceller's prottecssyon as the head of the best sort, that think this matter mae breid peril, and the rather becaws hir majeste and your lordship doe nocht give the Chanceler suche favor and cownttenance as hath bein wuntid in lyk cassis, and they sae further that it apearith that God wil have the Quein's freinds to quael and hir ennemeis to prevael becaws hir majeste estrangith hir good cownttenance to the Chanceler, whiche is a caws of incuragement to the other sort. I wish it might pleas hir majeste and your lordship to think wel of the mane and to keip hime up whyls the standith, least al this nasyon can nocht afoerd suche ane other in his place. He thinkith his acsyons merit favour, and that they crave it for hime, and other waes he wil never seik it nether doeth he expect any matter of goods from hir majeste's hands."

"The Lord Clawd Hammilton is now beastly mad, whiche is a matter

James VI. 1591. of no smal importtance, for he was a man that aymid farr. Ther is serteyn men to cume frome the Low Cuntreis, practissers who if they howeld forwards wilbe wel handlid, for the Chanceler is advertisid of theme. Ther is a nottable man hear abowt the King, a preacher, one that is wel effectid and hath the King's ear and is a howshold servant and a mane of wit and jugement, who is a nottable wache-man over the faxsyon of the brige of Dei: he doeth talk freilly agaenst al that syd in ther facis, and with great curage reprehendith them boath in the pulpit and in pryvat, whiche I have hard since my cuminge hear, and that nocht impertenently but evin as if he had knowin what I had in commisyon: he ratefyed my arguments that I held to the King tuchinge practissinge preists and unsownd men to the ametei, the Duik and Huntley beinge pressent, and namid Mr. James Gordon the Jesuet and unkle to Huntley, and the Lard off Fintrei, requyringe the King to purge his land of them and al ther adherants."

"I hastin nocht my dispache greatly becaws it is but a letter, seinge I have writin how matters standith, becaws I wold sei to what end this matter of the Chanceler and the Master is lyk to sort to. I hear the King hath a meaning to wryt unto her majeste and your lordship, that he mae have a serteynty in the matter of his anewetei grantid by hir majeste, boath of the sume and the daes off pament. Suerly his neid is great, for I think or longe sume of his servants wilbe imprissonid that ar the furnishers of his howsse. He hath takin a nottabil order for the deadly feids of his cuntrei, if he keip it pressyesly and get the concurence of his Cownssel and great men to folow it furth." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

Postscript.—"I wryt nocht of the Spanyard aryvid nor his earand, becaws Mr. Aston hath at lenght writin to Mr. Bowes of it. The murtherers of the Lard of Spot wer advertysid from this place that the King had writin to hir majeste for ther deliveres."

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

Dec. 20. 630. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received these two letters yesternight, with others from Scotland, certifying occurrences there, mostly agreeing with Roger Aston's letters. Procured that the mediators between the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis should be moved to reconcile them, that the old fellowship well affected to religion and the amity between the crowns might be preserved. But the Chancellor cannot be persuaded to trust the Master, thinking that this new agreement between the houses of Crawford and Glamis is wrought to his prejudice; therefore the mediators have ceased their travail and purpose to withdraw from the court. Was informed that the Duke of Lennox sought the keeping of Liddesdale with such earnestness that the young Laird of Cesford, loth to grieve the Duke by acceptance of it, absented himself from court. Therefore he [Bowes] directed his servant to solicit his friends to move the King to appoint young Cesford keeper of Liddesdale, and that he shall give "indilate redresses" for attempts done by them, as promised by the King, ordained by the Council and imparted to her majesty; and also to stir the Chancellor

James VI. 1591. to further this matter, and the young laird to come speedily to court and accept this office. Upon their labours the King is fully purposed to place Cesford in this office, the Chancellor willing to advance the same, and the laird to come speedily to court and accept it. Nevertheless the matter is not yet void of peril, for although the Duke seems to yield, it is thought that he quietly endeavours to get the place for himself or some other at his devotion, friend to Bothwell and to the chief clans in Liddesdale: also that Buccleuch, having by the Queen's means obtained leave to return home, is likely to be restored to this office, which was before granted to him. Aston thinks the Duke may, through this matter, be drawn to her majesty's devotion: therefore prays direction.

If it be found convenient to embrace the course entered between Aston and John Geddy—a person honest, wise, and in great credit in all the King's "secrett seales"—will be glad to know her majesty's pleasure. Geddy will look for some gratuity "after the ordinarye manner in Scotland." The secret motion of marriage between the Earl of Argyle and the daughter of the Earl of Morton is likely to take effect unless it be crossed by the King, or by the Chancellor, who will be loth that the party of Glamis should be strengthened with Argyle's great power. Lord Claud Hamilton is visited with his former disease, "more greatlye greaved" than before; many distrust his recovery. Huntly rules all in the north, and over Murray, who since his wife's decease finds little favour at court.

An Englishman called David Lawe came from Spain last July into England, with letters to Catholics there, who have sent him to Scotland with packets to be carried into Flanders by means of the Jesuits in Scotland, and an Englishman called Holland, now at Aberdeen, who had already sent a Scottishman into Flanders with those packets. Lawe and Holland purpose to pass to Spain by the conduct of James Knowes, Lawe intends first, so soon as his leg is whole, to return into England to confer with some Catholics there, and to bring with him for Spain special persons to inform as to preparations of armour and the readiness of the Catholic and neutral people in England to "partye" the King of Spain's army to be sent thither in May next: and also some mariners to carry Lawe and Holland to Spain, and to conduct the army of "Orneye" into England. Sundry Scottish pilots and mariners are ready to sail for Spain by persuasion of the Jesuits in Scotland, of Lawe and Holland, and of James Knowes, a Scottish mariner. Letters from Rome to the Jesuits in Scotland, delivered to them by James Gordon, have stirred "those fathers" to be very busy. Fentry lately has entertained two English Catholics at Salton, and Edmondstone has brought in another English papist. These say that the number of English Catholics is greatly increased, especially in the bishopric of Durham and in Northumberland.

Knows not whether it shall please her majesty to return him into Scotland: the King is content that he remain longer in England if Parliament be not held at the time appointed: his son's coal-pits at Offerton and his own salt-pans "here at Sunderlande" are in such ruinous case that they cannot be repaired without his presence and advice: therefore prays that he may know her majesty's pleasure for

James VI. 1591. his abode here and repair to London, that he may give her satisfaction for his debts and finish his accounts. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II, fol. 47. Enclosure with the same:

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

. . .* such heads as was agreed . . . cencerning the redress for Liddesdale h . . . as he had given order in that matter and [comma]nded me to go to the Chancellor and Clerk of [Regis]ter to know what was done. I presently . . . with the Chancellor, who willed me to let [his m]ajesty understand that there was nothing done [in] that matter, by reason Cesford had not accepted the [keeper]ship of Liddesdale, in respect the Duke had opposed [him]self the eunto. After I had informed his majesty of [the] matter, he presently sent for the Chancellor, with [whom] he was very angry that the resolution taken [was] not put in execution. The Chancellor told him . . . of all proceeded from the Duke, whom neither . . . Cesford were willing to offend. The King would [hear] of no such matter, but commanded the Chancellor . . . ly to send for Cesford, saying he would see that [perfor]med which he had promised to you. I under[stand] the Duke is not so earnest in that matter as . . . however it be Cesford is sent for and shall . . . the charge, and thereafter I shall be earnest for . . . and others, as also for the evidence that . . . wherein the King has promised to give . . . is also to write to Martin Elwartt that the same . . . restored back again if your lordship think good . . . any of the King's letters either to Martin or Robin . . . other in that country for the more . . . to be delivered by the party interested . . . and I shall presently send the letters . . . shall follow it forth by Cesford's means . . . . being considered . . . venison, but rather by such as favor it . . . knowing he had such an intention as to ha[ve him] self stirred up the Duke to cross the matter. . . . has so handled the matter, as the captain and . . . upon these conditions, that the captain s[tays] where he is till the Chancellor provide him [satis]faction for his charges and long service. So [the] doubt I most feared is now removed: the Duke [shall] not get his intent in that matter.

I wrote to your lordship of the proceedings between the [Chancellor] and the Master of Glamis, and what earnest deali[ng there] was for their agreement, which could not be b . . . take that effect as those that were dealers [in the] matter would have wished, so that their tr[avail has] taken no effect; the Master persuing his . . . has cast himself in the hands of his [enemies] the house of Crawford, and by the Laird of Spynie [they] are to be reconciled: for which purpose [Lord] Glamis and the Master are to be here the . . . instant. All this the Chancellor foresees . . . conferred with him in this . . . length; who seems to take little regard [to the] matter, fearing not but to "dobel outt" his . . . the King's favour, which in deed he has [in the] old manner. I see no other but this . . . hatred between these two men will br . . . among us as will greatly hinder . . .

* Decayed.

James VI. 1591. and in the end either . . . and this is the opinion . . . of these matters your lordship shall be . . .

. . . of Buccleuch has sent a man to his . . . here to procure his return home . . . has been "solested" to the Queen, who has . . . the King in the matter, but it will not [be gr]anted neither for him nor the Lord Hume. [His] majesty enquired of me this day whether [your lordship] would return at the time appointed or [not]. I answered I could not tell. He said if the [Parlia]ment held your lordship must be here, otherwise [your lordship] might tarry at leisure and do your business . . . h it be not concluded whether the [Parlia]ment will hold or not; yet I can . . . your lordship of my own knowledge it will not . . . and that for sundry respects.

[I mus]t now impart to your lordship another matter [which] I am informed of by Mr. John Geddy, which [your] lordship knows is a very honest man and of sound . . . ; the matter is this. The Lord of Barnes . . . know, being captain of the *Maye* within . . . eight days sent for the said Mr. John Geddy. The [lor]d being sick and the other being his near [kinsma]n desired his opinion of such letters as [he had] lately received from Spain by his brother [and a Spani]ard that was come with him from . . . of the King's army. The effect of the letter . . . as follows. First, he gives the . . . manifold favours which his . . . ha . . . his hand . . . place should come again with a small . . . directions as should content his master's fr[iends] . . . He tells me it appears by the letter there . . . there is in readiness a brother of the said Mr. . . . to Spain with a barque laden with Scots war . . . The Spaniard returns with answer of his letters . . . Barnes writes Mr. John is privy to and writes . . . him self, and I shall know the contents for [he] sought my opinion; which is that he write . . . and commit the credit to Mr. John's brother . . . have the delivery of the letters. He is a proper [man] and can handle the matter very well, and ha[ving it] committed to him will be the abler to desco[ver] . . . there. I have dealt with Mr. John to persuade him to deliver the Spaniard in England as he p . . . , which he is willing to do but fears his brother w[ill not] consent thereto, in respect he lives by his . . . , as also it might hinder a better purpose. H . . . to take such order with his brother as i . . . fall out worthy he shall presently return to . . . In the mean time if any come hither th . . . come to the . . . where, God willing, by . . . we shall understand what they are doing . . . dealt very earnestly with him to enter . . . course which he has undertaken. I will . . . the young man in the mean time if an[y thing] worthy fall out and by his means be disco[vered] we must procure he may be rememb[ered]. He is secretary of the Chamber, which . . . and may do good offices . . . worthy could be so well des . . . [16 Dec. 1591.]

4 *pp.* *Holograph.* *Imperfect.*

Dec. 20. 631. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

"This bearare Frances Tennent, merchant of Edinburgh, having procured his majestie's letter of requeist to your lordship for a licence to

James VI. 1591. transport some quantitye of cornes out of that realme, hath bein so instant with me to rcecommend his suite, that I have adventured in these few lynes to interpone my unacquentid credit with your lordship, moved thereto upon the losse and skaith it is evident he hath susteaned of late by those of the League, being in like sort acquent with his honest behaviour and cariage of him self in that trade he professeth: to whome yf it shall please your lordship shawe anye favour—which he houpeth to finde by my intercessioun—I will acknowledge my self verie particularlye bound to your lordship, and be most readye at all occasiouns to give acquittell in suche small offices as may further anye carying your lordship's recommendatioun in these partes." Holyrood House. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

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

Dec. 20. 632. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"The heavy losse and heirschip sustenit be the berare, Frances Tennent, marchant of our burgh of Edinburgh, be sum of the Leguearis, specialie of sanct Valereis and Newheavin in France the last zeir, sufficientlie notifiit to zou and the remanent of our dearest sister zour soveranis Privie Counsale be inspectioun of his letter of marque and a sentence gevin in ane actioun intentit be him thairanent in the toun of Deip, having devolvit him in greit truble, besyde the hinder of his lauchtfull treade, he hes embraceit, for a maist convenient and fit releiff and support of sum part of that his grevous losse and indempnitie, the sute and procurement of a licence at zour handis for the transport of a thowsand quarteris of quheit toward the pairtis of France for the furnissing of our dearest broder the King of France his army and campt, or sic utheris as zour soverane standis in amitie and league withall. This sute seamyng to ws verray lauchtfull and ressonable, and a means quhairby he may be maist easilie helpit, he being ane of honnest and gude accompt and credit, alsuele in they pairtis of England quhair he commounlie resortis and traffickis as heir in his native soyle, we have taikin occasioun to recommend this his honnest sute to zour favour and courtessie, ernistlie and effectuuslie requeisting zou that for our caus ze will grant him licence to transport the quantitie of quheit afoirsaid toward they pairtis aboverememberit, and for that effect to schip the same in quhatsumevir portis, hevynuis, or pairtis within zour soveranis dominionis, quhairthrow he may upsett sumparte of his grevous losse, to the support and confort of him, his wyffe, and childrene. Quhairin as ze sall do a work baith godlie and equitable, sa sall ze do ws a richt speciall plesur to be requyte in any cais quhair we may gif zou pruiff of our thankfull rememberance of zour gudewill." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Dec. 23. 633. JOHN OLIVER AND DERICK DERICKSON TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

"Whearas we wear enforced to become troublesome suters to your lordship for our better redres of the indirect practices of Henricke Barkhoult, we have thearfore thought it our dutyes to acquainte you with

James VI. 1591 our proceedinges thearin; which is, that we have entred into bande to abide the awarde of the merchauntes appointed, or the fynal determinacion of the maier as umpeir yf the merchauntes appointed should not agree uppon the award before the tyme lemited to the arbitrators. It pleased God to caule Henrick Bar[k]hoult out of this mortall life before any award was fynished. By reason thearof we take that all our proceedinges thearin frustrate, for that thear is a partner yet survivinge, and thearfore we cannot understand of any that hath sufficient warraunte to prosecute the purposed end of this controversy; but beinge doubtfull of some extraordinary proceedinge against us by some troublesome persounes intrewdinge them selves hearin without sufficient warrant for owr discharge, which dealinges we most humbly crave your lordship maye be prevented by such meanes to my Lord Tresairer as your lordship shall think meeteste for us, in such sorte as was determyned before by my Lord Tresurer to the arbitrators or maior before writen." Bristol. *Signed:* John Olyver; Dirk Dirckson.

½ *p.* *Addressed:* "To our very good lord the Lord Imbassadoure of Scotland lyinge in Lyme Street these geve, in London." *Indorsed.*

Dec. 23. **634. JAMES VI. TO THE LADY ARBELLA STEWART.**

"Although the naturall bande of bloode, my deare cousine, be sufficient for the good intertenements of amitye, yet will I not absteine from these common offices of letters, having now to long keeped silence till your fame and report of so good parts in you have interpelled me: and as I can not bot in hearte rejoyse, so can I not forebeare to signifye to you hereby what contentment I have receaved hearing of your so vertiouse behaviour: wherein I pray you most hartelye to continew, not that I doubt thereof, being certified of so full concurse of nature and nouriture, bot that you may be the more encouraged to proceade in your vertiouse demeanour; reaping the fruit of so honest estimation, the encrease of your honour and joye of your kindelye affected freindes, speciallye of me whome it pleaseth most to sie soe vertiouse and honorable syouns arise of that race whereof we have both our discent. Now having more certane notice of the place of your abode I will the more frequentlye visite you by my letters, which I would be glade to do in person, expecting also to knowe from time to time of your estate by your owen hand; which I looke you will not wearye to doe, being firste summoned by me, and knowing how farre I shalbe pleased thereby." Holyrood House.

1 *p.* *Copy.*

Dec. 26. **635. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.**

Whereas by your letters to us, brought hither by one Andrew King your subject, you have recommended to us a cause of the said King and sundry others joined with him, containing certain complaints for spoils committed against them on the seas by sundry our subjects, for which you do require restitution to be made to them, as of things heretofore proved; we did immediately command our Council and our officers of the admiralty to peruse the said complaints and to give undelayed order for restitution to be made and the offenders punished

James VI. 1591. as the truth of the cause should or might require: whereupon we plainly understand that such diligence hath been by their order used, as every particular complaint hath been perused, and inquisition made to find out and apprehend the offenders to answer thereto and to make restitution. But by reason the most part of the facts as they are by the plaintiff alleged, and in the acts of the court of admiralty do appear, so long time passed committed, as some in the year of our Lord 1572, which is 21 years past [*sic*], and the latest in 1577, and that at this present not one of them which are charged with the facts are living, but divers have suffered death by ordinary justice for their offences, and all the rest are naturally dead, whereof good proof is showed to the party now complaining; by which occasion there is no means left by any ordinary course of justice, either to make restitution or to punish any offender, and therefore we are forced to return the party with these our letters: who though he be not contented, yet where no ordinary is left, by means of the deaths of such parties as ought to have answered, we can make no other answer than if the complainants were our good subjects we must do. And so we require you to be assured that if any one party delinquent were extant to receive punishment and to make restitution we would as readily have relieved your subjects as though they had been our own, as knoweth the Almighty God."

3 *pp. Draft in Burghley's hand. Indorsed.*

Dec. 30. 636. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO [WILLIAM] TENCHE.

"It hathe pleased my Lorde Treasorer, your goode lorde and maister, to let mee see a relation sent to his honour by your selfe concerning a yong gentleman my servant, Jeames Moubraye, whearbye I perceave it hathe byn your pleasour bothe to suppresse the veritie of the fact concerning him, and the contentes of a letter whiche I wrote unto yow after that yow had committed the saide Jeames to prison. In your saide relation it is contayned that about the 23th of November ther was presented before yow and the burgesses one Jeames Moubraye, servande to a clockmaker in the Strande, etc. And if it had byn your pleasour to have declared the treuthe, ther is neyther suche a clockmaker as he remayned with dwelling in the Strande at this present, neyther within any pairte of your jurisdiction at that tyme of his apprehension, neyther did the saide Jeames remayne with any clockmaker, but in my lodging, by the space of these five monethes passed. And it is most trew that by crosbyting law he wes invyted frome thence by one wel learned in that profession to a banquet within your jurisdiction, wheare the constables seased upon him, being at his supper, and therafter wes committed by yow to prison, whiche so farre as I can learne is more then even your owen law will affoorde yow to doe to committe any man to prison for a matter whiche he can not come in question till he shall refuse to observe your ordour when the woman is brought a-bed. But as ever that matter shalbe founde, I wrote immidiatlye after his committing to yow, declaring that somewhat might be sayde in that matter whiche for divers respectes I refused to make any speeche of, and speciallye by reason I wolde not that any belonging to mee shoulde seeme to be against any goode ordour of your jurisidiction. I requested yow to take his owen bande for

James VI. 1591. observing of your actes, and whatsoever he should binde himselfe to I wolde take ordour with him that hee shoulde fulfill the same: and if yow will keepe him in prison all the dayes of his lyfe you can get no further of him, by reason that no straunger can be oblidged to carye cautioners whersoever they goe, neyther can they compell any to be cautioner for them; and whosoever straunger that neyther hath neyther can get caution can be no further oblished *nisi ad juratoriam* [*sic*] *cautionem*, that is to saye, to sweare that hee neyther hathe neyther can get any other caution or suretye, but offereth him selfe readye to be bounde: whiche hee did alwayes frome the beginning of his imprisonment offer; wheare hee maye continue all the dayes of his lyfe before any other ordour can be taken for him. And I am assured if my goode lorde your master had byn ryghtlye informed and made acquaynted with the treuthe of this cause, hee wolde have given better ordour then to have suffered a young gentleman to lye in prison and bee made unhable to performe that matter whiche coulde not come in question two monethes after his apprehension."

"But in respect that I wolde bee sorye to trouble his lordship with long letters whiche he wolde for the trying of the veritie cause to be sent to yow, and therafter for the same effect make me acquainted with your answer, for avoyding of suche trouble to his lordship and prolixitie of wryting I will praye yow to examyne by your selfe if this be the treuthe of the matter whiche I have sette doune by wryting; and if so bee, to make my lorde's honour acquaynted therwith, whose advice and grave judgement I wolde wishe yow to follow, whiche I am assured wilbe according to equitie and reason, and to the whiche the saide Jeames shall obeye. *Nemo ultra posse tenetur.*"

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Indorsed:* "Coppie of the seconde letter sent to Mr. Tenche."

Dec. 30. 637. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"According to promes I have presumed to sende this bearer Johne Baylye, servitour to my Lorde Hume, to your lordship. Hee desyreth a passeport to goe into Scotlande by poste for receaving of some monye to furnishe his maister's jorney to Italye: also a letter to the governour of Ostend for the recoverye of suche apparrell and monye as wes taken frome him by the soldioures of that toune neere unto Dixmoothe. The inventarye therof I did leave with your lordship." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed*

Dec. 31. 638. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The enclosed from Roger Aston was carried to Berwick and left there by James Hudson, so that it was only brought today. Hudson has doubtless sent all news, including the return of Bothwell into Lothian, in hope to find speedy end of his troubles, and the manner of his secret entry into Edinburgh, his purpose to attempt some enterprise, and how it has fallen out. All these things are in Aston's letter, which came too late for him [Bowes] to inform thereof.

James VI. 1591. Sundry noblemen in Scotland were purposed "to present the newe yeare" with a motion to the King against the Chancellor, Sir George Hume, Sir James Sandilands, and other courtiers. It is thought that they have no intelligence with Bothwell, and intend no such violent course as he best likes, but rather to obtain their desire by exhortations and reasons put before the King and Council; but such good intentions may be suddenly laid aside. It is likely that Parliament will either be prorogued or much disquieted by these occasions. The King desiring to hold it at the day limited was "amynded" to send the Queen to Dalkeith and remain himself at Holyrood with some few chosen of the nobility, and to call to Parliament such other members as were well affected to the matters to be "proponed." A new guard shall be erected for the time of this Parliament, for which Maxwell offers one hundred horsemen. The Master of Glamis came to court on the 17th instant, obtained two months respite from his horning, and departed without any reconciliation with the Chancellor. The Earl of Crawford has come to court, and the Chancellor desires him not to proceed in the accords with the Master of Glamis lately moved by Crawford and "assented unto by Spynye and his other brethren." Yet it is thought that the Chancellor will bind Crawford to him. Sir George Hume has got the King's grant subscribed for Coldingham, wherewith Bothwell is much grieved. Young Lord Ochiltree and Farnyhurst lately found sundry coining irons and "addytamentes for coygninge," with sundry coins perfect and imperfect; these tools are said to have belonged to Bothwell. Young Cesford has his remission, but Liddesdale is not committed to him, for the Duke of Lennox still challenges it as part of the earldom of Bothwell granted to him; and Cesford, "disablinge himself," seeks to have Kelso for his maintenance, offering to keep it against Bothwell and others. The matter is not yet resolved, nor does Cesford come to court.

The misery of his case, disabling him from paying his debts to her majesty and doing her service, has been often "rypped up" and made known to his lordship. The repair of the same can be only by her majesty's gracious countenance shown to him, and her licence to set up the salt pans and other means to enable him to pay his debts. Is ready to come and present to her his most humble petition for her favourable and final order, and prays his lordship to further the same. Has entreated his friend John Allen to wait upon his lordship in the absence of himself or his servant Christopher Sheperson. Prays that Allen may have favourable audience. Aske. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Enclosure with the same:

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

The bearer will inform of the present state of matters. Desires him [Bowes] to call upon the King by letter for the redress of Liddesdale; Cesford has not yet come, and such a letter will hasten matters. The Queen has been a means for Buccleuch's ["Bochovkes"] return, which is now granted. Bothwell has been lately in Edinburgh; it is said there is some new practice in hand, but does not believe it. The Master

James VI. 1591. of Glamis has been here and gone again; there is no appearance the Chancellor and he will agree. Certain ships preparing for Spain laden with corn are stayed and their lading confiscate, and strict order taken "that none shall thus awaye." Looks for his gelding so soon as convenient. Edinburgh. 24 Dec. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—Would gladly know whether the race at "Gartele" holds, as if so means to be there with others of his [Bowes'] good acquaintance. "We are porpist to goo in att the west hand, so thatt I fere we shal nott se you, butt I hope Mr. Rafe wil be there."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Edinburgh, 24° Decemb. Aske *ultimo ejusdem.* This letter was left att Barwick by James Hudson, and therby brought thus slowly to me."

Dec. 31. 639. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Encloses letter from Roger Aston, delivered by post this night at eight o'clock. The details of this late outrage attempted by Bothwell are already advertised to his lordship by Mr. Aston or his means. James Douglas, Laird of Spott, base son of the Earl of Morton, late regent, Archibald Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton that now is, and John Colvile entered into this action; it is therefore thought that sundry personages of greater quality are privy to this conspiracy. Has in a former letter this day informed his lordship that the noblemen who purpose to move the King against the Chancellor and others had not intelligence with Bothwell; is now advised that they are suspected in the matter; the number of earls in that action is great, and dangerous troubles like to be kindled.

The King, in the church at Edinburgh after the sermon, thanked the provost and burgesses for their good services for the safeguard of his person, then in danger, recounting the several treasons done by Bothwell, and exhorting all men to shake off their affection to Bothwell and faithfully to serve himself. He intends to assemble his Council and others well affected, to take order to apprehend Bothwell and the other conspirators, and to determine the prorogation or holding of Parliament. Young Cesford has come to court, and the King purposes to employ him against Bothwell, wherein he is ready to obey the King's pleasure; for the King's late open actions have removed the common opinion that he would at length embrace Bothwell and accept his submission. Aske. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II, fol. 60. Copy of the same.

Enclosure with the same:

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Has not leisure to write at length: George Nicholson will inform of all things. Yesternight, being Monday, the Earl Bothwell entered the palace, accompanied with the Laird of Spott, Mr. John Colvile, and others to the number of sixty, in armour, assailed the house in all parts and took as many as they pleased, and pursued the Chancellor's house

James VI. 1591. with great rigour. The King, being almost alone, for all men were at supper, withdrew himself to the tower "and ramforst the dores," and defended the place till relieved by the town. His Majesty is very well, praised be God. The Chancellor recovered his chamber with great difficulty and defended the same very well. Little blood was drawn, except John Shaye who was slain by Bothwell's men. The King was hardly pursued; his chamber door was set on fire and yet defended. We are all living, God be praised; not without great danger. Seven prisoners were taken, including a brother of John Colvile; they are all to be executed this afternoon. Edinburgh "this Tuesdaye" [28 Dec.]. *Unsigned.*

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

Dec. 31. 640. JAMES HUDSON TO [BURGHLEY].

"I find hir majeste's letter to have wroght this good with the King, that he will nocht only have regaerd to suche as shalbe near the yonge Duik, but he wil nocht give hime suche giftes as mae breid peril: and this he hath promisid by his owin letter to hir highness. The caws wher upon this grew was that at my cuminge I fownd that the Duik had maed suet boath for to have the keipinge of Lidsdael and the castel of Edinborow; and thowgh I had no specyal derecsyon ther in, I was boweld upon the generals whiche I had in charge to informe the King what peril it might breid to put suche great matters under his charge, who ment to serve them by sume deputte that had put thoes suets in his head; and that it wold breid hir majeste's great dislyk, seinge I was sent only to foar-warn hime of suche perills; and I fownd the King almost ressolvid to have givin theas offisis to hime if hir majeste had nocht evin then preventid hime; but now Sesford hath the oane and Coldonknolls the other, who is a very suer wel affectid mane. The Duik hath bein delt with by bad pepil but fownd unsuficyent to serve ther purposs, and that is the only cawss it seasid, for he is to kynd stil to Bothwel, and Bothwel is in Lowthyan lurkinge for sume entterpryess, as is thowght, and had laed wache for me, as I was informid."

"The Quein was perswadid by the oweld Lady Farnyhearst to deal with the King for Bacclewgh his lyssence to cume hoame, whiche by greit importunetei the King grantid, and I think it be synd since I came awae; and the Lord Home his servant Baely, who I heare is bowin hoame for the lyk efect for his master: if theas two be suffrid to goe hoame who ar men of power and interprysseis, havinge as I fear to good aquantnanse with the Duik of Parma, it is to be suspectid sume nottabil matter mae folow, joyninge hear with al the demand of the keipinge of Lidisdael, whiche mae most truble hir majeste's Borders, and the castel of Edinborow, with the promiss that is maed for a Spanyard of good acownt to cume shortly frome the general of the King of Spaen his armie by the King's apoyntment and for his service, as was advertisid by Mr. Aston of laet. But if Home and Bakclewgh wer kept abroad, and the Master off Glames at his owin howsse, I think theas things wold be wel quyettid: for this Master of Glams, the Earl Bothwel, and Mr. Archebald Dowglass it is almost in every man's mowth that no man

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wil beleive a trewth upon ther oath or wryttinge; and in this degrei or near this is Huntley and Montros."

"But the greatist peril that I fynd al wysh me to fear is that the King may be surpryssid by the Earls of Aroll, Moray, and Athol, who ar mor to be dowtid then other upon whoam Bothwel doth most hoap, for the Stewards have a fetche whiche they wil hardly performe, thowgh the howss of Hamilton be much waeknid by the madness of Clawd, wher with the Lord Jhon is begininge to be trublid. This danger of the King's surpryess can nocht be preventid by advyss nor advertissment, for he is of a disposisyon that wil hardly beleive suche maters til they be to evydent, and agaen he wil nocht be restraynid frome the feilds and his pastyme for any respect. And seinge they that possess his ear mae move hime to doe many things when he hearith no other but them, it restith how he mae be presservid frome evil cumpany and this danger, whiche must be by a gaerd, whiche he is nocht able to maentayn by no means, for whyll I was ther his tabil and the queins had lyk to have bein unservid for want. The quein hir howss and traen ar moar costly to hime then his owin, and all his servants of great place abuess hime, and every of them servith oan ane other's turne; and the King, beinge over frank and sumewhat neklygent, sustaynith the want and shaeme: for he hath nothinge that he acowntith serteyne to cume in to his purss but what he hath frome hir majeste, whiche of extreame neid he is drivin soar agaenst his hart to urge hir majeste for sume serteynte in, and that acownt mae be maed and tymes of paement assingnid. This the King wold have had me to have staed for, to have browght his letters and instrucsyons to hir majeste and your lordship, but I shiftid that comissyon. Ther is no wae to devert hime frome hir majeste in the world unless the other facsyon possess hime or otherwyss that plaen nesseste and want should dryve hime to taek of another prince. If it might pleas hir highness to alow hime sume reasonable penssyon, ther wold be meanis fownd to pae fifty horsmen and fifty footmen out of it, whiche wold be a mean to prevent many dangers, and serve to taek bad persons and practissinge knaves. If the King had bein thus provydid, Bothwel had nocht bein to truble the wourld, for now as it is no thinge can be intendid upon a sudaen but advertisment wil prevent it in asemblinge a number for it."

"Baely, my Lord Hom his man, hath bein with me and toweld me your lordship's speaches, and denyeth that his master had any farther to doe with the prince but to kiss his hands; but I wish it wer so." *Unsigned.*

3 *pp. Holograph. Indorsed:* Ultimo Dec. 1591. "The report of James Hudson uppon his returne owt of Scotland."

[1591.] 641. PAPISTS AND PROTESTANTS IN SCOTLAND.

Printed in *Letters of . . . Colville*, Ban. Club, p. 332.

"The Papistes and discontented erles and lordes."

"The Duke of Lennox, the Erle Huntley, Erle Montrosse, Erle Arroll, Erle Crawforth, Erle Bothwell, Erle Catnes, Erle Atholl, Erle Sotherland, Erle Murray, the Lord Maxwell, Claud Hamilton, Lord Seton, Lord Hume, Lord Gray, Lord Levyston: sixteen."

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"The Protestantes and well affected to the course of England."

"The Lord Chancellour, the Erle of Marre, the Lord John Hammilton, the Erle of Anguish, the Erle of Murton, the Erle of Rothusse, the Erle Mershall, the Master of Glamis: eight."

"Many barons and burough townes very well affected in religion."

1 *p.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II, fol. 45.

Copy of the same.

642. Concerning Scottish Clans.

"Angus Makonill of Dunnyveg, lately releevid furth of the castle of Edinburgh, is the sone of James Makonill of Dunnyvaig and Glennis, which James was the sone of Alexander John Canochsone, and the said John proceedit of a bastard of the Lord of the Ilis and Erle of Ross, forfected in the dayes of King James the third. This Angus hath to wyfe the sister of Lauchlane Makclane of Dowart, yet remayning in ward in Edinburgh castell, and betwixt them standes mortall enmyty, by occasioune of haynouse massacres and murders perpetrate by them and their clannis aech agaynst others. This Angus was the sone of James, begotten on his wife named Campbell, base daughter to the Erle of Ergile, foregrandfather to the Erle of Ergile that now is, which woman the forenamed James tooke out of th'andes of the sheriffe of Bute, her first husband, and begat sondry sonnes and daughters on her. And after that James was slayne by Shean Oneill, his wyfe maryed Tarlouch Lanouch, Irishman, who succeeded to Oneill, and shee died not long synce. James had sundry bretherin notable both in Scotland and Ireland, as Sorly Bwy, Alester Oig, and others. There is litle memorable thing extant eyther of Alexander, father to James, or of John, father to Alexander, but that they were sometyme kept in prison by King James the fyft and King James the fourth, and proceedid of a bastard of the lordes of the Ilis forfaltit. Lyke as of one other bastard sonne of the same blood is proceeded Donald Gormsoun or Donald M'conill Gorme, inhabiting in Sky, one of the north ilis, and hath bene partener with Angus in his tragicall doinges and in his late prisonmente, and is releevid with him upon pledgis. These two races, proceeded of the bastard blood of the lordes of the Ilis, had litle certen inheritaunce by any lawfull right, but they and their clan, named the Clan Donald, possest sondry landes in the south and north ilis."

"Lauchlane M'clane of Dowart, yet in ward in the castell of Edinburgh, hath ample inheritance proceeded to him from his ancestours, which were counted cheef men under the lordes of the Ilis, and synce their decay have borne out querrell agaynst the race of their bastard blood. This Lauchclane maryed the sister of this Erle of Glencarne, and his mother was the sister lawfull of Colyne, last Erle of Ergile. The principall boundes and possession of Angus and the Clandonald in the south is the whole cuntry of Kyntyre, being the outmost parte of mayne land of the realme of Scotland foranent Ireland, the most part of the Iles of Ilay, Juray, and Collonzoy. The Clandonald in the north, to whome is chiftane Donald Gorme, possessis Slait and Troutirnes in the Ile of Sky, and a parte of North Ewist. The force that this clan may make

James VI. [1591.] can not certenly be described, synce comonly they make their force of their freendes, as the Clanrannates, M^{c}ane of Ardnamurchin, Clan Alestir, and diverse others. Makclane possessis the most parte of Ilis of Mull and Terie, Morvern, and summe parte of Lochquhaber in the maynelande, and has principall freendes and partakers M^{c}tbid du Harrich [M'Leod of Harris] M^{c}neill of Barra, M^{c}kynnoun of Strathordill in the Sky and diverse others."

1¾ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig., D. II, fol. 33.

643. Notes on Scottish Affairs.

"5 Aprill. Alley, a Catholick, cam out of Scotland, wher he sayth that Collonell Stuard used hym frendly, and shewed hym that the King had gyven warning secretly to O'Rorke to escape."

". . .* Aprill. O'Rork is taken at Glasco and delyvered to Carmychell by Blantyre, ageynst the myndes of the men of Glasguo. Carmychell will carry hym to Caerlile. Henry Lock attended upon this service. Mackonnell, Macklan, and Donald Gorme are delyvered, and they do offer ther service to the Queen's majesty."

"Archebald, Erle of Angush, is in perill of deth, beyng bewitched. His son backward in religion. Sondry witches taken: some that intended to bewitch the King."

"Erle Murray, with Grant and Mackantoiss, joyne against Huntley."

". . . Aprill. The Lord Scroop sendeth O'Rork to York by Richard [Booth ?]."

'. . . Aprill. Patrick Adamson, bishop of St. Androos, knolledgeth his offence against the presbitery, namely in wrytyng a book called 'The King's Declaration,' to show the authorite of judicatory to be abiding in the King and not in the presbitery. He chargeth the Chancellor and the Secretory to have moved hym thereto."

". . . Aprill. Allett cam out of Scotland, having sent Georg Carr to the Erl of Huntley to be ther ageynst the tyme that certen shall come by Allett's apointment with monny into Scotland."

"Duke of Lennox marryed with the Erl of Gowryes doughter ageynst the King's will."

"Erle Bothwell accused by Richard Graham to have by wytchcraft killed the King [is] committed to the Castell."

"27 Aprill. Richard Cowborn son to the Chancellor's sister . . . the Chancellor surrender."

"5 Maii. Erle Bothwell still in prison for the charg of . . ."

"8 Maii. Mr. Bowes letters intercepted in Scotland."

"9 Maii. Snowden a servant of Sir William Reades sent with letters of . . . by two horssmen and one footeman robbed of his . . ."

"21 Maii. H. Lock sent by Mr. Bowes with sondry a . . . of request for monny to be delivered to Ha . . ."

"[1] Junii. A notable speche of the King to reprehend the I . . ."

"11 Junii. The King wryteth for favor to Mr. Carlt . . ."

"14 Junii. The King desyreth his pension and to be re . . ."

"19 Junii. Erle Bothwell offreth cautiouns Erle of Ar[ran] and Sesford: but the Erle lyketh not of the . . ."

* Decayed.

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"21. The Erle escaped out of the Castell, breakyng a hole . . . and at the west port of the town, the . . . on Gilbert Rennicok furnishyng hym with horss."

"25 June. Proclamation declaryng Bothwells escape . . . gyven ageynst hym for treason."

". . . ded to the Duk."

". . . The King rydeth to the Borders with intent to reform the [di]sorders in Lyddesdale."

". . . lii. Erle of Anguss and his son contynueth obstinat in popery. The Erle Huntley secretly come to Edenburgh but the ministery have summoned hym to appeare."

". . . Julii. Three of Bothwells houses with the office of admyrall gyven to the Duk."

". . . Julii. Sir Alexander Stuart, that went to the Duke of Parma with the Scottish Kings letters, is gon with pretence to serve the States, wherin he is suspected."

". . . Aug. Bucklugh, beyng half brother to Bothwell, refuseth to joyn with hym, and desyreth passport to travell through England."

". . . Aug. The Lord Hume discharged out of Black Ness and sueth to travell through England. Lord Jhon Hamilton brought the Erle of Huntley to the ambassador, who offreth his service to hir majesty and conformite in religion."

"Jhon Ogleby, lard of Pery Ogleby, offreth to travell abrode and ther [with to] serve hir majesty."

"The Erle Marshal delivered out of Edenburgh castell by the Queen of Scottes mean."

"The lard of Buchleugh hath surrendred the kepyng of Lyddesdale, [an]d it is thought that yong Sesford, whan he shall be pardoned [the kil]lyng of William Carr, shall be kepar ther."

". . . ct of the [Lord] of Rosslyng a party with Bothwell gyven to Huntley."

". . . on H . . ."

"The laird of Ogletre followed the [sute] . . . answer is therto made."

"17 September 1591. Erle of Anguss hath subscribed the . . ."

"2 September 1591. The Master of Glamis delyvered owt of . . . conseyved to remayn beyond the water of Dee."

"3 October 1591. Francis Dacres took shippyng at Leth."

"23 September—19 October. Erle Bothwell in Leth, wher also the Duk . . . war playeng on the sandes, and sent word to the King . . . thyther, but Bothwell escaped."

"10 November. Mr. Bowes had licenss from the Queen to come into the . . . but the Kyng requyred hym to stey a whyll."

"18. Yung Sir Robert Car, laird of Sesford, is made keper of Lyd-[desdale], beyng warden of the Midle Marches."

"21 November. Mr. Bowes cum to Barwyk."

"Montross is restored to the office of the Lord Tresorer, which w . . . at Sterlyng and gyven to the Master of Glamis, but sh[all secr]atly surrender it to the use of Sir Robert Melvyll."

"28 December. Erle Bothwell brak into the court at Holly[rood], accompanyed with the laird of Spott base son to the . . . and

James VI. [1591.] Archibald Dowglass, son to the present Erle of . . . Colvile. They fyred the Kings chamber doore, but . . . towre, and was rescued from Edenburgh."

". . . ell of Scotland weif to Sir Robert Car the yong laird of . . . justyce in Lydesdale."

". . . the lard of Robertland, and Mr. James Darham that marryed . . . sistar by his mother committed."

". . . Stuard suspected of the Erle Bothwell's action seketh . . . into Flanders."

[1591-2.] ". . . [Jan]u. Roger Ashton retorneth to Scotland."

". . . [Jan]u. The Chancellor putteth his trust in Maxwell and Montross."

". . . [Ja]nu. Collonell Stuart committed to the castell. . . . and Queen do lodg in the town of Edenburgh."

"[Th]e Duke and Huntley took on Smallett a servant of Bothwells. [who co]nfessed to have bene at the act of Holyrood houss, [prom]isyng to get Bothwell so his liff might be saved."

[1591-2.] "[The Er]le of Huntley murdred the Erle Murray 5 February at [the ho]uss of Dunibrussills in Fiff neare the Queens Ferry."

"11 Martii. The Chancellor hath agreed with . . ."

5 *pp. and* 2 *lines. In Burghley's hand.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 13.

644. A Combination of the Nobility of Scotland.[1]

"[We of the]* [nob]ility[and peers]of this[realme][sub]scribed, understanding by [credi]ble reportes and seeing causes that the desolacion and subvercion of justice with the perilling of true religion professed in this realme hath consisted in the pernicious and evill councell of certeine evill inspired persons, usurping our places in estate and civile administration most proper and pertinent for us and our calling, and beeing borne to that effect, as the lowable lawes and actes of parliament made there against in the dayes of his majesties noble progenitors at more length beares; nevertheles, to our great prejudice and hurt, certein of base degree and small linage in the time of his highnes minority and lesse age contracted such familiarity with his majestie, our soveraigne lord, that thereby they have obteyned the said offices and other dignities due unto the nobility of this realme as said is."

"And in that behalf we are altogether debarred from his highnes presence, and frustrate of our particuler affayres depending before the civile magistrate, which indeede is a thing that noe sanctuary [*sic*] can lesumlie digest with silence."

"For by their sinister informacion and coloured forme of doinges and proceedinges against us they make his highnes and the most parte of his loving subjectes to understand us to be evill affected to the true religion, and unquiet members to the common weale, howbeit they by all apparent signes kyethes themselves to be of that inclinacion."

"For remedie whereof we binde and oblige us *hinc inde* by our great oath of verity, that in case any of us shall attempt or take upon hand directly or undirectly to doe any thing whereby the said seditious persons may be cut of and reduced to their former manner of living, or execute

* Decayed.

1 A duplicate of No. 506, p. 433 *ante*.

James VI. [1591.] otherwise to them death for their demerites, that then and in that case we, after subscribing as is afore rehearsed, shall fortifie and assist the committer of the said facte to the uttermost of our power; and in case of fayling to be [repeu]te and esteemed as defamed persons and never to [hav]e credit hereafter." . . .

1 *p.*

1591–2. Jan. 3. **645. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.**

Having made choice of this bearer—upon his experienced fidelity—as well for speed requisite as that such things may be more conveniently dealt in than by a public messenger, as also being a spectator of the last villainous act attempted here, he can faithfully "deliver" what he has seen, and inform you of the whole proceeding; "whereof we doubt not you will tak due consideration frome whence it commeth and whether it tendeth," and therewithal deal therein as a matter importing "most heighlye religion and both the states, and so further his suite that ferder inconvenient may be tymuoslye obviat, and suche thingis avoyded as may breade no small parrell to the whole Ile." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 5. **646. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.**

In the accomplishment of the directions given to me and expressed by your lordship's last letter of the 29th of December last, I have acquainted Roger Aston how well her majesty allows the service of him and James Hudson and their natural care of her majesty and her estate, as I should have done the like to James Hudson in case he had not been returned towards London before the receipt of your lordship's letter mentioned.

I have both opened to Roger Aston her majesty's good opinion to have young Cesford established in the keeping of Liddisdale, and also that he should so warily entertain for her majesty the Duke of Lennox with good speech and compliments grounded upon the Duke's former offers to him, as he might try the Duke's disposition and hazard little upon his trust. In these I am advertised by my servant in Scotland, and since the despatch of my letters to Mr. Aston, that upon his motion made to the Lord Chancellor for the expedition of Cesford's placing in that office to the intent the redresses may be timely given for Liddisdale, as has been promised, the Chancellor has shewed my servant that the King will give that "roome" to Cesford without delay; and now the King embraces and employs young Cesford in the pursuit of Bothwell and of such of his servants as can be found. In which commission the Lord Ochiltree, young Cesford, and Sir John Carmichael have taken pains and shewed their diligence by the commandment of the King.

Because the Duke [of Lennox] is now touched with some suspicion of favour towards Bothwell and privity of the late attempt at Holyrood House—which suspicion is chiefly hitherto gathered by the entry made by Bothwell through the Duke's stable, where Bothwell's company found the way easy and the Duke's horses drawn aside and tied that

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they should not hinder the passage, and also steel caps and weapons ready for such of Bothwell's fellowship as wanted, and a new ladder prepared the day before and there laid ready for them to ascend and descend to and from the King's house, besides there an especial servant of the Duke was in company with Bothwell in that action, together with sundry other circumstances noted in the behaviour and words of the Duke and his wife—therefore I think Roger Aston will suspend his travail with the Duke in the behalf "remembered" until he shall see the King's opinion towards the Duke to be sufficiently settled and satisfied herein.

I have provided that Sir James Hume, presently Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, shall be moved to retain the same still in his own hands and possession: wherein with the good countenance and some favour to be shewed towards him—as before this I have signified to your lordship—he may, I think, be persuaded to agree to the course wished by your letter to me. But finding no mention or offer of her majesty's pleasure for the furnishing him with such things as he wants for the safety of that "peace," I dare not revive the memory thereof nor promise further than I have warrant. According to your direction I have sent to Roger Aston the copy as well of her majesty's letter to the King (and touching the late suit of King, the Scotsman, complaining for old piracy) as also of the note of the names of the parties that have been charged in those piracies; wherein I have advised Mr. Aston to regard and prevent all evil reports to be made by King at his return, and upon delivery of her majesty's letter to the King, and therewith to satisfy the King and provide, with the Chancellor's means and help, that all such old suits and matters may be rather buried than to be hereafter moved to stir needless offences; and these I trust Mr. Aston shall execute as is advised.

That Mr. Aston may give a watchful eye and care to the practices of the papists and factions for Spain in Scotland, and that he may "espye" how far the same practices have gotten interest and entry in Court with the King or others that are in town or country with any of the nobility or persons of account, I have therefore acquainted him with such parts and particulars in your lordship's letter concerning practiser and practices in Scotland against religion or for the King of Spain as I have thought to be convenient; and therewith I have put him into such course as I think shall best discover the "ploytes" and progress in these matters; for the furtherance whereof I have counselled him to proceed wisely and secretly with Mr. John Gaddye, letting him know how well her majesty accepts his discreet and secret carriage of that cause. In these and all others I know that he will be diligent, and I trust that he shall do good services, for by letters received yesternight from sundry of my friends in Scotland I am credibly advised that the practices in Scotland at this present for Spain are great, and that the instruments employed therein are very busy and also in great comfort to attain to their desires; for it is written that some of the chiefest heads have given "erles," as they term it, to be ready at need. Herewith I am further advertised that a gentleman of a good house is sent into Scotland from Brussels with letters addressed by Mr. Edmund Haye to the fathers in Scotland requiring that there, by the means they can, they win goodwill in the Court and with persons of quality for the King of Spain, preparing their hearts and minds to be so bent for the advancement of the cause that they and

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all their powers may be ready for the same when occasion and time shall require; and that the fathers shall both travail carefully herein and also inform themselves of the present and true estate of that realm and of their confederates, and by this gentleman to return advertisement to Mr. Edmund [Haye] or to the Duke of Parma in all these things. This gentleman with two English practisers, who lately have received letters out of England, are purposed to pass into Flanders as soon as any fit vessel can be put in readiness for them; and Mr. George Carr with others intends to repair to the Duke of Parma in April next to finish, as it is thought amongst them, all matters. The party who has made their exchange in Scotland for money to furnish them in all those actions has informed me thus far, and thinks verily that a "rounde" mass of Spanish "pistreates" shall be shortly sent into Scotland to clear all debts there, "and to caste the howke with moste pleasant bate"; which he also thinks shall be swallowed up by great courtiers. In which behalf Roger [Aston] and James Hudson may do some services to see and certify the carriage and passage of these things.

In this last packet to me from my friend and servant in Scotland I have not received any letter from Roger Aston. It may be that he looks to be personally with your lordship very shortly, for the King has raised a guard of fifty horsemen under Sir John Carmichael, and of fifty footmen under Captain Cranston, which guard is thought necessary to be kept about the King to preserve his person and execute his commandments until those late troubles shall be better pacified and settled. And motion is made, and liked, to send some gentleman to her majesty to inform her highness in all the circumstances in this late attempt against the King and of the "dangerous" hanging over him, and chiefly to seek some help to maintain this guard, with further advice and advertisement of the King's estate and intentions. Herein it is hitherto thought that Mr. Aston shall be employed, and sent within few days, yet the Chancellor seemed not resolute to send in such haste.

It is now thought that sundry of good quality were privy and consenting to this late outrage done by Bothwell and others, and albeit that the enterprise should not have been attempted before New Year's Day, as by my former has been partly touched, yet the Laird of Spott drew on this action with this haste to save his two servants' persons in the gatehouse Holyrood House, and whereof one of those servants was tortured with the boots on Christmas Day last.

Angus and Morton, suspected in this cause, are come to Edinburgh and prevented their calling thither for that purpose. They clear themselves with great courage and countenance, and albeit that they and many other noblemen and persons of account are suspected, yet the King presently pretends to be void of all jealousy, and to account this raid at Holyrood House to have been devised and executed by Bothwell and the company present thereat. Nevertheless time will breed another mind in the King, and also bring forth effects not yet known.

Colonel Stewart's credit herein is called into question, and some have uttered, as I am informed, that he is charged to have broken promise with Bothwell in these things. Robertland, attending upon the King, is suspected likewise. And it is written to me that whilst Bothwell was at the King's chamber door some Court courtiers persuaded that the

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King would receive [him] to his grace and presence, but that the King has answered, and so he affirmed, that he had rather been starved than forced by that company.

In this late ruffle at Court Robert Scot, brother of the Laird of Balwearie, was slain with a bullet shot out of a window in the Chancellor's chamber. Niddrie is to sore hurt in the thigh with like shot, and on the hand, by John Shawe, before he was slain by them, as it is thought he cannot long live.

It is yet concluded that the Parliament shall begin at the day limited, but it shall be immediately adjourned to a new time. Angus has heard that Huntley shall be created Marquess and Earl of Rosse, and thereby precede Angus. But Huntley is presently in the north to take the bands of Grant and Mackintosh. His return to the Court is daily looked for.

Mr. Richard Douglas is fallen into suspicion in these actions. Letters are sent to call him in, but as yet he is not come. The companies of Bothwell dispersed after their "retyre" from the Court. Sundry bruits have been given out where he should be, but I have no certainty thereof. The Countess, his lady, lodged in Canongate the night after the trouble at Court, pretending, as it is written, that she brought mo[ney] and jewels, thinking that if her husband had surprised the King she would have had the Queen. But on the morrow she scattered her companies and departed very secretly and in great haste and fear. Montrose and Maxwell continue in Court, as it is thought, for the safety of the Chancellor.

For your lordship's goodness shewed to me at your lordship's late motion made to her majesty in my particular causes I am right deeply bound to honour, serve, and thank your lordship, very humbly beseeching your good lordship to continue your favour towards me in the same; and having before this many times presented my most humble suit to her majesty to vouchsafe to accept the payment of 1000 *l.* yearly until my debt to her majesty and the garrison at Berwick should be fully satisfied and paid, which sum of 1000 *l.* thus yearly to be paid is the uttermost that I can provide by any possible means in me or my son, whose help I must have in this behalf. And for that this sum mentioned cannot be levied before the coalpits of my son and my own saltpans shall be repaired and brought into work—a matter very hard to be compassed by me in the present condition of my case—therefore, and by other occasions of her majesty's service, and in my distressed estate, I could not hitherto make any payment to her majesty of this sum thus offered, and which I am ready to pay in such time and sort as shall please her majesty to appoint and shall be within the reach of the power of myself, my son, and friends. For the furtherance of which order to be determined and made certain by her majesty's good pleasure, and that it may likewise proceed in, and accomplish all my other duties to her majesty, I most humbly pray to have her majesty's leave to make my repair to London to finish all these matters to her majesty's best contentment; wherein I shall with all humility and readiness obey, and perform her majesty's order to be declared herein. And for the obtaining of which leave for these considerations, I "eftsones" pray your good lordship both to move her majesty for the same, and also to yield your lordship's furtherance therein and to advertise me timely of her majesty's pleasure in the same. Bishop's Auckland. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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Jan. 12. Cott. Calig. D. II. fol. 158.

647. THE NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND AND THE AMITY WITH ENGLAND.

"The evill affected."

. . .* Earles of Kaitnes, Sudderland, the Lord Maktry [*sic*] . . . Erles Huntley, Crawfurd, Arroll, Angust, the . . . and a great many lords. These are the men of greatest . . . from the north see to Nowtinge to the towne of Dundy."

"Southe the greatest men are the Lord Maxvill and . . . both are Papistes, and Maxvill Warden of the West [March, whi]ch confirmes his powre not a little."

"[We]st the Lords Paslay, Boyid, Sempill, Levistoun, the Erle . . . e, and as sum thinkes Montross, but my opinion is not so."

"East the Lords Setown, and Home, Warden of the East [March]."

". . . [c]ourt and session ar the Lord Parbrothe, Comptrowler, . . . of Lingluden, Collectour, Abbott of Newbottill, Master of . . . , the Lord of Pollart, Coopper to hir majestie, Sir James . . . newphewe to the bisshope of Dumblan, one of the Masters . . . William Schawe a suspected Jesuit, Master of his majestie's . . . ior of Pluskardy, and Sir John Setowne, sessionars . . . the Abbot of Lendors; and sundry other gentlemen [fa]miliars; all notable Papistes."

"The well affected are these."

". . . e; the Erle Marshall, the Lord Forbesh, as to Gowry . . . chylde, so the north is alltogether infected."

". . . e; the Erle of Cassilles, and he is but a chyld, . . . erle nor lord."

". . . Lord Chiltrie [*sic*] Carkart, the Lord Hamilton, the [Master of] Egleintoun."

"In the court the Duke, the Erle Mo . . . and yet he is becomme suspitious to sundrie . . ."

"By this cataloge it is to clein [*sic*] that the Bo . . . of Scotland which is the greatest part of the B . . . great part of the hart of the countrie is Papistes."

"As to nibill men that are noe actors, I reckon the cathologe as Rothesh, Oliphant, Invermethe, Argill, . . . a great many of others that either are simple men . . ."

"It is also to be considered that these of the Spanish . . . all uniforme amonge them selves, and the well affected . . . most part at bitter quarrelles, as the Duke and Hamilt[on] and Aglingtoun, with sundrie others."

"One thinge would be diligently adverted, that the che[if] . . . Spanishe coursh within Scotland are Huntley, coma[ndor of the]northe, Home and Maxvill comandors of the Bo[rders] . . . great credit with his majestie, in so muche that altho[ugh] all towched with these tresonable practyses with . . . , they shall incurre no daunger, hir [*sic*] majestie lykinge s . . . them; the Duke and Mar cheeffe

* Decayed.

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leaders of the . . . bothe brothers-in-lawe to Huntley, tenderly aliat with the sayd Duke, by his father's latter will bound to Maxvell and his howse."

". . . re there advice in particular, and for . . . e can be soe fitt as Bothwell, for Huntley . . . cosins the Erle of Murray. Home had . . . selfe in his possessions, and Maxvell had caused . . . of his servantes.

"[If hir] majestie fynd fault with receavinge Bothwell in hir . . . may be justly replyed that hir highnes had done . . . that then the Kinge himselfe, for she had for that . . . nt some of hir subjectes, and the lyke as yet had . . . done in Skotland. Moreover Bothwell everie . . . oust at his pleasure resortes to Edinburge . . . not be restraynt. Then how shall hir majestie debar . . . Borderers that be two hundrethe myles distant . . . resident."

"[Wher]eas his majestie thretned to joyne with you and your enemies [*sic*] . . . [s]howe Bothwell any good countenance, assure your self . . . would permitt him so to doe, his people would not . . . which he knowethe full well, and would but cannot, for the people are all togither bent agaynst the . . . faction and partakers thereof, howe great soeve[r]."

3 *pp. Copy.*

Jan. 15. 648. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that many circumstances devised, executed, and past in the late attempt at Holyrood House by Bothwell and his accomplices have been advertised to me by letters received from my friends and servant in Scotland, yet trusting that Roger Aston has before this acquainted your lordship with all the effectual part in the same, I therefore forbear to trouble your lordship with further report.

The state in Scotland since the attempt mentioned is to be drawn, as I am informed, to good quietness, with expectation that the clouds lately appearing and stirring the storms past shall blow over without such dangers as have been feared; and although sundry noblemen have been suspected to have been interested in that action, yet hitherto few or none of them are charged or blamed therewith. Nevertheless diligent enquiry has been made for the discovery of all matters and parties, and therein, upon the disclosing of the bottoms thereof, the same is intended to be put in print for the benefit of both the realms in this isle, wherein Hobbourne, servant to Bothwell, has suffered the torture of the boots and will not confess anything. The Laird of Robertland and Mr. James Durham, who married Bothwell's sister by his mother, are committed to ward upon suspicion that they were privy to this conspiracy.

John Estmythe—as Mr. Aston can show your lordship—has confessed many things in the first device and intention, and also in the progress and execution. But the Lord Chancellor is not pleased with his enlargement or doings, whereby it is thought that he shall be more sharply examined if he be not helped by the persons to whom he first opened himself and the secrets in this raid.

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David Edmondson, an especial servant and in trust with Bothwell, has been seen in the Court with great courtiers. He is dismissed, as it is thought, to do some thankful act for the discovery or apprehension of Bothwell. Colonel Stewart, smelling the suspicion against him, hastes his journey into the Low Countries to seek satisfaction and order for the money owing him by the states there.

The King mustered the gentlemen in his house, minding to have committed the leading of them, in all the King's services, to the Duke of Lennox; but upon new occasions this matter is stayed, and the gentlemen and the guard of horsemen attend on the King at his hunting, and otherwise as they are appointed by the King.

The copy of the short libel or advice to the King, and set up on the King's chamberdoor, against the Duke of Lennox and others, I send enclosed to your lordship. I am not informed who did this, but that some about the Duke think it to be taken in hand in favour of the Chancellor, who having lately strengthened his lodging at Holyrood House and walled up the door betwixt the Duke's chamber and his, the Duke thereby the rather conceives that the Chancellor distrusts him. Some sparks of jealousy are still seen in the Chancellor towards the Stewarts, Douglases, and their parties, whereby it is deemed that the Chancellor will the rather build upon the Lords Hamilton, Huntly, Montrose, and Maxwell, who are now in Court, and who are thought to be shortly drawn to lodge in Court.

The King has penned a proclamation against Bothwell, which I think is already proclaimed, and it is now evident to all men how earnest the King's mind is bent against him.

Upon late motion made by my servant in Scotland for redress to be given for the late raids of Liddisdale, in Alesten Moor, in Cumberland, Iriston in the bishopric of Durham, and others, the King and Council have again given order for the speedy execution thereof, and also that the Clerk Register shall deliver to my servant the double of that Act of Council, which I shall send to your lordship after it shall be brought to me.

Some "towardes" Bothwell and the Papists have lately awaited the convoy of the letters to have been sent to me by my friend and servant in Scotland, and their greatest desire, as I am informed, was to know the names and persons of my men, intelligencers in matters concerning the Catholics, wherein they have so hardly conceived against such of their sect as they suspect to favour me, that they restrain their accustomed access to them and their assemblies, and by this my friend, for this time, have delayed to write to me until the passage for their letters shall be known to be more safe.

Because I think it to be her majesty's pleasure to stay my return and service in Scotland, I therefore right humbly beseech your good lordship to direct me whether I shall continue my servant any longer in Scotland, and that I may thereon call him and bring home such portion of my poor stuff as still remains there. In this and in all others I attend your lordship's pleasure and advertisement by your lordship's letters or by John Allen. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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(Enclosure with the same.)

"The coppye of the writt sett on the King's dore."

"It appears to me that the D. cannot excuse himself well of the laste "turne that was in hand, in respect his speciall servant is gone away "with the deid, and as William Keithe his gudfather ane of th'interprisers "of that fact give your majestye be not, that may well be seene. And "as your majesty maye understand that those that the D. hathe melled "with hath not forgotten the deathe of th'erle Gowrye, therefore I "thincke it beste ye cause hir flitt hir camp and dwell farder awaye "fra you, for your majestyes entres and hirs is all ane. I see sondrye "daylye in your companye that gives your majestye fayre wordes that "are as gilty as they that were at the turne doinge, wha looke right "myld uppon the matter; and if they wiste wher to leape to they woulde "be soone awaye, but they feare they shall not be so welcome as of before "(to Ingland I meane). And giffe your majestye cannot judge quha "theye are, consider with your majesty's self what they are that Mr. "John Colvill hathe the greatest strake of, and what company he hauntes "maiste. I have no farder at this presente to saye, but sic as I meane "will awayte weile on quhil theye devyse a newe guyse. Therfore be "wyse and doe your turne quicklye. Sa I conclud, your majesties servant "at power."

½ *p. Indorsed by Burghley:* "Januar 1591. Copy of a monitory bill sett uppon the Scottes Kynges chamber dore."

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 46.

Copy of the same.

Jan. 20. 649. BURGHLEY TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF SCOTLAND.

Although there is not any special participation used of my goodwill towards you, nor of yours to me, by way of letters or frequent messages, yet such are the conditions of our callings and places of weighty affairs for the joint weal of our sovereigns that I doubt not but we both most heartely wish well to one another for furtherance of our service, first to the honour of God and the establishing of His Gospel, and next for the safety of our sovereigns and continuance of their firm amities for the common weal of their Kingdoms; and in this I profess to continue with readiness to make proof thereof in anything to my power, as I mind to make like account on your lordship's part.

This gentleman, Mr. Ashton, a man affectionate to your lordship, has imparted to the Queen's Majesty the circumstances of the horrible, treasonable attempt against the King's person, and returns with answer by her majesty letters, wherein, besides her consolation for the King's preservation, as I conjecture by her speeches, she "doth remembre" the King of her former advices to have proceeded more roundly against such as have given cause by their contempts to have been either cut off or restrained from their audacious attempts; and now experience teaches the King to find her advices sound, and so I doubt not but your lordship, who also has your particular cause touched herein only for your faithful service to the King and his country, will foresee that the King be not abused to credit and countenance either strong papists or aspiring heads. But I will forbear to use any further advice than this only whereby this

James VI. 1591-2. island and both the kingdoms may be sure, that is to banish Jesuits, seminaries, and intelligencers with foreign countries that are popish.

And now I will express to your lordship the very special cause of my present letter, which is, by her majesty's commandment, to give your lordship her princely and loving commendations, and to let you know that she is most glad of your late escape from the peril intended to you, judging you the better servant to the King and your country in that she hears you are "mallyeed" by traitors and wicked persons and all such as are void of the fear of God or of honest reputation amongst honourable, good men; and though commonly all manner of traitors pretend malice to the good servants of kings and princes, yet she says that both by stories and her own experience she finds it most certain that the perfection and end of their malice pretended against principal servitors is to subvert the state of their lords or to subdue them to their ambitious wills. All this and much more her majesty commanded me to write to you, and in her majesty's name to comfort you to proceed, as she used these Latin words, "*contra ardentior ito.*"

3 *pp. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley and his clerk.*

[Jan.] 650. ELIZABETH TO ANNE.

My good sister, we had intended writing to you by Roger Aston, had not his departure hence been more sudden than we thought. Nevertheless, as we then had the will, so we wish to defer no longer to put it in effect by this present, and to pray you hereby to believe firmly that nothing in the world could have happened more agreeable to us than to hear the good news of the deliverance of the King our good brother and of yourself withal, for your part therein was as great as his, from that wicked, miserable enterprise lately made by some of your accursed subjects. From which it having pleased the Almighty, of his infinite goodness, to cause you to escape, we deem ourselves on our part bound to render him everlasting and infinite thanks for the same, and to bear you company also in those which we are assured you are on your side rendering to his Divine Majesty. Therefore, since it has pleased Him to establish between us both an alliance and strait friendship, we will in accordance therewith take a little boldness to beg and counsel you to employ towards the King our good brother—as we are sure you will of yourself do—all the means of the gifts and graces which God has bestowed upon you, to persuade him to keep henceforth a more watchful eye and to hold himself better upon his guard than in the past, not only in order to prevent and frustrate the malice of such malign spirits, but also to cause to be incontinently chastised by exemplary punishment, on account of the consequence which depends thereupon, those who may be found to have been openly the tragic actors in this deed, even so far as to advance upon the door of the place where the King and you were, and to try to force it. And in so doing you will follow the example of that so famous and most gentle prince the King your late father, whose virtues and wisdom, even in the case of doing justice for such enormous crimes, may well serve you as a goad to incite the King our brother to be more vigilant and more prompt to have them severely punished without delay. This we say to you from our heart and sincere affection, as concerning

James VI. 1591-2. the safety of the person of the King and that of yourself and also of your state.

1 *p. French. Corrected draft. Indorsed:* "Copie of a letter in French to the Queene of Scottes upon the attempt of the Erle Bothwell in the Kinges house against the King."

Jan. 22. 651. JAMES VI. TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

"Richt trusty and richt weilbelovittis we greit you hartlie wele." It being "lamented" to us on the behalf of Cuthbert Py and his spouse, your sovereign's subjects dwelling "ewest" the Borders of England, two very aged persons, the one being four score years and more, and the other five score, "quha" and their predecessors have been in peaceable possession of a mill pertaining [to] the monastery of Newminster these hundred years bypast, and of some lands adjacent thereto since the suppressing of the abbays "but" interruption or trouble, are notwithstanding now of late impeded in their "native and kyndlie" possession by the means of Ralph Gray and Henry Gray, his brother, who go about by forcible oppression and indirect dealing to dispossess and "seclude" them therefrom, "besyde all humanitie, order of law or justice," wherethrough they, in respect of their great age and inability to make other shift for their living, "ar thamselffis, and a gret nowmer sustenit be thame as thair familie, upoun that meane thing apperand utterlie to rwyne and decay, quhilk wer a mater of gret conscience and petie." Whereupon we have taken occasion to recommend the distressed estate of these aged persons to your good consideration, "effectuuslie" requesting you to "interpone" your favourable means and advice for continuance of them in their "native and kyndlie" possession aforesaid, and give commandment and order that they be not troubled therein by the indirect means of the said Ralph Gray and his brother in time coming. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Jan. 26. 652. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the advertisement lately sent to me from Scotland the estate there appears to be little changed from the condition certified by my last letters to your lordship, and the suspicion of new troubles likely to arise in that realm is grounded chiefly on these three causes: first, on the disposition of the Earl of Bothwell, ready, as it is said, to hazard with his parties some other sudden attempt; next, on the disagreement continuing betwixt the Lord Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, who are not likely to be reconciled; and, thirdly, on the malcontentment of sundry noblemen and councillors resting in dryness towards the Chancellor, who, for his own guard, is thought to have procured Montrose and Maxwell to remain at and to be lodged in the Palace at Holyrood House, where the Chancellor's lodging is some deal strengthened, and his own body at his going abroad defended against assault of his enemies. But presently the former calm continues.

That the redresses promised by the King and Council for Liddisdale, and daily called for by my servant at Edinburgh, may be timely per-

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formed, the Council have addressed their letters to the young Laird of Cesford, now Keeper of Liddisdale, for the execution of these redresses demanded by the particular notes delivered to the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Secretary by my servant mentioned; and the Keeper is thereby directed to return his answer on the 24th day of this month, as by the copy of the Council's letter enclosed will appear to your lordship; wherein the Keeper has showed himself willing and ready in that and other causes for preservation of the good peace on the Borders to do his diligence, as by the success of his labours will shortly be seen and tried.

The Parliament is prorogued until the 4th of April next by proclamation published, and by the like proclamations Bothwell is proscribed, and reward promised to such as shall apprehend and bring him in, with restraint to all men to "receytt" or to carry him or his accomplices out of that realm by sea. For it was informed that Captain Hakkerson, bruited to have passed by water to Spain, lately came from Caithness and arrived at Leith with a pinnace to receive Bothwell. The like proclamations therefore are set forth against the Captain, and two men of Leith known to be come from him are taken, committed, and likely to be executed, especially one Abircrombye of Leith, who this long time has been a busy instrument for the papists, and chiefly for Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Robert Abircrombye. And because I understand that Abircromby of Leith, a dyer of red leather, is privy to all the practices and plots of the papists in Scotland, I have therefore directed my servant at Edinborough both to acquaint the King, the Chancellor, and others well affected, and also to travail diligently that this person may be well examined. But I much doubt of the good end herein, for the papists, doubting the life of this person, seek his safeguard by all the means in their power, and they have been lately comforted by great courtiers offering to show them any favours in their affairs, so [that] the same shall not hurt the common estate and Kirk.

Dickson, master in the art of memory and sometime attending on Mr. Philip Sidney, deceased, has come to the Court to behold the present course and disposition thereof, and it is meant that he shall be employed and sent within these ten days next following into Flanders in the business of the papists, as I am advertised, and that intelligence daily increases betwixt the papists of England and Scotland, where the pride and hope of the Jesuits and Catholics there exceeds now with expectation of speedy and wished fortune; and surely the rabble and number of these crews in these parts of this realm swarm much more than is openly seen.

The Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, as it is written to me, has been advised that his office was sought and should be in danger to be gotten out of his hands by some means when he should come forth of the castle after recovery of health in his present sickness, and that it is thought that the Chancellor greatly affects this place and would keep his house therein.

Sundry old courtiers, seeing Huntly, Montrose, and Maxwell presently carrying the sway in Court, repine thereat, and also purpose thereby to retire themselves, which will much weaken the Chancellor, who as yet has not recovered, as it is said, the good countenance and "conceit" of the Queen which was partly abated upon some speech uttered in the Queen's presence and hearing by the Chancellor's wife touching the

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favourites of Bothwell's late attempt, and which the Queen conceives much otherwise than the lady meant, as she has sithence explained her words.

The cause of the Master of Glamis shall come in debate and consideration before the King and Council about the 4th of the next month, wherein it is doubted that he shall not find the like grace that he received at his last being in Court by the means of the Earl of Crawford and the Laird of Spanye. For albeit that Spanye labours earnestly to complete the agreement betwixt Crawford, his brother, and the house of Glamis, yet the accords are not yet concluded as was looked for, and the two younger brethren of Crawford are contented to cast some blocks in the way of his atonement, wherein the Chancellor is suspected to charm Crawford and his two younger brethren no further to give care to this new friendship.

The Duke of Lennox has not clean shaken off the late suspicion of his favour towards Bothwell and winking at Bothwell's enterprise at Holyrood House; but Colonel Stewart haunts the Court with his accustomed grace and countenance. It is thought that time will eat up and wash away the blemishes wherewith many of great quality have been spotted in this late action.

The King, trusting to have entrapped Bothwell by the means of Davy Edmonston of Burnhouse, an old "familiar" of Bothwell, passed to Samerson and Haddington, but the success did not fall out to the King's contentment. He was once purposed, as I am certified, to have sought Bothwell and Niddrie in place adjoining the Border of Scotland, and whereof some tale was given of Bothwell's abode there; but by advice and doubt of the truth of this tale he changed his purpose. In this journey to surprise Bothwell, the King and his horse fell into the water of Tyne near to Haddington, where he was speedily rescued, and yet not before he was sore wet and troubled with the water.

In all my own private causes I have employed and sent this bearer, my servant Christopher Sheperson, to attend on your lordship, with instructions to sue for your lordship's order and pleasure in my petitions and suits to be opened to your lordship by him, wherein I must humbly pray your lordship to give him favourable access and hearing, and to grant to me your lordship's timely relief and help in my present distresses. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the writing hereof, and having put my servant Sheperson in readiness to "come" and attend on your lordship, I received your lordship's letters sent with John Allen, whereon I have stayed my said servant for some little space, that he may bring more certain answer to the contents of your lordship's letters mentioned. In the meantime I thought it meet to send these to your lordship.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

(Enclosure with the same.)

The Privy Council of Scotland to the young Laird of Cesford, Keeper of Liddisdale.

By your letter to my Lord of Newbottle we understand that you met with Liddisdale this last Tuesday and agreed with them very well and

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are satisfied of that thing which you "requirit thame with." We are glad of your good beginning and pray you to continue your earnest care to hold that matter in good order. Yet because you are so short and general in this advertisement, we must desire you to certify us more specially what were the things that you required of Liddisdale, and what security you have gotten for performing of the same, namely of Will Ellott, Mangertoun, and Quhithauche and "remanent" of the principal branches of the country, and specially what surety for the redress of the bills of Aulstenmuir and Ivistoune. Further, there were some writings taken at Ivistoune from one named Stringer. This we desire you to "caus inquire" for, and to get them and send them here that they may be restored to the complainer. In these particulars we desire you "effectuislie" to do your exact diligence that his majesty may know there is no "inlaik" of goodwill on your part, for it must be speedily certified to England what they shall "lippen" for in this behalf. Holyrood House. Jan. 14.

⅔ *p. Copy. Indorsed* "The copie of the Counsell's letter to the Laird of Sesford, Keper of Liddisdale, given me by Clark Register."

Jan. 28. 653. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the receipt of your lordship's letter of the 19th hereof I have received other letters from my friend and servant in Scotland certifying that the young Laird of Cesford, keeper of Liddisdale, has returned his answer to the late letter of the Council addressed to him, and the copy whereof I sent yesterday to your lordship. The Laird offers indilate redress upon the exhibiting of the bills of the complaints, agreeable to the ordinary course of the Marches used in like causes. Whereupon I have given warning to all parties calling for these redresses to frame and put in their bills as appertains, which I trust shall be done with good expedition, and of the progress and success your lordship shall be timely advertised.

Colonel Stewart, lately haunting the Court, is committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, partly upon the suspicion of his privity in the attempt of Bothwell at Holyrood House, and partly upon information that by his means and procurement his wife—now commanded to depart from the Court and Edinburgh—had sought to incense the King and Queen against the Chancellor, and to the great danger of the Chancellor, who is drawn hereby, and by other occasions, into the evil "conceitt" of the Queen; "and approvinge that his adversaryes are still about his ruyns." Wherein it is found that sundry of Bothwell's servants and accomplices, purposing to sell their horses and address themselves for partes beyond the seas, have been advised to "suspend" some time and attend the success of actions that should be shortly enterprised. For the prevention whereof the King and Queen have resolved to lie within the city of Edinburgh, and the house wherein I lodged is now prepared for the King and Queen. The Duke [of Lennox] shall be lodged within the same gates, and the Chancellor and noblemen have provided the best houses adjoining.

The Chancellor the other day required the consent of the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh that he might have that office and house by

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reasonable composition, assuring the Captain that he should not otherwise seek that "roome"; and in case the Captain did not like to "departe" with it, then he would do his best endeavour to preserve and hold it still in the Captain's custody. It is thought that the Captain shall be forced to leave it, and therefore it is wished that it may be put in the hands of the Chancellor.

Sundry preachers in their sermons before the King have exhorted him to hear and take the counsel of the ancient and religious earls, lords, and barons, and of the true and honest burgesses, by whom the truth will be told simply to the King, and they will employ themselves and [their] whole powers in the maintenance and defence thereof. This advice is listened to, and some good course is like to be taken therein.

The Earl of Mar, "comed" to the Court, has renewed the overtures for reconciliation betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamys with such fervency that now there is good hope that it shall take better effect than lately it was like to have done. It is verily thought that the good progress and end of this agreement shall cut off a great piece of the root of the new broils and bring the Chancellor into much rest.

The licences subscribed and granted for the returns of the Lord Hume and Buccleuch are stayed. Thomas Davison, servant to Mr. John Colvile, was taken on the 23rd instant with his master's letters and is like to be executed.

I have been informed that Mr. Thomas Cranston, with some other gentlemen, and the Crawes, who were with Bothwell at the attempt mentioned, have been in Milfield and Akell, in Northumberland, and that it is thought that Mr. Thomas Cranston will abide still in those parts, but most of the others have departed. The King is very desirous to have Cranston. Finding by your lordship's last letter that her majesty will be contented to "pleasure" the King in these behalfs, therefore I have thought it my duty to give your lordship notice of this information given me, that the Wardens of the Middle and East Marches may do further therein as by her majesty shall be directed.

Whereas by your lordship's letter mentioned I perceive that her majesty did not then mislike of my going again into Scotland, as before she did, and that your lordship wishes me in the mean season to determine thereupon and proceed to dispose of all such things as I have to make money of towards the payment of the great debt which I owe to her majesty, I am, and ever shall be, ready to obey and be employed as her majesty shall command; and as hitherto I have not refused any hazard of life, pains of mind or body, or expenses of such things as I possessed, and could advance her majesty's services in my charge, so I shall, God willing, both hold myself in this course and during all my life be found obedient and loyal to her majesty. Wherein, that her majesty and your lordship may perfectly know my present estate and case as well to serve as I shall be directed as also to give satisfaction for my debts to the uttermost of my power, I have therefore addressed this bearer, Christopher Sheperson, my servant, with instructions to attend on your lordship in all these behalfs, right humbly praying your good lordship to give him favourable access, audience, and credit therein, and to have compassion on me, that myself and services end not in her majesty's displeasure, which by the view of some part of your lordship's letter I fear to be so kindled

James VI. 1591–2. against me that my life is more grievous than my death can be to me, doubting greatly that my only fault, "comed" by the negligent handling of some part of her majesty's treasure in my hands, shall thus blot out the memory of all my services past, notwithstanding that my error herein has grown chiefly by the abuse of evil servants credited by me, and who wickedly breaking their faith, "banke," and credit, cast this burden on me whilst I and my whole senses were so diligently occupied in her majesty's services in Scotland that I could not timely look to and prevent this mischief presently oppressing me so deeply that I find no greater grief than that my woeful heart will not seasonably break and yield to deliver my body from the sorrows and cares which the sight and often report of your lordship's letters mentioning the great discontentment in her majesty towards me have begun, and taken such root in me that I trust the speedy end of my miserable days shall shortly end her majesty's heavy displeasures to me and all my own miseries in this world. The particularities in all which things touching the benefits or prejudice of her majesty's services to be committed to my weak hands or my own readiness and uttermost ability to answer and pay those debts to her majesty by all the means in my power, I refer to the report and credit of this bearer, and myself, comfort, and relief I commend to her majesty's gracious goodness to be furthered by your lordship's favour. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 2. 654. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the return of Roger Aston to Scotland I have not hitherto received from him any letters or advertisement. By some short letters from my other friend and servant there I find the estate continuing in quietness without late alteration, and with hope that it shall remain in this calm, in regard that the King and Chancellor seek to reconcile the discontented. Further, that Bothwell, withdrawn to Dumbarton with his wife, two Stewarts, and two Hamiltons, is seen to retire to pass from thence to sea for Spain, or into some of the isles adjoining, as I trust your lordship has been advertised before this, and is thereby thought rather to intend flight or close covering himself than to re-enter into any new enterprise. Yet some writing to me are of opinion that the storm against the Chancellor is not passed, and that means will be made to stir up chief courtiers to estrange the King's mind towards him, which amongst the wise is thought to be a work of greater boldness in attempt than hope of good success.

The King, understanding of Bothwell's being at Dumbarton, and that the wind did not serve him to make sail as he desired, sent the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Huntly with 100 horsemen to apprehend him, as I think your lordship has been also certified before. But as most men looked for little hurt to be done to Bothwell by those persons employed, so that hitherto I have not heard that they have taken and brought him. Howbeit I am perfectly advertised of the doings and success in this journey.

The agreement betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis stands still in doubtful terms: for the Chancellor, appearing outwardly

James VI. 1591–2. to be forward in this reconciliation, will not conclude the same without the assents of the King, the Lord Hamilton, Crawford and Montrose. The Master of Glamis remains quietly in Edinburgh, offering the accomplishment of large conditions to be performed on his behalf.

Colonel Stewart continues in the Castle of Edinburgh and stands upon his innocency. Robertland prays to be tried by assize. Davison, servant to Mr. John Colvile, has confessed all in his knowledge. Bothwell's bailiff of Creichton, standing on the gallows at the Court gate to have been executed for his presence at the raid at Holyrood House, was saved by the cry and petition made by the people present there, and presented to the King as he passed by into the palace "before this prisoner was executed." The King thereupon in expounding the contents of the chapter in the Bible read then at supper, according to his accustomed manner, reproved the people of that nation for their disordered affection towards Bothwell and other offenders, and also noted in Bothwell great unthankfulness towards the Chancellor, who, the King said, was lately ready to engage himself for Bothwell's conversion and good behaviour, and also had adventured so far for Bothwell's welfare that the King might justly take the life of the Chancellor if he listed. Barns. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 5. 655. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as I think that Roger Aston has advertised your lordship how the King accepts the success of Mr. Aston's late journey into England, and how well he is pleased with the favour shewed by her majesty giving order to put out his rebels "comed" lately into this realm, therefore I leave the same and all other causes concerning the actions of Mr. Aston to his own report.

By letters from the Lord Scrope I perceive that he has received some dilatory answer from Sir Robert Carr, keeper of Liddisdale, touching redresses demanded by the Lord Scrope for the attempts done by Liddisdale. For the expedition of which reddresses to be given to the Lord Scrope's contentment, I have given order to my servant in Scotland both to move the Chancellor and Lord Secretary for the indilate furtherance thereof, and also to acquaint Roger Aston with the matter and take his help in the advancement of all things to the best end; which I trust shall be followed with effect, and the success whereof your lordship shall be advertised of.

It has been given me to understand that, albeit the King had fully purposed to have committed John Nesmithe to the execution of death as a principal conspirator in the late action at Holyrood House, yet at the earnest request of the Queen there, Nesmithe has been hitherto spared, partly against the mind of the King and others; and that Roger Aston, finding the King's disposition and the present condition of that case, has so well informed and persuaded the Queen to cease her travail therein, and so wisely dealt in this matter that, the Queen willingly withdrawing herself and suit herein, the punishment deserved by Nesmithe for the example and fault is like to be laid on him to remove sundry "conceiptes" threatening some danger at this time.

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In which behalf Roger Aston has sought my letters to be addressed and speedily sent to himself to signify that by his good report of the true estate and handling of these matters he has well satisfied me and others who had heard sundry things to have passed otherwise than by his report mentioned we find now to have been true and also think it strange that Nesmithe should be thus long kept. Wherein, because it has been thus advised by Mr. Aston, as a matter promising good fruit to spring thereof, I have agreed, and sent my letters to him, and to the effect expressed, thinking it my duty to acquaint your lordship with my doings, and trusting my actions shall be well accepted therein.

By letters received this day from some of my friends and my servant in Scotland I am advertised that the suspicion found to be still smothered in the King's breast, and reserved in the Chancellor's head, against divers noblemen, suspected to have been privy to the late raid at Holyrood House, will hazard one day some sudden storm or peril to the King whereby that estate shall be changed. But the King and Chancellor, foreseeing the danger thereof to stand chiefly in the continuance of the secret grudges betwixt such noblemen and the Chancellor, are earnestly to work good reconciliations amongst these parties to pull up the root of their hatred and prevent these dangers.

By the means of the Earl of Mar, the Chancellor and the Earl of Morton are agreed, and the Chancellor and Morton dined together at Mar's house in Edinburgh, showing great friendship the one to the other. Yet whereas it was looked that Morton should have dined the next day with the Chancellor, he did not do so. And albeit it is commonly thought and written to me that the agreement is concluded betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, with expectation that the Master shall be restored to his two offices, chiefly in the Session, yet I am secretly advised that they are broken up, and that the King knowing Glamis to be quietly in the town has commanded him to depart; which course is likely to shatter the green friendship accorded betwixt the Chancellor and Morton, and [it is thought] that the manner of the knot of that friendship and the breach with Glamis shall be the beginning of greater discords amongst them and others. This is the bare opinion of one writing to me against the common "conceipt" of others and of the Court at the time of the address of those letters.

The Duke [of Lennox] and the Earl of Huntly passing to Dumbarton to surprise Bothwell, as before has been certified to your lordship, have taken John Smallet, who has confessed himself to have been privy to the conspiracy and action at Holyrood House, and has discovered many matters not before revealed. It is given the King to think, at the time of the dispatch of those letters, that Smallet shall be sent to him to open great things, and that the Duke and Huntly have passed into the west isles in Scotland, pursuing Bothwell clothed in beggar's apparel and accompanied only by his wife, intending to get shipping in the isles for Spain or Brittany. But it is written to me in this behalf that Smallett, falling into the hands of the Duke and Huntly, readily acknowledged himself guilty, as before, and offered that if they would take Bothwell to be presented to the trial of the law, and not deliver him to the King to be executed suddenly, he would bring Bothwell to them, in regard

James VI. 1591–2. that Bothwell trusted to find such favour with the King upon his submission, and such goodwill amongst the noblemen of his assize, upon consideration of his cause, that his life might be saved, and they be the instruments and have the thanks for the same. That they credited, and suffered Smallett to depart. Whereupon he immediately warned Bothwell and put himself in safety.

It is commonly believed that the Chancellor has fully compounded with the Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh for that office; yet I am likewise informed that the Captain would not accept the sum of money and conditions offered by the Chancellor, so it is presently uncertain whether they shall accord or not.

The King and Council are presently occupied in putting order to the papists, whereby it is resolved that Mr. James Gordon and the Laird of Fentry shall be immediately banished, which few will believe before they shall see the order executed.

Montrose is said to have departed from Court malcontent, for he fears that the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis should have agreed, and that the Master should have been restored to his offices, as before, to his disgrace; but I perceive that he has returned home to conclude a marriage betwixt the Prior of Pluscardine, brother to the Lord Seaton, and one of the daughters of the Lord Drummond. The Earl of Argyle and Lord Ogilvy are in agreement.

Whereas your lordship has been advised before (by whom I know not) that letters were sent by the King to the Duke of Parma, by the convoy of the Lord Hume, Buccleuch, or Thomas Tyrye, I have been lately assured by some near about the King and well acquainted with his actions that such letters were not addressed by the King or with his privity, as also your lordship may well understand by Roger Aston, who has lately travailed to find out the truth thereof. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghle's clerk.*

Feb. 9. 656. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

You shall understand that on Monday, the 7th instant, the Earl of Huntly passed over the water, as he gave it out, to take Mr. John Colvile, and acquainted the King with the same, but having another intent, knowing the Earl of Murray to have arrived at his house of Dennybressel to meet the Lord Ochiltree, who was dealing with the King and Huntly to take up all matters, and were near to a point. Suspecting nothing, the Earl of Huntly came suddenly "abott" the house, being "but two horses," and, not able to defend from the fire, was there cruelly "perslud," but defended a long time with "slatter" on both sides. Those within came forth sundry times and were driven in again. In the end the stooks of corn were laid about the house and fired, so that they were constrained to "rues" out. The Earl himself [Moray], being foremost, "pled the partt of a gon, and be plen fors came thrue them all" and by "plen" speed of foot got away, "tel be mesfortu[ne] mett with som that twere watching not far from the plase," [who] set upon him. He being sore burnt and "farfougten" was by them cruelly slain, and so was the Sheriff of Moray and one of his servants called Boeg.

James VI. 1591–2. Of Huntly's side there was slain Captain Gordon, and sundry [were] hurt. What shall "become" of this, I know not. The King is highly offended, and so are all men in general. What is become of Huntly, we know not. It is likely to breed great unrest in this country.

The Duke [of Lennox] and Huntly "perseud" Bothwell, as I wrote before, but came "unspied"; wherefore there are others appointed and post to pursue him. He is still in about Bute or Arran or some of those islands. There is no word come back again as yet since James Sandelands has passed into those parts and has "provigen" both by sea and land.

The King gets daily advertisements that Nedderay, Nicholas Stewart, and some others of Bothwell's servants are received in Murray but for Nedderay he is plainly there. I hope such order is taken that they may be apprehended.

The Laird of Poury Ogilvy has made a motion to go to Spain, where he has undertaken to get liberty for all Scottish merchants to transport English wares to Spain. This is "extentt" here but for a colour to work other matters. The man is enough known here. He will get no such commission, nor shall be "suffred" to you.

Mr. Bowes' coming is daily expected. It is very necessary he were here, for we look for nothing but mischief among us. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—The Laird of "Cadell" [Calder] is slain by some Highland men.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed* "To his loving brother James Hudson, servant to the King's Majesty of Skotland"; *also to* Burghley. *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Seal.*

Feb. 10. 657. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sundry of my friends in Scotland have sent to me advertisement of the late slaughters of the Earl [Moray] and the Sheriff of Murray, the report whereof I think shall be brought to your lordship before the receipt of these presents. Yet finding this fact to be certified by Roger Aston with good certainty and plainness, I have therefore thought good, for your lordship's information in that behalf, to send to your lordship Mr. Aston's letter addressed to me and well declaring the circumstances of this action.

Besides this murder of these personages of good quality, I am also advertised that the Laird of Calder is slain in the north by the practice of Huntly, but this report is brought into doubt, and some writing to me are of opinion that the Laird still lives and was not assaulted; which "concepte" I wish to be true, for surely I left him very well affected to her majesty and her services.

These things suddenly fallen out in that realm, and the troubles likely to arise thereby, presently occupy and encumber that state now tossed with diverse storms, as by letters of others your lordship, I trust, already understands, and as by further intelligences to be sent to me I shall shortly give your lordship further light.

The young Laird of Poury Ogilvy, seeking to be employed and sent by the King into Spain, and promising under the colour thereof to do

James VI. 1591–2. profitable offices for her majesty and the King his sovereign, has written to me in the same, seeming to be purposed to enlarge the matter to me with more plainness in short time, and with all particularities. Upon receipt of his letter herein I shall, God willing, acquaint your lordship with the contents thereof, and with more perfection. In the meanwhile may it please your lordship to consider well of the matter of the person thus seeking this office, and of the present condition of the estate there, and also thereon to direct myself to proceed or do with him as shall be found most convenient. Woddrington. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Part printed in A. Lang's *Hist. of Scot.*, ii, 537. I have received your letters of the 1st and 3rd, and should have completed all things there incontinent, but the extraordinary accident "uppon" the slaughter of the Earl of Murray has given such occasion of business that all men's spirits are occupied. The very truth of this accident is this. This long time past the Earl of Murray has sought to be reconciled with Huntly and for that cause has employed sundry of his friends to travail with the King, which was "nere att a poyntt" by my Lord Ochiltree's means, who both dealt with the King and the Earl of Huntly, and for that cause the Earl of Murray came to his house of Dennebrissell within two miles of the Queen's Ferry, where the Lord Ochiltree was to have met [him] on Monday the 7th instant, and for that purpose came to the ferry and would have gone over, but commandment had come thither, as they said, from the King, that no boats should pass. Whereupon the said lord returned, thinking there had been some enterprise to have been done by the King. That day the King was hunting, and Huntly gave it out he was going to the King, and so came forth accompanied with forty horses of his and servants. That morning Huntly told the King he had "a purpose of Mr. Jhon Colven" and found others that were with the Earl of Bothwell, and for that cause he was to pass over the water. Yet the King, fearing the inconveniences that might ensue by reason of the Earl of Murray being on the other side, discharged him "to ryd," which he promised to obey. But shortly after the King was gone forth he passed forthwith to the said Earl of Murray's house, "being but too horeses, and nott abel to be keptt." They that were within came forth sundry times and discharged their pistols and slew some of Huntly's men, as Captain Gordon and diverse others. Thereupon they took the corn stooks and led to the house, so that the extremity of the fire forced those who were within to come forth. The Earl himself, after he was so burnt that he was not able to hold a weapon in one of his hands, came through them all "with his sord in his hand, and lyke a lyon forsed them al to geve plase," and so got through them all, and with speed of foot outran them. But such was his fortune after he had escaped them "lyghtt in the handes of some of the wacches," who set upon him and chased him to the water, where he was by them cruelly slain. The Sheriff of Murray was slain and one other of his servants. Many were hurt on both sides. The old lady, his sisters, and children, were all saved. This fact is counted very odious by all men.

James VI. 1591–2. The King takes it very heavily. What punishment there will be for it I know not. Huntly has passed northward. The King and Council are at this hour sitting upon the matter. The people cry out of the cruelty of the deed. We look for nothing but mischief. And yet I must "se" to your lordship the King entertaining of Huntly, and the great authority he gave him is the cause of all. What order is taken in this and all other things your lordship shall be advertised by my next.

The pursuit of Bothwell by the Duke and Huntly was not so well followed forth as it should have been, so that the King has employed others, as Sir James Sandelands, the Sheriff of Bute, and some gentlemen of the country, from whom as yet we have got no word, but certain it is Bothwell is in those islands and might have been had if the matter had been well handled at the first.

Your presence here is greatly desired and daily expected. I fear we shall have need of you; therefore I pray your lordship make the more haste, for your presence will do good.

Poury Ogilvy has "proponit" to the King and sundry of the Council that he will procure liberty of the King of Spain that all Scottish merchants shall have liberty to trade with English wares to Spain, and for that cause would have the King to send him to Spain, which the King has refused unless he bring the Queen of England's request in that behalf, as also the consent of the merchants and ministers. They would have this journey for fashion's sake, but he is well enough known here. Edinburgh. 8th February. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed.*

Feb. 11. 658. ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

The same day that I sent my last conclusion was taken for the pursuit of Huntly. The King takes journey to the north on Friday next. Proclamation is made for all men to attend him. The Earls of Argyle and Athol meet him. All men are bent for revenge of this cruel murder, chiefly the friends of Murray, as Mar, Morton, Argyle, and Athol with all the Stewarts, and the Duke as earnest as any. The Lord Ochiltree has commission to take, burn, and cast down all the houses of the Gordons. As we succeed in our journey you should come.

I am now preparing "jake," steel bonnet, and pistols. "Wantes but a good hores." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—This journey to the north against Huntly is not "to hold forwards" till the 10th of March. On the 2nd instant the King goes in person to the west parts to pursue Bothwell.

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

Feb. 11. 659. THE LAIRD OF BARNBOUGLE TO HIS SON JAMES MOWBRAY.

"Sone, I commend me hartly to zow. In hast I vryit this letter. Resaveng zour vryit the viij day off Fabruar fra Francis Mowbre, the Kyngis majeste and the Chansalur hes vrytin effectuisly to James Hutson to travel vyth the quenes majeste and the tressorer for zour releff. The Kingis majeste hes hurd off zour eweil handlyne and is very myscontent that his sub[j]ectis sould be sa handlet, in respekt off the gud veil his

James VI. 1591–2. majeste beares to the queins majeste of Ingland. I have vrytin to James Houtson to lat ze vant nathing quhill my cummyne, quhilk, God vyling, sal be vythin xiiij dayes efter this gyff I be onlyff. Tak gud hart quhill my cumyne, at quhilk tyme ze sal vaint na thyng. In the tyme James Houtson veil se zow retefeit and lat zow vaint with vryting." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Barnebowgall.

Postscript.—"Gyff this new alteration off the murdor off the Erle of Muray mad be the Erle off Huntly I sould have bein at zow or now."

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To his sone James Mowbray at Vestmester in pryson. *No flyleaf.*

Feb. 13. 660. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The barbarous cruelty showed by Huntly in the late murder of Murray has set the people in great rage and stirred sundry noblemen, and the ministers and burgesses in Edinburgh, to sue to the King for the expedition of punishment. For this the King was resolved to have set forward into the north against Huntly on Friday last, the 11th instant, appointing Argyle and Athol to meet him, and commanding all men by proclamation published to come to him for that purpose. All things were in readiness and "looked to have proceided" as was concluded, like as by this letter enclosed and sent to me by Roger Aston will appear to your lordship. But with the same letters I was advised by others that in case I should attend a day or two I might, peradventure, find this journey stayed, which by letters received this day I perceive to be true. For the King's journey into the north against Huntly is put over and referred by open proclamation till the 10th of March next, in regard that the forces to be gathered for the King's service therein could not be levied in so short a time; and the King is now prepared and ready to pass to Glasgow, thinking surely to find Bothwell "put out" to him.

I perceive that Argyle and Atholl had put their forces in good readiness. Morton and Marr pressed the King forward. The ministers and chief burgesses in Edinburgh prayed the King to give timely justice. The Stewarts are bent to revenge the fact. The Duke [of Lennox] appeared forward therein, and the Chancellor, suspected by Murray's friends, showed great earnestness, as well to persuade the King to proceed with celerity and speed and also to put his own hand in the execution. What effect this sudden delay shall bring, I leave to your lordship's consideration.

Huntly justifies his act for this slaughter by force of a commission of lieutenancy granted to him by the King, and wherein Murray so far disobeyed him that he was driven thus to assault him in his house, and he prays to be tried by ordinary course of the laws of the realm. For which purpose he sent an especial servant to the Court. The King affirms that commission to have been revoked and of none effect. He sent to have taken the messenger employed by Huntly, but the messenger tarrying quietly all the night in the town departed and escaped safely in the morning. These things so much disquiet and trouble the King's mind, and such of my friends as have written to me are of opinion that, whereas they looked that the papists and practisers for Spain should have been turned out of the realm with the Gordons' chieftain, now they shall be

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retained to maintain with the Spanish money the broils likely to arise there.

It has been commonly bruited that the Earl of Crawford had slain the Master of Glamis, but I am newly advertised by letters that it is not so, nor [has] any such attempt or purpose [been] made against him.

The young Laird of Powry Ogilvy has been solicited, as it seems by his letters, to be mean to recover and get a perfect and sure traffic to be granted by the King of Spain to the merchants in Scotland to continue their trade in Spain, and with English wares and commodities, and that himself might be employed and sent by the King as his ambassador into Spain for this purpose. He pretends to bring to her majesty by his service great profit and also good intelligence, like as by his own letter enclosed, and which I sent to your lordship for your lordship's best information herein, will be seen to your lordship at more length. He is earnest for speedy return of answer, but the matter may be haply thought by your lordship worthy of good consideration; therefore I thought it my duty to send to your lordship his letter mentioned, and to attend your lordship's direction for my further proceeding in the same.

As the effects of my present suits to her majesty, and known to your lordship, necessarily require the expedition of resolution and order, as well for the surety of payment of my debts and good contentment in all things to be given to her majesty by me, as also for some course to be granted to me for the disposition of myself and miserable state, brought into such case that by the delay of this order I shall utterly and very hastily perish, so I most humbly beseech your lordship to vouchsafe to be mean to procure for me speedy resolution in these behalfs, that, according to her majesty's pleasure to be specified to me, I may with all obedience and humility accomplish the same so far as may possibly lie in my power. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

The conclusion was taken for the pursuit of Huntly the same day I dated my last. It is now concluded that the King in person will pass to the north, and to that end has made proclamation for all men to go with him, and has sent to the Earls of Argyle and Athol to meet him with their forces. Mar and Morton are here very earnest in the matter.

Commission is given to the Lord Ochiltree to burn and cast down all the houses of the Gordons who were at the deed. The King is the earnester in the matter for that Huntly reports it was done by the King's commission, which the King altogether denies. The Chancellor is greatly condemned in this matter by Murray's friends. He knew the Earl of Huntly was to ride and did not stay him. But the Chancellor says he promised him he would not ride any way but go to the King, who was hunting. The Chancellor seems to be very earnest in his pursuit.

We take journey within these two days. All the Stewarts are bent for revenge, and the Duke [of Lennox] is as earnest as any of them. The murder was cruel. He made great request for his life, and, when he saw it would not be, kept the house till all his servants had left him, and

James VI. 1591–2. then said his prayers. The fire being "in sundry partes of him" [he] came out among them and outran them all, and had escaped but that there was fire in his steel bonnet by which he was followed. "They cutt him in pesses thatt there is no partt of his boady to be found." Edinburgh. 10th February. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

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

Feb. 17. 661. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

Encloses a letter touching the present estate in Scotland. In the enclosed packet is a letter from the King to him (Hudson) to "move" Burghley for James Mowbray's release. The Lord Chancellor and the young man's father, the Laird of Barnbougall, have also written to the same effect. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. No flyleaf.*

First enclosure with the same:—

(James VI. to James Hudson.)

Being informed that James Mowbray, our servant, son to the Laird of Barnbougall, has been "wardit" there at London this long time bypast upon some "frivole and licht" occasion, as is reported, we have thought meet hereby to desire you to intercede and travail by all the good means of the Lord Treasurer for his liberty and relief; which we trust the rather shall be granted for that the offence wherewith he is charged has deserved no such extreme handling. Also let it herewith be signified to the Lord Treasurer—of whose goodwill we are always persuaded—that we would wish this gentleman nor any others our subjects resorting there "hardlyar used in any cais then gif they were cuntre men," in respect of the good peace and amity standing betwixt the realms. Edinburgh. 11th February, 1591. *Signed:* James R.

⅔ *p. Addressed.*

Second enclosure with the same:—

(The Lord Chancellor of Scotland to James Hudson.)

Requests him to further the liberty of the Laird of Barnbougle's son. Edinburgh. [11th] February, 1591. *Signed:* Jo. Thyrlstane.

¾ *p. Addressed.*

Feb. 17. 662. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By sundry letters received this day from diverse of my friends in Scotland I am advertised that the estate there is greatly changed and suddenly fallen into danger of hasty troubles to arise as well to the peril of the King as also to the breach of the common quietness. For whereas this late and odious murder of Murray has been laid to the charge only of Huntly and his accomplices, now some would gather and allege many circumstances—with what mind and truth I know not—that the King and the Lord Chancellor should be blemished with the grant of the blank

James VI. 1591–2. commission—by colour whereof Huntly attempted this fact—and with privity and assent to the execution. Wherein, albeit the King at the first had so well persuaded many noblemen, the friends of Murray, and the ministry, of his own innocency and honourable part in the behalfs mentioned that the hearers were satisfied, and the ministers published the same in their sermons, to the good comfort of the people, with promise given to them by the King, resolved to confirm his mind and actions herein by the expedition of the due punishment which he should lay on Huntly and all others found guilty of this outrage. Yet by the stay of the course and proceedings thus promised and put far in forwardness, and by the King's journey now drawn to Glasgow, Dumbarton, and other places thereabout, the King's part and doings in this cause are brought in question by many, grounding their "conceiptes" on sundry circumstances gathered by themselves, certified to me by my friends, and which I send enclosed to your lordship as I have received them, leaving the certainty of the truth therein to your lordship's examination, and as matters wholly unknown to myself further than is before specified. For it is said by the parties possessed and grieved with these jealousies that Huntly received a blank commission subscribed by the King's Chancellor to cause Murray to present himself in the Court, and in case he should disobey to slay him; and that the King, nevertheless, desiring to reconcile Huntly and Murray, therefore moved and employed Lord Ochiltree to persuade Murray to give his assent to this agreement; whereupon Ochiltree rode unto and drew Murray both to embrace the reconciliation offered to be made by the King's mediation, and also, the better to "expeide" the same, to repair with his household to his house at Dunibrusell to be near the Court and ready to come or do as the King should direct him; [and] that soon after Ochiltree's return to the Court. and his report made to the King of Murray's accord to submit himself to the King's order, and of his arrival and abode at Dunibrussell, Huntly, on the 7th instant, with all the power he could gather, rode to Dunibrussell and there fired the house and killed the earl, as before has been advertised to your lordship.

It is herewith alleged that Ochiltree, purposing to ride to Murray on the 6th of this month, being the day before Huntly's journey, "and facte founde the passage at Queen's Ferrye to be stopped by especiall comaundment given in the King's name the same day," whereupon he returned to and informed the King of his restraint and that he could not be suffered to pass, praying the King's warrant for his immediate passage. But the King denying to have knowledge of any such restraint given by his commandment, stayed Ochiltree that day and on the morrow "carried him on huntinge," where, when the King saw fire arise at Dunybrussell, he asked Ochiltree about what place the fire was; and Ochiltree, much amazed thereat, partly blamed the King and craved leave to go to the rescue; nevertheless he was stayed. It is further added that now the King acknowledges to have granted a blank commission to Huntly, but to what effect it is not expressed, and that the King, fearing the issue to come thereof, commanded Huntly to forbear to put the same into practice. With the same it is given out that Huntly should say that the Chancellor was privy to his going to and purpose at Dunibrussell.

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[It is said] that the King has received into his protection, by proclamation published, the Countess of Huntly and all her followers not present at the slaughter of Murray; that the Countess still is and shall remain in Court; that the King sought to have Captain Gordon delivered to him by Ochiltree (who had been in his hands) and could not get him; whereupon the assize for his trial was denied. Yet the captain has been tried since, found guilty and is beheaded, and his servant is hanged; for this captain first entered Murray's house, where he was so stricken with a "hagbutt," as it is termed, that he was thought to have been slain thereby. He was left in the field, and afterwards taken and delivered by the lady of Downe, Murray's mother, to the Lord Ochiltree, who has brought him to execution, contrary to the King's pleasure and mind signified therein.

[It is said] that the King has not only lightly regarded the lady of Downe's complaint, but also denied that the corpse of her son should be received into and buried in Edinburgh, giving commandment to the Provost there not to suffer the lady or corpse to enter into the town. For it is now thought that Murray shall be declared to have been a rebel, and that he not only received and aided Bothwell since the raid at Holyrood House, but also had conspired to have raised a new rebellion. In which behalfs John "Esmithe," guilty of that raid, is carried from the castle at Edinburgh to Glasgow to be examined and to discover his knowledge in Murray's conspiracies against the King and against Colonel Stewart. In which part, touching the colonel, Nesmythe has been oftentimes charged and examined.

[It is said] that it is now deemed that the King's journey to Glasgow, Dumbarton, Hamilton, and those parts under colour to surprise Bothwell, who is thought to be in the south-east parts of Scotland, is "drawn" by advice to withdraw him from Edinburgh amongst Huntly's friends and to bring Huntly to his presence. Which things will very shortly "kythe," as it is said, themselves and prove many of these alleged circumstances to be true or false; all which I leave "to the experience of the tryal and successe in tyme," *etc.*

The picture of Murray's naked body and wounds is drawn and intended to be shewn at the Cross in Edinburgh, but the King liked not to look upon his corpse, which it is thought shall be buried in St. Giles' Church, notwithstanding that the King is not pleased therewith.

When Murray found himself void of all hope of life, he committed his children and the revenge of his death to the Lord Ochiltree, praying his sister then with him, and now saved, to make the same known to Ochiltree, who appears either to receive the like end to be given him by Huntly or his means, or else that he shall yield the like reward to some of them.

In like sort Murray's mother, taking with her own hands three bullets out of her son's dead body, has delivered them to the keeping of several and especial friends, who solemnly have vowed to "bestowe" the same bullets and others into the bodies of some principal executioners of this slaughter. For the taking of which revenge it appears that many of good quality will hazard themselves and lives, howsoever their enterprise therein shall be afterwards punished.

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At the debate of the cause before the King and Council for resolution of the course to be taken for Huntly's punishment, Ochiltree prayed the King in some rough language to show his forwardness therein, otherwise the King's self should be holden suspect herein. And the Lord Lindsay not only agreed with Ochiltree, but also persuaded that assize might be taken for Captain Gordon and other prisoners, and that they should be immediately executed upon judgment given. Their words were found so bitter and unseemly that they were committed to ward, yet no place or time is hitherto limited to them.

I am informed again that the Laird of Calder was slain in the night by Huntly's means and "draught" eight days before the murder of Murray, and that Argyle and his friends are deeply grieved herewith and intend to revenge the fact.

The Duke [of Lennox], Chancellor, Maxwell, and others are with the King in this western journey. Morton, Ochiltree, and others were restrained from attending on the King therein. The King's return to Edinburgh is looked to be within ten days or thereabouts, but many are of opinion that he will continue in those coasts beyond the time limited, and thereon it is whispered that there shall be a convention soon after at Stirling. If any such meeting or assembly shall be in deed, then the troubles and fire suspected shall be soon seen kindled and riving in pieces the body of that realm.

Sundry of the King's guard entering into some mutiny by want of their pay seized the Chancellor's trunk brought forth to be carried with him in this journey to Glasgow, and would not deliver the same until caution was given for the payment. Sundry other bad parts and signs of hatred against the Chancellor have been "played" and set upon his chamber door, and it is seen that he has now to walk warily, otherwise his life will be in peril.

Roger Aston is with the King, and cannot thereby have commodity of fit and sure convoy of his letters to me: and my servant, Roger Nicholson, having been in the country with some of my Catholic friends, who presently are greatly appalled with Huntly's troubles, is now so visited with sickness, gotten by cold or other means, that he is not able to do the offices requisite, and by some I am advised that his life is in danger. May it therefore please your lordship to give me timely direction whether I shall supply that place with any other to be sent thither for like offices in case his sickness shall increase and continue or else finish his days. In like manner I find my own worn body and oppressed mind so changed and my former constitution so far decayed that without seasonable remedy I shall not tarry the end of her majesty's order to be given me in my suits to her majesty, and many times exhibited by my letters to your lordship. Nevertheless, I dare not for my health, help, or other cause exceed the bounds of Yorkshire and the Bishopric of Durham limited to me by your lordship's letters. Therefore I again, and most humbly, pray your lordship both to be mean to procure for me her majesty's gracious resolution and order in these behalfs that I perish not and end my miserable time in this world before I shall give better contentment to her majesty, and also to pardon my importunacy in this often troubling your lordship with my condemned letters and petitions, remaining without order executed for the good accomplishment

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2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 24. **663. Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.**

The King's majesty has commanded me to write to you in his name to desire you to write to my Lord Treasurer to desire his lordship to remember the deer promised the last year; and to that end has desired you to send for Cuthbert Renes and direct him to my Lord Treasurer to attend his lordship, that such order may be taken that they may be taken in convenient time. Because I have written to your lordship this day at more length touching the state of all matters here, I will not trouble you further for the present. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 27. **664. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

That your lordship may understand the success of the King's travel in his late journey in the west parts of Scotland, I send enclosed to your lordship Roger Aston's letter addressed to me and certifying those occurrents.

At this time I received other letters from many of my friends there agreeing all in one opinion and expectation of hasty troubles threatened to arise by the present course holden by the King in the favour of Huntly, by the discontentment of many noblemen and others of good quality seeking Huntly's indilate punishment or forcible revenge for Murray's slaughter, and by the general rage of the people stirred with Huntly's fact herein and despairing due chastisement in the same, matters thought there so desperate of remedy, and likely to kindle such a fire as shall "ryve" that realm in the midst, with danger of drawing in foreign forces to aid the parties chancing to be distressed, as I have thought it my duty to commend it to your lordship's knowledge and good consideration for the seasonable provision in these behalfs.

Besides the particularities contained in Mr. Ashton's letter, I am advertised that it has been advised that Murray, lately deceased, should be forfeited, as there it is termed, before the burial of his dead corpse, that the slaughter of him should be justified "by that he was known to be at the horne or outlawed," so that the blank commission, alleged before to have been granted by the King to Huntly touching Murray, shall not be pleaded or brought in question; and that for the further overthrow of Murray's children and house, James, late Earl of Murray and Regent of Scotland, should be likewise forfeited for treason committed against the Queen then his sovereign. Which last matter may well be given in advice, but hardly, I think, shall be either further followed or put in execution in regard of the great and general offence which in the time of the present storms will grow thereon.

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That Murray's friends assembled at this burial should sue to the King to vouchsafe to give his presence at Murray's funeral, appointed to be at Edinburgh on the 3rd of March next, and at that time to present to the King their petitions craving so earnestly that the King would both punish Huntly's fault and also clear his own honour for the pacifying of his grieved subjects, that the King should hardly give contentment in this case without due correction of Huntly and his accomplices; that it was further thought good to accompany their requests with motion to remove some courtiers from the King's presence, chiefly Sir George Hume, who was blamed by Murray's friends to have procured the blank commission against Murray, and to have counselled Huntly to justify his act by the commission recited; that albeit in these petitions Bothwell should neither be party nor have any intelligence or interest therein, yet suit should be made for his trial by assize or other means for his safety, upon assurance for reformation of his former behaviuor; all which advices have been had in deliberation both before Huntly sent the Master of Elphinston to the King to offer his trial by law to justify his fact by the outlawry of Murray and to crave that all Huntly's friends might freely accompany him at his arraignment, and also before the King dismissed the Master of Elphinston and granted and appointed Huntly's trial by assize, and free access of his friends with him at Linlithgow on the 3rd of March next, being the day limited for the burial of Murray; so it is thought that this appointment of the time and place for Huntly's trial shall prevent not only the journey determined to be taken by the King against Huntly on the 10th day of March next, but also the intentions of the lords to have been moved to the King at the funeral of Murray; nevertheless it is still deemed that the time of the burial of Murray will be the birth either of resolution for these motions intended, or else for some other course of revenge to be attempted.

Warning is given to Murray's friends, and Huntly is summoned to appear at Linlithgow on the 3rd of March next; for the which Huntly has put all his friends in readiness. It is said that the Lord John Hamilton, the Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Caithness, Sutherland, the Lord Maxwell, and others will "partye" Huntly, and that Marishal has promised to bring with him 300 horsemen and 700 footmen; that on the contrary side the Earls of Argyle, Athol, Morton, and Mar, the Lords Ochiltree, Forbes, Boyd, Cathcart, and others will join with the Stewarts' and Murrays' friends; wherein it is verily thought that the Duke of Lennox will band with these lords when he shall see them entered into the action, yet these lords will not discover to the Duke the bottom of their plot before they "fynde" to enterprise the execution.

It is advertised that a writ is found for the horning of Murray, which is suspected to be foisted in for Huntly's acquittal. Nevertheless it is looked that the lords of the assize shall not admit that for a good plea, in regard of the common danger which in like causes may fall hereafter to any nobleman who, being horned or outlawed in a civil action, may be slain by his enemy who shall justify the slaughter.

Ochiltree has departed to his own house. Some think that he has obtained a commission blank to prosecute Huntly in "semblable" manner as Huntly had for Murray, and that his assistants will soon discover themselves whensoever he shall attempt the execution of the

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commission. It is thought Bothwell has lately agreed with the most part of Ochiltree's friends for the slaughter of Sir William Stewart. But it is doubted whether Ochiltree has consented to the agreement, yet he has said that he would agree with any to get revenge on Huntly.

It is now given out that the courtiers offer liberally to the Earl of Bothwell, who now little hearkens thereunto and rides abroad boldly in Merse and Lothian, as before he wonted to do. The King, hearing of his being in those parts, wrote to the Lord Seton to impeach his passage in places near Seton, but Seton has no liking to deal therein. I am credibly informed that Bothwell has purposed to offer to me himself and his cause towards me to be ordered by too indifferent and sufficient mediators. But doubting how I may deal with him without especial direction, I have therefore thought good to acquaint your lordship with this information given me, and to pray to be directed how to answer or do with him in case he shall essay to try me herein.

The Earl of Caithness, who married Huntly's sister, has lately taken and hanged the eldest sons of Mackintosh and Angus Williams, with eight in their companies, and it is verily thought that this is done with the privity and by the direction of Huntly, whereby the offences of the nobility and people are the more stirred against Huntly.

At the King's late being in Edinburgh, Morton, Lindsay, the Provost, and ministers of Edinburgh have earnestly moved him to yield indilate justice for the punishment of the slaughter of Murray. The King has answered, and in words so far promised and satisfied them that they rest contented, looking for the accomplishment of the things thus promised; and the Queen has very effectually entreated and dealt with the King to hearken unto the cries of the people and advice of the best counsellors and affected, persuading the King to punish Huntly in time to pacify the people with sight of justice and to recover their hearts to him. These have wrought good effect in the King whilst he was in Edinburgh. But it is doubted that at his return to Glasgow he shall be greatly laboured with Huntly's friends to continue his course and favour towards Huntly; yet some hope that sundry of the Council now ridden with the King, together with Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay, shall prevail to keep the King in memory of his promises past in Edinburgh.

Many spiteful libels are daily cast in the streets at Edinburgh, where sundry banished men are now bold to lodge, and most men arm and set themselves ready for troubles. Murray's friends will not greatly strive against Huntly's acquittal by assize, in regard they fear that their labours shall find no good success, and that thereby they shall discover the King's mind in the matter and the revenge against Huntly will not long be deferred.

It is certified herewith that the Chancellor seeks to have the King's leave to depart out of the realm, intending to defer the same until Whitsunday next to furnish himself with money, which presently he wants, and to dispose of his household and possessions.

The ministers gone with the King purpose to advise the Chancellor to beware to embark the King in this action for Huntly's delivery; wherein, albeit I would not presume to write directly to the King or

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Chancellor, yet I have written so fully therein to Roger Aston that I think my letters to Mr. Aston—and which he will surely show to the King and Chancellor—shall suffice to work no less profit herein than if I had addressed my letters particularly and severally to them. It has been thought good that the Lord Hamilton should surrender the keeping of the Castle of Dumbarton and to be recompensed with the custody of the Castle of Edinburgh, and that the Chancellor should have Dumbarton. But it is thought the broaching of this matter shall stir such colour in many of good quality and strength that it is laid in the dark for a season.

John Gowre, an Englishman, lately passed out of Gloucestershire into Flanders, embarked at Camphire for Scotland and arrived at Leith with letters to the Lord Claud Hamilton, presently deceased, to the Lord Seton, Maxwell, and Mr. George Carr. The letters were of small effect, referring credit to the bearer. It is advertised to me by whom the letters were addressed. The bailiffs of Edinburgh, suspecting Gowre to be about evil offices, apprehended and committed him to the tolbooth. Then my servant Nicholson, at Edinburgh, and presently sick, was admitted to speak with and examine him, finding him an obstinate papist, pretending to have come into Scotland to call for some debts owing to him by the Lord Seton, deceased. It is promised that the bailiffs and my servant should have dealt further with him, but by commandment he was set at liberty.

Colonel Boyd has lately arrived in Scotland from France. One other has come from Rouen with letters to many Catholics in Scotland, and, as it is suspected, with practice for the Catholics and their plots, and albeit they are not presently seen to prevail much in their desires, yet I am credibly informed that the chief amongst them are in great comfort, intending shortly to attempt the progress of their great matter, as they term it, to draw in foreign forces and a toleration of religion in Scotland. This much for the advertisements of such novelties in Scotland as have been certified to me by my friends there.

In my own private causes I find still the continuance of your lordship's favour to me by your lordship's late motion made to her majesty in my behalf, for which I right humbly thank your good lordship. And because upon the report of her majesty's mind and disposition towards me, which it pleased your lordship lately to signify to my servant Sheperson, I perceive that her majesty misliked that I should come thither, and will in nowise allow me to come to the Court, and further her majesty would be ashamed to see me there. I now feel myself so deeply wounded hereby that I have just cause both speedily to break and disperse the poor family which of late I have kept together, by the view of your lordship's letter wishing me to determine with myself to return into Scotland and to dispose my things for the same, and also to leave and fly the fellowship of men and to commend myself and body to the company of worms in my grave, or of mice in the prison to be assigned to me with punishments. I rather wish for than thus to endure her majesty's indignation; the stroke whereof shall, I trust, either by death end my miseries, with hope of better life, or else by imprisonment cover my face and shame, with liberty there to lament my misfortunes; the force whereof shall, I hope, soon conquer my sorrowful heart, which over long by life afflicts the rest of my body. Before the end of my days I most humbly crave and shall

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still be ready to give her majesty payment and the best satisfaction in my whole power for my debts to her majesty and to the garrison at Berwick, trusting that by your lordship's good means and wisdom it shall be considered and timely resolved whether the offer made for this payment by myself, with the consent and aid of my son, shall be more acceptable to her majesty than the taking and possessing of all that I have in this world, together with such manner of punishment to be laid on me for my fault as shall best please her majesty to award; wherein her majesty's censure shall be received by me as a judgment in law: and therewith I do most humbly pray that before this determination of her majesty's censure in this case, her majesty might be well and truly informed of the quality of my fault committed, of the effect of my offer tendered by myself and son for the payment of my debts mentioned, and of the true condition of my estate and case so wretched —chiefly in regard of her majesty's indignation towards me—that my life is worse than my death to me. With these may it please your lordship to remember that I am not able to yield her majesty payment of the yearly sum offered without the profits arising by the coals of the possessions of my son, and also the salt to be made by the pans at Sunderland seized for her majesty; which pans are in such decay and daily waste, that, except they shall be very speedily repaired in the present and good time of the year now come and passing, they will shortly be found of small profit to her majesty, and not to be recoverable by my power. Wherefore I dare not enter into the reparations of those pans before the resolution of her majesty's pleasure how to dispose of them and myself. So that your lordship will hereby well see and consider how requisite it is for her majesty's profit to give speedy order in these behalfs; in the particularities of all which I have so oftentimes written to your lordship and so thoroughly instructed Sheperson to inform your lordship in the same, that I need not trouble your lordship with further repetitions or suits, other than with all humility to pray your lordship to be mean that all these things expressed may be with good opportunity and certainty, by the view of these presents, be made known to her majesty for the expedition of her majesty's order therein before I shall perish by the delay, or that the parcels in her majesty's hands for my debts shall fall into needless and irrecoverable ruin. And in case this motion thus to be made to her majesty by your lordship's favour for me shall renew or purchase any further blame to your lordship, as before has chanced, and whereof I would be right sorry, then I beseech your good lordship to give me advice how I may best present my own petition to her majesty's own hands for an end of these things. All which I wholly commend both to your lordship's good consideration for the best order to be taken herein, and also to your lordship's goodness accustomed towards myself to hasten in some sort the end of my miseries presently oppressing me. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the signifying of these presents I received this other letter addressed by Roger Aston to me, and written for the fallow deer to be provided and sent to the King, wherein I shall send to your lordship Cuthbert Rayne, according to the King's desire, and by him write further to your lordship therein.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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Enclosure with the same :—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

I have received your letters of the 10th with the rest sent from James Hudson. This last night I came to this town directed from the King to some of the courtiers here. Upon which occasion I thought good to acquaint you with our proceedings since the direction of my last.

The King passed to Glasgow and from thence to Dumbarton, where he remained four days in searching and trying out such as had received the Earl Bothwell. Both himself and his wife were come out of those parts before our coming, so that little is done in that behalf, except the committing of the Sheriff of Bute to the castle of Blackness, and the Laird of Follertt to the castle of Dumbarton, and his wife to the castle of Glasgow. Some others of mean estate are not worthy the speaking of. John Smallett should have been hanged on Saturday last, but by the earnest means of the Lord Hamilton and the Chancellor "he is yett conteneud." John Nesmeth is in the castle of Dumbarton. The King has been of mind sundry times to have hanged him, "butt loth to ofend" the Queen, is still preserved. All means possible have been made to persuade her, "butt wil nott prevele." Her reason is, she says, the King promised him his life; which promise being once made "wold nott have it broken." I have to deal with the Queen in this matter to see if I can "breke" her before my return.

What is become of Bothwell no man can tell. It is said he "is come" to the Borders. The King is very earnest to get some "myan wppon him," and deals severely with such as have in any sort relieved him with "mett" or by any other way. "Butt whatt shoulld I se."

The discontentment of the people here is such, and chiefly for this last murder committed by Huntly, that I fear he may go where he pleases, for no man will "ster" him. By this last deed he has got more favourers than he had "if the dorst otter there myndes." But the fact he committed was so odious that none dare speak of him. This is all we have done concerning Bothwell.

Our journey to the west country was not so much for the pursuing of Bothwell as it was to avoid the fury of the people upon the death of Murray, who gave the Chancellor the greatest blame thereof; for the which cause he has drawn the King from this town, which greatly moves the people here against the present government. I find "al men for the most partt" discontent, chiefly such as favour the religion. If the cause intended be followed forth, no doubt there will be mischief, and that presently, for now Huntly avows the deed and offers to abide his trial, saying he has done nothing but that which he will abide the law for, and thereupon has sent the Master of Elphinstoun to the King, who has been very well heard and sent away very well satisfied.

The conclusion which I take in the matter is this: Huntly shall abide his trial on the 3rd of the next [month] at Linlithgow, where the King will be for the present, and for that cause has written to all Murray's friends to see what they will do in the matter. As far as I can understand they will refer the "mannesing" of the cause to the King to see what will be done by him therein, either to punish the deed under a colour of

James VI. 1591–2. law. It will stir up the people and Murray's friends more than before to take their own revenge for punishment. I look for none so long as Huntly has such friends about the King.

The King has sent for all the Council and Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay, who this day take their journey towards Glasgow. They are in good hope to do some good in these matters and to persuade the Chancellor to withdraw himself for a time till the people be settled and some good order taken in these matters, which is more than I look for.

This last night, unlooked for, the King came to this town by himself, only to see the Queen, and has this day returned to Glasgow and has taken the Council and the ministers with him, and has promised the friends of Murray that they shall have all that the law will make for them. Of this I can say no more till the day appointed and the event of these things.

I cannot tell whether I should wish you here or not. I know your being here would do much good, and you are greatly desired by the good men of this country. Yet as matters are handled you would find a discontentment, yet I am not in despair "butt" matters may come well enough. "The King sayes wel, if he do as wel."

There is a Jesuit come out of Flanders with letters and credit to the Lord Claud [Hamilton], to the Lord Maxwell, the Lord Seton, the Prior of "Plescady" and Mr. George Car. The letters bear no great matter but credit to the bearer. He is in the Tolbooth. What shall be done with him, I know not.

It is avowed here that proclamation is made in Berwick that all Bothwell's faction shall be received in England, and that Mr. John Colvile has been at Court. I have taken upon me to answer this matter, for I know her majesty will not deal in that sort.

Order is given for the execution of "Grayme" and some others accused of witchcraft. Edinburgh. Feb. 24. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Robert Bowes. Written on the back in Roger Aston's hand:* "I wrett to Mr. Gorg Selby for the hound, and the King is vere anggre he is nott come. I have writen for him."

Mar. 7. 665. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

May it please your good lordship. On the 4th instant I received your lordship's last letter of the 25th of February last, and thereupon I have written effectually to Roger Aston, agreeable to your lordship's direction, trusting that he shall stay and "dashe" the employment and sending of the young Laird of Poury Oglevy into Spain by the delivery of the weighty causes and reasons expressed in your lordship's letter mentioned. All which reasons I have at length sent to him with my advice for the furtherance of the good success therein. In this behalf I have in general manner written to the Laird of Pourie Oglevy as well to satisfy his expectation for my answer to his letter, which before I sent to your lordship, as also to dissuade him from proceeding any further in this journey intended for Spain.

In the residue of the contents in your letter—and which matters are surely of great importance—I have wished Mr. Aston, charged my

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servant at Edinburgh, and myself shall be right diligent to give due regard to the same to prevent the dangers and to advance her majesty's pleasure and service to the uttmermost in our power.

By letters of the last of February last, brought slowly and delivered this day to me from my servant in Scotland, it is certified that at the return of the King to Glasgow with some of the Council and ministers of Edinburgh, whereof I made some mention in my last before these to your lordship, it was concluded that Huntly and his accomplices should be warded in the north in places to be appointed by the King; and in case Huntly should be found "entered into" his journey to abide his trial in law, that then he should be returned and have new day given for his trial by assize, and in the meantime enter himself and remain in ward to be limited upon pain of treason; and if he shall not be "comed forthe" towards Linlithgow to be tried as was appointed, that then the King with his forces will proceed against him, as before was resolved. Herewith it is agreed that all the rest present at the slaughter of Murray shall be pursued in body, lands, and goods. Some of Murray's friends are in fear that this course against Huntly is thus pretended to win time and dissolve the preparations made for the revenge of the murder; and they are occupied with the greater jealousy in that they have heard that Patrick Murray was addressed from the Court to Huntly, and for his benefit. Nevertheless the most of those parties for Murray —looking to find the King willing now to do justice in this case—persuade to attend the sequel of the course resolved. But I find not that they and others grieved with the suspicions of the Chancellor's actions can as yet well pass over those griefs and embrace the Chancellor and his friendship, notwithstanding that some for the Chancellor, as it is said, have made means to Morton and Mar for firm reconciliation and friendship amongst them.

The Countess of Huntly shall shortly leave the Court. Ochiltree has no will to come to Court before he shall see better accomplishment of the punishment of Huntly.

The King purposes to lie some while at Linlithgow, and the Queen to retire to Dalkeith, where she likes not to abide, with her small family, except Morton and the countess his lady, owners of that house, shall also come down thither to await on her—a matter not well liked by some courtiers presently with the King.

The Master of Glamis, doubting to have been surprised and hurt suddenly by the Earl of Crawford and others, has entertained in his house forty gentlemen for his strength. He is not agreed nor in the way of agreement with the Chancellor. Morton and Mar have been warned to give regard to themselves, which advice they have taken, putting them in good safety, as they think, for prevention of the evil.

It is boldly given out by sundry in Scotland that the Laird of Spott, Mr. John Colvile, and Mr. Richard Douglas are entertained in London with great favour, and that the Earl Bothwell, Hercules Stewart, his brother, the Laird of Niddry, Mr. Thomas Crankeson, and others, fled for the fact at Holyrood House, are in Northumberland, wherein myself is blamed and charged by some in Court to have been an especial instrument to draw them into this realm and procure favour towards them. But as God, truth, and my actions will in time make known my

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innocency in these behalfs—wherein I have not in any sort meddled—so in time, and shortly, I trust, these reporters and their hearers will be satisfied with the knowledge of the truth herein. I look to receive very shortly more full and perfect advertisements from Scotland that I cease to trouble your lordship further with matters not worthy of writing.

Your lordship's continual goodness lately and at all times showed towards me and for my welfare straightly binds me, my son, and all to come of us, faithfully to honour and serve your lordship and yours, on whom we shall gladly hold and dutifully always employ ourselves and whole powers to be found thankful for your lordships' benefits bestowed on myself for all our reliefs.

Whereas for my debt to her majesty your lordship has now directed me to cause good assurance to be made with good sureties to pay yearly to her majesty 1000 *l.* by quarterly payments, wishing that I had ended that assurance that thereon I might repair to my charge in Scotland, I shall with all diligence and to my full power obey and accomplish your lordship's direction herein; and for the same I shall call on and try my friends to be sureties for this payment. And finding some in whom I have great affiance shrink from giving great bonds before that for their own safeties they shall see the salt-pans to be repaired and put in due order, and which they think without thorough supply and charge will exceed the reach of my power in regard of my present poverty, therefore I have instructed and addressed Sherperson my servant to attend upon and present to your lordship such kind of assurance in this behalf as most readily may be performed, and which, being allowed and accepted by your favour therein, shall be executed with all expedition.

Further, being ready with heart and hand to serve her majesty to the uttermost of my whole power, and without regard of pains or danger whatsoever, I do most humbly pray that my present estate and case, oppressed with evident adversity and perishing by the sight of her majesty's heavy indignation continuing towards me, may be well known and so considered that the employment of me in that place do neither blemish her majesty's honour nor prejudice her majesty's service by the disabilities appearing and manifest in me, and which disabilities—being incurable by any means in myself—I have chosen rather with sorrow and shame to discover to your lordship in due season "in respectes remembered" than anywise to cover and wander in my miseries, threatening great hurt to all her majesty's affairs committed to me, whilst I shall remain in the plight and condition presently possessing me. This much I have thought it my duty to present to your lordship's memory and good consideration, and I rest obedient, ready and willing to serve her majesty as I shall be commanded. Barns. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Mar. 8. 666. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

May it please your good lordship. That your lordship may know the late resolution taken at Glasgow by the King's Council and ministers for the pursuit of Huntly and his accomplices—which resolution something differs from the former order notified by my servant and delivered to

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him by a councillor present thereat, and which by my last before these I sent to your lordship—I send enclosed Roger Aston's letter addressed and brought to me this day; to the view whereof I commit this and all other warrants in Scotland. For by my servant's letter I find that by his late sickness he was not able to be in Court and other fit places for intelligence: and that most of the instruments whom I have used there and continually fed so long as I had any thing of myself or could borrow of my friends, have espied my fist empty, and despairing of their prey, have lately checked and soared away from me and him like hawks, so that I must either better bate my lure for these birds—which surely now exceeds my power—or else to look for no further flights or pleasures at their hands, a lesson both teaching me to know my own miserable estate and also occasioning me to discover the same to your lordship for the timely prevention of the prejudice likely to fall to her majesty's service by the employment of me therein, and by my disabilities to perform the duties requisite. All others I commit to the sight of my other letter sent yesterday to your lordship. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Enclosure with the same:—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Having returned from Glasgow to this town according to the resolution taken, I thought good to acquaint you of our proceedings here. It was concluded at Glasgow upon the Council and ministers' coming thither that Huntly should come in if he would bring with him those who were at the slaughter of Murray to underlie the law. This is given to his choice, and the 7th day of this instant appointed for his appearances. Whether he will come or not is not yet known. If he come not, the raid to the north will hold, and all men are commanded to be in readiness. If he come in, as is believed he will not, there is order set down that I hope will both satisfy the country and party distressed. The ministers are gone home very well satisfied, and I am in good hope things shall come well. Carmichael gives me good comfort. The Chancellor says "fer" to the matter. Our doings are so uncertain that I dare give no assurances, yet I hope well. In my next I shall be able to "resolve" you further.

Huntly is in Aberdeen. Mar met the King coming to this town, and returned to Stirling. All Murray's friends have referred this matter to the King, and will first see what he will do before they show themselves.

Ricchy Grame was burnt yesterday, "whoo has taken it uppon his ded." All he spake of the Earl Bothwell was true.

It is credibly informed the King that all Bothwell's company are "planly resett" in England, not in secret manner, "butt openly and rydes in to the contry where the ples to se the hores rases and other pastymes." This is laid sore to my charge in respect I gave such assurances to the contrary. I can say nothing in the matter till I hear either from you or from Court. Because it is so constantly "avoyd." I dare not say to the contrary. They have received comfort by Mr. Archibald Douglas' letters assuring them her majesty will be their friend and they may come and go as they please. "Souch lyke" they are comforted by Cuthbert Armorer, who "plenly" receives them in Murray.

James VI. 1591–2. This greatly grieves the King that those whom he so deadly hates should be so "plenly" received in all parts, seeing he has been so willing to satisfy her majesty whenever she desired, chiefly in the delivery of her traitors. By these doings her majesty's traitors will be received here, and it will be an occasion to drawn them hither.

The King is so bent against Bothwell that he says if he should seek revenge out of all the world he will give his life, "butt he wil have it." I would wish, for my own part, neither he nor any of his should have favourers there; for if they have, farewell all amity between these countries.

I pray you let me have some "feling" of these matters, and that with speed that I may "frame my self acording." My courses have been from the beginning to keep her majesty and this King in sound friendship, which I hope shall be counted good service.

I will serve here as long as her majesty shall think convenient and that I may do good. Although there is some discontent for the present, I doubt not but the King shall settle all very well. I have given my opinion in my former letters touching your "in comming," which I think to be very necessary, and your presence might do much good, yet I will never advise you to come hither to do good except order be taken with the "benestmen." I can say no more till my next, which shall be as any matter occurs. It is said Mr. John Colvile is gone to Court. Linlithgow, 2nd March. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Mar. 11. 667. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This day letters were brought hither to me from some of my friends in Scotland certifying that by sudden "metamorphices" the current there is changed in like manner as the resolutions lately given in Council there have altered oftentimes the wind. Huntly "was comed" to St. Johnstone with 300 horse, and with pretence to come forward to his trial, as was appointed; but he is commanded to retire and to ward. Crawford and Ogilvy accompanied Huntly, but Montrose, Seaton, and such other noblemen as he looked for neither came to him nor [are] yet like presently to countenance him and his action, for the King shows himself directly against Huntly. The Chancellor has both persuaded in Council with great earnestness, and *bona fide*, as is now thought, that this slaughter of Murray may not pass without "indelate" and due punishment, and also has agreed with the Master of Glamis without the privity of Crawford, and is entered into a friendly course with Mar, Morton, and the Stewarts, whereby the greater hatred of many is now much abated towards him.

The Lord John Hamilton is seen now slow to "partye" Huntly, as was looked for, and Maxwell, thinking that the town of Edinburgh had conceived hardly against him by the sight of forces of horsemen which he brought and "caried" to Linlithgow, excused himself to Mr. Robert Bruce, with desire that the town might be satisfied therein. Few of Huntly's great friends in Court are found to stick fast by him other than Spyny and Sir George Hume. Thus the tide is turned suddenly, yet

James VI. 1591–2. many suspect that the stream shall not long run in this course, wherein these friends writing presently to me think to be able and promise to give further advertisement shortly. And I am informed that Roger Aston forbears to write to me until he may write with better certainty than he can yet do in the first brunt of these charges.

The King has told some of my friends that he has now followed my counsel, which I take to be upon the sight of some of my letters persuading the expedition of justice for Murray's slaughter and of the agreement between the Chancellor and Glamis.

The King is presently purposed to lie at Linlithgow and to bring the Queen thither to him; whereupon the town of Edinburgh partly conceives that the King and Chancellor do neither well like nor much trust them. The burial of Murray is still deferred. The Master of Orkney, son of the Lord Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, is in communication with the Earl of Morton for marriage of Morton's youngest daughter, whereby it is deemed that the Douglases and Stewarts shall be wholly joined together.

The Duke of Lennox has obtained the wardship of the young Earl of Murray, and some think that by "that" means of the Duke the feud betwixt the houses of Huntly and Murray shall in time be appeased and that the life of Huntly shall be saved, albeit that he shall be chastised for a season and that sundry of his friends and surname present at Murray's slaughter shall suffer death for the same. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Mar. 13. 668. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

May it please your good lordship. It is advertised to me this day that the Earl of Huntly on the 10th of this month entered into his ward at Blackness, but all his friends returned northwards from St. Johnstone and will not enter into ward as they were appointed. It is verily thought that Huntly's friends in Court shall preserve him from hurt. I perceive that Roger Aston defers to write at length to me until he shall see with better certainty the further progress and course of affairs in Scotland, which presently rest in doubtful balance; yet the late and general malcontentment is partly appeased in hope of the good success of things desired.

The Earl Bothwell has met Huntly's servants carrying his trunk from St. Johnstone to the Queen's Ferry, and has hurt the servant who had charge of the trunk and taken away the trunk with 6000 marks, which I take to be Scottish, in it.

The King remains at Linlithgow attended upon by the Lord John Hamilton, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Maxwell. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *No address.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Mar. 18. 669. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Upon receipt of your lordship's last letter of the 14th instant I have "indelatelye" sent the two letters severally addressed by the Lords of

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her Majesty's Council to the Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster for the searching out and stay of such Scottish fugitives as are "bruted" to have lately entered into and abide in their wardenries, and with the same I have written at length to Roger Aston certifying how greatly her majesty is offended in these matters and what order the Lords of the Council have given therein. In which behalf, for his better information, I have both sent to him the copy of the letter addressed by the Lords of her majesty's Council to the three wardens, and also my own advice how he shall do and proceed to give contentment to the King and the well affected there, which I trust he shall shortly accomplish with good effect. Further, I have likewise informed and directed my servant at Edinburgh to travail with especial persons of the Council and of other good sorts that they may be well satisfied in all these "brutes" and matters. All which I hope shall receive good success.

Albeit that I have written to Mr. Aston, to the young Laird of Pourie Oglevy, and to my servant at Edinburgh for the stay of the Laird's employment into Spain, as before I have certified to your lordship, yet having hitherto received no return from any of them of the receipt of my letters to them in this part, I am in doubt that the packet to my servant with those letters was intercepted, or else was by some accident miscarried or withdrawn from the hands of my servant, and therefore I have renewed and written again in those behalfs to them all; wherein I look to be shortly advertised how the case stands, and whereof I shall, upon receipt of that advertisement, give knowledge to your lordship.

[*In the margin.*] I am advertised by Nicholson, after the writing hereof, that all these letters are safely delivered, and Mr. Aston [is] travailing to stay the journey, so that I have thereon stayed the letters to be sent in that behalf.

The King continues at Linlithgow, where are the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Hamilton, the Earl of Mar, and the Master of Elphinstone. Maxwell and his company have departed and returned homewards.

Albeit that Huntly trusted to have been delivered from his ward at Blackness within twenty-four hours after his entry into the same, yet he remains still prisoner there in the keeping of Sir James Sandelands, and sundry Councillors and ministers persuade the King to do justice on him; wherein great labour is made for the safety of Huntly, who now alleges—as by four gentlemen employed and sent to Linlithgow to deal in his cause is protested—that he is clear of the slaughter of Murray, and that the Lairds of Cluny, Geythe, and Innermarky, having an especial deadly feud against Murray, killed him against Huntly's will, who could not rescue Murray or scarcely save himself from the rage and violence of those lairds. The four friends thus employed by Huntly are the Master of Elphinstone and the Lairds of Petlarge, Meldrum, and Buchan, who in the name of Huntly have offered to Murray's mother, presently at Linlithgow, and to the Earl of Mar, that Huntly shall appear and abide his trial in law in the beginning of May next, and for the same shall give the bonds of gentlemen to be bound in 100,000*l.*; which offer is directly refused, so that it is doubted now what shall be done with Huntly, and for resolution therein sundry Councillors and ministers are sent for and called to Court. Many suspect that the Master of Elphinstone shall receive him and convoy him home. If this shall be

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seen to so fall out, then Argyle, Athol, and Mar are purposed to sue to the King to have commission to apprehend him and his friends present at the slaughter; and in case this commission and power shall be denied, then they will hazard that enterprise without further warrant.

Although the Chancellor was once advised and "amynded" to have entered into ward at Stirling in the custody of the Earl of Mar, with offer to abide his trial in all things to be objected against him for the slaughter of Murray, wherein by proclamation all men should be warned to come in and show forth whatsoever they could lay against him, yet now his friends have dissuaded him herein, alleging it to be dangerous for him to retire and leave the Court, as Sir James Stewart did, but rather to show himself and his face in Court with readiness to answer all accusations, unto which advice the Chancellor presently hearkens.

A little pamphlet was lately cast into the great church at Edinburgh setting forth the former life of Bothwell, his present penitency, with protestation and promise of a new and reformed life, and craving the good counsel of the ministers, who still continue in their sermons to reprove him and his actions. Herein the Chancellor is touched with some fault specified in that libel.

The Laird of Spott, Mr. John Colvile, and others at the raid at Holyrood House are summoned to appear at the Parliament to be holden at Holyrood House on the 24th of May next. Colonel Stewart is set at liberty.

I am again advertised that the assembly of the papists in Scotland have given direction and farewell to Mr. George Carr to pass into Spain to "intertaine" their traffic and intelligence betwixt Spain and them for the benefit of their church. It is herewith certified that Poury Ogilvie got his despatch on the 10th instant for Spain. To which last matter I cannot give great credit, yet upon this advertisement, and to prevent this sudden departure of Poury Ogilvie, I have again written in that cause, as before is expressed.

According to your lordship's direction and pleasure, I am ready both to pay yearly to her majesty 1000 *l.* for my debt to her majesty and garrison, and also to give immediate assurance for the same by such means as Sheperson my servant has, I trust, presented to your lordship; and as that sort of assurance is the best and most ready that I am able presently to accomplish, and that the same shall give sufficient surety to her majesty of good payment at the days limited, or else great advantage against myself, my son, and all our possessions whatsoever, so I most humbly beseech your good lordship to vouchsafe that it may be accepted; and the rather for that I find my friends loth to encumber themselves and their inheritances with long bonds for me, and that by other means I cannot yield better assurance then is thus offered. Durham. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The Earl of Athol and Lord Ochiltree are sent for by letters to come to the Court, but finding that Huntly has so many of his servants in Blackness that he is thought to be master thereof at his will, and that he rather takes his pastimes than endures any imprisonment, therefore they are unwilling, and some say not purposed, to come to Court until they see what shall be further done to Huntly.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

James VI. 1591–2. Mar. 22.

670. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the view of the contents of Roger Aston's letter enclosed may it please your lordship to understand as well the present estate and occurrences in Scotland, as also that the intended voyage to and negotiation of the young Laird of Poury Ogilvie in Spain are stayed and "daste"; and albeit I find great wrong to have been offered to myself by the untrue surmise delivered to the King that I, by my letter to the Laird, had commended that journey to be profitable to both realms, yet finding that Mr. Aston has so well satisfied the King with true report of my part thereof, and that the copy of my letter addressed to the laird in that behalf, and in my hands, will so fully verify Mr. Aston's report and clear myself against that suggestion, I therefore forbear to trouble your lordship for my further acquittal in a matter so evident.

By divers means I have sought to learn whether the Catholics in Scotland look for the coming of Colonel Sempill thither, but they have no such expectation as hitherto I can find, and as appears by Mr. Aston's letter. Yet it is advertised to me that the Catholics are doubtful and in deliberation whether they shall "partye" Huntly or not, and that they trust verily to receive before the 1st of May next intelligence and good comfort to be sent to them by some especial persons to be employed and sent from Spain and from the Low Countries. It is, besides, certified to me that sundry well affected travail diligently and are in good hope to knit together the Chancellor, Morton, Mar, Glamis, and the Stewarts, and that upon the conclusion thereof the King shall be drawn again to the Holyrood House for the contentment of Edinburgh; and whereupon it is looked that the clouds presently threatening great storms shall by the renewing of this friendship and the means thereof fall without great danger; and therewith some think that this reconciliation shall little please or profit Bothwell, for whose pursuit and apprehension sundry things are devised and to be attempted that he has now need to give regard to it.

Murray's friends, doubting still to "compasse" their revenge against Huntly by law, nevertheless coldly call for his punishment by law and seek commissions, as by Mr. Aston is declared. But they prepare to take by force that redress which they cannot get by justice, and it is feared that out of that enterprise some broils shall arise. In this the Lord Ochiltree is noted to be earnest, and he is now charged upon pain of treason to keep his house. Athol is commanded to remain within the limits of his own bounds.

Robert Stewart, brother of the Laird of Innermeath, and late servant of the Earl of Murray, disguised himself "to have comed" to the company of Huntly with intent to have killed Huntly with his pistol, and twice attempting to enter into the house where Huntly abode, was put back and his intention partly discovered. Nevertheless he continues in his resolution to exchange lives with Huntly. This Robert Stewart and his brother took Huntly's trunk, and not Bothwell, as before I certified to your lordship by the advertisement of Mr. Aston and others.

The King is pleased that 300 voluntary soldiers shall be levied in Scotland to serve under Colonel Balfour (Belforde). The Captain of Edinburgh Castle is sick and in danger of his life. Sundry make suit

James VI. 1591-2.

for the office, and the town of Edinburgh travail that it may be given to some person well affected and loving the welfare of that town and the common peace. Some hope that he shall escape the danger and live.

For the expedition of the assurance to be given to her majesty for my debt, and agreeable to the course liked by your lordship, as Sheperson has certified to me, I shall send up my son, Ralph Bowes, in the beginning of next term; and I have directed Sheperson in the meantime to prepare the draft of the assurance, that according to your lordship's good advice and pleasure it may be finished without delay. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

I have received your lordship's letter of the 8th of March on the 15th hereof. I have considered the whole and shall answer to every part thereof. First, concerning the slaughter of the Earl of Murray and what is proposed upon Huntly's entering into ward. First, according to the charge, "he entered, where he hath remaned this vij dayes," ready to abide his trial. The friends of Murray find the time not proper, for sundry respects. First, the law provides that a man, for slaughter, must have a jury of his peers, which cannot be got, for there must be eight earls "with outt degre defendantt to the party defender or persuar," so that in that point he knows his life to be in no danger. Next, he had many friends, chiefly my lord of Spyne and Sir George Houme, who have shown themselves "plene party" for him. Our whole Court and Council has been divided in this matter, and further will be ere it be long, by all appearance.

The Chancellor has shown himself "plene party" against Huntly, "and so hath all the offeseres of estatt," which has bred some jealousies between the chamber and the Chancellor. This matter touched the Chancellor nearer than any other, for it was plainly spoken "the Chansler was partesipatt of Hontle's fackett," but his last proceedings in that matter have satisfied many, and the Chancellor is minded rather to hazard his standing than to justify so "unonest" a cause. Thus far it is concluded that Huntly shall be set at liberty upon caution under great sums to be answerable upon certain days' warning whenever the party shall think good. This conclusion was taken on Wednesday the 10th, which day there were sent four commissioners to Huntly, the Earl of Montrose, the Laird of "Colloththy," Mr. David Lindsay, and John Duncanson, ministers. These were sent to cause him to set down under his own hand, as also to take his oath, whether he had any commission of the King either for the taking or slaying of the Earl of Murray, as it has been reported he had. To this he has not only sworn but he has set down with his own hand a "plene" denial of any such thing, the copy whereof I shall send you in my next. This sudden "desspech" was the cause I could not send it at this time. This day there are letters directed to the Earl of Murray's friends to see if they will pursue Huntly or not, and till answer returns he shall remain in ward. If the party will not pursue him, as I know they will not, he shall be set at liberty

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upon the conditions aforesaid. What will follow out of these proceedings, I cannot tell you, but by judgment of the best and wisest sort matters will not long stand as they are. We must remit these and all other things to God, who I doubt not will have care of his own.

Whereas you write that I should by all means stay the intention of Poury Ogilvie's journey to Spain "be" sundry good reasons specified in your letter, whereupon I have dealt with the King and Chancellor and am thoroughly to "resolve" you in this matter. First, for the King's own part he never gave ear to that matter further than by the good liking of her majesty. "For any counseler, I never saye nor understod thatt any delt in the matter." Some of the chamber were solicited with offers of commodity, and I as one, but that matter is handled as you would wish, and I hope agreeable to her majesty's own desire. "For his jorne to Speine, it is plenly denyd, and where he desiertt to come to Ingland I thinke you wil nott se him att this tyme." He told the King he had received letters from yourself commending the journey to be profitable for both the realms, which "cast" the King to give the better ear. But after I had "resolved" his majesty there was no such matter, for I was assured you never wrote any such letter. He was presently satisfied. For this take no more care. I shall be answerable for it.

For any traffic with Spain or Colonel Sempill's coming into this country, I cannot learn. I find the King in that point very constant. He is very desirous to have you here, which is a token he will run "another" [? no other] course than that he has promised to her majesty. Although the proceedings here do not thoroughly satisfy the minds of many, we must hope for better. These matters among themselves will settle, and this night the King commanded me to certify you he was the man you left him, and the promise he made to you at your departing he should constantly keep. The Earl of Murray's friends shall have commission to pursue all such of Huntly's friends as were at the slaughter, as chiefly Accondounit, the Laird of Cluny, the Laird of Gyghe, and the Laird of Innermarky, which is as much for the present as the party requires.

The thing which grieves the King most is that Bothwell's accomplices are received in England "as dayelly the advertesementes comes," but no such matter as you are "in any sortt touced therein." I wrote to you in my last that Bothwell was the taker of the Earl of Huntly's trunk, but now it is otherwise "tryd." They were servants of Murray that took it. Bothwell was not upon the ground.

After I had written this letter, going to enclose it this morning, the Prior of Blantyre, having been long sick, came down and spoke with the King at great length, and as the said Prior told me himself, he found the King willing to run a good course to the contentment of good men, and further that his majesty had commanded him to draw all the Stewarts together, and that they should be thoroughly satisfied in these griefs if they will renounce Bothwell, which the Prior has undertaken, and that they shall be the pursuers of him to the death. If this be followed forth I hope matters shall settle very well. Edinburgh, 18th March.

The King has been here these two nights and has ridden this morning to "Lethkoo," where the Chancellor is. The Queen is to go thither in three or four days. The King has commanded me to keep you in remembrance

James VI. 1592. of his deer. I told him you had sent Cuthbert to London. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

4 *pp. Holograph. No address. Indorsed by Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Edinburgh, xviij° *Mareii.* Barnes xxj *ejusdem*, 1591."

Mar. 27. 671. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Immediately upon receipt of your last letter of the 23rd instant I advertised Roger Aston of the preparation of some ships put in readiness to rob and spoil the English fishermen at their fishing in those seas and other fishermen returning that way from their fishing at Westmoor and other islands about Iceland, and I have advised and put him in the best course I could both to acquaint the King and the Councillors well affected to the amity with these preparations and intentions, and also to move them effectually to provide by good means and to give order to the Earl of Orkney and other principal officers and fit persons in the Isles and on those coasts for the safety of the fishermen and for the apprehension and stay of the Spanish pirates and rovers coming on land or near those coasts. All which directions I have at length set forth to him, agreeable to your lordship's letter addressed to me. And for the more surety of the good success I have written to Mr. Richard Cockburn, Lord Secretary to the King, and directed Nicholson, my servant at Edinburgh, to solicit the secretary to move the King, the Lord Chancellor, the Councillors and officers of state—who I think will employ their best means herein—to give good and reasonable regard to prevent the inconveniences that hereby may come to the English fishermen or to others appertaining to the French King or any other Protestant prince or state. I trust that the King and Councillors shall be persuaded to do their endeavours and to give speedy orders herein. Nevertheless I doubt much of their abilities to provide requisite and sufficient remedies herein, as also of the obedience of such as shall be charged with the execution of the commandment for the accomplishment of the remedies to be appointed in this behalf, and of all the doings of the Secretary, Mr. Aston, and Nicholson, your lordship shall be shortly advertised.

This day I received letters from Roger Aston and some others in Scotland, and for your lordship's information in the occurrences in Mr. Aston's letter I send the same enclosed. By others I am certified that the reconciliation betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, by the mediation of the Earl of Mar, proceeds well, and as I have many times before and lately persuaded, and that hereupon the Chancellor has retired to the old fellowship with Glamis and other the Councillors and officers of the state; wherein he has by solemn oath so well satisfied Mar, Linclouden, Blantyre, and others, that that company is ready to be knit again together and to remain at Court. Further, that the Chancellor has so wrought with the King that the King was pleased to return to Edinburgh on the 25th instant. Whereupon the well affected presently conceive very well of the Chancellor, and Murray's friends begin to remove their jealousies against him, who is now thought shall "kythe," as they term it, and manifestly open himself and course as soon as the King shall be settled at Edinburgh.

The King earnestly prosecutes Bothwell, and now the King holds

James VI. 1592. himself assured that the Stewarts, Mar, and the fellowship mentioned will nowise "partye" but pursue Bothwell, so that Bothwell is presently thought to be near his "wracke." The Captain of Edinburgh Castle is not yet out of danger of death, but more likely to live than he was, and at least to linger long in his sickness. Some care is taken to prevent the worst in case he shall die, "as his wyffe is latelye deade."

The King, for some respects, has stayed the accord of marriage to have been concluded betwixt the Master of Orkney and the youngest daughter of Morton, yet it is thought that the King will in the end agree it shall proceed. It is looked that the Lord Hume shall be shortly in London, and that thereon he shall have leave to return into Scotland.

According to my former letter and promise I shall send up my son to give assurance to her majesty for my debt, as your lordship has advised, and finding still the increase of your lordship's goodness to me in my wretched estate and distress, I can do no more than to acknowledge my debt and bonds for the same, and with all my power to honour and serve your lordship.

This note enclosed may partly, for the present, give satisfaction to your lordship's desire to be informed in the several alliances of the Earls of Huntly and Murray by blood and marriage and of their adherent friends, but that I may give your lordship more perfect satisfaction herein, I have sent for my books and notes of their pedigree. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Mar. 29. **672. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.**

Requests him to continue his equitable and courteous furtherance and goodwill to James Coldoun, merchant of Edinburgh, in his cause "persewit" against "Art" Kinsom, searcher at Kingston-on-Hull "to have him redressed of his great losse and dampnage." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

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

Mar. **673. ASSOCIATION OF THE NOBILITY OF SCOTLAND.**

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 62.

". . .* ac[i]ones and . . . being fully and certenly perswaded of the treasonable practises and conspiracies of sondrie his highnes unnaturall and most unthankfull subjectes against the state of the true religion presently professed within this realm, his majeste's person, crown, and libertie of this our native contrey, and fynding his majestie's gude disposition to prevent and resist the same, and to repres the cheiff authouris thairof, his majestie haveing oure concurrence and assistance to the same effect, thairfore according to our bunden dewitie and zeale aucht to Godis glorie, luif of our native cuntrey, cair and affection to his majestie's persone, crowne, and estate, wee have promissit, and by this presentis promisse, faithfully bindis and oblissis ws and everiane of ws to concur and tak ane efantd [*sic:* efauld], leill, and trew parte with his majestie, and wane [*sic:* ilkane] of ws with uthiris, to the mantenance and defens of the libertie of the said trewe religioun, crowne, and cuntrey frome thralldome of conscience and conqueist and

* Decayed. Blanks filled from other copy.

James VI. 1592. slaverie of strangearis, and resisting, repressing, and persute of the cheiff authours of the saidis tressonable conspiraceis, as in especiall of George, Erll of Huntley, Williame, Erll of Angus, Fraincis, Erll of Erroll, Sir Patrick Gurdoun of Auchundoun, knicht, Schir James Cheisholme of Dinderne, knicht, Maister James Gordoun, Mr. Williame Ogilvy, Maister Robert Avircrumby, and all utheris Jesuitis, seminarie preistis, trafficqueing Papistis and uthiris his hienes declarit traitouris, rebelliouis and unnaturall subjectis, tressonable practizearis agains the state of the said trewe religioun, his majesteis persone, crowen, and libertie of this our native cuntrey: and [to this effect ws and everyane of ws sall putt oure selffis in armes, ryse, concur, and pas fordwart with his majestie, his lieutennentis or] uthioris haveing his hienes p[ouer and commissioun] at all tymes as we salbe requirit b[e proclama]tionis, missive, letterz or uthirwayes, and sall [nevir] shrink nor absent our selffis for ony partic[ular] caus or querrell amangis oure lelffis [*sic:* selffis]. We sall nocht ride, assist, shaw favour, gif counsale, assistance, nor tak parte with the saidis erllis, Jesuitis, and uthiris foirsaidis, nor zitt with the personis denunceit or that shalbe denunceit to the horne, or declarit fugitives fra his hienes lawis for the tressonable fyre rasing and birning of the place of Dymnbirsill [*sic*] and murthour of umquhile James, Erll of Murray, nather ressev, supplee, nor intercommoun with thame, nor zit furneis thame men, drink, house, nor harbory, nor othirwayes have intelligence with thame privatelie nor publicklie, be letterz, messageis, nor na uther maner of way. The skaill [*sic:* skaith] or harme of uthiris we sall nocht conceill, but disclois and impede the same to ower utter poweris. The querrell or persute of ws or ony of ws for this caus we sall esteme, like as presentlie we do esteme, equall to ws all, and be oure selffis and our haill forceis, like as his majestie with his hienes force and authoritie hes promissit and promissis to concurr and assist togidder jevane [*sic:* ilkane] in the defens of uthiris to oure utter poweris; and incais ony variance or contraversie sal happin to fale out amangis any of ws for quhatsomewer caus, we sall submitt, like as presentlie we submitt ws, to the jugement and deliverance of ony twa or three of the principallies of ws subscryvearis of this present band, and fullfill quhaisomevour [*sic*] salbe decernit be thame bin [*sic:* but] reclamatioun or contradictioun anour [*sic:* attour] his majestie, be quhais direction and co[mmandment, with avise of his counsale, thair is certane barons and uthiris gentilmen directit to remane in the south pairtis of this realme, hes promittit] and be this presentis promissis [in the worde] of a prince, that the saidis barounis [and u]thiris forsaidis sall nocht be licensiat to returne hame agane to the saidis north partis, nather sall ony favour or pardone be grantit to the saidis erlls, Jesuitis, and uthiris above mentionat, nor na ordour now [tane] dispensit with without the spetiall knaulege and advise of the lieutennent and [*sic:* or] commissioner for the tyme and six of the principall barounis at the leist, inhabitantis of the saidis north parties, subscryvaris of this presente band. And this to do and performe we, the saidis noblemen, baronis, and uthiris forsaidis have sworne and sleeiris [*sic:* swearis] by the grite God oure Creatour, his sone Jhesus Christ our Redeemaer, the Holy Gaist our Sanctifiar, witnes of the veritie heir aggreit upoun, and revengear of the break theirof. And forder oblisse ws therto under the pane of perjurie, infamie, and linsale [*sic:* tinsel] of perpetuale credite, honnour, and estimatioun in tyme cumming, besides the ordinarie

James VI. 1591–2. panes of the lawis to be execute upon us in signne and memorie of our unnaturale defectioun frome God and his majestie. In witnes quhairof we have subscryvit this presentis with our handis as folowis, like as his majestie in taikin of his awaraunte [*sic:* allowance] and approbatioun of the premissis hes subscrivit the same." Aberdeen.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 84. Copy of the same.

March 674. THE QUEEN'S CASTLES ON THE WEST BORDERS.

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 68. . . .* standing three miles from Scotland, next adjoining to [the Mid]dle Marches; a town of great defence. Askerton Tower, standing about two miles south and by west from Burgh Castle, and six miles from Scotland. Rockcliffe Castle, standing two miles from Scotland and three miles from Carlisle. Carlisle Castle, standing three miles south from Rockcliffe and about six miles from Scotland; a place of great respect. "Cittidale," a fortress or bulwark for the defence of the city of Carlisle, standing on the south side of the city, and about a quarter of a mile south from Carlisle Castle. Drumburgh, neither castle nor tower, but a house of convenient strength and defence, standing about six miles west and by north from Carlisle Castle and two miles from Scotland; a very fit place for defence of that part of the Border. Bowness House or Tower, belonging to the parsonage, standing about two miles west and by north from Drumburgh, adjoining to a "sea church" [*sic:* creek ?] which divides the English and Scottish Borders; a place of small receipt, yet very necessary for defence of that part of the Border. "Woulstie" Castle, standing about seven miles west and by south from Bowness Tower, and a quarter of a mile from the sea creek which divides the said Borders, and about four hours boating over the said creek to Scotland.

1 *p. Copy.*

April 4. 675. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By sundry letters of date something old, and received this day from diverse in Scotland, I am advertised that Murray's friends, hoping that due punishment should have been inflicted before this time on Huntly and his accomplices for the slaughter of Murray, now find the credit and means of Huntly's friends in the King's chamber to be so great and prevailing that they begin to despair of getting redress for this outrage by the King or order of law, and that thereby the parties for Murray remain malcontent, seeking to band themselves together to take violent revenge against Huntly and the others, and that the people's murmur and rage daily increases, drawing many into factions and devices to compass their desires, whereby great and hasty troubles are feared to arise in that realm, and the same are seen and considered by the King, the Council and well affected, for the prevention whereof the Earl of Mar, the Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Comptroller, Collector, and others assembled lately at Linlithgow joined with the Chancellor to move the King to hold a convention at Edinburgh on the 20th to reform the government and punish offenders. The King consented, but it is doubted that the King's Chamber shall "mightelye work to stopp the course of the reformacioun intended."

* Decayed.

James VI. 1592. The King has sent for all the Stewarts and promised to give them contentment by way of justice, whereby matters are pacified for the present, and thereon the King was pleased by good advice to return to Edinburgh with purpose to continue there. But sundry alarums have been given "a late" both to move the King to think that Bothwell intended some sudden enterprise against the King, and also thereby to draw the King to places fit for the resort of Huntly's friends. This purpose has been espied, and thereon the King is advised and ready, with the Queen, on the next day after the address of these letters to me, to repair to and remain at Dalkeith; yet some think that the chamber and the present "conceiptes" that something shall be attempted against the King, and the Chancellor shall stay this "remove."

It is written that the Chancellor has joined himself with the officers of estate, and that they all run in one course against Huntly. Nevertheless they are not void of fear that the Chancellor shall greatly trouble their "trodde" and hazard to deliver Huntly from all harm.

The King hearing that all such of his rebels as had entered into England were driven out of this realm by her majesty's order was greatly pleased therewith. Since the same the King has been informed that these persons thus fled out of this realm and entered into Scotland had "put themselves together" with jacks and spears for the attempt of some enterprise, and that Bothwell was lately seen betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. Whereupon the King's house and the Chancellor's lodging have been guarded the more strongly, and by proclamation published all men are commanded upon pain of death to be in readiness with armour and weapon to attend on the King, when he shall direct, for the apprehension of Bothwell, who still haunts those parts, as he is wont to do.

The King has secretly been informed that Argyle, Athol, Ochiltree, and the other friends of Murray met together at Dunkeld to devise and make the bond for the enterprise of the attempt for the revenge against Huntly, and it has been given out that Bothwell was present at their meeting, which is plainly denied. Yet the King, occupied with some jealousy therein, asked Ochiltree what band he had entered into with Bothwell. Ochiltree answered that he would band with any to be revenged on Huntly; but therewith he offered to fight with any that would charge him to have dealt with Bothwell, and promised that if the King would do justice on Huntly, then he would never treat nor band with Bothwell, but with his whole power seek to bring Bothwell quick or dead to the King.

It is herewith certified that the Lord Hamilton by his letters showed to the King that Morton, Mar, and others intended to surprise the Chancellor in the night on the 28th or 29th of March last past, and advised the King to give regard to the same; and also that Huntly likewise—and before the address of the Lord Hamilton's letter to the King—had given like information to the King. Besides, the King was informed that on the 28th of March mentioned Bothwell was seen in Leith. By these reports the King's house at Holyrood House and the Chancellor's lodging were so strongly guarded, as before is signified, that the parties accused have heard how they are charged by the Lord Hamilton and Huntly, and thereon so earnestly call for their trial that the Council is much encumbered therwith, and it is verily thought that out of these broils, daily growing and increasing from evil to worse,

James VI. 1592. dangerous blasts shall disquiet the King and that state without "indelate" remedy.

After the writing and closing up of the advertisements before specified it is given me to understand that, upon the receipt of my letters severally directed to the Lord Secretary—to whom I write to answer his letters before sent to me—Roger Aston, and George Nicholson, and touching a resort of some Spanish ships prepared for the north seas and coasts of Scotland to rob and spoil the English fishermen, Roger Aston has therein —by the favour of the King and Chancellor—obtained order given to the Lord Secretary to cause "indelate" proclamation to be made in all the north parts as well for the restraint of all Spaniards and strangers to be suffered to touch land in Scotland as also for the apprehension of any such pirates or men of war as should attempt the hurt of any English fishermen or others in those seas and to aid and assist the Englishmen against such Spaniards, pirates, or rovers; and letters are addressed to the Earl of Orkney to like effect. All which Mr. Aston will with diligence travail to put in due execution, as by his letters shortly to be sent to me he will further advertise me of his doings and success in the same.

Because I perceive that my return into Scotland is sought for, wherein, and in all other ways, I am, and during my life shall be always, ready to serve as shall please her majesty to command me, and finding my estate and case so weak [and] ruinous that thereby I have just cause not only to doubt of my ability to do the honour and profit in the service as appertains, but also I think it my duty to give seasonable notice of my want and insufficiency herein, therefore I thought good to renew the memory of my disability to your knowledge and remembrance and refer the employment of me to the good consideration and sight how I may anywise honour, please, or profit her majesty in this service, wherein, without regard of pain, peril, or profit to myself, I shall ever and al[ways] obey her majesty's will and commandment.

Lastly, according to my last before these I have put . . .* in readines to come to and await upon your lordship to perfect the ass[urance] for the yearly payment of 1000 *l.* for my debt to her majesty. Herein he is driven to attend and "tarye" the end of the next sessions at Durham, trusting that he shall be with your lordship within one or two days after the beginning of the next term, agreeable to my letter remembered. York. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 11. 676. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has sent his son, Ralph Bowes, to perfect the assurance made for payment of 1000 *l.* yearly for his debt to the Queen of England. Aske. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 14. 677. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

That your lordship may understand both the success of Roger Aston's travail employed for the prevention of the hurts doubted to come to the fishermen on the north-east coasts of Scotland by the Spaniards and also the present "occurrantes" in that realm, I have

* Torn off.

James VI. 1592. therefore sent enclosed to your lordship Mr. Aston's letter touching the same, together with the copies of the King's letter to the Earl of Orkney, and of his charge given to the inhabitants of those parts for the execution of the order taken by the King and Council for the safety of the fishermen mentioned; and by the report of George Nicholson, my servant—come to me from Scotland by especial occasions, redressable chiefly by your lordship's seasonable means—I perceive that provision and care shall be taken to deliver these fishermen from danger, and to apprehend the Spaniard adventuring into those seas, wherein large promises are made that nothing shall be omitted to advance the best effects; yet still I fear that their power shall not sufficiently answer their desires and promises in case of necessity.

By the view of Mr. Aston's letter it will appear to your lordship that, albeit the Earl Bothwell lately embarkedat "Burthye," yet he has arrived again at Caithness, looking there for the Spaniards, in which hope he is not like, as I am informed, to be satisfied with such expedition and comfort as he—and chiefly the Catholics—expected. Yet the King, thinking her majesty disposed to send some ships in these behalfs to these coasts of Scotland, wishes that order may be given to the captains of her majesty's ships to stay and search the vessels passing from the coasts of Caithness towards Flanders or Spain, like as by Mr. Aston's letter is sufficiently touched.

The Earls of Argyll, Athol, Errol, Marishal, Morton, Mar, and sundry other noblemen and friends of Murray have appointed, as it is certified to me, to meet at Edinburgh on Saturday the 15th hereof to seek justice to be done for the slaughter of Murray, or otherwise to provide for timely revenge; and although many of these noblemen have been moved to show their favour towards Huntly, and that proof is made to sound their dispositions therein to the intent that the next Convention may be either holden or else adjourned as the affections of those noblemen shall be seen inclined to spare or to prosecute Huntly at this assembly, yet many, and the wisest amongst them, entertain the motion and matter with good terms, pretending to show themselves ready to pacify these griefs with indifferency to all parties, and yet at the Convention—which they desire may meet at the time appointed—they will call for the execution of justice or resolve for the attempt of revenge. As Roger Aston has noted that some suspect the King's journey to Dundee to be taken to meet with Huntly, so others think that the same journey shall hazard to break both the meeting of those noblemen at Edinburgh on Saturday next, and also the assembly of the Convention at the time limited. But labour will be made for better success, otherwise the most make reckoning of hasty troubles, wherein the Catholics in desperate mood stir themselves with tooth and nail to draw these matters into hasty broils.

Herewith I am advertised that an English priest, named Hollande, presently in Scotland, has received letters lately from divers Catholics of good quality in England letting him know that their great and wished exploit in England has so far failed that they deeply fear that the King of Spain shall thereby be "discomfited" to give that aid into England and Scotland which he intended and promised. They persuade this priest to set up all sails to "expeyde" the purpose in Scotland, the better to encourage and draw on the King of Spain and his ministers: and that

James VI. 1592. this priest shall speedily come to them to receive such advice as shall be determined for the curing of this disease, they warn him to beware to hazard by land, but rather to come by sea to the persons and places known to them. This priest, putting himself in readiness for this journey, seems to intend his passage rather by land than by sea, and he is well furnished for the same. My intelligencer cannot hitherto learn the names of the Englishmen who wrote to him, nor the place of their meeting, neither yet when or what way he will certainly pass. In these I am promised the best intelligences that can be gotten for me. But my servant Nicholson, wanting money to entertain intelligencers, as before I have written to your lordship, and to employ fit instruments in these behalfs, is driven to come to me to open his wants, and the defection of intelligencers espying his empty hands and the disability in me to supply the lack, wherein I protest before God—as before in my letters to your lordship I have done—that I have not power or credit to "carey" the charge of these causes any longer, nor to fill the bellies of myself and small family. So that I do most humbly pray, for God's sake, that this and my estate may be seasonably considered for the safety and benefit of her majesty's service.

The key of my chest at Edinburgh, where my books and notes of the pedigrees of the noblemen of Scotland remained, was taken away by my wife, so that Nicholson could not hitherto draw out the pedigree of Huntly and Murray, as I directed. But therein your lordship shall be shortly satisfied.

At the hands of Cuthbert Rayne I have received your lordship's letter and several warrants for the seventy deer to be taken in her majesty's parks in the Bishopric and to be sent to the King of Scots, wherein my power little serves to furnish the charge for the expedition thereof without supply, for which I must call in Scotland, and in the meantime I shall do my best endeavour to put all things in readiness. Barnes. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same :—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

Since the direction of my last, which was the last of March, I have employed my best means for the performance of your lordship's directions concerning the order to be taken for such her majesty's subjects as by their trade of fishing go first to the east ports. In order that such order might be taken as might prevent the practices intended against them, I have procured the King's letters to the Earl of Orkney with a charge to all the parts of the sea coast for the resisting of the Spaniards and assenting of her majesty's subjects, as by the letters here enclosed may appear, the copies whereof I have sent you.

The King has commanded me to write to you that you will be a means that her majesty give order that, if she employs any ships to the east parts to prevent the intent of the Spaniard, they may have regard to such ships as come from the coast of Caithness, where the Earl Bothwell is for the present, and, as we believe, attending the coming of the Spaniards. He supped at Brouty eight days since accompanied with eleven persons,

James VI. 1592. and, as the King is surely informed, is landed in Caithness. Whereupon the King is this day gone to Dundee to direct out some ships to follow him by sea and to take order to pursue him by land, as also to try who has been his chief "convoye" in that country. The Master of Gray is greatly suspected to be the "convoer" of him away. It is said the King is minded to apprehend him.

It is commonly spoken that this journey of the King to Dundee is to meet with the Earl of Huntly, but I believe it not, for he has promised otherwise, and to that end has taken Mr. Patrick Galloway with him. "Al thinges rest here uppon the conclusion of the convension." It is determined by all the best sort to set down a good and "solett" course for the maintenance of the religion, the amity, and the King's preservation and standing, "orelles to leve al and retere theme selves." For this cause they would have you here to journey with them. The Chancellor remains at Lethington, his own house. He is not minded to come to Court before the Convention; at which time he will either have such a course fallen forth as may content the best sort, or else he will leave Court and all. The whole country is divided; the best sort [are] discontented. The King is drawn by persuasion of the enemies, and I look for "no other butt a meschef to folle if some good coures be nott taken att this convension." You are wished for here by all the good men of this country, and your presence is very necessary, for you "maye doo grett." "Ether I am deseved or you wil se strang aventes to follo here er it be long if it be nott the wislyar prevented." Edinburgh. 11th April. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—"The Chansler and the Master of Glames I hope are more finally agred, wich wil doo mouch good. The yerle of Mar is the doer."

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 18. 678. ROGER ASTON TO SIR THOMAS HENEAGE, VICE-CHAMBERLAIN OF HER MAJESTY'S HOUSE.

Since my last I have expected the assembly of the nobility the 20th of this instant, according to the resolution taken at Linlithgow; by which assembly there should have been found good course set down for the reforming of the abuses both in Court and country. For the better performances of this there should have been chosen out certain of the nobility to have joined with the officers of estate and some barons and gentlemen best affected in religion, to whose counsel the King should have been subject. But the enemies of the chamber—I mean the Laird of Spyne and Sir George Hume, who are the chief ring-leaders, fearing that if this Convention should hold their greatness would decay—have found the means to draw the King over the water to seek the Earl Bothwell and such as have received him; whereupon the Master of Gray was charged to compear before the King, "whoo has desobeid and is gone to the horne." The King is gone to St. Johnstone and has sent for the Earl of Athol, but, as I understand, he will not come in, "nott for anything can be led to his charg conserning Bodwel, butt fering his enemyes in Courtt, chefly the enenymeswhooareal for Honttle." There is another thing which is more to be feared. The servants of

James VI. 1592. Huntly have taken the Castle of Dunottar pertaining to the Earl Marishal. This castle is very strong and well provided of all things. The Earl himself came to Edinburgh and left his wife in the house. Those who came to the house were Captain Ker and his brother, with three others. They were the countess' kinsmen and such as she greatly trusted. But Huntly's men "and [sic] betred the lady be the taking of thatt houes doth apeir a pleine platt for the overthrowe of al good courses be this." They stayed the Convention, and now, by all appearances, are running "a pleine coures" with Huntly and his faction. "For the yerle Marshal he was obedyentt to the laye, writen for be the King to the Convension under frensip with Hunttle; and the nextt daye after his departing frome home his houes, his evidenes, his goveles, and platt al taken makes al men to thinke this is nott done withoutt a forther ententt." What will come of these matters, God knows, but there is great appearance of present trouble, and I fear, if matters be not prevented in time, there will be a desperate course run. What may be looked for if the King be guided by those who love not the amity or religion, I leave this to her majesty's good consideration. In my opinion it were meeted Mr. Bowes were here to see if he may prevent the inconveniences which are like to fall forth. I can say no further for the present. As occasions fall forth your honour shall be advertised. I am presently with the Queen at Dalkeith, where I purpose to remain till I see how matters fall out. As I was closing this, word has come that all men should go with the King to pursue Athol. Dalkeith. *Signed*: Roger Aston.

Postscript.—I fear the house that Huntly's men have taken is rather to receive the Spaniards than otherwise, for it lies upon the seaside and has a fair haven hard by it.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed.*

April 20. 679. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Is certified that the King, coming to Dundee, was credibly informed that the Master of Gray had received the Earl of Bothwell into the Castle of Borthye [Broughty] and safely conveyed him to the sea, for Bothwell lodged one night in Broughty by the command of the Master of Gray. The next morning Bothwell embarked and landed at Peterhead, where he took in fresh victuals and went on board a barque called the *Black Lion*, of St. Andrews, with the purpose of sailing to Caithness; but it is thought by some that he intended a greater enterprise. The King has sent two ships to pursue him.

At Dundee the King sent for the Master of Gray, who absented himself, alleging that he saw his enemies—chiefly the Lindsays—so great in Court that he could not with safety go there.

The Master of Gray's servant, keeper of Broughty Castle under his master, was arraigned for treason for receiving Bothwell into that castle, but the assize would not find him guilty. The Lord Gray is commanded to ward in Stirling Castle, and also to bring his son, Robert Gray, and one Browne, his servant, who are charged with practising many things with Bothwell.

The King, at Dundee, sent Mr. Patrick Galloway, preacher of God's Word at St. Johnstone, to the Earl of Athol, appointing him by the

James VI. 1591–2. King's letter and persuasion of Mr. Patrick to meet the King at St. Johnstone on the 13th instant; but Mr. Patrick returned with the earl's answer that he would in all things obey the King and praying to have fifteen days liberty. The King denied to grant the earl's request, and addressed William Stewart, of his chamber, and the minister of Dunkeld, to warn Athol to come to the King without delay, otherwise the King would come against him with his forces. The Master of Gray is thought to have stayed Athol's repair to the King, and thereon proclamation is made in St. Johnstone commanding all men to put themselves in readiness and serve the King against Athol.

Many good and wise men look for great and hasty troubles, and not without peril to the King, who, with many, is deemed to prefer the safety of Huntly before the requests of the Stewarts seeking justice for Murray's slaughter. The King's journey to the northern parts is now firmly thought to be taken chiefly for Huntly's benefit; whereupon Murray's friends and the people are greatly stirred, and some write that they look for strange effects to be attempted shortly. The King's chamber is greatly blamed as chief instrument to overthrow the plot for the planting of a good and well affected Council to have been established by the Convention to begin this day at Edinburgh.

On the 14th instant Captain Carr, his brother, and three servants went to Dunottar Castle, where they were entertained by the countess, but the next day the captain found means to get himself such a party in the house that now he holds the same. It is generally conceived that this act is enterprised with Huntly's assent.

The Queen continues at Dalkeith, condemning greatly the present course. The Chancellor abides at Lethington, seeming ready to take part with the lords calling for the punishment of Huntly and other murderers of Murray. Is warned of very great inconveniences hastily to fall out in Scotland. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 22. 680. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Perceives by Roger Aston's letter brought to him this day that the Convention appointed to have assembled at Edinburgh on the 20th instant is dissolved by the King's absence, who, nevertheless, is "looked" to be at Edinburgh very shortly, and thereupon to call a new Convention.

By the advice of the Earl of Mar and the Laird of Tullibardine the Earl of Athol was persuaded to present himself to the King at St. Johnstone on the 18th instant. The Earl of Athol was commanded to ward in Stirling Castle, agreeable to his own desire, in the custody of the Earl of Mar. The King appears to pursue the Master of Gray, at Dunkeld, and such others as are known to have given entertainment to Bothwell. The Earl Marishal's house at Dunottar was taken only by the means of the countess, sister of the Lord Hume, and not by any practice of Huntly or for the Spaniards, as sundry suspected. The countess, being offended with divers of her husband's servants, sent for Captain Carr and his brother, and by them the servants were put out by the commandment of the countess. Whereupon the gentlemen of the country environed the house, doubting that it had been surprised by the means

James VI. 1592. of Huntly or Lord Hume. Hume is said to be with the Duke of Parma. It is considered that if the Spaniards might purchase the house they should readily command all that country; but this danger is little feared. The Earl assures himself to have it delivered to him upon the first call for the same. The Chancellor has entered into a friendly course with Morton and Mar. The agreement betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis is to be perfectly knit up and confirmed, but the Lindsays seek earnestly to hinder the agreement. The Queen continues a hard opinion towards the Chancellor. The Queen greatly condemns Huntly and his actions.

Sir James Hume, late Captain of Edinburgh Castle, died on the 14th instant. Sundry noblemen are earnest suitors to the King for the place, chiefly the Duke of Lennox, the Chancellor, the Earls of Crawford, and Mar. It is thought that Crawford shall obtain it, notwithstanding that the Captain by his testament made request that it might be given to Mar. Upon former suit made to the King by Mar for that office, the King then promised, as Bowes is informed, that he should have it. Roger Aston has wished him (Bowes) to write to him—which he has done—to the intent he may show his letter to the King, who haply may be persuaded thereby to prefer Mar or such well affected person to this charge.

At his (Bowes') departure from Scotland, and during the life of the Laird of Calder, one of the tutors of the Earl of Argyll, all the defenders and followers of Argyll, M'Connell, and others in Argyll, Kintyre, and the west isles of Scotland, were restrained from invading or hurting her majesty's subjects in Ireland, but now it is advertised that sundry of Argyll and of the islands adjoining are ready to pass into Ireland to assist her majesty's rebels there. For the restraint of the passage of these disordered people has written a letter to Mr. Aston that he may show to the King. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 28. 681. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Commenced his journey this day to her majesty's parks at Barnard Castle, Raby, and Brancepeth to assist Cuthbert Rayne and others in taking seventy deer for the King of Scots. Has this day received Burghley's letter of the 24th instant charging him to repair into Scotland to the King. Has retired to this place to put himself in readiness for the execution thereof. That at his access to the King he may give him notice of the causes moving her majesty thus to command his return to him, and that he may be sufficiently instructed, requests Burghley to send him her majesty's "determinate mynde" in things to be executed for her service. Thanks Burghley for the greatness of his favour. Refers to his debt to the Queen of England. Has lately received 400 *l.* by her majesty's bounty for her services in Scotland, by which he has defrayed some of his debts in Scotland. Cannot discharge his remaining debts. Begs that he may be relieved with some imprest. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

James VI. 1592. May 7.

682. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday I received from Roger Aston this letter enclosed, *etc.* In the furtherance of Mar's suit and desire I have not only written to Roger Aston to such effect as I wished should be showed to the King, and as, upon the view thereof, the King has stayed his grant to the Duke, but also I have procured the friends of Sir James Hume, deceased, late Captain of Edinburgh, to be so entreated that they will not hastily deliver the Castle to any other than the Earl of Mar before an order shall be given and declared therein by the Parliament, where as Mar will find sufficient favour, except the King shall hinder the same. And because Mr. Aston desires to know her majesty's pleasure herein with speed, therefore I humbly pray your lordship to direct me what I shall do in the same.

By other letters I perceive that by late practice devised in Ireland and Scotland, and wherein England is holden suspected, labour is made to draw no little forces out of Argyll, Kintyre, and the Isles of Scotland into Ireland; wherein, albeit the King has given order and commandment to restrain their passage, yet some of my friends in those parts have advertised me by second intelligences that many of these Highlandsmen and islanders will be hardly stayed without the especial means of the Earl of Argyll, his tutors, and M'Connell. Whereupon I have provided that the Earl, his tutors, and M'Connell shall be solicited to defeat this practice and stay all the people within their lands, rules, and offices. With these it is discovered that O'Rourke had intended to have levied in Scotland 3000 footmen to have been brought into Ireland, and upon whose entry there it was promised that 5000 Spaniards or other strangers should have been sent thither; and the root of this plot and practice, as I am borne in hand, is not so fully pulled up and dead but it is seen springing again in Scotland and Ireland. Of all which I have no such certainty that I dare give any assurance thereof.

Albeit that Mr. Aston is of opinion that the Earl Marishal's house, still holden by his mother, shall be delivered, and that the Earl verily looks to receive the same within very few days, yet some of the gentlemen within the house have lately by their letters certified their friends, as I am informed, that the house shall not be hastily rendered, and some suspect that this house is kept for an evil purpose and for the pleasure of Huntly and other Catholics.

All other matters in that realm remain in suspense, confusedly, and depend on the doings and success following in the Convention and Parliament to be holden, as by Mr. Aston's letter is certified to me.

By my former I have advertised that some English Papists lurking in Scotland—as yet sundry are here—were called and ready to come into England, but now I hear that some Catholics in these parts fly by land into Scotland, and by sea into France, to places possessed by the leaguers, as by others knowing the same better than myself will be, I think, advertised to your lordship. The papists hereabouts especially stomach Henry Sanderson, searcher at Newcastle, whose service is so ready for her majesty, with his great peril and charge, that I have thought it my duty to give your lordship some note thereof, that he may be comforted by your lordship, and that no disgrace be done to him to discomfit others in like services.

James VI. 1592.

According to my last before these, I am ready to obey and attend her majesty's pleasure and direction, humbly desiring as well full instructions in the same, as also to [be] enabled for the good accomplishment thereof to her majesty's honour and service. And forasmuch as on Sunday last, the 5th hereof, I received at Durham your lordship's letter of the 15th of April last past, both certifying that Mr. Vernon was appointed to receive the sums allotted for payment of the garrison and works at Berwick for the half year ended at the Annunciation last, and also desiring me to send to Mr. Vernon my "indentes" directed to the receivers for the receipt of the sums mentioned, therefore I am a most humble suitor to your lordship to have favourable regard and consideration of me and my poor credit in this behalf, that, entering again into her majesty's service and having given assurance for payment of the "remaines" at Berwick, I may, for some sign of favour and grace the better to advance my service, be restored to the exercise of my office, and to make the pay for the half year past either by myself, to be licensed for four or five days to "come" and be at Berwick for that purpose and thereon to retire myself to my charge in Scotland, or else by my son, Ralph Bowes, who shall fully and dutifully perform the pay to the uttermost penny received. And for the more surety, as well of the good performance of all payments to be hereafter made as also for the "indelate" delivery of the sums remaining to be given over to the hands of any such as your lordship shall appoint, I shall gladly and faithfully obey and keep such order as your lordship shall please to set down for the same. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

Enclosure with the same :—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

I have received your lordship's letter of the last of April with a packet from James Hudson, as also I received another letter, which I imparted to the King, touching the Castle of Edinburgh, as also for the passing of the men out of Argyll to Ireland. For answer to both those "hedes," for the castle, I fear it will not go that way that I wrote of before. The Duke is so important that he will needs have that house, notwithstanding he was once content that the Earl of Mar should have had it. The King has passed some promise to the Duke, and yet would rather it were in Mar's hands if he and the Duke can agree. I have dealt very far with the King in the matter upon the receipt of your letter; whereupon the King has stayed the passing of the gift till the Earl of Mar's coming, which will be this day. He should have met the King here at Fentone, Sir John Carmichael's house, this last night.

This day I rode for the Chancellor to come to the King, who I know will be a means by all his best "moyan" that Mar may have the Castle. However it be, the Castle will not be delivered so soon, except it be to Mar, who is agreed with those who are in it—two sons of Sir James Hume. Your being here might do great good in that matter. I have dealt the more earnestly in that matter in respect I know her majesty's mind. However it be, the house will not be delivered so soon. I have

James VI. 1592. a means which you know to stay the house undelivered till I may know her majesty's pleasure, therefore I would have you to send away with speed.

I hope after the King and the Chancellor have met all shall be well. The Parliament holds on the 26th of this instant. Without all doubt there is a Convention appointed [on] the 20th. The King has sent straight commandment to the Earl of Argyll and to the isles that none shall pass to Ireland. The Earl Marishall is now in Perth with his wife: for his own house they cannot agree as yet; the house is still kept by my lady, and the earl lies about it.

The King and Queen are here at Fenton, and return to Dalkeith within two or three days, where they will remain till after the Parliament.

The Earl of Athol has returned home very well content. Whereas he should have been warded, he is dismissed, and the King is satisfied and all is very well. I have no further at this time. The King desires you to be careful for the deer, and that they may come with speed or else they will not serve this year. The King was minded to have had the Chancellor come hither this day, but he "is altred" and will go to Lethington himself tomorrow. Fenton, 3rd May.

The King was in great danger yesternight in passing the ferry of North Berwick. Your other letters shall be safe delivered. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

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

May 13. 683. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Convention shall begin on the 24th instant, and the Parliament shall hold at Edinburgh on the 1st of June next. The King has been at the Lord Chancellor's house at Lethington and departed to Dalkeith with good satisfaction in all things and to the Chancellor's great comfort. The house of Dunottar is delivered to the Earl Marishal, and he and his wife are well reconciled. The Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar continue their suits for the keeping of the Castle at Edinburgh. The Chancellor labours earnestly for Mar, but the Duke presses the King greatly for his grant, and albeit he once gave the goodwill thereof to Mar, now he seeks it for himself by all means, offering to render to the King the wardship of the young Earl of Murray. The King's present want of money is thought to prevail against Mar. The Lady Athol has arrived at the Court and labours to have the wardship of Murray for money. She offers so liberally that she is like to obtain her desire therein, which gives no little advantage to the Duke in his suit for the castle. Athol has continued with the Laird of Wester Wemyss at the King's commandment, and shall be at liberty and return home within three days. Huntly remains still with the Earl of Crawford. He has lately sent to his friends in Court to be diligent to prevent the harms which will be sought against him in the next Convention and Parliament, where redress will be earnestly sought for the slaughter of Murray.

Has been given to understand that sundry under Argyll ready to have passed over into Ireland are stayed. Nevertheless many other broken people in the isles and other remote places are daily allured with fair

James VI. 1592. baits and prepare for Ireland. Thanks Burghley for his help in the release of his son arrested by Mr. Wyvall for his (Bowes') debts. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

May 18. 684. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received his letter of the 13th instant. Perceives that her majesty looks to hear no further from him from England. Asks him for money for her majesty's service. Defers his immediate repair to Edinburgh that his servant may prepare his lodging and provide that he (Bowes) and his family may be there sustained. Asks for imprest and allowance for his house rent. Requests instructions and that he may be recommended to the King of Scots. Trusts Burghley sees that the present storms in Scotland are dangerous. Requests Burghley to show goodness to him and his son. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

May 23. 685. ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Whereas we were contented certain months past to license our servant Robert Bowes, then our ambassador with you, to come to his country for expediting of certain his private affairs which could not be conveniently ordered but by his own presence, and that upon signification thereof made to you by our letters you were well contented therewith; since whose coming from thence we understand of many accidents there happened to the troubling of your estate, and if wisdom and princely authority be not by you used to prevent perils appearing, we have cause to doubt of greater danger to follow; therefore, having care for your estate to continue as peaceable as our own is, by God's goodness, and being desirous from time to time to hear of your proceedings in overruling your disobedient subjects, who are "boldened," as we are well assured, by the faction and practices of such as are known sworn papists both abroad and at home, and professed enemies to the amity betwixt us and you and our countries, we do therefore return our said servant to reside with you as our ambassador as heretofore he has been, so that all former intelligences may continue betwixt you and us by his service there with you, both hoping and wishing that now in the intended Parliament which you, as we hear, have summoned, your nobility and people who are most devoted to your estate and to your honour and person may find countenance and support against others who shall be found to contemn your authority, and to live unruly against God and yourself, and to the diminution of your royal and princely estate and reputation, whereof we shall take most singular comfort, as knoweth the Almighty God, who hold you in His protection. Greenwich.

2 *pp. Draft in Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Fair copy of the same.

James VI. 1592. May 25.

686. ROGER ASTON TO SIR THOMAS HENEAGE.

I have received your honour's letter of the 15th of this instant, whereby I perceive my former letters have not been delivered according to my expectation. Wherein the fault has been, I know not, but in times coming I shall take another course. I have in all my former letters set down my opinion concerning Mr. Bowes' "in comming," which still I confirm. As I have always been desirous of his "in comming," so would I have him to come as might best advance her majesty's service. If he come in that sort as it is given out here he does, he will not be able to do her majesty that service that she expects at his hand. It is "letten" the King to understand he is in her majesty's disgrace, his "leving sest uppon," and his son "led in preson," himself a begger, not able to furnish himself "of souch thinges as he has adoo." And further it is given out that her majesty would never [have] employed him in so poor estate if she respected his service, and that he has now no other way to recover himself but in running some desperate course here to make his credit at home. His creditors here are daily calling on me for payment of such sums as were "resting oing" at his going away. His plate is "at morgagh." All men look to be paid at his coming, or else he will get "unfornesing." I have "mad him forsene" of this and willed him rather to stay at home than to come hither to dishonour her majesty and to shame himself. For my own part I protest before God I have no other respect but her majesty's service. "This fer" I would wish he should come in her majesty's good grace, well instructed in all things, and sufficiently furnished to discharge his credit, otherwise let him not come, for, if he come not as he should come, it will do more hurt than good. Coming as he should come, I hope it will be to good purpose. In his absence I shall do the best offices I can, "and this fer for the descharg of my dutty in this poyntt."

Concerning the state of matters here, yesterday was the first of the Convention. Many of the nobility have already come to this town very strongly. The Parliament begins the 1st of June. They are now "uppon" consultation what shall be concluded in Parliament. What occurs here "worthy your honer" shall be advertised "with the ferst."

The Duke [of Lennox] insists in his former suit for the Castle. I shall do my best in that matter according to her majesty's direction. I hope we shall get our "ententt," for if all other means fail, that house will not be delivered before it be "votted" in Parliament, to whom it most rightly appertains, and then Mar "wil carry it awaye."

The General Assembly of the Ministers is now present here in this town. They are purposed to give in "certen hedes" against the "papes" at this Parliament.

I have by the King's appointment written to Mr. Bowes something concerning Bothwell, the effect whereof is this. It is given the King to understand that Bothwell is to receive some comfort from her majesty, and for that cause is come in secret manner to the Borders. The King is persuaded her majesty will not deal with any of them, seeing it is against the treaty of peace between them, yet it is confirmed and given out by Bothwell's friends "he shal have faver there." In this point I desire to be satisfied, "as also be your honeres letter her majesteis mynd touardes the Douke conserning the castel, putting the King in mynd of

James VI. 1592. his former promes." I would have this letter written that I might show it to the King in secret and to satisfy him concerning Bothwell.

I am informed the papists have a practice in hand, which I hope to discover and "make you advertest" with speed. I hope there shall be some good course set down against them.

Mr. Bowes' being here will do great good in this Parliament. I perceive by the Chancellor they will cause him to move things which they themselves dare not. The best sort are very desirous to have him here. The King will do more for him than for them all. Thus far I have thought good to set down, for the discharge of my own duty, what hurt his coming may do one way and what good another. It is no small comfort to me to hear her majesty likes my service. I shall "nether spare lyfe nor creded for her sake." Holyrood House. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address:* "To the ryght honerrable souer Tomas Hennig, Knyghtt, Vise Chemberlen of her [majesty] and one of her Prevye Counsel, with sped." *Indorsed.*

May 29. 687. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

At the hands of this bearer, John Allen, I have received yesterday her majesty's letter addressed to the King of Scots and your lordship's of the 24th hereof to myself, and the copy of her majesty's letter mentioned. Whereupon I have made myself ready to enter presently into my journey to Scotland, intending to have been at Edinburgh before the beginning of the Parliament certified by Mr. Aston's former letters to begin on the 1st of June next; but by letters received this day from Scotland I am advertised that, albeit the Parliament was fenced, as they term it, to the 1st of June, as Mr. Aston before wrote, yet for especial respects, and to prevent the hindrance which is suspected should, by the appearance of the whole assembly, come to some causes favoured in Court, the King pressed earnestly the Convention gathered to have begun the Parliament on Saturday last, the 27th hereof, and that, for the King's pleasure, it was agreed that on this day the Lords of Articles shall be chosen, so that I cannot possibly be there before the beginning of it. Nevertheless, I shall, by God's grace, hasten thither with all the speed I can. Asks him to expedite his son's liberty.

That your lordship may know the present estate in Scotland, the earnest desire of the King to have the deer sent to him, and partly my own case there, I send enclosed Roger Aston's letter directed to me and touching those causes, by which, and by the Lord Secretary and others, I find the King is grieved with the delay of the taking and convoy of these deer to him, as he wished to have them quick or dead, that the mouth of papists, Spanish, and malicious may be stopped. Herein, surely, great pains and diligence have been showed as well by Cuthbert Raine and such others as I have employed to take the deer, as also by the keepers and officers of Barnard Castle and Brancepeth, who have done their uttermost endeavours for the furtherance of the King's desire. And for my own part I have omitted nothing that I could do, nor spared the small store or mean jewels that I had to furnish and defray the charges. And albeit that by long and daily travail there were twenty-one male deer taken by the warrant given by your lordship, yet they have

James VI. 1592. been so hurt with the nets and "buckstawles," and their blood so chafed by driving them with dogs into the nets—without which help of dogs it is impossible to force them to enter the nets—that there are but six only now living of the whole number taken, and I fear that some of these yet quick shall shortly be dead. I have thus long time kept a Scottish barque at Sunderland to receive and carry them by sea to Kirkcaldy, as the King appointed; and although the number is little, yet I intend to send all that shall be living and also the skins of such as have been taken and are dead to witness evidently that it has been not only promised by words but also intended by deed to have sent them to the King. The opinion of Mr. Aston that the want of these deer shall do hurt is confirmed by the Lord Secretary, some others of the King's chamber, and others well devoted to her majesty and "usinge" to write to me; therefore I have given order to essay to take more and to preserve them as well as may be. But without some toils I think it impossible to take and save the lives of deer at this time. The best part of the "buck staules" sent from the Earl of Derby is for red deer, serving little to take fallow; wherein I have sought out and gotten all the "buck staulls" that I could learn to be in these parts, and made some new to small purpose. Besides, I have written and prayed that it might please the King to send hither some gentlemen to see what is done in this behalf. I thus tediously trouble your lordship herewith that I may acquit myself and others from all just blame, and know your lordship's pleasure what shall be further done for the best contentment of her majesty and the King. And because the game in all these parks is greatly stirred and hurt thereby, therefore all the keepers most humbly pray your lordship to give some restraint to bar all other warrants granted or to be granted this year, and for such time as your lordship shall think convenient.

May it please your lordship to give me timely direction what course I shall take and hold as well to assure or satisfy the King that her majesty or officers will give no "oversight" or favour to Bothwell or his accomplices, as Mr. Aston by his letter has touched, as also to govern and carry myself and actions towards Bothwell and his associates as may best "lyke" and content her majesty.

According to Mr. Aston's advertisement I find by sundry others that the English and Scottish seek busily at this present to disquiet both realms in this isle, and herein "one" Billingham, Dudley, and Bose are most forward devising to stir rebellion in England by all the means they can, and to trouble Ireland. In this I shall shortly give your lordship further knowledge.

The present affairs of the estate in Scotland sufficiently appear, by Mr. Aston's letter, to be rather in deliberation than ready to be resolved, and the calm there is such this time that little needs to be added to his report, saving that I am advertised that the Duchess of Lennox is dead. Since which time the King "usethe" to call and receive the Duke oftentimes to his own bed when he lies abroad and from the Queen, and that he has firmly promised to give the custody of the castle to the King, and to be assured to him by this Parliament. For, inasmuch as the keeping of this place was granted to Sir James Hume, now deceased, by Parliament, therefore it is stayed until the Parliament shall give order to refer it to the King's gift and disposition.

James VI. 1592. The Convention presently assembled at Holyrood House is entertained with consultation to frame the causes to be treated in the Parliament, and the Assembly of the Church, already gathered at Edinburgh, are purposed to present to the Convention their request for the banishment of papists and papistry, with order to be taken for reformation of the Earl of Errol, for punishment of murder, especially in the persons of Huntly and his accomplices guilty of Murray's slaughter, to repeal the acts made against the ministry by the means of Sir James Stewart whilst he was Chancellor and bore the sway, and that ministers may have and enjoy their places in Parliament as they wonted to do. These, for the present, and others necessary to be resolved hereafter for the benefit of the Church, shall be offered to the deliberation and order of this Convention.

It is thought that this Parliament shall be very short, of small number, and to bring forth effects it is summoned not only for the weighty causes of that realm and approbation of the King's revocation of his grants made in his minority—wherein it is looked that the grantees shall seek to preserve their estate by stay of this bill—and for the certification of the dowry assigned to the Queen, but also for the attainder of the Earl Bothwell and of all his accomplices in their late actions against the King; for confirmation of sundry of the King's gifts as well of the lands of the persons to be presently attainted and forfeited by this Parliament as also of other possessions, whereby the Duke of Lennox, having gotten the greater part of Bothwell's livings, and other courtiers may be thereby gratified; and the ministry will seek the repeal of the Act of Annexation of the spiritual demesnes and lands to the crown, with request that they may be employed for divine uses. But the noblemen are like rather to persuade that the ancient possessors may enjoy the same, and to remain at the like gift for the preferment of his servants. The barons will challenge to have vote in the Parliament.

Bothwell and others at horn, and to be attainted by this Parliament, are released thereof to the intent all lawful excuses and pleas to be made against them for their forfeiture may be prevented and taken away, and that their possessions may thereby be lawfully given and disposed at the King's pleasure.

The Master of Gray has given caution to depart out of the realm. The lady Downe, Murray's mother, is dead, by the passion, as some think, of her griefs conceived that she was denied to bury the earl her son honourably in Edinburgh. She has in her testament and with her own hand left an especial note to the King to do justice to preserve himself from violence. Her death and actions, and the denial of this burial, have quickened the late murmur amongst the people for Murray's murder.

Huntly has put in new bonds in discharge of Crawford and others bound for him. He and the countess his wife have returned home, living now in safety and without fear. It is certified that Mackintosh and Grant, who lately were his great adversaries, are, with two others, cautioners for him in the new bond, a matter likely, as many think, to bring no good to the cause of religion or amity betwixt these two crowns, and would not have taken such effect if the Laird of Calder had lived. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp.* *No fly leaf or address.*

James VI. 1592.

Enclosure with the same :—

(Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.)

I have received your lordship's letter of the 13th, whereby I understand her majesty's pleasure concerning the Castle of Edinburgh, wherein I shall leave nothing undone that may be agreeable to her majesty's contentment. That matter rests over, and nothing is done therein as yet. I have, according to your desire, assisted your servant for the preparation of your lodging, as also have dealt with Thomas Foules for your plate, who I find fully resolved not to deliver the same till he finds himself " ped of souch detes as he has fornysed you here."

Sir, I perceive you are upon your journey towards this country, therefore for the discharge, first, of her majesty's services, and, next, my own duty towards yourself, " I wil be plene with you." Except you come furnished to satisfy your creditors you will receive a great disgrace. I am daily called on by them. I have put off the matter, putting them in comfort of your speedy return, which now they expect, therefore I pray you both for her majesty's honour and your own credit and the advancement of your services, let these people be satisfied. You know what nature they are of. Although I know you will be welcome to many honest men, yet if you keep not credit you will not get credit, and it gives occasion to the evil affected to take their advantage. They have given it out here that you are in no credit at home, your living seized upon, your son put in prison, and yourself dare not be seen, and therefore have " porchest " your return hither to practise some desperate course to bring you in credit at home. Thus far I thought good to discharge my own duty towards yourself. I leave the rest to the report of your own servant, who has seen my diligence both for the preparing of your house and other your " adowes " here.

Concerning the present estate of this country I can set down nothing as yet. The Parliament begins the 1st of June. The Convention is now present, and many of the nobility have already come. I hope you shall be here yourself to see what they conclude. The names of such as shall be forfeited you shall have in my next.

I am commanded by the King to certify you that Bothwell has come in great manner to the Borders, where he is at this present, and, as it is surely advertised to the King, he is put in comfort of her majesty's " oversyghtt " and favour, whereof the King persuades himself she will in no ways hearken unto. Yet his pleasure is that you be " forsene " what is given out here, to the end that, if Bothwell or any of his should receive favour there, you might prevent the same, in respect it is " plene " against the treaty of peace between the two crowns; and your own coming would be to little purpose. But in this I have thoroughly satisfied the King; but it will seem best that something in this matter come from yourself.

I have let the King understand what care you have for the sending of the deer, which I am sorry are so long in coming. You will not believe what " tanting " speeches these people give out " seing the wil come this yere as the ded fermar." The King said this day to me he cared not so much for the deer as he did for their " spekinges." He wished them here " sobpose the were al ded." " I wold I hed geven 40 *l.* of my one purse the had come in tyme." It will do more hurt than you are aware of.

James VI. 1592. I have no further for the present. All our affairs here are but in "blocking." What success they will take, God knows. Many are assembled here. The lords have come very strong. The Chancellor continues after the old manner. The General Assembly is now present. I hope some good course shall be taken for the maintenance of religion and the amity between the two realms. I hear the papists are very busy and have a very dangerous plot in hand, which I hope to discover in my next. As I desire your presence here for the advancement of her majesty's service, so on the other part ere you come to her majesty's dishonour and your own shame, rather tarry at home; for if you come not hither both with her majesty's good countenance and furnished to discharge your credit, rather tarry at home, for you will do little good here. Holyrood House. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

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

June 3. 688. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that I hasted and came hither "tymelye" on Thursday the 1st instant, unto which day the Parliament was adjourned, as before has been certified to your lordship, yet I found that the time "prevented" and the Parliament began on Monday last at the King's earnest motion, and in regard that this was a "runninge" Parliament to take beginning at the King's pleasure, and that sundry matters therein required expedition, for cause expressed by my last letter, and perceiving the end of this Parliament approaching and that a Council should be chosen and established thereby for the King, therefore with greater speed I sought access to the King's presence, which access was this day, in the afternoon, with favour given me in the Tolbooth, where the King in Parliament has expended the most part of all the days in this week.

At this time I delivered her majesty's letter to the King, and finding him desirous to return to the lords then sitting there in Parliament, I accompanied the delivery with report of the especial effects in her majesty's letter, and of such other matters as were most fit for the consideration of the parliament, chiefly with the advices given as well by her majesty's letter, persuading the King to give good countenance and support to his nobility and people who are most devoted to his estate, honour, and person, and also, by your lordship's direction to me, to further the execution of justice against the Earl of Huntly and the rest for the murder of the Earl of Murray, adding that the declaration of his readiness in these things to this assembly in Parliament, and by their publishing of the same in all parts of the realm at their return to their countries, should greatly honour himself and comfort his subjects. Hereupon the King received her majesty's letter and advices thus delivered by me with show of great contentation, giving very hearty thanks and promising to put them into speedy practice, saying that this counsel came in best season, when he was at that very present occupied in choosing and appointing fit persons for his Council, assuring me that they should be persons best affected in religion and to the amity betwixt these two crowns. And as for the execution of justice against Huntly, he said that the same must be done at time and in manner convenient. And after returning to the lords, he let them know that I had brought

James VI. 1592. to him her majesty's very gentle letter and most wise advice, whereby himself and all of them were bound to give her majesty right hearty thanks, and wishing them to entertain myself for her majesty with all courtesies. All other causes were put over till my next access to him, and to be made known on Monday next.

The Earl Bothwell, his wife, their two sons, and twenty-one others at the raid at Holyrood House are attainted by this Parliament, and the three abbacies of Coldingham, Kelso, and Lesmahago are annexed to the crown. The Earl Bothwell is left to the disposition of the King. The copy of Bothwell's lamentation in writing, and lately set upon the ministers' doors in this town, I send enclosed. By my next I shall send to your lordship the names of councillors now chosen and established, and the note of the Acts passed in this Parliament. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June. 689. ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Although we doubt not but you will, as you shall see cause, renew and "remembre" to the King our good brother such advices as of late years we have given to him both by our own letters and by direction to you at sundry times for the prevention of the dangerous practices of sundry his subjects to the trouble of his estate, and to the danger of his own person, stirred specially by certain notorious papists living in his realm without banishment, as was promised, or any restraint, as was convenient; yet for that we have not seen any direct proceeding by the King to the suppression of such notorious, traitorous practices as were most necessary for his own honour and safety and for quietness in his realm; and for that even at this time we have most certain knowledge that there is taken in hand a resolution both in Spain and in the Low Countries that there shall be some time this summer a foreign power sent into that realm from Spain by the west seas, and after that another power from the Low Countries by the east seas; for which purpose we also certainly know that there is already a great sum of money made over to Spain by exchange, and out of Italy into the Low Countries, the greater part by the King of Spain, and a good portion by the Pope, wherewith not only the said forces shall be paid in Scotland, but the principal heads also there, who are of the nobility, and are at this present to be dealt withal to join themselves in secret band to join with these forces and therewith to make a change of the government of that realm, namely in the cause of religion, and particularly to seize the person of the King to use him at their pleasure, and to destroy all such of his Councillors and other faithful servants as shall not yield to the said conspirators, all which we do assure the King, if we are truly informed, to be intended and will be put in execution before the end of August, if the principal heads in Scotland be not speedily and secretly restrained from entering into this conspiracy, whereof it is looked for that certificate should be made into the Low Countries of their contentation, and so the forces then should follow; and because this matter requires secrecy to be prevented, we charge you also secretly to impart it to the King himself, requiring him of his honour to use it discreetly, with regard not to open

James VI. 1592. it to many, nor to any whom he shall see not thought assuredly devoted to his own safety and to the cause of religion. And we let you know that the principal men of whom expectation is had to be drawn to this conspiracy, by name, those who hereafter are subscribed, of whom how many are like to be "payned" herewith, we know not, but sure we are the expectation both in Spain and in the Low Countries is that these verily by name, besides their allies, shall be speedily tempted hereto within these few days, and therefore regard should be presently had of their secret meeting and of such as are known practising papists who depend upon them and are the instruments to work this conspiracy, whereof if some number of them were speedily apprehended, committed, and proceeded withal to be punished according to their deserts, there were good hope that the principal heads should not so dangerously conspire to give comfort to the sending of the forces intended. And thus we require you to have regard speedily to discover this great danger to the King, and to certify us how he means to proceed for the prevention hereof, whereof, if we shall not understand more diligence in prosecution than we have in former times seen performed when the King has promised to banish all such practisers notoriously known, and to suppress their heads and maintainers, we shall think our goodwill vainly bestowed.

3½ *pp. In Burghley's hand. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk*: "June, 1592. Minute to Mr. Rob. Bowes from her majestie."

June 5. 690. COUNCILLORS CHOSEN BY THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

Earls. The Lord John Hamilton. Angus. Marishal. Crawford. Rothes. Montrose. Glencairn. Morton. Mar.

Officers of estate. Lord Chamberlain, Laird of Thirlstane. Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Melvill of Murdocernye, knight. Lord Secretary, Richard Cockburn, "apperand" of Clerkington. Sir John Cockburn of Ormistoun, knight, Justice Clerk. Privy Seal, Walter Stewart, Prior of Blantyre. Mr. David Macgill of Cranston Riddell, Advocate. Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk of Register. David Seton of Partrothe, Comptroller. Mr. Peter Young of Seaton, Elemosinar.

Barons. Alexander Lindsay of Spynie, vice chamberlain to the King, added by the King. Sir George Hume, knight, Master of the King's Wardrobe. Mr. George Lauder, Laird of Basse. Alexander Hume of North Berwick. John Carmichael of that Ilk, Captain of the Guard. Sir Alexander Bruce, Laird of Airth, knight. Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, knight. Sir Hugh Campbell of Lowdoun, knight, sheriff of Ayr. Mr. David Carnegie of Colluthe. Colin Mackenzie of Kintaile (a highland man). Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, knight.

"That nyne of these, to witt, three of everye sorte shall attende and remaine together by tourns for the space of three moneths at Edenburgh or other convenient place fitt for th'affairs of the state."

Knights made in the beginning of the Parliament. Sir Richard Cockburn, Lord Secretary. Sir James Lindsay of Patrodye. Sir Michael Balfour, Laird of Burlaye. Sir John Cockburn, now Justice Clerk. Sir Robert Melvill, yr., of Burnt Island. Sir John Hamilton, base son to the Lord Hamilton.

James VI. 1592. The last day. Sir John Anstruther of that Ilk. Sir Hugh Carmichael, Laird of that Ilk. Sir John Lindsay, the Earl of Crawford's brother. Sir Cockburn, Laird of Skerlinge.

1¼ *pp. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 6. 691. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since his last, of the 3rd instant, the King has been so greatly occupied in Parliament and matters of state that his leisure did not serve to give him (Bowes) audience at the time appointed. Was required to defer his access till to-morrow. Had long conference this forenoon with the Lord Chancellor, whom he informed that the Queen of England had heard of the outrages attempted against him and was glad of his escape, and also had directed him to advise him (the Chancellor) to give regard to prevent the like danger, and that he (Bowes) should employ his best endeavour for the same. The Chancellor has taken this favour of her majesty towards him and his safety in very good part, yielding hearty thanks and promising all good offices to her majesty and for the continuance of the amity. The Chancellor is ready to proceed effectually with others well affected to set forward the reformation intended as well for the maintenance of the religion established as also for the execution of justice against persons guilty of murders, and particularly against Huntly and the rest present at Murray's slaughter. The Chancellor and others will to-morrow convene to resolve on the course to be taken for the furtherance of these causes. This day Mr. George Hume has offered himself to him (Bowes) very frankly to advance this course for the punishment of the slaughter of Murray, and to travail seasonably to move the King for the expedition of that service, for clearing the King's own honour and the content of his subjects.

Has been credibly informed that the papists and Spanish in Scotland had "interprised" the alteration of the state in case the Duke of Parma had prospered in France. Is told that some violent attempt is in readiness to be practised against the Chancellor and Sir George Hume whereof he has acquainted the Chancellor. It is now espied that this plot is laid against the King. This matter will be broken to the King to-morrow with advice to stay his removal.

Albeit the King has granted the keeping of Edinburgh Castle to the Duke of Lennox, yet now the King is pleased to persuade the Duke to give over his interest therein to the Earl of Mar. It is intended that this day or to-morrow the Duke, for his honour, shall take possession of the Castle by the King's grant, and immediately after resign his interest to Mar. Mar acknowledges this benefit to be obtained by the Queen of England's means, and renders her humble thanks.

The Earl of Argyll, his tutors, and friends have appointed to meet at Stirling this week to try out the authors of the slaughter of the Laird of Calder, wherein Ardkinlass, one of Argyle's tutors, Mackall, M'Clane and Glanorthie are suspected. Has the promise of some of Argyll's friends here to restrain all the loose people under his "realme and offices" that they shall not pass into Ireland.

Yesterday the Parliament ended without resolution whether it should be dissolved or adjourned. In this Parliament the revocation of the

James VI. 1592. King's grants made before the accomplishment of his 21st year is ratified; the Earl of Bothwell, his wife, and the persons named in the note enclosed are attainted; the forfeiture of Bothwell for the Brig of Dee is confirmed, and now he is forfeited for his treason with Richie Graham, the sorcerer, and for the abbey raid; and his two sons are disabled from enjoying the possessions before assured to them by their father, whom the King still pursues with all earnestness. Many parts of the earldom of Bothwell, left to the King's own disposition, are to be given to sundry of the King's servants. Sundry laws are made in favour of the Church, both by repeal of some former Acts against their discipline, and also by new confirmation and ordinance to establish their policy, their Assemblies and presbyteries to be holden with the King's leave, and the days and places for their Assemblies to be appointed by the Commissioners for the King; and the former statutes for punishment of Jesuits, seminaries, papists, their receivers and aiders are ratified and enlarged, with order that they shall be duly executed. But the request of the ministry to have vote in Parliament is denied, notwithstanding that they pressed the same earnestly in regard that the temporalities of the prelates, having place in Parliament for the Church, were now erected and put in temporal lords and persons, and that there the number of the prelates remaining are few and not sufficient to serve for the Church in Parliament. The barons have obtained vote in Parliament, and eight of them have been joined with the Lords of Articles, to their good contentment.

This Parliament has chosen and established a Council for the King, appointing it to be of nine earls, nine officers of estate, and nine barons, and lasting for the King's pleasure. The officers serving for Vice Chamberlain and Master of the King's Wardrobe, presently exercised severally by the Laird of Spynie and Sir George Hume, were added to this number of Councillors. It is appointed that nine of these Councillors shall attend to-morrow for three months at Edinburgh or other fit place for the service. Of this number of nine there shall be always together three earls, three officers of estate, and three barons to order and dispose all causes of the state, that the same may be best governed with the least burden to the King. Besides, it is provided that no person whatsoever, other than the Lord Secretary or ordinary officer in that behalf, shall offer to the King any "signatour" or bill to be granted and signed by the King, and that every "signatour" or bill to be presented by the Secretary or ordinary officer shall be first viewed and allowed by the Council before it be exhibited for the King's signature. This ordinance is chiefly erected to acquit the King from the importunacy of suitors, and to prevent the hurt coming by many suits made by the gentlemen of the King's Chamber in causes not convenient to be granted by the King and in hindrance of justice.

To all these ordinances the King has surely consented, as also firmly promised on his part to put them in due execution.

In the margin: Strange power is given to these Councillors by one clause in the Act ratifying whatsoever they shall do, which was meant to have been "drawne onelye to the Kinges grantes" to be made within fifteen or twenty days, but it is left, as I hear, at large.

Some few other Acts are passed. The private bills for ratifications,

James VI. 1592. of the King's grants are exceeding great. Encloses the names of the Councillors established.

At the ending of this Parliament the King promised to take especial care that all Acts for maintenance of religion, the Church established, and against Jesuits, seminaries, papists, receivers and aiders, shall be severely executed; and after he had ended his long oration to the Parliament, he "eftsons" entered into further promise that exemplary and due justice shall be done for punishment of all murders and slaughters, and particularly for the late murder of the Earl of Murray, *etc.*

At his (Bowes') coming hither he found the King stirred and grieved by the denial of sundry things offered by himself and for his own benefit to the Parliament, especially for the revocation of his grants made after the twenty-one years and after the 25th of his age, with two or three others which were earnestly followed by him, and yet rejected. Besides, some bitter storm has risen betwixt the King and the ministers, whereupon their request for vote in Parliament was cast back and a great part of their petitions and articles was thought to be in danger, "and that comaundment and aucthority shoulde have bene given to provostes and other officers in brughs to have taken out of the pulpitt and inprisoned anye precher speikinge unreverentlye of the King in ther sermons." But at present all these storms are well calmed. The greatest means to pacify all persons will be by the execution of justice against Huntly and his accomplices, for which especial care is taken.

The Earl of Errol, called by the Assembly of the Church to answer as well for the breach of sundry orders enjoyed by the Church and promised by him to have been accomplished, as also for receiving Mr. William Ogilvy, a Jesuit, and hearing mass openly, albeit he came to the Parliament, refused to appear before the Assembly, who sent their commissioners to charge him directly before the King and Parliament with breach of the orders mentioned, with receiving Mr. James Gordon and Mr. William Ogilvy, Jesuits, and hearing mass openly, and also to "prove" all the articles objected against him, and give up the authors thereof. Upon the naming of Mr. James Gordon he said that he would not deny having agreed with the Earl of Huntly, to whom now he was a friend, and thereby the ministers hated him. Upon the answer made by a minister that Huntly was never found so stubborn and guilty of papistical crimes condemned by the laws as he plainly showed himself to be, and should be proved, the King said that, whatsoever cause he had against the ministers, yet he might not offend God nor break the laws.

The matter is still "called uppon" very earnestly, yet the Earl of Morton, father of his (Errol's) wife, has offered very large bonds and promises for him, which the Assembly stagger to receive, in regard that they have been credibly informed that the reconciliations suddenly accorded as well between Huntly and Errol as also betwixt Maxwell and Johnstone and sundry others suspected in religion, were purposely drawn and concluded to strengthen the party of the Catholics and Spanish labouring to bring into this realm Spaniards and strangers, and intending to have attempted an alteration in the state, a matter deeply imprinted in the "conceiptes" of many of the ministry and of others well affected.

Besides this, one Dixon, servant to the Earl of Errol—and one well known in England by his practice both there and in the Low Countries

James VI. 1592. —was called to appear before the General Assembly of the Church for hearing mass and papists, where he plainly declared himself "to approve the church of Rome," and not this; and being committed to prison, he was enlarged "by means" in the time of the storms betwixt the King and Church. So that the way for religion, and against papists, "is but in openinge" and not yet cleared from blocks cast therein.

By practice of some courtiers, as it is thought, the marriage to have been concluded betwixt the Master of Orkney and the daughter of the Earl of Morton is broken off. Labour is made to withdraw the affection of the Earl of Argyll from Morton's daughter so that Argyll may marry the Duke of Lennox's sister, presently serving the Queen. In this Argyll is solicited by very great personages, "and for himselfe hathe passed somethinge farr"; yet it may be that this marriage shall not proceed with the expedition expected. Amongst these "mocions" of marriage, has heard that, since the Duchess of Lennox's death, some have wished that means might be made for a match betwixt the Duke of Lennox and the Lady Arbella in England, a matter beyond his (Bowes') reach.

The dryness betwixt the Queen and the Chancellor is not yet clean removed; yet the Queen, being advised that her heavy countenance towards the Chancellor hurt the King's service and endangered the Chancellor, sent to Blantyre for his counsel therein, offering to yield to the order of Angus, Mar, Blantyre, and Mr. Robert Bruce for the atonement to be made, with her honour, betwixt her and the Chancellor. Marishal undertook to work for this reconciliation by his credit with the Queen to the Chancellor's contentment, but he did not escape a smart check for the same at the Queen's hands. Yet by this favour offered by Marishal to the Chancellor, and by other means in the King's chamber, Sir William Keith has got his peace.

Mr. Richard Douglas was not at the raid at the abbey, and is in way to find favour. Finds here Englishmen in sundry corners of Scotland, whereof some are known Catholics, some pretend to be merchants, and some give themselves out to be bankrupts. Many of these give intelligences into England, finding so ready convoy of their letters that he (Bowes) thinks it not meet to interrupt them directly until he might advertise Burghley thereof. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Persons attainted of treason by the Parliament of Scotland.)

The Earl of Bothwell. The Countess of Bothwell. The Laird of Spott. The young Laird of Niddrie (Wauchope). Young Hamilton of Samerston (son to John of Clydesdale). John Collville (son of the Laird of Cleish). Hercules Stewart (a base brother to the Earl Bothwell.) Young Robert Hume of the Hewghe (near Northumberland). William Learmouth. George Crawe of East Reston (a Borderer). Patrick Crawe "ther" (brother to George Craw). Hob Ormeston and his son. James Stewart. Robert Stewart. William Stewart, sometime constable of Dumbarton. Patrick Crummye. David Orme of Mackdrum (of Fife). Mr. Thomas Cranston. June 7.

½ *p. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. The words in brackets are in Burghley's hand.*

James VI. 1592. June.

692. ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

"A Cataloge or brefe note of some of th'actes of this Parliament." (*See* "Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland," Vol. III.)

1 *p. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 8.

693. JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

The Lord Hume was with the Lord Chancellor at his first arrival and required his lordship to procure him the honour to kiss her majesty's hands, which his lordship promised to do presently, but as yet there is no tyme appointed for the performance thereof, neither any word returned to his lordship from my Lord Chamberlain. In the meantime, the voyage being great and long, and through costly countries for travellers, which he has lately performed, to let your lordship understand the truth, I think his lordship's "furnishinge" waxes low, which calls him on fast to end his journey before it be ended. Likewise Mr. Archibald Douglas has told him that he perceives there is a meaning in your lordship and the Lords of the Council to hold him there a time till you see how matters frame in Scotland. For the noblemen, I dare assure your honour, he has no haste home if his "furnishinge" were agreeable to his mind, for his suit was that by his passport he might be welcome to pass his time here for a good time, and it is more profitable for him to see matters put in some frame before he comes than after. For his behaviour in the Low Countries, I think it has not been so evil as has been thought by diverse, and that he neither affects a Spanish course nor a Spaniard. A short time will make proof. And further I think, if it please her majesty and your lordship "in specyal" to use him with like honour and friendship that he had at his last passing by her majesty and your lordship, his lordship will thereby be induced to prefer her majesty's service before all other princes, his King excepted. And that these things are true and certain I am well informed by those about him who know most and will not dissemble with me were the matter of greater weight.

Mr. Archibald Douglas had informed Mr. Francis Mowbray that I had informed your lordship that he was an enemy to his estate, and that I had been his enemy in all that I could, only for fear the young man should have addressed himself to me, and so he should have lacked occasion to have shown the world that your honour used him; and this one of their brethren has confessed to myself. *Unsigned.*

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk*: "8 Junii 1592. Mr. James Hudson to my lord. The Lord Hume."

[June.]

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 70.

694. CONCERNING POSSIBILITY OF SCOTLAND JOINING WITH SPAIN.

. . .* [Ki]nge to [joine] with Spain, if this may be done, which . . . te and rather to believe: first, because it agreeth with . . . enemies and their best counsels to make war upon us by way . . . Scotland. The reasons are many, but I will remember them. T[he] King of Scotland is a poor prince, and therefore the more subject to

* Decayed.

James VI. 1592. con . . . and hire; the nobility likewise poor, unconstant, naturally tumul[tuous] and desirous of change, and envious of our good estate and her majesty's prosperity. The Spaniards consider that they may land in Scotland safely; the country has many good ports and havens of receipt where any army has a quiet descent. The rest consists only in the chance of a battle, wherein fortune is wont to prevail rather than . . . From Scotland the Spaniards will be able to invade us by land whereas otherwise they must land out of their ships. As in sea war we have heretofore overthrown them, so by this course of Scotland their greatest fear will be removed. Again, by sea they cannot conveniently bring ho[rses] from Spain, without which it is vain to attempt any invasion or conquest. But by landing in Scotland they will not only be free from former dangers, but also have a quiet landing and be assisted by sufficient companies of horse, trained for service, and inured by raids and forays one upon another, and have the best horses of England, more in number than we have. Our enemies, having thus an easy passage of invasion, will take advantage of it, being more constant in their proceedings than we: their perseverance is such that "nether good fortune makes them secure, nor any losse [or] overthrowe discourage them: they pursue revenge, and wee pre[tend] but defence. They purpose our conquest and subversion, and we devise but to resist; they have prepared and determined first, [which] is an infinite advantage, and wee out of a latter and uncertain intelligence seeke but to withstand, which is on the contrarie as infini[te a] disadvantage." They have Jesuits amongst us, to draw many people from her majesty's obedience; our . . . many and our malcontents are not few: all which, when a w[ar with Eng]land shall be attempted, will then show themselves w . . . unless . . . insolence. There is great difference . . . and great diversity of fortune between a . . . to defend is to play at dice for our own s . . . to ill affections; it encourages the fearful and holl . . . In every kingdom there is one party without hope; all . . . discontented, and every one discontented desires change. Seeing an army at hand, they will be ready to join themselves, for to whom the present is miserable, expe[cted] good serves for persuasion. But as upon [this some] men may conclude infinite errors, and that from doubtful grow variable and uncertain counsels, I thought good to make an orderly consideration of the matter, that conjectures being propounded and answered, the disease and the remedy may be found and prevented.

"Therefore it is first to be determined fro[m whence] this assistance shall come into Scotland, by what wa[y, at what] tyme, what course is lykely to be held by the enemye, in [how] many waies and in howe many places they may offend us." They may come into Scotland four ways, out of Denmark, the Low Countries, Brittany, or Spain. [For] many men there are two things required, many ships [and many havens?], of both which Denmark is sufficiently furnished, but . . . Scottish Queen has there I know not, yet the King and his Council, corrupted as it is verily thought the . . . for one, who in effect governs all, some doubt . . . of, but it would soon be discovered if any such . . . to which some regard would be had. But it is u . . . that the Hanse towns and cities of the empire, . . . Lubeck, Bremen, and others have consulted agains[t us, and] finding such an occasion offered would be easily en . . . assistance. The second place

James VI. 1591. whence they may come into Scotland is from the Low Countries which have only three havens, Gravelines . . . having Flushing on the one side and Os[tend] . . . [noth]ing can be done there but her majesty must easily know [and pre]vent it. Besides, the forces of the Low Countries cannot be spared from the French wars and the defence of the country against the States. The third place is Brittany, which has "reasonable good portes," and shipping may be had by help of the Leaguer towns; but princes are not wont to leave enterprises achieved for others uncertain, and it cannot be that the King will withdraw from his proceedings in Brittany, for from thence he purposes to make a frontier war upon the west of England, and by keeping a fleet at Bluett [*sic:* Brest?] and the ports adjoining purposes to "impeache" our trade to Bordeaux, Rochelle, and St. Jean de Luz, being all that now remains, that of "Stoad" and the Newfoundland fishing only excepted. To conclude of the place, it must be from Spain, being further from intelligence and prevention than the rest, and from whence men may be better spared.

Next, to consider by what way the Spaniards mean to pass into Scotland as shortest and safest; whether through the Narrow Seas, by the west of Ireland, or by St. George's Channel. If they mean to land at the east Firth, they must pass between Scilly and Ushant and through the Narrow Seas, which navigation requires divers winds, and is not a speedy passage; and if a storm arise at south or south-east after their entrance into our Channel the fleet must be driven on our coast and subject to many dangers; if north or north-west they would be in greater peril on the French coast by their great draught of water, there being no ports able to receive them. As to the passage by the west of Ireland or by St. George's Channel . . . passage, and unfortunate to the S . . . and Ulster, so many of their ships and . . . purpose of invasion, that I think they will h . . . on that side. Besides the length of the navigation . . . the dangerous passage between the land of Tyrconell . . . as also the doubling of the head of Cantire in Scotland . . . enter Dunbarton Firth will be very dangerous for great ships. Therefore the third way, by St. George's Channel, is more likely, having Milford Haven to succour them, to be performed with one wind, the navigation short, the coast of Cheshire and the Isle of Man of small resistance and "infected" with Papists. Milford, Beaumaris, or the Isle of Man and forte . . . some one of them, as well for their own assurance in pass . . . for the succour of such supplies as shall be sent after them.

We are now to see whence [*sic:* when?] this army shall come. The Scots have desired them in May next, and they will sail at the end of May or in June; "for their late taking of the ayre in the yere 15 . . . a feaver uppon their invincible navie, as most of them . . . asonder ere they recovered Spaine, and therfore . . . knowledg of their errours at so deare a pryce." It is the best of the summer, and they can cross the sea in the fairest time and arrive . . . or somewhat before, especially if they mean to . . . England the same year.

Fourthly, the manner is to be considered. It will be very late for the . . . forward the same year of their arrival, for s . . . in landing themselves and their provision, to refres . . . carriages and other necessaries. The Scots cannot be [ready] on the instant, for their horsemen

James VI. 1592. must . . . b[oth] in corn and victuals . . . able . . . . troop in one place, so that it will be towards winter [before they can] set forward. If they begin their march towards the end of the year, there can be no likelihood of s[uccess], neither is there any doubt thereof, for the Spaniards are impatient of cold, the way long and hard to pass and the country barren; and if any resistance be made, and the time ever so little "foreslowed," what with ill lodging, "alteracion of aire," and other miseries, five thousand Spaniards will soon be wasted. The following is what they may hope to bring to pass. First, they will com[pel] her majesty to send an army into the north, which will use many captains and leaders, who must be drawn from Brittany, Normandy, and the Low Countries. This will put her majesty to great charge. All the country northwards, through which this army must pass, will be much spoiled, the north, where they must make residence, altogether impoverished. Brittany, thus left unassisted, will be recovered for the King of Spain, the French King in danger to be overthrown, and other enterprises against Spain abandoned. The west of England, the coast-towns of Cornwall and Plymouth, will be attempted by forces from Brittany; also the first trouble will arise in Ireland, for from Cantire, Islay, Arran, and other north-west parts of Scotland, "Scottes Irishe" will be sent over into Ulster, who may cross in six hours and "land in Surlebois contrye and Tirconel at the Band" or [other] part of the north-west of Ireland, and from thence in few days come into the English pale, waste all those parts and endanger Dublin, without the assistance of any Spaniards at all, for those . . . upon Ulster are very valiant and easy drawn . . . of . . . they are ready and have wyn . . . of Connaught with O'Rourke, with Surl . . . which have attempted any warres, either one upon . . . state; and at this time it is to be feared that the chief lords and commanders of Ulster are either des[cended from Scottish] mothers, or are mere Scottish, or allied, as O'Donell . . . out of the castle of Dublin, a valiant, discontented man, is descended from the Earl of Argyle's daug[hter], brother-in-law to the Earl of Tyrone, and one whom the [Earl] specially favours and trusts. Henry O'Neil, who . . . at the same time, and his brethren are come out of the bes . . . Scotland: Surleboy and his brethren mere Scottish . . . Lenogh married in a great house of Scotland, besides M . . . all others in effect either of strength or commandment, all . . . and superstitious Papists, and at the Pope's direction. So . . . be more dangerous or troublesome to her majesty than this c . . .; this enterprise [might] be performed without any charge to the Scottish King; to recover the country again . . . to her majesty, as the kingdom is worth, as appeared by the . . . of Desmond, in which "beggerly warre" her majesty spent . . . years, wherein I was present, 500,000 *l.*, and by oc . . . all was appeased 300,000 *l.* more. Furthermore, while . . . driven to send over an army into Ireland, and by . . . able both in men and treasure, the Spaniards and . . . the better encouraged and better able to recover Eng . . . garrison of Brittany emboldened to attempt any . . . Devon, Cornwall, or elsewhere. This in mine . . . of the Spaniard for the first year, or of all other. . . .

Lastly, to speak of remedies and prevention. First, it is to be considered whether the Scottish King be of the p . . . noe. If it be unassured,

James VI. 1592. then were it dangerous to . . . any faction against him publicly, lest while . . . indifferent and unresolved he be thereby pr . . . self. For a little weight swayeth an ind[ifferent] . . . are soon converted into rage and in . . . ence, as might justify his p[roceed]-inges to his . . . If Bothwell or any other should be publicly . . . [pr]onounced against him, he might then make declaration of . . . and cover some other silent pretence with a veil of such an indignity, pretending the doubt of his person and subversion of his estate. This is no false counsel, for prin[ces] to favour such a subject as shall dare to force the King's palace or assail his person in his own house for what cause soever. But if such a practice be thought necessary, yet would it be carried with greater cunning and secrecy. It is further necessary that effectual persuasions be used to the King, that the Spaniards can never be assured to himself or his nation, being of another religion, and being contrary to the King's oath to enter a league with any hereticall prince: further, that he never assisted any prince or state except to make himself master thereof, whereof there be many examples. If the King of Scots join with a papistical king he will lose all his nobility and people of the religion, and leave himself in the hands of strangers who can have no respect for him, nor is there any reason why the King of Spain should for his own sake "friend" him. If he be made believe that by the Spaniard he may be assisted to any pretended right or title, and that the Spanish King is become a distributor of kingdoms to their lawful princes, it appeared in Portugal how he ended the strife there between all the competitors; also in Naples, when assisting the Queen against the French, how contrary to all honour, forsaking the Queen, the Spaniards divided the kingdom with the French; and how afterward, taking advantage also against them upon the river of Garillon under the leader . . . alues, they defeated their whole army, and have since kept the kingdom for themselves. By this and a multitude of other . . . with all nations what there . . . are to be trusted. On the contrary, . . . King and kingdom of Scotland many . . . took advantage at any time, but preserv[ed] . . . his estate: how her majesty has refused . . . Low Countries, so often thereunto invited by the Pope; how she never entered for herself into the civil wars in France, having app . . . duchy of Normandy and the best part . . .; how she has never sought to possess herself of any foreign territory, notwithstanding all these occasions offered, defende[d her] kingdom, religion, and her oppressed neighbours. [The King] of Scots may assure himself among other princes . . . particular most especially her majesty never had pur[pose but] became a prince of the greatest justice, virtue and . . .; the King of Scots is not ignorant what it is to e . . . or to draw blood upon our nation, whereby he . . . of the general hatred as well of the people as of the be . . . Whereas he now stands indifferent, or, as he hims[elf] . . . expectation of future honour and advancement, he . . . debarred both by arms and laws. He knows that not long since her majesty [defeated] such an army of the Spaniards as never [will be] made again in our time: and therefore it were b . . . a less fleet can pass by us unbe . . . which done, and whereof we disdain to make doubt . . . for such revenge as his ingratitude to the Queen—who has preserved him from his cradle—and [make] manifest the corruption of his rel . . . .

James VI. 1592. contrary whereof, joined with her majesty's gracious . . . has been the cause of his strength and honour.

In conclusion it rests to speak of the worst . . . allowing the King to be of the practice . . . to follow the enterprise: and foras[much] . . . .

8 *pp. Imperfect.*

June 12. 695. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of the two several letters addressed by the Queen of England and Burghley to him (Bowes), and delivered yesternight, had spoken with the King and received his answers.

On Thursday last the King gave him audience. Recounted and negotiated the effect of the letters, enlarging parts thereof and travailing to persuade the King to advance the full progress of the reformation lately ordained by Parliament; to put speedy order to the papists, Spanish, and seditious subjects; to redress the attempts done in the west wardenry of England by Liddisdale; and without delay to put the Earl of Mar into possession of the keeping of Edinburgh Castle.

First, the King said that he had well considered her majesty's letter and davice, and would readily put the same in practice. Secondly, he promised to set forward the reformation, opening what charge he had given to the Councillors to advance the same, and what pains he had taken in his own person to bring this order to the state wherein it presently stands. Thirdly, he agrees that it was very necessary, and that he would make speedy provision to give a watchful eye to the Catholics, seditious and suspected sort in Scotland, confessing that he was informed that presently they had in hand some enterprise against religion, his honour, estate and person, and the quietness of Scotland; for the discovery of which enterprise he had employed and sent already some chosen persons and had stayed his [*sic*] passage over the water until he should be sufficiently instructed in the certainty of the information given him. Fourthly, he laid on Murray's friends the delay as well of the burial of Murray's body as of the execution of justice against Huntly and others for the murder; and he offered that, at the request of three wise and fit persons of Murray's friends, he would readily give them ordinary justice. If the course of ordinary justice and trial could not proceed, in regard that Huntly had such great alliance in blood with the nobility that no assize could be got, or by any other impediment, then he would deliberate with them for provision of other remedy and means, and for the full accomplishment of such order and resolution as should be taken he firmly promised his aid in person and with all power.

Fifthly, he has already given order to Sir Robert Carr, keeper of Liddisdale, to give redress to the Lord Scrope in the bills against Liddisdale. Has written to Lord Scrope to call on Sir Robert Carr in this behalf. Lastly, albeith that Mar's entry into the office of Edinburgh Castle was delayed beyond promise, yet the King was pleased that he should enjoy it, and now he is possessed thereof.

Besides, the King informed him (Bowes) that he had heard that Bothwell had made means for her majesty's favour and "oversight" to be given to him and his friends coming into England for their succour;

James VI. 1592. that he (Bowes) had commission to intercede for him, and that the King still purposed to hunt after him to "quitt" himself from the dishonour offered to him by Bothwell, to whom he trusted her majesty would be no refuge against his pursuit, concluding with request that her majesty would give order to all her wardens and officers on the Borders to apprehend and keep any of his subjects forfeited and coming into England, that they may be delivered to him, and that he might know by him (Bowes) what should be done in the same for his satisfaction. Desires to know what further answers he shall give to the King in this behalf.

On the Friday following, acquainted the Chancellor, Mar, and other Councillors well devoted in religion and to the amity with all his doings with the King. Whereupon it was thought good that a convenient number of the best disposed Councillors and others of like affection should be joined together to set forward as well the good accomplishment of the King's course, as also the full and seasonable execution of all things for the benefit of the common causes, wherein the grounds of their bonds were resolved to stand and be framed for the maintenance of religion established, to the welfare of the state, honour and person of the King, for preservation of the government and peace in Scotland against all conpirators, for continuance of the amity betwixt these two crowns; and for repressing the insolencies of the Earl of Bothwell against the King and his honour: which last part was thought should well content the King and move him to give the better allowance in all other causes. He (Bowes) had brought together seven or eight of the best sort for this purpose, who liked the motion so well that the form of the band for this fellowship betwixt those there present and with others fit to be added to them was committed to one of them to be showed to all who should join therein, and also, upon their assent, to receive their subscription. Has been occupied in this these two days, but his labour is all bestowed in vain. For, before anything was fully perfected, the Lord Chancellor departed from hence to Lethington; Blantyre, the Comptroller, Newbottle, and others returned to their own houses; Sir John Carmichael was employed and sent in especial business for the King; and Sir Robert Melvill and others left here would proceed no further. All things remain loose, without hope of success. Hears that his own credit does not prevail so much with these parties as it did lately. Takes the more deep apprehension as the King has often inquired of sundry of them, and of himself, what satisfaction he (Bowes) has given to the Queen of England, and how "her majesty's countenance is bentt towardes" him. Some of them have let him (Bowes) know that all these things have been discoursed amongst them, and that it has been in question whether his commendation of any matter or person to the Queen of England should receive good acceptance.

It is still confirmed that some enterprise would have been attempted if the King had passed over the water as he purposed; wherein it is said that Huntly, Errol, Crawford, and some lairds of Fife should have attempted the possession of the Court in Fife, and that Bothwell, Maxwell, and others should have entered into the action on this side of the water. The King has been informed that Angus, pretending to depart out of this town to receive the communion to clear his promise to the Church, met and communed with Bothwell. Angus knows that this has been told the King, and also gives little regard to the same in respect that he

James VI. 1592. thinks to acquit himself sufficiently from this fact; and it is evident that he communicated at his parish church, as he "pretended," yet some cannot be satisfied but that he still "smellethe of the smoke of papistry" and has intelligence with, or at least bears some favour towards Bothwell, who lately has sworn, as is affirmed, that, seeing he found himself only "put att" and to be the sacrifice for others, he would therefore take the visor from his own face to let the blemishes thereof be plainly seen in their own colours, and therewith he would discover the blots in others, which would appear to be more foul in them than in him. Whereupon it is thought that sundry having pricked him forwards in his late actions, and keep themselves close, still favour his enterprises and offer their friendship to him so far as they can with safety; and it is confidently told him (Bowes) that the grudge of Murray's slaughter so works in the hearts of most men, and in the well affected, that they will not give their endeavours to touch Bothwell or prevent any matter threatening alteration in this state, in regard they think that by the welter of the state the evil counsellors and instruments in the King's chamber shall be defeated and removed.

Bewails his own misfortune to be employed here at this time and in the present condition of his state and credit at home and in this place. The seasonable address of her majesty's letter to him, with the discovery of the dangerous practice in the heads of many in Scotland, and with some light of her grace renewed to him, will, he trusts, work some good effects in this evil time. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 16. 696. ROBERT BOWES TO ELIZABETH.

By the late address of your majesty's letter immediately to me I am emboldened and have thought it my duty to make immediate return to your majesty of the advertisements as well of the receipt of the letter mentioned, and of my doings and success in the negotiation thereof with the King, as also of the present condition of the unstable estate in this realm and of my own miserable case, the particularities of all which I have more at large signified to the Lord Treasurer to be opened to your majesty and to avoid tediousness in these presents, most humbly beseeching your majesty to vouchsafe to pardon in me and to accept in good part this boldness taken by the occasion expressed.

At the next audience given me by the King after the receipt of your majesty's letter to me I imparted to him at length and in secret manner the contents in that letter, giving him therewith a view of the same, agreeable to the Lord Treasurer's direction to me, and I prayed him to keep secret the matters discovered and my own adventure in showing to him without warrant the original letter thus addressed by your majesty to me. After he had heard me and read the letter, he entered into a long discourse, first yielding very hearty thanks for your majesty's continual care and goodwill for the welfare of himself, his honour, and realm. Next, he excused the former slackness passed contrary to your majesty's good advice to him for the timely banishment and due punishment of murderers, papists, and seditious persons, and practisers in this realm, alleging that with the advice of his States and Council, he had ordained sundry Acts

James VI. 1592. to chastise this sort of his evil subjects specified, whereby Fentree, a chief instrument amonst them, was committed unto, and still remains in ward; that diligently he had sought to have apprehended Mr. James Gordon, the principal Jesuit, whom he could not find; and now he promises to provide such order that "indelate" execution shall follow and be done in all these causes, wherein he has already made some Acts of Council for the accomplishment of these promises; which Acts hitherto remain without life or hope to be better executed than your majesty's former advices or the statutes and laws already established and in force in these behalfs have been.

Albeit he holds it very necessary and has promised to be careful to provide seasonable and good means to prevent the bringing into this realm either of forces or money from Spain or the Low Countries, wherewith some noblemen or faction already corrupted, or others easy to be tempted, may be carried to join with these forces and enter into dangerous actions, as by your majesty's letter is advised to be intended, yet he objected sundry reasons to weaken that intelligence, seeming thereby to me that he little doubts great perils to arise by any such conspiracies, wherein he assures himself that some of the noblemen named to be dealt withal herein will not embark themselves in it, the most of the rest are either absent or else of little wit or power, and that this enterprise cannot be attempted without open hostility against himself, wherein he will cast such watchful eye that they shall not long keep and convey their practices from his knowledge. In the meantime he has resolved to take and ward for other crimes the persons most suspected, and fit both to be examined in the points of this conspiracy and also to be so wisely used therein, that the forces and money may be barred from this realm lest the fire kindled by their help shall not be quenched without blood and danger.

He thinks this plot to be newly builded upon the foundation before laid by the Jesuits and Spanish rabble with sundry noblemen and Catholics in this realm, and chiefly with confederates at Brigg of Dee; amongst whom the Earl of Crawford, receiving his grace for the same, confessed that he was then tempted with 3000 crowns, and that when he or others refused the gold offered, it was given to their servants and nearest and in best credit with them; and that the factors for Spain and Catholics always pressed them to take arms to change the government and directly to break with England. Wherewith also he told one that advice has lately been given him—and that sundry pretending goodwill to your majesty for your majesty's bounty to them consented—that he should not bind himself to your majesty's course or pleasure, but rather to hearken to the offers of foreign princes for his greater honour and profit. And according to this the Lord Chancellor told me that he had been earnestly solicited and "assaid" with large offers to work the King to embrace the advice mentioned; wherein, and within these five days, the parties before travailing with him have wholly given up the matter; giving him thereby just cause to think that they have found another way to the entry of their desires. In this the King has affirmed confidently to me that he only withstood this advice and that he will always and stedfastly continue his course with your majesty. He is purposed and gave promise not to reveal this matter to any other than to the Chancellor and Sir Robert Melville, wishing me to communicate the same

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to them. Whereupon I have only "broken it with" Sir Robert; and nevertheless some part of it has been "returned" to me by others.

Hitherto I find little provision made to prevent the dangers threatened, and I perceive that he is honoured here to be a King, and denied to be wise in the resolution of the ordinances for prevention of future inconveniences likely to fall; and nevertheless many think him to be subject to the advice of others and weak in the action for the execution of the ordinances made or promised against the advice which afterwards and with cunning is oftentimes distilled into him; and sometimes it is seen that the sinews of his power suffice not to carry out his own desires. Therefore I have sought to gather and knit together the best instruments to supply all wants and "expede" the best effects for the common causes. And finding presently good disposition in the Chancellor, I thought it meet to put him in the society of this number; but hitherto my labour prevails little in regard that all former and good fellowship is broken, and few well affected do concur in action.

The Chancellor is seen "slydden" a piece out of the King's favour since he set himself against Huntly, and I am espied to be so far thrown from your majesty's grace and countenance that my means or commendations may little grace or profit either person or cause; so that this nation—never accustomed to stoop to empty lure—now checks at my empty fist and will not be reclaimed without lively and ready prey, which I have not, in truth, to cast them as I wonted and as I would yet do, if, for the benefit of your majesty's service, I could with my blood or whatsoever I possess provide it.

The present estate in this realm is tossed with dangerous storms, troubling the passage of religion and justice and greatly sounding to the peril of the King's honour, estate, and person by the intention of sudden surprise of his Court with violence to be enterprised by Bothwell and his accomplices, and by other malcontents suspected to join therein with him, and yet not evidently known. The King's Councillors and many others of best quality receive daily intelligences of their resolution of the progress of this enterprise. Whereupon they have earnestly moved the King either to stay his "remove" to Falkland or else to ride to and tarry some time at Stirling until these clouds shall be dissolved and also it shall be known what matter was gathered therein. In this, and for the King's stay, myself was employed to travail with the King, who in no case will take any "affray" thereat or defer the time of his passage to Falkland on Monday next the 18th instant. The danger is thought to be abated by the fresh and new report which this day is brought that these conspirators are broken and divided amongst themselves, and that some of them seek to win grace by discovery of the bottom of the plot laid and intended. For the Master of Gray, Mr. John Colvile, and Hackerston, lying near Fife, as it is advertised, and finding themselves and their purpose disclosed, have retired. Fintray lying here in Canongate near the Court gates to give warning has departed. Balwearie and Abbotshall, ready to have joined with the Master of Gray and others, seek their best refuge, and Bothwell, looking that all the noblemen in Scotland, other than Mar, Morton, and Lindsay, would either have assisted or else winked at him and his actions, finds himself now abandoned, whereby he is driven to adventure some desperate hazard.

(*Recapitulates the circumstances of his falling into her debt.*)

James VI. 1592. Lastly, coming hither and being ready to obey and serve your majesty without regard of any pain, peril, or loss whatsoever to fall thereby to me, I find the mass of my miseries so appearing in the eyes of the King, Councillors, and others of this nation that thereby your majesty's services in my charge are greatly hindered and prejudiced; for the remedy whereof I have thought it my duty with all humility and submission to present the advertisement of these to your majesty's own knowledge and grave consideration, with most humble petition to vouchsafe to determine timely and graciously on myself and my services to your majesty, and on my life, liberty, possessions, and causes "submitt and lyeng at your majesty's resolute censure," like as by your majesty's sacred wisdom and order for your services, and by your majesty's accustomed clemency and bounty towards your servants, shall be found expedient. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3⅔ *pp. No fly leaf or address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 17. 697. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Had audience of the King on Wednesday last the 13th instant, and showed him her majesty's letter to him (Bowes), with request to keep secret both the contents and the fact that the letter had been shown. Has deferred writing because the King desired time to advise upon his course for prevention of dangers and for his answer to her majesty. The King promised to send the next day for the Chancellor, now at Lethington, to confer with him and Sir Robert Melville in this cause. The Chancellor has excused himself by sickness lately fallen to him: the King, being ready to ride to him today, is stayed, partly by the accident of the fray yesternight between Davy Dundasse and young Calder, wherein the courtiers party their friends and for which the King is now at the Tolbooth, and partly by advice of some danger in his journey to Lethington. Has this day had access to the King, whose answers are as follows.

The King acknowledges having received former good advices by her majesty's letters to himself and by directions to him (Bowes) for prevention of dangerous practices of Papists and seditious persons, wherein albeit he had promised to provide remedies, little effects have hitherto followed: for excuse he alleges that he ordained Acts of Council for performance of the things promised, whereupon the Laird of Fentry was committed and still remains in ward; and he sought to apprehend James Gordon the Jesuit with no less care than he has laboured to get Bothwell: he affirmed that he knew no principal or seditious Papist in Scotland except those two, against whom, and all others to be made known to him, he would extend the pains provided by the laws. He (Bowes) reminded the King that he and the ministers had often given in the names of the other Jesuits, excommunicates and Papists, and will presently discover them and their receivers; whereupon he promised again to proceed against them with all severity. Agreeable to his promise he moved the Council on Thursday last to provide an Act to banish Fentry, James Gordon, and other Papists, but there seems little hope of the execution thereof until the Acts already in force be accomplished. It is known that Fentry remained in Canongate nine days in the time

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of the Parliament; "to whom some especiall resorted and had secrett intelligence with him," and he has departed in safety.

The plot disclosed for sending into Scotland forces and money from Spain and the Low Countries the King thinks to be grounded upon former practices of the Jesuits with noblemen of Scotland, chiefly such as were in the conspiracy of the Bridge of Dee: he said that the Earl of Crawford confessed to him that he was tempted with offers of three thousand French crowns, and when he and others refused, their principal servants were pressed to take it; "and that these factours for Spaine and the Catholiqes did always entyce them to enter into armes, to reforme the government, and derectlye to breake with Inglande": it was evident that those employed for Spain cared little what became of any noblemen in Scotland further than to make them serve to cast all things in confusion in both realms. The King noted that the practisers for Spain would be deceived in the dispositions of sundry of the persons named in the schedule sent by his lordship, and also in their powers, saying that Atholl might be tempted, but not won, that Sanquhar and Herries, being absent, could not now do much for them, that Gray and Fleming were little worth, and that Claud Hamilton had lost his wit: but he agreed that the Spanish instruments would make as great a party as they could to draw the Pope and Spain "more rowndlie into the accion," saying that some of these noblemen had been before dealt with and are suspected and that the rest might peradventure be tempted with gold; that they could not change religion or the government or join with foreign forces except in open war against himself, "which things theye shall not carye so closelye but that he shall espye it," promising to give good regard to all their actions and meetings. He prays her majesty to give him timely warning as anything shall come to her, yielding hearty thanks for her favour.

The King holds it very dangerous to suffer forces or money to touch this realm, lest the fire grow greater than can be easily quenched: he purposes to apprehend those most suspected of this conspiracy. Although they must be charged with other crimes, yet they will be examined as to the conspiracy, and if anything be discovered all peril will be prevented. The King promised not to reveal the secret to any favouring the persons suspected, nor to anyone but the Chancellor and Sir Robert Melville, to whom he wished him (Bowes) to impart it. He said that sundry have lately advised him "to be slowe to bynde over faste with hir majestie, but rather to heare the offers of other forraine princes for his honour and profitt," and noblemen who have been in England have consented to this counsel. Nevertheless he affirms that "alone he hathe withstoode all these charmes," and will keep the amity with her majesty. Little care will be taken to defeat this practice except some well affected instruments be seasonably stirred up. Has attempted this with great diligence, but little hope of success, since the Scottish nation, seeing the bareness of his estate, think him disgraced. In order to know what the Catholics and Spanish are doing in Scotland has conferred with some acquainted with these practisers, who showed him letters from Spain and the Low Countries, specially one from William Crichton, wherein George Crawford is named. A letter from Madrid, dated 5 April, certifies as follows: "'Heare we have no newes, except that this King is still makinge forces for Fraunce, and yet hes ane armye in Arragon, and

James VI. 1592. eykes it nowe with 7,000 footmen. The trobles in Arragon are not yet appeased, suppose ther be no forces in armes againste the King. Hear is Monsieur de Montpansier, good sonne to the Duke of Mayne, and it is saide that these forces shall goe with him to helpe his brother the Marques of Villiars.'" These persons say there is no course taken at present by Spain or the Low Countries with the noblemen or others favouring the Catholics or Spain, but that all things remain as before without conclusion.

Has to-day received his lordship's letter of the 12th instant, and acquainted the King with Lord Hume's coming into England, and with the causes moving her majesty first to stay him in the south parts and after to licence him to come to the Borders, there to await the King's pleasure: which he accepted in good part, and will advertise Hume of his pleasure.

Has again sought for speedy redress to be given by Sir Robert Carr, keeper of Liddesdale, for attempts on the West Borders, and also that upon the late decease of Lord Scrope quietness may be kept between the West Marches of England and the West and Middle Marches of Scotland. The King and Council have before this given order to Sir Robert Carr, who promised satisfaction, as will appear by his (Bowes,) former letters to his lordship, to Lord Scrope, and to Richard Lowther. The King has written to Lord Maxwell and Cesford, and sent his proclamation to be published for the same: encloses copy of the King's letter.

The King intending to send two ships to take Bothwell, now—as is said—riding at the back of the May near St. Andrews in a little barque, desires that some fit pinnace or barque may be put in readiness at Newcastle to help in this service. To content him, has agreed to write to Henry Sanderson, searcher at Newcastle, to provide a fit vessel for this purpose, yet trusts he shall not need to be at any charge herein seeing it is thought that the King's ships will not find Bothwell in that place. The King's ships might discover some sails of her majesty plying that coast, as his lordship has written, therefore has acquainted the King with her majesty's ships being in the north seas, and the cause thereof; all which he accepts very well, saying that the sight of her majesty's ships in those seas "would give a great alarum to this realme" if the cause of their being there were not thus made known to him.

The King has been moved by Council to remain here for eight days or else to remove to Stirling to avoid the danger of surprise, whereof every day fresh intelligence is brought to him. It is thought it will be attempted if he pass over the water and lie at Falkland, but he is resolved to repair thither on Monday next, and the barons and gentlemen in Fife are to attend upon him at the waterside at Kinghorn, and afterwards at Falkland, St. Andrews, and other places. The Council and ministers are persuaded that something will be attempted against some favourites about the King, and fear that this may open the way to the practices intended by the Papists and Spain, notwithstanding all promises to the contrary, wherein it is rumoured "that some offers have bene in Ingland in this behalfe." By a libel lately set upon the door of the King's outer chamber the King was warned to beware that he be not used as King Richard the second was in England; that two enterprises were intended for his surprise, one at Holyrood House, whereof he might enquire of Colonel Stewart, the other at Falkland, whereof he might ask the Lady Pitfirrane, wife of Colonel Stewart, and the Laird of Balwearie, concluding

James VI. 1592. that he would give an instrument thereof; and subscribed '*scivi, vidi, et audivi.*' To this Colonel Stewart subscribed: "'*Si scivisti, vidisti, et audisti*, then thou art the treatour untill thou shalt discover and prove the treason.'"

The Earl of Erroll, cited to appear before the commissioners of the church for hearing mass and other offences, has obtained six weeks' respite, upon condition that he put from him all the Papists in his house, and receive a learned preacher appointed for him. "Heruppon he is departed home." The marriage between the Earl of Argyle and Morton's daughter is like to proceed, whereat the King is nothing pleased. Dares not let his travail be seen herein, but may not spare it, since by this match her majesty will have better interest in Argyle, who, being moved by the King to like of the Duke's sister, answered that he might not make war in his own house, meaning that being in feud with Huntly for the slaughter of Murray, he could not take to wife the sister of Huntly's wife. Sir John Carmichael and Sir James Sandilands were sent the other day to Morham to apprehend Bothwell and others there with him, as the King was informed. They found only James Hepburn's horse and returned. Sir John presses the King to discharge him of the west wardenry but is like to keep it still some time. Maxwell, suspected to have intelligence with Bothwell and in his intended attempts, has offered to come to clear himself, wherewith the King is well satisfied. Johnston is deeply suspected; his cautioners are charged to appear, and it is thought that he will not come in. Complaints have been exhibited against Huntly for oppressions done in the office of lieutenancy which he still exercises; "but nothinge can byte of him." It is said that letters pass daily between him and the King, Huntly directing his to sundry of the chamber to be delivered to the King. The Leaguers in France have taken two ships of Kirkcaldy: the owners have sued for a letter of marque against the Leaguers, and are denied. In the end of next week Angus, Erroll, Morton, Glamis, and others will be here at a day of law with their friends: it is thought that their forces will be great, and that they will not depart without resolution of some matters of weight.

Thought it his duty to return immediate advertisement to her majesty of the receipt of her letter and of his doings. Has certified the present condition of this tottering state, and his own distressed case, in his letter to her. Sometimes sends letters of occurrences to the Lord Chamberlain, but has no one but his lordship (Burghley) to whom he may write his negociations for her majesty's service, so prays pardon for continuing to trouble him with his letters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Enclosure with the same:

(James VI. to Lord Maxwell and the Laird of Cesford.)

"Right traiste frinde we greit you hartelye weill. For samickle as we being informit of the decease of the Lord Scroop, Lord Warden of the Weste Marche of Englande, and that ther is na newe Warden constituted ther for the keipinge of good rule and quietnes of baithe the realmes, we have therfore sent you this our proclamacion, quhilke you sall cause be proclamit at all the marcatte croces of the head burrows

James VI. 1592. within the haile boundes of your charge, and use your speciall care and dilligence that gud rule be keipit and all attemptates forborne to the harme of the good and obedient subjectes of baithe the realmes, not dowtinge but you will se the same performit and keipit." Holyrood House, 17 June, 1592.

Besides two such letters severally addressed to Lord Maxwell, during the service at Court of Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the West Marches, and to the Laird of Cesford, Warden of the Middle Marches, there is also a proclamation to be published commanding all the King's subjects within the West and Middle Marches to keep peace and quietness towards her majesty's subjects in the west wardenry of England.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

June 19. 698. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

"Richt excellent, richt heich and michtie princes our darrest suster and cousine, in our h . . .* recommend ws unto yow. The great and heavy losse sustenit be this berrare David Huchesoun, merchand and b . . . of Kirkcaldie, throw violence of the Leaguearis, Frenchemen of Newhevin, Fechame, and Honiflen, haifing maid of . . . and utheris gudis no les lauchfull pryse than gif he had bene thair oppin enemy, to his grit wraik and undom . . . eirnistlie to requeist you to zeild your favorable liecence to the said David to by in Londoun or any uthir p . . . for defence of his present guidis and for the reparatioun of his bypast losse ten falconis and ten myonis . . . thair furnitour for the furnessing of his schippis, and to transport the same thairto without any stop or hinder." . . . Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionat brother and cousin James R."

½ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 20. 699. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"Richt trustie and weilbeloved cousigne, we great zow hartly weill. The desire we have to releve Walgrave oure printer furth of his present conditioun moves ws to crave zoure favourable mediatioun for him to oure derrest suster the Quene zoure soverane, that hir accustomat clemency may be extendit towardis him, the rather for oure sake, seing he is langsyne enterit in oure service and continewis thairin to oure gude lyking, sa as he may have hir pardoun confirmed to him be write for the former offencis imputed to him, cancelling the memory thairof and resaving him in hir protectioun as a subject, quhilk in hart he faithfully professis to be, that he may the mair bouldly repair in his native cuntre as necesserly he sall have occasioun: and we undirtak and promiss for him that he sall wirk in his art na otherwyis then he salbe licensed be ws, for quhilk he hes entered sufficient cautioun. Thus being moved and procured be zour gude meanes we will acknawlege as ane acceptable plesur at zour handis done to oure self." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Your very loving freind James R."

½ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

* Decayed.

James VI. 1592. June 21. Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 42.

700. Sir Richard Cockburn to the Chancellor.

"I have hard of the Englishe ambassadour yesterday, that his desyre to have presence of the King on Saterday was upon a letter ressavid frome the Lord Threasurer of England, quhairby he wes directed to mak his majestie acquent of the Lord Home's being at London, and intentioun to cum doun to the Bordouris. In conference with his majestie it seamed to him that his highnes wes not curious of his being there or reparing to the Bordouris, onlye saying that he wald not be suddene in granting his licence to returne hame. The ambassadour is of that opinioun he is cummed doun, and will not stay on the Bordouris, for some evill will caryed to him be the Ogilles; and may tak occasioun quyetlye to cum in and remaine for a season in some part of the Mersh. He luikes for advertisment frome Berwik, having directed ane there, and myndis thairefter to cum there to zour lordschip, bot not before he mak me acquent to mak your lordschip advertesit."

"The Threasurer hes tauld me of a letter he hes send to zour lordschip conteaning some advertisment ressaved. There is sa monye bruites in all mennis mouthes of enterpryses and alteratioun to follow, that without doubt some chainge man be gif God disappoint not. Angus I heare feales some dolour in his syde be a hurt he gat in loupping on the saddell at the hunting with his majestie before his ryding to Douglas, and hes send to Gilbert Prymrose for some drogges. The Lord Maxuell is luiked for be his majestie to repair to him quhair ever he be. The King I heare is this day in St. Johnstoun. Sa sone as I learne onye thing of the proceadeur there I shall mak zour lordschip acquent."

"I am desyred be the Lord Lyndesay, quha hes hard that zour lordschip is moved against David Dundas for the slauchter of zour cousing Richard Spens, to requeist zour lordschip in his name to trust na report of that accident till be his cumming there he informe zour lordschip how it fell out and all he knawes in that matter. I can not heare that David's self shot him, bot his awin depositioun wes that some of his folkis did it, not knawing quhat he wes. There is a tryist in Striveling betuixt the Erll of Argyle and his freindis; quhat I heare there is a great number present. The Duike is heir, continewing in that mynd to prosecute his jorney in travelling yf leave be procured. Sir James Sandelandis and zoung Sir Robert Melvill intendis to accumpanye him." Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

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

June 23. Add. MSS. 23,241, fol. 48.

701. Sir Richard Cockburn to the Chancellor.

"According to the directioun in zour lordschip's letter receaved frome Arbert Maxuell I wes of intentioun to have bene there this efternone, bot requested be syndrie recommendit to me frome zour lordschip to be present this day and the morne in sessioun quhen thair matters shalbe reasoned. I have taine occasioun to stay till the morne at efternone; having lykwyiss interloquutouris daylie to be advysit in that actioun betuixt the lord my father and his nichtbouris of Hadingtoun, and houping to have it readye on Moninday or Twisday to be callit in the inner house. The ambassadour, as zour lordschip, wes advertised of the taking of Lochmaben, and advertisment thairof send to Carmichaell; bot I can not heare that report to be trew. The Lord Maxuell stayed heir

James VI. 1592. all yesterday, and intendis to go over the watter this day. His majestie wes yesterday in Falkland, not removid to St. Johnstoun, and the Erle of Mar raid frome Striveling to be there yestrene. The Threasurer luikes for advertisment this day frome Falkland, quhilk I wald glaidlye heare before my cumming there: mynding lykwyiss at efternone to speake with the ambassadour, be quhome I will understand all he knaws." Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

Postscript.—"The ambassadour spak yesterday with the Erle of Mortoun, the Threasurer, and me, desyring that we should geve his majestie advertisment of some attemptat shortlie to be put in executioun, quhairof the enterprysers had laid thair compt to be sua assured that in thair opinions it could not faill, having about his majestie and within his house some quha had promised to geve the singe and wairning of the convenient tyme quhen thay should do it; yet wishing that his majestie should tak na great alarme bot luik narrowlye about him, quhilk protestatioun zour lordschip knawis is not verie necesser. The Comptroller is to gang over this morning, quha hes all that imparted to him to be delivered to his majestie, bot na better houp conceaved of attendance to be geven then of before."

¾ *p. Holograph, also address.*

June 24. 702. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On Monday last the 19th instant the King crossed the water at Leith and lodged that night at Kinghorn, without the company of any noblemen and against the advice of his Council and some of the ministry, earnestly moving him to try out before his departure the truth of the daily informations that Bothwell and others intended to attempt alteration in this court and government. The King, thinking the danger past and the conspirators scattered, resolved to proceed in his short progress to Falkland, St. Johnston's, and other towns in Fife. Soon after the King's departure Sir Robert Melville and others were newly advised that the enterprisers were assembling and their messengers sent to gather them for the execution which it was thought should be attempted at St. Johnston's, where the King had appointed to have been yesterday; but by advice sent to him this progress is stayed, and the barons and gentlemen of Fife are commanded to be before the King at Cupar on Tuesday next, to receive order for their attendance during his abode in Fife. Sundry reports were brought to him (Bowes) of this enterprise, and being required to confer with the Council, he opened to them the intelligence received, which concurred with their information. Being advised that the conspirators were not in such force but that they might be easily defeated, durst not give any rash advice "to stirre in the King or Counsaill any hastye or unnessarye conceites;" therefore wished the King might be persuaded to provide for his safety without any open show of apprehension, that the bottom of all these matters might be discovered. The Comptroller was addressed to the King at Falkland to acquaint him with these intelligences, and Sir Robert Melville has written to Sir George Hume that within three days men would be in the fields with open banner. Daily bruits of these preparations are brought to court, whereby the King's journey to St. Johnston was stayed: care

James VI. 1592. is now taken for prevention of danger, yet the King gives no credit to these advices, understanding that some things given out are already found untrue, as that Bothwell had surprised the castle of Lochmaben, which is still kept for the King by Sir John Carmichael. Lord Maxwell has come to the King, offering to acquit himself from all intelligence with Bothwell, which confirms the King in his security. Balwearie and others suspected are called for, but have hitherto given no obedience. Most of the Council, and others of experience, think that these confederates have not abandoned their enterprise, but that it will be taken in hand shortly unless it be discovered. Prays, as before, for direction how to deal in the matter of Earl Bothwell.

A ship of Dundee has lately taken near Flamborough an English barque with eight men, twenty four muskets, six cast pieces and other furniture. The takers allege that the captain and company are pirates; that most of the company were on land, and that in the barque they found goods of Scottishmen spoiled by them. The captain is Matthew Gunter of Plymouth, who denies to be a pirate or to have taken any goods from Scottishmen. The King is pleased to give him trial, purposing to deliver him, his company and barque if they be found guiltless, otherwise sharp execution will be done on them. Has advertised the Lord Admiral of this, and prays direction. Has left Roger Aston to draw the matter to the best that can be got; finds great readiness in the said Aston to serve her majesty and help him [Bowes], and trusts he may receive due thanks.

The Earls of Argyle, Marishal, and Mar lately convened at Stirling for the trial of Arkinlace and others charged with the slaughter of the Laird of Calder. Little is proved against them. It is said that at this meeting some deliberation was taken for obtaining justice against Huntly for the slaughter of Murray, and it is looked that the Lord of Ochiltree shall be sent to the King in this behalf. This matter nourishes great malcontentment in noblemen and others, and may cause dangerous fire to burst out, giving hold to Bothwell's suspected enterprise and stirring the Catholic and Spanish rabble to sedition. Little or no care is taken for the prevention of such ills; has travailed to bind together the best affected noblemen, chief officers, and others to take such works in hand, but most are departed from Edinburgh to their own houses. "All the olde fellowshipps are broken: fewe or none concurre for the common causes, but stand at gase to see what shall followe on the perillous condicions of this tyme and estate." His own credit will not serve, without speedy help, to profit her majesty's service. Huntly has lately sought the King's leave to depart into foreign parts, to remain there at the King's pleasure. His messenger received openly little grace in court, "yet it is saide that he returned to Huntlay with quiet contentment." By force of his commission Huntly is assembling great forces in the north, of persons ready to obey him for love or fear; the purpose is not yet known.

The King has certified that David Hutchinson, merchant and burgess of Kirkcaldy, was taken in March last at sea near Belle Isle by the Leaguers of "Newhaven" [Havre] and other places, and carried into the river of "Morbeane" [Morbihan] in Brittany, where his wines and other merchandise, then in two ships and esteemed to be worth 30,000 marks Scots, were taken from him. In order to refurnish his ships, he desires to be helped to provide in England, at his own charges, ten minions

James VI. 1592. and some muskets with their requisite furniture. The King has required him [Bowes] to commend to his lordship's favour this cause and the petitioner, who will attend upon him.

The Earl of Angus is hurt by the fall of his horse on him: some say this has hindered the enterprise mentioned, but the authors of that bruit are known to bear little goodwill towards Angus.

Seeing that hitherto no assurances are given by his son for payment of his debt to her majesty, and that his son remains in prison for that debt, which being absent he cannot redress; and seeing that all his causes run headlong into utter confusion through his absence and that of his son, prays his lordship to be a means to her majesty that some order be speedily taken for the acceptance and perfection of the assurances to be made for that debt and also for his other causes, submitting himself and his possessions wholly to her majesty's pleasure; and entreats deliverance from his misery, as he has by his late letter made humble petition to her majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 24. **703. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.**

"This berare, David Gardin in Dysert, suting this lang tyme the executioun of a decreit recoverit be him befoir zour judge of the admiralitie agains ane Capitane Nycolas Qwattis and his complices, quhilkis bereft and spoyled his guides, hes bene delayed and frustrat thairin throw the absence of those your subjectis in the Indis and uther forayne cuntreis thir twa zeiris bipast, to his great hinder and losse, being abstracted in the meantyme from his wounted honnest treade. And now, hearing of the returne of they personis within zour realme, he hes taikin purpois to addres him selff thether in gude hoip of redresse promeist be zour Counsale: quhom for his bettir furtherance we have thocht gude to accumpany with our recommendatioun, effectuouslie requeisting zou, our dearest suster, that be zour commandiment he may have executioun of that decreit according to zour ordour, as wes promeist, agains they personis and thair gudes quhairevir they can be comprehendit, that he being a meane and symple man be not farder weryed with attendence thairon, bot may returne to his honnest treade." Holyrood House. *Signed:* "Youre most loving and affectionatt brother and cousin, James R."

⅔ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 24. **704. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.**

"This berare, David Gardin in Dysert, persewing the executioun of a decreit recoverrit be him befoir the judge of the admiralitie agains Capitane Nycholas Qwattis and Capitane Raymount his cautionare this lang tyme past, hes bene postponit from tyme to tyme throw their absence furth of that realme in forayne pairtis: and now he being informed of thair hamecuming hes addressed him selff thether in hoip of full redresse of his losse as wes promeist at his last being thair. We have thairfoir zeildit him this favour to requeist zou verray effectuuslie, now as of befoir, to interpone zour wounted gudwill in his expeditioun and furtherance

James VI. 1592. in that caus he hes bene sa lang trublit in persute of, and se the same put to sic point as he be not urgeit throw neidles delay to attend langer thairon, and be abstracted from his honnest trede. Quhairin as ze sall do that quhilk justice and equitie craved, sa sall ze do ws thankfull plesyr to be requyte with our gudwill accordinglie." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

¾ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 26. 705. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Credible advertisements daily brought, and especially this night, from many places, affirming that Earl Bothwell and his party are ready to execute their enterprise "for the alteracion of this governement of court." The Chancellor has received like information from the West Borders, where Bothwell showed himself on Friday last among the Borderers, and also from the Middle Marches, where Sir Robert Carr was warned for his safety to leave Kelso. The Chancellor has warned the King, and is purposed to provide for himself, peradventure by some other mean than by the strength of his house at Lethington. The Council shall be acquainted herewith tomorrow morning at their assembly, and the Secretary will take the report of their doings to the King, to be tomorrow at Cupar to meet the barons and gentlemen of Fife. It is looked that the possession of the person of the King and the town of Edinburgh shall be attempted, and that some in court and town will be favourable to the attempters. In a well-governed realm this forewarning might suffice, but sees little resistance prepared. Prays speedy direction herein.

Lord Maxwell having cleared himself to the King as to his meeting with Angus during the last Parliament, and intelligence with Bothwell, which he denied, was directed to satisfy the Chancellor, which he has done, and returned a messenger to inform the King thereof. "And after he was with myself this day, promising firmly by his hand in myne to be obedient and serviceable to the King in all thinges, and also to be redy to do all good offices to her majestie." This night Angus is returned to Edinburgh, and others will be here tomorrow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 27. 706. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This morning Earl Bothwell is discovered to pass towards Queensferry with three troops of horsemen, Borderers, above four hundred in number: they had immediate passage over the water, and either they have by this time executed their enterprise, or else the King has escaped, whom they will follow whithersoever he goes. They will not do any hurt to his person, but the danger is like to fall on Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume, who will be in great peril unless they have provided for themselves upon the warning given yesternight. The Earls of Atholl and Erroll, the Masters of Livingstone and Gray, the Lairds of Balwearie and young Wester Wemyss have assembled for this enterprise, and some think have already done it or been defeated before the coming of Bothwell. Lord Maxwell returned this morning to the King. The Council have

James VI. 1592. assembled and purpose to hasten to him; he was to be at Cupar this day. The Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Angus and Morton, Lord Lindsay, the Secretary and others are ready to cross from Leith to Kinghorn to ride to the King with speed, and the Laird of Spynie has departed towards him; but they may come too late to rescue the King or to help Carmichael and Hume. All men seem to seek the preservation of the King's person, but to be content that the court and government shall be changed. "The Chancelour is gone from Ledington, which he hathe lefte well garded, and chosen to be rather abroade then faste in so narrowe boundes." Prays, as many times before, for direction in the matter of Bothwell and his actions. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

June 28. 707. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sent his servant with the lords repairing to the King at Falkland "to offer to the King aswell suche ayde to be given by hir majestie as shoulde be founde requesyte for his releiffe, as also myne owne redines to come unto him, and to be imployed as maye beste please him." The King sent a gentleman with thanks for these offers, and to report the success of his doings against Bothwell, informing also that some of the Grahams, her majesty's subjects in the West Borders, accompanied Bothwell and assaulted his palace: for which outrage he requires they may be duly punished. Has written to Richard Lowther to examine who and how many of the Grahams were there and to certify his lordship thereof.

Last night, before midnight, Bothwell, the Master of Gray, Balweario, Arderye, Spott, John Colvile, and others, accompanied by three hundred horsemen, Borderers, came to Falkland, environed the house, and assaulted the back gate, where the King's guard with shot killed one of the men coming against the gate with a piece of timber, hurt four others, and soon repulsed them. Thereupon they left the assault, and continuing about the house till seven o'clock in the morning, departed and rode to Stirling, retiring homewards with all the speed they could, without hurt to one man on the King's side. The King having but sixty men in the house had fortified and victualled one of the towers to preserve himself until the country should be gathered to his rescue. The country soon arose and came to him, whereupon the King sent Sir James Sandilands and others on horseback to pursue Bothwell, and himself came to Holyrood: "so as this rode is nowe dashed, and manye personages of great callinge lykelye to be encombered by the same. The Borderers have gotten the King's horses, and spoyled the townes theraboutes." The King has sent Maxwell to gather his forces and set on Bothwell at his coming into Annandale or those west parts; Lord John Hamilton is commanded to follow Bothwell with all his forces; and the King will proceed in person against him and his company with all the speed he can. Bothwell's trumpeter and one other of his followers are taken, who confess that in the "oracion" made by Bothwell at his approach to Falkland, order was given to kill Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume. And a woman heard Bothwell say that Roger Aston should be slain.

James VI. 1592. The Earl of Erroll and Colonel Stewart, suspected to be purposely attending on the King at Falkland to aid Bothwell at his entry into the house, were committed to ward before his coming. Erroll is now warded at St. Andrews, and Stewart at Burleigh. The Earl of Angus was charged to enter into ward in Edinburgh Castle, but because the charge was not in writing he has not obeyed it, but rode towards the King: when within three miles of Falkland he retired and returned hither, whence he is newly departed. It was believed that Atholl was in the field against the King, whereupon the danger to the King was thought to be very great; but he sent to the King offering himself and service, and Roger Aston was with him the other day and brought to the King his assured promise to serve him as he should be commanded. So many noblemen and gentlemen are "blotted" with this conspiracy that some enterprises may be renewed, but their forces are so broken that the peril is less. The Chancellor had provided to put in safety in the Bass himself, his wife, child, and moveables of most estimation; and now he will come again to the King. Prays direction. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed, partly by Burghley.*

[June.] 708. SURPRISE OF JAMES VI.

"His majestie being adverteisid of this surpryse, my Lord Frances Hay, Erle of Arrell, was attechit and swa is keipit sure, my Lord Crowner [Colonel Stewart] was attechit and keipit sure, and the Master Gray nocht atteichit is fled alswa and the Laird of Balweirrie callit [ ] Scott, and the Laird of Awdrie Lownesdaell is cumit away. My Lord Maxwell spak his majestie befoir the surprise and returnit to Edinburgh befoir the surprise, and thair remanit quhill his majestie came to Edinburgh this last Thurisday and hes brocht sum direction [to] thir parttis quhilk is nocht as zitt discloisit. Now he is proclamit liutennent and beis in Annand this next Tyisday. Thar is proclamacion maid in Edinburgh and uther broghts that all manner of man be redy with forty dayis victuale to attend on his majestie and his lieufftenentt. Thair is divers of this conspyracie that is nocht zit discloissit, and zit thay air understandit, bot nocht spoken of tyll tyme serve sumthing better. The houss of Lochmaben is at the warden's command and salbe, God willing, to his advanssmentt. Provyde sum fyne horss for his lordship, for I think he hes ather fewe or none that is gude, and the gaird hes nane."

"My Lord Maxwell hes brocht five presoneris heare, bot I can nocht heir quhilk thai ar. It is spokin sum principalle men of the Grahams of Esk. Francie of the Moit and foure with him is the presoneris. How many as zitt for certantie is slane or taikin of this unhappie cumpany I can nocht heir nor na man knawis, bot ther is na man of ony effect bot sum Borderer at the best that thai have lossit, and thair is nane of his majestis syde slane nor hurt that I can heir of of ony degrie. The Erle of Angouss is giltie of this turne and followit the Erle Bodwell over the watter, bot he gat the repulss or Angouss come. Swa Angouss is absent and wilbe hardlie put at. It is thocht the Laird Johnstons salbe straittit for this cawss. His majestie beis in this work or Sonday, gif dyet change nocht in Annanddaill. Thair is nane of my Lord Bodwellis cumpany

James VI. 1592. slane at the palace of Falkland bot only William Myddilmest, brother to the Laird off Greimstone besyde Troquair, and Willie Johnstone of Kirkhill hurtt."

"I mycht nocht wyn to zow at this tyme bott I salbe in Annand, God willing, on Tyisday, therfoir faill nocht to send me ane bow and ane schaif of arrowis." *Unsigned.*

1⅛ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

[June]. 709. [ ] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

"I ressavit zour letter, and according to zour desyre ze see what I heare be bruitt, that his majestie hes gevin ane exceiding greitt owerthrawe to the Erll Bodwell and his cumpany; and this bruitt cumis be ane sone of Jok of the Kirkheris, for the Laird of Westrawe was in the feild and cumis to Wamphray zisterene, and sayis that Jok of the Kirkhere tynt his horss and wan ane zonger horss, and quhen that this was done ane telling my lord that he wald tyne Jok of the Kirkhere, he ansserit he fearit thay sould tyne ma. Swa I have na certantie farder bot this bruitt in haist. *Vale.* 1592. Zour frend efter the awld manner." *Signed with a cipher.*

⅓ *p. Holograph. No flyleaf or address.*

[June]. 710. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO THE CHANCELLOR.

Add. MSS., 23,241, fol. 44.

"This morning Sir George Home come to me with verie scairsbrough wairning frome his majestie derecting me to geve zour lordship advertisment that his hienes this last night had resolved to be there and intendis to dyne with zour lordschip the morne; commanding me lykwyiss to cause missives be wryttin to some barronis and gentlemen to addresse thame selfes there at efternone, to advyse and consult with zour lordschip in taking ordour with that countrey and otherwayes, as he had particularlye directid zour lordschip to oppin up to thame, to thay [*sic*] effect thay might understand nathing of his hienes being there till thair cumming. It is thought onlye necessare to wryte in that sense to Wauchton, Broxmouth, the gudman of Northberwik and Imderweik, to quhom the letters shalbe send in sic haist as the Threasurer will direct thame. Bass is heir, and wilbe directed ather to be there or spoken with in that matter his majestie will deale in with the rest. His majestie desyres zour lordschip's awin nichtbouris, sic as Imerleith, Colstoun, Herdmestoun, Blamss and others ewest there to be advertised be zour lordschip's self to be there be ane efternone, the hour appointed to the rest for sic matters as zour lordship hes ressaved in direction to be imparted to thame frome his hienes. I shall cause George Carkettle send eist all sic provision as can be had upon sa short advertisment, and keip this jorney unluked for be zour lordschip secrete for my pairt. From Endinburgh this Fryday in haist, 1592." *Unsigned.*

½ *p. Holograph, also address.*

[June]. 711. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO THE CHANCELLOR.

Add. MSS. 23,241, fol. 46.

"Mynding to have wryttin some purpose I hard in conferrence yesterday with the Englishe ambassador, with all other occurrentis heir

James VI. 1592. and answere to your lordship's letter receavid yestrene, ane come to me this morning be thrie houris, before his majesties ryding out to hunting, with directioun to desire your lordship not to faill to be at Halirudehouse the morne be ten houris, and injunctioun that I should mak nane privye to your lordship's cumming and advertisment geven."

"What hes geven occasioun of this unexpected sending for your lordship I knawe not, onlye conjecturing that Carmichaellis returne yestrene lait from Cliddisdaill, quhais chief erand there wes to try forder of the advertisment he receavid and made to his majestie, hes moved all this haist. It may be some matter of importance, quhilk his majestie wald impert to your lordship and have your advyse thairin, quhilk I doubt not—as his highnes luikes—shall move your lordship's cumming, and yf necessitye requyre not, your lordship may be licenced to returne bak at nicht."

"Yf Carmichaell had not accumpanyed his majestie to the hunting, and immediatlye efter the advertisment geven me to wryte to your lordship riddin out be four houris, I wes myndit to have gane doun and learned mare particularlye what he knew in this matter, quhilk I shalbe curious to have before your lordships cumming the morne." Frome Edinburgh this Twisday 1592." *Unsigned.*

½ *p. Addressed.*

July 1. 712. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At his access on Thursday last to the King, the King renewed his thanks for her majesty's offer of help in his distress, and also to him [Bowes] for his offers of service and advertisements, whereby he said he discovered matters of greatest danger to him. After report of things done in this late outrage at Falkland, the King opened his purpose to ride to Dumfries and in person to pursue Bothwell and his company, praying her majesty to give speedy command to all the wardens and officers in the three Marches of England: first, that they will concur with him in his pursuit, and not suffer any person or goods to be brought into England but to restrain them from all refuge and receipt there, agreeable to the laws and accords; next, that the Grahams and all other Englishmen assisting Bothwell in the assault of the palace at Falkland may be duly punished, as he will ever do if his subjects shall take arms against her majesty or her subjects; lastly, that the Grahams and other Englishmen there with Bothwell, being guilty of taking the horses of the King and others in great number, may be delivered for the same according to the laws of the Borders, with extraordinary expedition in regard of the foul quality of their offences, or that he may burn their houses and ride against them to revenge this wrong done to him. The Englishmen are charged with all the horses and goods taken in this raid, although it is known that the Scottish Borderers did all the great spoils and robberies at Falkland. Prays direction as to what satisfaction he shall promise, and to know what order is given to the wardens in this matter. The King starts against Bothwell on Wednesday next, purposing to lodge that night at Biggar and to ride the next day to Dumfries; and proclamations are made commanding his subjects to attend him.

Sir James Sandilands has taken nine men of Bothwell's company, whose horses had tired under them; one of the Grahams is among them. Five were executed in Canongate yesternight, four, whereof [a] Graham is

James VI. 1592. one, are reprieved for 15 days to try what their friends will do for their lives by any service for the surprise of Bothwell or some principal person with him to be brought to the King to redeem these men condemned. One of Mr. John Colvile's servants was taken among these nine: before his execution there was found with him a great packet of letters addressed to Bothwell and Colvile, whereby many parties and secret matters are discovered, and also the cipher used. Copies of some of their letters seeking her majesty's favour to be shown to Bothwell have been shown to him [Bowes]: it does not appear that they received any answer therein, but that their letters and motions have been lightly passed over; therefore the King is satisfied, saying that he finds some matter proposed by them, but not embraced by any in England. In the other letters interchanged between Bothwell and Colvile with others of Scotland, in cipher, those suspected are disclosed to have had intelligence with them, namely, Angus, Erroll and Colonel Stewart; but Atholl is not touched.

It is reported that Lord Maxwell and Robert his brother were "assayed" to join in this action, and so were acquainted with the plot and parties and met with them to confer in the cause, and afterwards discovered to the King all they knew. Maxwell is returned with great favour into the west to prepare for the King's coming to Dumfries against Bothwell and his adherents; whereupon it is looked that Maxwell shall have Lochmaben given to him. It seems that Angus, Erroll, Colonel Stewart, and sundry barons in Fife had quietly put themselves in strength about the King at Falkland or St. Johnston's before the coming of Bothwell and his forces to prepare access for him, that he might pray remission for himself and his associates, and justice against Huntly for the murder of Murray, "and that for the expedicion therof the King and the reste shoulde imediatelye arme and ryde againste Huntlaye": for which purpose many noblemen had their followers in readiness. It is thought that the discovery of the parties thus seeking the relief of Bothwell and punishment of Huntly shall hasten the overthrow of Bothwell and hinder justice against Huntly, enabling him to compass his desires, and also open the way to the Catholics and Spanish faction, sundry of whom were either seen in the field, or known to be privy to the action at Falkland, whereby the Papists intended to raise their kingdom. Great fears entertained of the consequences of undue advancement of Huntly, but few noblemen are willing to provide remedy, and his [Bowes] own power is too weak: needs frequent instructions. It is bruited that four English ships are ready on the coast to put Bothwell and his friends in safety. Has satisfied the King herein.

The Chancellor has returned to the King, and is in good favour. It has been objected against him that seeing he had once put himself and "chefe jewelles" in safety, and after had appointed a meeting with the barons and gentlemen about Haddington, that he should have employed these forces for the King's rescue, or stopped Bothwell, whose forces were so small that the Chancellor's might well have encountered them. The Chancellor answers that he gave the King daily intelligence in all things, "which he founde to receave so little credit, as Bothwell and his companyes were about the King," and it was reported had surprised the King's person, which—if it had been true—he could not have rescued. But all is smooth between the King and him.

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Angus's houses at Tantallon and Douglas are summoned, and himself charged to appear on the 6th instant. It is thought he will not come. Erroll and Colonel Stewart are to be brought hither to be arraigned after the King's return, and to receive the pains of the law for treason if they are found guilty. Balwearie, Arderye, and Martin are summoned in the houses, and Balwearie's house is given to Sir James Lindsay. Bonshaw's house on the west Borders, where Bothwell was received, is summoned, and likely to be cast down if the King proceed into Annandale. Order is taken that Lord Hume with his cautioners, the Laird of Wedderburn, Alexander Hume of North Berwick, and "the goodman of Huton Hall" shall be bound in 10,000 *l.* Scots that Hume shall not receive or aid Bothwell or any of his accomplices. The bond is sent to be subscribed by Hume and his cautioners, and then order shall be taken for his leave to enter Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Some for Angus and Bothwell have applied to him that they may have favour in England, and their eldest sons be received as pledges for their good behaviour. Thinks it his duty neither to entangle her majesty nor embark himself in these "tickell matters" without knowledge of her majesty's pleasure. The want of foreign news is no little hindrance to him, as lacking occasions to resort to the King's councillors. Prays that some one may be appointed to send news from time to time, who can be paid out of his allowances.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 1. **713. The Nobility in Scotland.**

Earls.

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, Ban. Club, pp. 333-343; Tytler's *Hist. of Scot.* (1877 edn.), iv. 344-7; *cf.* W. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, pp. 361-374.

Duke of Lennox. Stewart. Protestant, aged 20; his mother a French woman. Married the third daughter of the late Earl of Gowrie; she is dead. His house, castle of Methuen.

Arran. Hamilton. Protestant, aged about 54. His mother Douglas, daughter to the Earl of Morton who was Earl before James the Regent. His house Hamilton. Married this Lord Glamis' aunt.

Angus. Douglas. Religion doubtful. Aged 42. His mother Graham, daughter to the Laird of Morphy. Married the eldest daughter of Lord Oliphant. His house Tantallon.

Huntly. Seaton-Gordon. Papist, aged 33. His mother daughter to Duke Hamilton. Married the now Duke of Lennox's sister. His house Strathbogie.

Argyle. Campbell. Aged 17. His mother sister to Earl Marishal, this Earl's father. Not yet married. His house Dunoon.

Atholl. Stewart. Protestant, aged 32. His mother daughter to Lord Fleming. Married this Earl of Gowrie's sister. His house Dunkeld.

Murray. Stewart. Aged 10. His mother daughter to Regent Murray, by whom this Earl's father, slain by Huntly, had that earldom. Not married. His house Tarnewaye.

Crawford. Lindsay. Papist, aged 35. His mother daughter to Earl Marishal. Married first Lord Drummond's daughter, and now the Earl of Atholl's sister. His house Finhaven.

Erroll. Hay. Papist, aged 31. His mother Keith, daughter to Earl

James VI. 1592. Marishal. Married first Regent Murray's daughter, next Atholl's sister, and now has to wife Morton's daughter. His house Slains.

Morton. Douglas. Protestant, aged 66. His mother daughter to Lord Erskine. Married to the sister of the Earl of Rothes. His house Dalkeith.

Marishal. Keith. Protestant, aged 38. His mother daughter to the Earl of Erroll. Married this Lord Hume's sister. His house Dunnottar.

Cassilis. Kennedy. Aged 17. His mother Lyon, aunt to this Lord Glamis, now Lord John Hamilton's wife. Not married.

Eglinton. Montgomery. Aged 8. His mother Kennedy, daughter to the Laird of Bargany. Unmarried.

Glencairn. Cunningham. Protestant, aged 40. His mother Gordon of Lochinvar. Married the Laird of Glenorchy's daughter, Gordon. His house Glencairn.

Montrose. Graham. Papist, aged 49. His mother daughter of Lord Fleming. Married Lord Drummond's sister. Old Montrose in Angus.

Menteith. Graham. Aged 19. His mother daughter to the old Laird of Drumlanrig. Married to Glenorchy's daughter. Kilbride.

Rothes. Leslie. Protestant, aged 65. His mother Somerville. Married first the sister of Sir James Hamilton, and then the sister of Lord Ruthven. Castle of Leslie.

Caithness. Sinclair. Neuter, aged 26. His mother Hepburn, sister to Bothwell that died in Denmark. Married this Huntly's sister. Tungesbey [*sic.*]

Sutherland. Gordon. Neuter, aged 36. His mother sister to the Regent Earl of Lennox. Married the Earl of Huntly's sister, this earl's aunt. His house Dunrobin.

Bothwell. Stewart. Protestant, aged 30. His mother Hepburn, sister to the late Earl Bothwell. Married the sister of Archibald, Earl of Angus. "He standes now foralted [*sic.*]" Crichton.

Buchan. Douglas. Aged 11. His mother Stewart, heiress of Buchan. Unmarried.

Mar. Erskine. Protestant, aged 31. His mother Murray, sister to the Laird of Tullibardine. A widower. His house Alloa.

Orkney. Stewart. Neuter, aged 63. Base son of King James V.; his mother Elphinstone. Married to the Earl of Cassilis's daughter.

Gowrie. Ruthven. Aged 15. His mother sister to the late Lord Methuen. Unmarried. Ruthven.

Lords or barons.

Lindsay. Protestant, aged 38. His mother sister to the Laird of Lochleven. Married the Earl of Rothes' daughter. His house Byers.

Seaton. Papist, aged 40. His mother daughter to Sir William Hamilton. His wife is Montgomery, the Earl's aunt. His house Seaton.

Borthwick. Protestant, aged 22. His mother daughter of Buccleuch. His wife Lord Yester's daughter. Borthwick.

Yester. Hay. Protestant, aged 28. His mother Carr of Farnyhurst. His wife daughter of the Laird of Newbottle. Neidpath.

Livingstone. Papist, aged 61. His mother daughter of the late Earl of Morton. His wife Lord Fleming's sister. Callander.

Elphinstone. Neuter, aged 63. His mother Erskine. His wife daughter of Sir John Drummond. Elphinstone.

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Boyd. Protestant, aged 46. His mother Colquhoun. His wife the sheriff of Ayr's daughter. Kilmarnock.

Sempill. Protestant, aged 29. His mother Preston. His wife daughter of the Earl of Eglinton. Sempill.

Ross. Protestant, aged 30. His mother Lord Sempill's daughter. His wife Gawin Hamilton's daughter.

Ochiltree. Stewart. Protestant, aged 32. His mother sister of Lord Methuen. His wife Kennedy, daughter of the Laird of Blairquhan. Ochiltree.

Cathcart. Protestant, aged 55. His mother Sempill. His wife Wallace daughter of the Laird of Cragy-Wallace. Cathcart.

Maxwell. Papist, aged 41. His mother daughter to the Earl of Morton that preceded the Regent. His wife Douglas, sister to the Earl of Angus.

Herries. Maxwell. Papist, aged 37. His mother Herries, by whom he had the lordship. His wife sister of Newbottle. His house Terregles.

Sanquhar. Creichton. Papist, aged 24. His mother Douglas of Drumlanrig. Unmarried. His house Sanquhar.

Somerville. Protestant, aged 45. His mother sister to Sir James Hamilton. His wife sister to Lord Seaton. Carnwath.

Drummond. Protestant, aged 41. His mother daughter to Lord Ruthven. His wife Lindsay, daughter of the Laird of Edzell. Drummond.

Oliphant. Protestant, aged 65. His mother Sandilands. His wife is Erroll's sister. Dupplin.

Gray. Papist, aged 54. His mother Lord Ogilvie's daughter. His wife Lord Ruthven's sister. Fowlis.

Glamis. Lyon. Aged 17. His mother sister to Lord Saltoun. Unmarried.

Ogilvie. Papist, aged 51. His mother Campbell of Caddell. His wife Lord Forbes' daughter. No castle but the bishop of Brechin's house.

Hume. Suspect, aged 27. His mother Lord Gray's daughter. His wife the Earl of Morton's daughter. Hume.

Fleming. Papist, aged 25. His mother daughter of the Master of Ross. His wife the Earl of Montrose's daughter. Biggar.

Inverneith. Stewart. Protestant, aged 30. His mother Lord Ogilvie's daughter. His wife Lindsay the Laird of Edzell's daughter. Redcastle.

"Forbes. Forbesse." Protestant, aged 78. His mother Lundy. His wife Keith.

Saltoun. Abernethy. Aged 14. His mother Atholl's sister, this Earl's aunt. Saltoun.

Lovat. Fraser. Protestant, aged 23. His mother Stewart, aunt to Atholl. His wife the Laird of Mackenzie's daughter.

Sinclair. Protestant, aged 65. His mother Oliphant. His wife Lord Forbes' daughter. Ravenscraig.

Torphichen. Sandilands. Aged 18. His mother daughter of Lord Ross. His house Calder or Torphichen.

Thirlstane. Maitland. Protestant, aged 48. Married Lord Fleming's aunt. A new house in Lauder or Lethington.

Houses decayed.

Methuen. Stewart. Decayed by want of heirs, and the King has "disponit" it to the Duke.

Carlisle. The male heirs decayed. There is a daughter of Lord Carlisle's married to James Douglas of Parkhead, who has the living but not the honours.

Lords or barons created of lands appertaining to bishoprics or abbeys.

Altrie. Keith. Protestant, aged 63. His mother Keith. His wife Lauriston. This lordship founded on the abbot of Deer.

Newbottle. Ker. Protestant, aged 39. His mother the Earl of Rothes' sister. His wife Maxwell to this Lord Herries [*sic*]. Lordship founded on the abbacy of Newbottle. His house "Morphile" or Preston Grange.

Urquhart. Seaton. Papist, aged 35. Lord Seaton's brother. His wife Lord Drummond's daughter. Founded on the abbacy of Pluscardy.

Spynie. Lindsay. Protestant, aged 28. The Earl of Crawford's third brother. His wife Lyon, Lord Glamis' daughter. Founded on the bishopric of Murray. His house Spynie. "But Huntlay is heritable constable on that house."

4½ *pp.* *Indorsed.*

Cott. Calig. D. II., fol. 80. Copy of the same.

July 2. **714. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

Lord Hamilton, having taken the Lairds of Niddrie and Samerston, with their two brothers, Patrick Croumeye, and two Hepburns, has this day come hither to inform the King of his success, and to be suitor for their lives, which the King is not disposed to grant, but desires to content Lord Hamilton since he alone has taken these men, "with all others suffered to range at their pleasures,"and Samerston is of his own name and blood, and of great reputation for his services in the Low Countries. With some difficulty Lord Hamilton has signed the warrant for delivering the prisoners to Sir John Carmichael and such others as the King has sent to receive them; this his service to the King is like to turn to his prejudice and danger. For Hamilton's better contentment the King required him [Bowes] to employ himself, and to draw on others, whom he finds unwilling to meddle therein: the offices daily laid on him are full of encumbrance and not void of danger, but will adventure all for her majesty's service and the peace of the Borders. Prays directions. With good help this state may be brought to quietness, with prevention of dangerous plots now working in this broken country.

Lord Maxwell has taken Francis Graham of the Moat, who was with Bothwell at Falkland, and four of the Johnstons and other principal clans. They are sent for, and likely to be shortly executed. The Earl of Erroll and Colonel Stewart are committed to Edinburgh castle. Sundry things fall out against the colonel by John Colvile's letters and cipher, so that his life is in danger, and Erroll is not out of peril. There is a draft of a "bande" made between Bothwell, Angus, and Erroll, and therein is an article providing that Bothwell shall not prosecute Huntly without the advice of Angus and Erroll: few of the late conspiracy, except Papists, were privy to this. It is doubtful whether the King

James VI. 1592. will proceed in his journey to Dumfries, which matter is to be resolved tomorrow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed.*

July 3. 715. [JAMES HUDSON] TO BURGHLEY.

" Mae it pleas your lordship to resave the inclossid tuchinge the effect of this last acsydentt in Scottland. The bearrer hearof I have derecttid unto your honor to discover by mowth that whiche I wil nocht wryt least I should wronge hime and nocht so fully sattisfye your lordship, seinge the service aperteynith to hir majeste and next to your lordship, becaws it seamith sume hath inttentid to abuess your honor. He wil be plaen with your honor tuchinge al poynttis boath past and to cume, if it mae pleas your honor to keip the mane unknowin in the handlinge theroff. He is ane honest man and a scoller, and towards the ministre, and cravith nothinge but your lordship's favorable and good cownttenance and to be knowin unto your good lordship. Mr. Fowels, one of the marchands that came for the King's anewety, is ridin post to move the King to amend his forgettfulness in nocht wryttinge to hir majeste: he is lyk to fynd the King in this new truble, and at his aryval the King wil loek for other matter then he bringith! I have oftin saed that unless hir majestie prottect that King boath with force, money, and hir good cowntenance at one tyme or other he wil fall, to hir majeste's loss, becaws I knowe none so wel effectid to hir majeste, the relegeon and this realme that is to sucseid hime, for nothinge but proper want can shaek hime, wherof sume proeff your lordship hath sein."

" I thank God I have nocht bein so earnist nor vehement in folowinge the suet of this last request of the King's as I had derecsyon, and as I was preast by the merchands, with whoame I ame fallin in forfalt of dyvers bonds that was now dew. And hear I protest unto your honor that hitherto thowgh I have ressavid hir majeste's prinsly benevolence to the King dyverss years, yit to this dae had I never alowance of one groat of the King therin, nether have I had of him one peny wages for this twelve years past, whiche al his Cownssell knowe to be trew. Then what reasson have I to serve hime, but therby to serve hir majeste? And I have kept my self in his favor and with the best abowt hime to that end. I have nothinge in that cuntrei, nor nocht I expect thence, and I live hear my wyff and children under hir majeste's blessid prottecsyon, for the longe conttinuance wherof if I fael to prae and for your lordship's health and honor of your howss under the shadow wherof I rest, then let God forget me when I most neid. This in the truble of my hart I humble utter." *Unsigned.*

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

Enclosure with the same:—

(Roger Aston to James Hudson.)

You shall understand that upon Tuesday night the 27th of this instant the Earl Bothwell, the Master of Gray, the Laird of Balwearie, Mr. John Colvile, with all the rest of Bothwell's friends to the number of two hundred horsemen, assaulted the King's house of Falkland. At 12 hours

James VI. 1592. at night they came to a back door where they thought to have entered, but they were repulsed and some of them slain. We were in the house about three score persons. The Borderers fell to the spoil of the town and stables: they have got all our horse, but we are very well ourselves, praised be God, and are at this present ever ready to go to horse to pursue them. They are passed towards Stirling, and the King is following them. They came hither at 12 hours and departed at 7 hours. There is sundry suspected to be of this practice, as Angus, Erroll, and many others. Erroll was here with the King. In the meantime, the King being advertised of their coming by the Earl of Mar, who has played a true part [to] his majesty, Erroll was taken before they came, and so was the colonel, who are still kept. I can say no more for this present. This night we are to be in Stirling, from whence you shall hear from me. Commend me to Robert and Thomas; make them acquainted what we are doing. Falkland. Wednesday afternoon, June 28. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—There is already come to the King three thousand men.

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

July 4. 716. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that on Sunday the 2nd hereof the Lord John Hamilton, by means and with some difficulty, was wrought to be contented to deliver to the King's pleasure and disposition the Lairds of Niddrie and Samerston, with the other five persons taken by him and left in the custody of Sir John Hamilton, his base son, lately knighted by the King, Captain Hamilton and others, and that thereon the Lord Hamilton gave his letter and warrant, addressed to Sir John, for the delivery of the seven prisoners to the hands of Sir John Carmichael, purposely sent that day with four other knights to receive and bring them to this town with all safety and speed, all which persons should have been hanged in their boots and immediately upon their coming hither, as it was then determined, yet by the advice and persuasion of the Lady Hamilton, Sir John and Captain Hamilton were drawn to suffer all the prisoners to escape; and Sir John, the captain, and others of the Hamiltons are gone away with them, and were departed long before the coming of Sir John Carmichael and the rest to Draffan, where they found none able to inform them directly where the prisoners were; so that they were driven to return yesterday to the Court here with report of their success. Wherewith the King, stirred with offence, roughly charged the Lord Hamilton, who, denying to have been privy to this escape, excused himself by the fault of his wife, his son, and Captain Hamilton, who had, he said, far abused him, and also offered to ride and travel with all expedition to recover and bring the prisoners, if they were in the possession of his son or friends in any place. Which being accepted, he put himself in readiness and was coming to have taken his leave of the King, and as he entered into the lane near the King's house the King's guard was there assembled for setting of their watch; whereupon they gave a volley for a warning, as they say, of their readiness there, and in that volley one Sinclair, depending upon the Lord Hamilton, and then very near him, was slain and six more in his company were hurt with bullets and "dregge." The Lord Hamilton thinking this to have been done for his own death turned

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in great passion against the guard, who stiffly denied to have had any bullets in their pieces, alleging that others in windows about them did it.

The provost and townsmen arose and were ready to have stayed the guard, but by the command of the King all was pacified and the examination of the matter put over until this day. Hereupon the Lord Hamilton still continues in this town, and albeit that "some advyce hathe bene" to commit him, yet it is thought very dangerous to cast out at this time the whole surnames of the Hamiltons, Stewarts, and Douglases, chiefly in regard that people are generally malcontented and many showing open rage.

On Sunday last all things appeared to be drawing into calm, but yesterday the storms are again so risen that it is looked that greater troubles than these former have been shall hastily arise.

Albeit that by sundry well affected and very wise I am daily and credibly informed that many desire to put themselves into such courses as they think shall profit and well please her majesty, yet they think my credit at home is so weak that I can little advance their desires, which occasion them to hold the farther from me. Wherein also I am very "nyce and affrayde" to hearken unto or draw on any motions offered in this dangerous time, and in the which I have no especial instructions or taste of her majesty's pleasure what persons, parties, or causes I shall either embrace or else entertain with some favour, and how far I shall shake off others.

Therefore I right humbly pray that if it shall please her majesty to continue me in this service, then I may have timely, frequent, and particular directions for my warrant and for the guiding of my services and actions to concur with her majesty's best pleasure and liking. In which behalf I have oftentimes troubled your lordship with my earnest petitions and the daily accidents and changes which the present conditions of motions of persons and timing of actions press me to be thus importunate. Wherein I beseech your lordship hold me excused, and to be mean that I may be either furnished to benefit her majesty's service here, or else withdraw to avoid the hurt threatened by my disability.

It was intended that Colonel Stewart should have been tried yesterday, and, being found guilty, to have suffered the same day. Sir John Carmichael has his escheat, and seen, as they say, the bottom of some of his coffers. By some letters with cipher for his name, taken with Mr. John Colvile's servants, he is brought into suspicion that he has counselled Bothwell to hasten his enterprise and put him in comfort of the favour and help of many. But he denies confidently all these things, standing upon his trial.

Huntly, hearing in what danger the King was, entered into fear, the rather because he and his friends are at some dryness; for, the other day, the Lairds of Cluny, Gouthe, [Geiche], Invermeath, and others appointing to meet with him, came all armed and showed themselves much grieved that he suffered all of them to be put to the horn for the slaughter of Murray, done for him, and he continued still in the King's grace. It was answered that whilst he was not at horn he was able to do for them, and hitherto they possessed without loss all their goods and gear, but yet they desired to be either released from the horn by his means or else they would leave him and seek their own remedy; which is thought shall be by the help of Spain in regard they are papists, and some are of

James VI. 1592. opinion that outward disorder is coloured with great subtlety and to the intent they may join with others in their present actions; and nevertheless Huntly shall not be seen to have interest therein until the time shall be fit for his discovery.

The King is hitherto purposed to enter into his journey tomorrow towards Dumfries, yet it is told him that his labour will be greater than the honour and gain coming therein. The Queen continues still at Falkland with no greater contentment, and is sorry for the troubles of Colonel Stewart and displeased with the bruits raised that he should have presumed to write in her name otherwise than he will acknowledge.

The Lord Maxwell "is comed" hither with report to the King that Bothwell is dead. But in this I think he is deceived, for I have lately heard that he, the Master of Gray, and others passed into the north, where Maxwell can have little knowledge of his doings. Colonel Stewart has been examined, and hitherto acquitted himself well of the matters objected against him. Nevertheless he is appointed to be warded in the Blackness.

Bothwell has retired into the north and Highlands. It is thought that he is so sick that he has stayed his journey into the north and is not able to ride, and it is, "very new," returned that he is dead. Atholl and his wife have been with the Queen at Falkland, but Atholl departed so suddenly that it is thought that he heard of Bothwell coming towards his bounds. Angus and Atholl pretend to be ready to come to the King, but many will not believe it before they shall see it performed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the writing hereof the King required me to write to Mr. Lowther, moving him earnestly both to give him good concurrency in his journey and also to lend him the two cannon at Carlisle in like sort as he had them before at the hands of the Lord Scrope; and herein he prays your lordship to give speedy warrant to Mr. Lowther for the same. In this I have written to Mr. Lowther, trusting that it shall please her majesty to lend the cannon to the King for the battery of such houses as shall be holden against him in like sort as has been done before; wherein may it please your lordship to give speedy direction to Mr. Lowther.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 7. 717. ACT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND.

If any person or persons of whatsoever estate or degree shall happen at any time hereafter to be "delaitit" or accused of any crimes of treason or lese majesté, deny any probable point of treason which may be verified by writ or by deposition of witnesses, in that case, if the person accused or suspected of treason grants not to the interrogatories that shall be "proponed" against him, the party so challenged of the said crimes shall be esteemed guilty, and all things which may be proven against him shall be holden *pro confesso*, "conforme" to the laws of all Christian kings.

¼ *p. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed.*

Cott. Colig. D. II., fol. 79. Copy of the same.

James VI. 1592. July 8.

718. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of your lordship's last letter of the 2nd hereof the King had entered into his journey to the West Borders to pursue Bothwell, and chiefly the Johnstones, Irwins, and other borderers who assisted Bothwell in this late raid at Falkland. By the occasion of the King's absence I am driven to defer the report of such things as by your letter is directed to be imparted to him by me, which at his return I shall, God willing, accomplish with diligence.

By good intelligence I was advised that John Sempill, of Felwood, pensioner to the King of Spain, was in readiness to return into Spain to Colonel Sempill. He had been in the north and amongst the Catholics, and had many letters about him, in regard whereof I was the more greedy to catch him and his packet as near his embarking as I could; and by the authority and means of Sir Robert Melville, now chief in counsel here, and the Lord Provost of this town, Sempill and Jo. Browne, a busy practiser for Spain, were taken yesterday at Leith with all their letters, examined by the Provost and Bailles of this town, and afterwards committed to ward and to be brought to me. The letters and examinations have been shown to me; wherein I find little matters of importance, and that in the last summer he was taken on the seas in his return from Spain, and was first carried to Dieppe, and afterwards to London, where he continued in prison until September last; at which time your lordship enlarged and dismissed him with your passport, dated 6th September, 1591, and Mr. Archibald Douglas soon after gave him his testimonial, certifying his deliverance then, or purpose to return into Scotland. Albeit many things minister just causes of great suspicion, and prove him to be sent and returning to Colonel Sempill, who is a principal instrument in this realm for the King of Spain, yet if greater matters shall not be found with him he shall be shortly set at liberty. I am informed that the Catholics here are rather gathering a party than already linked together, and that upon success falling to their contentment they will send to the Duke of Parma an especial person of greater quality than John Sempill to negotiate their causes; and it is told me that Sempill carries only the report of their readiness and purposes to employ and send another with certainty in all things, the danger whereof may be well prevented if the King's Council and well affected will seasonably provide the remedy sufficiently known and easily to be put in execution: whereof, nevertheless, I despair, and lament that my own means are so weakened that I cannot work the effects needful, and as before this I could have done.

Mr. Lowther will, I trust, advertise your lordship with best speed and certainty of all occurrents happening in the King's journey and raid in the West Borders, and also which of the Grahams accompanied Bothwell at Falkland; for the accomplishment whereof I have before this written so effectually to Mr. Lowther, that he will, I think, give your lordship satisfaction herein before the receipt hereof, otherwise I shall soon send you the names and number of the Englishmen at the raid at Falkland mentioned. Albeit that the King agrees and promised to give order to preserve the lives of Matthew Starke and six other Englishmen taken on the seas before Flamborough and brought to Dundee until the Lord Admiral of England should certify his knowledge and pleasure concerning these persons charged with practices, yet upon the confessions

James VI. 1592. of the Englishmen that they had taken from some Scots on the seas two butts of sack and some plaids not worth 40*s.* sterling, they were found guilty, condemned, and Starke with five others is executed, the other two being taken in lately at Hartlepool, and having done no offence are saved and delivered. It is given me to think that some of Dundee desiring the deaths of the Englishmen, and seeing some sent thither by me whom I chiefly employed to hunt after John Sempill and other like practisers, "dowted" that I should have saved their lives and goods, did therefore in haste arraign them then, and executed them the same day.

Bothwell has recovered from his ague, and is little troubled at this time with the "flixe" which lately grieved him. He is in safety and has the way open at his pleasure to ride into Atholl, where he may safely cover himself in Balwearie's lands in Atholl; and it is told me that the Earl of Atholl will not hurt him, seeing that Atholl had his "spoone deipe in the late pye" at Falkland.

Atholl and the countess his wife were with the Queen seeking to have entreated her to have recreated herself at their house at Dunkeld whilst the King should be in the west. The Queen, pleased therwith, sent to the King for his consent, which he granted, but soon after, by other advice, the Queen was stayed and restrained either to come to the King in this town or yet to repair to Dunkeld. At this time the Queen is inwardly grieved, "as manye tymes she fallethe into teares wishinge hirselfe ether with hir mother in Denmarke, or ells that she might se and speake with hir majestie."

The process of horning against Angus is stayed. He is desired to remain at Montrose until the King shall return, which he will obey, and looks now to pass through these storms much better than was looked for; for the King's course toward the noblemen suspected is greatly calmed in regard that it was found very dangerous to him to cast out many noblemen together.

The Lord Hamilton is with the King, who has increased his suspicion and displeasure against him by the escape of Niddry and others taken by him, so that the Hamilton's companies with him are very small; and if I have been well informed, Sir John Hamilton, his base son, conveyed himself into England, whereof your lordship will be advertised by others with better certainty than I can give.

Erroll was once appointed to have come forth from this castle and to have been in ward with the Earl of Rothes; and this order was enacted by the King and Council, but some of the King's chamber, as it is said, soon changed the King's opinion and altered that order, so that Erroll continues in the castle here at Edinburgh.

Three English ships, giving themselves out to be of her majesty's navy, have arrived at Montrose. One of the captains has written to the King, to what effect I cannot tell, for hitherto I have only seen the letter addressed to the King by the captain and "comed" to the Council, and have not received any letter or advertisement from the ships. The Council here have not as yet received intelligence of the King's doings and success in his journey, therefore I leave all occurrents therein to the report of Mr. Lowther, as before.

It is heartily wished by good counsellors and others best affected that at the King's return from this raid he would speedily enter to banish the

James VI. 1592. papists and to do justice for the slaughter of Murray; for it is evidently seen that without timely execution of these effects mentioned great and dangerous troubles cannot be avoided. I have laboured diligently with the King and others, but I have found little hope of good success, and all men cry for redress, which haply, by her majesty's good advice especially and immediately to be given by her majesty to the King, might be best advanced; yet the matter will be found [very] tough. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burgley's clerk.*

July 14. 719. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

My very honoured lord, if this time past I should have written letters only "officiouse," without further subject, knowing the importance of your lordship's affairs, it might have been thought in me great folly, like as the same may now be thought, if, having good subject, I should not use it, and rather immediately, nor by any other, reposing deeply in the good opinion it pleased your lordship ever [to] conceive of me. The subject then of my letter is this late appearance of trouble fallen forth amongst us, whereof, perhaps, your lordship as yet has not heard the very truth, for that it may be some having the charge to advertis of our state have so far "medlit" in particulars that "hardly have they place to vryt sincerly in the presentt," not that I am to accuse any man of undutifulness. The truth, then, is this, not the Earl of Bothwell and the Master of Gray, but almost the whole body of the nobility are joined in this course, of intent first to maintain God's cause and to see such things reformed wherewith most justly the Church is "greifet"; next, to honour and serve above all earthly their natural King, and to see such persons reformed who "throw thair insolence and hungry appetites haith procured unto his majestie most heavie sclanderis and crying out of his people"; thirdly, to see such settled dealing between these two realms that neither of them be the footstool to foreigners for the overthrow of them both. These, my lord, are the very true causes that the nobility here at this time associate themselves [with], which shall "preufe," God willing, by the "issue of thair dissing."

"Seing then that so is, I as on who since my first knowledg of her majestie haith ever bein of her persone and estait on weilluillar, beseikis your lordship to be a good mein that her majestie be nocht an oposer agenst an nobilitie so weill affected to the amitie," but rather a beholder, to the end that in the end her majesty may have their good wishes and friendship, which cannot but be more agreeable and assured unto her majesty "then if of a sorte of altogither impotentis, who only serveis the tym, moveit throw necessitie of thair auin neidie estaites." If her majesty shall only behold this "it shall cosit auay all occasionis that evill affected personis may caipe for insinuating the name of foraine forces in the hairtis of the nobilitie"; which I write not without sufficient ground, as by my next your lordship shall know at length, "if this beis weill thocht of." And to the effect no scruple remain, if her majesty stands in doubt of the affection of any of the association, I answer this far, that all and every one for themselves "shall if what assurence he in her majesties name shall crave, ey, becaus th'earle Bothwell is one

James VI. 1592. of the most suspect, for him I say this farre, that sete doun the reasonabill assurance, and he shall with all hairt give it." This far for the present.

"Restis, for my auin particulaire, to pray your lordship deall with her majestie that, seing I have to do to remaine in the south pairtis of Scotland with my freindis, that I may have an oversicht of the wardens to leive on my auin chairdges, as occasion shall serve, within thair wardenries in the north pairtis of her majesteis country."

This far I have written to my Lord Chamberlain, because, if I come into her majesty's country it will be chiefly within the bounds of his lordship's wardenry. Seeing this, my lord, is all the benefit I crave, I doubt not by your lordship's good mediation to obtain it, and it may be that I never use the fruition of it. I look, then, for your lordship's answer both in the present and my particulair, as soon as your leisure shall permit, to be directed to Mr. Governor of Berwick, and by my next your lordship shall know further, or if your own leasure permits not, any of her majesty's Council who shall be thought meet for that effect; but first I look to hear from your lordship.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 16. 720. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that on the 11th hereof I received your lordship's former letter of the 5th of the same, and that yesterday your lordship's last, of the 10th of this month, was brought to me, whereunto I ought to have returned "indelate" answer, yet finding sundry things therein to be negotiated with the King, whose return hither was daily looked for, and trusting that Mr. Lowther has already advertised your lordship of all the occurrents happened in the King's late journey in the West Borders, as I perceive they are already sent to others at Court to be showed to her majesty, therefore I have thus long deferred the address of these presents, to the intent I might give your lordship more full knowledge as well of my doings and success in the execution of your lordship's three several letters of the 2nd, 5th, and 10th of this month, as also of the present condition of this estate and of the novelties here.

Whilst the King was at Dumfries I sent advertisement to him that her majesty had given order to Mr. Lowther and the other wardens that none of his fugitives or rebels pursued by him should be suffered to come within their rules or have any refuge there; that all the wardens should concur with and assist him in this journey, agreeable to his desire; that the Grahams and others of her majesty's subjects who accompanied Bothwell in the late raid at Falkland should be apprehended and punished severely, as the laws would warrant; and that Francis Graham of the Mote, taken by the Lord Maxwell, should be left to such sort of punishment as best pleased himself to lay upon him, and yesterday, at my access to him, I recounted to him the effects of these things commanded by her majesty, certifying therewith that order was also given for the loan of the two cannons at Carlisle, according to his request, wherein he acknowledged to have received at her majesty's hands such full satisfaction in all his desires and late affairs, as thereby he was deeply bounden to thank her majesty and requit those benefits with all pleasures in his power. Then I reported to him both the great joys conceived by her majesty upon the receipt of the advertisement of his happy escape,

James VI. 1592. as also her majesty's advice given to him for prevention of like dangers hereafter to remain in sure place and with company fit for a King, banishing the suspected and executing traitors without regard of the highest degree, as by your letter of the 5th hereof I was directed. And after I had blamed his security, whereby he tempted God, and despite good advice, I opened to him how wide the way was now made to him to reform all things in this government and to establish the same in peace and quietness. After his compliment of thanks to her majesty he entered in a large discourse, declaring the practice to have been laid either to have surprised and detained him captive to be reserved and made the instrument for the accomplishment of all their desires by the colour of his authority, or else to have taken his life; and he noted many persons of good quality to be manifestly guilty of this conspiracy, for whose safety, nevertheless, such suits and means are presented to him and otherwise wrought that he finds great difficulty to proceed in the execution of punishment, as her majesty wisely and friendly advertises, and as himself most approves. He well allowed—and as methought gladly embraced—my opinion persuading him to take the benefit of this time and present occasion offered, with great advantage to reform the government and quiet estate. In all these, and chiefly in the administration of justice and punishment to be done on these conspirators, he doubted to meet with great impediment and to receive here little aid and assistance in regard that all men preferred and sought for particular relief for their kinsmen and friends without respect to their sovereign or estate, and that none would by vote in Council or other advice or mean be seen forward and consent to punish any person of quality by whose feuds and displeasures they may hereafter be hurt in themselves or posterities; and thereon he was purposed to send to her majesty an especial gentleman to inform her majesty perfectly of all these acts past and of the parts of the parties therein, and thereon to seek her majesty's advice for the choice and direction of his best course to be taken and followed herein. But after some short conferences severally with the Chancellor and other Councillors," and castinge into them a peice of the King's purpose " that I might feel their breaths in the allowance of the employment of any to be sent to her majesty in this behalf, I found that it savoured not so well with them that there is surety of the progress of the King's purpose mentioned, yet I do not utterly despair thereof, and as it shall proceed your lordship shall be advertised.

Afterwards I let the King know that her majesty marvelled that he had not prosecuted and punished Huntly and other offenders for the murder of Murray, in regard that the same heavily burdened his own honour in the eye of the world and mightily grieved his people at home; and I showed him that this late conspiracy and attempt to have been executed at Falkland was deeply grounded and much stirred by want of expedition of justice in this cause for Murray. In this he readily laid the blame on Murray's friends; to the which friends he had offered to give immediate justice against Huntly according to the ordinary course of the laws; and in case the same could not suffice, then he would advise and join with him to provide such other means as should be found meetest, which he promised to see done by the travail of his own person and with the power of his whole forces. He would not agree that this late action at Falkland was so grounded as I alleged and am perfectly informed

James VI. 1592. to have been indeed. And he passed over this matter so, and without promise to prosecute the same, that I think it like to be laid up in the "decke" and forgotten, except it shall be quickened by her majesty's means, as by my former I have written to your lordship, and therefore, agreeable to your lordship's direction, I have thought good to travail with sundry noblemen, councillors, ministers, and others well affected to move and prick the King forward in this behalf. For the furtherance of justice to be done the ministers are very diligent to do their best by all the means they can make in their public sermons or labours to the King, Council, or others able to advance the cause, wherein surely they look at no other lure than with care to seek the advancement of justice; neither will they stoop to any reward offered by me, neither dare I tempt them nor yet adventure to "feade" or entice others to do their duties by any rewards charging her majesty; so that I shall duly keep the order prescribed by your lordship to me in this behalf. And this much for declaration of my doings and success with the King in the contents of your lordship's three letters mentioned. Albeit that the Earl Bothwell and Mr. Colvile had written and directed letters, the copies whereof remain in the King's hands amongst the other writings intercepted, to Sir Henry Wooddrington and Sir John Selby, moving them to be means that the earl might receive some favour and oversight in England, yet I am credibly informed that these letters, being sent to Mr. Richard Douglas to have been conveyed, were not sent nor delivered to the parties according to their directions, as is, I think, sufficiently known to the King, who is fully satisfied therein.

Before this I have been solicited that the Earls of Angus and Bothwell might have favour and "oversight" to remain in England, whereupon they would not only refuse the offers and courses of all foreign princes and devote themselves and services to her majesty in the time of their troubles and when they should have recovered the goodwill of their sovereign, but also that Bothwell would discover the practices of the King of Spain and others against religion and the amity betwixt these realms, and do such offices therein as should highly profit both sovereigns and realms; and for the accomplishment of all other things in his behalf he would give in hostage his eldest son. Unto which offers I durst not hearken, knowing that few Councils are kept in Scotland, and that upon particular accident for the advantage of the parties in the Council, they would easily bewray all things passed in Council. Wherein I have thought it not meet to bring in question her majesty's honour or reputation by my acts with others and whilst I serve in this place. Nevertheless they are so left that it is like that they will essay others to be instrument to compass their desires, and, as I have been informed, they are minded to send Mr. Lowther herein, as your lordship will shortly understand, if they shall proceed in the purpose intended.

Before receipt of your letter of the 5th hereof I learned that Francis Mowbray had returned hither from Spain, and through England, having brought with him some letters out of Spain and being of very small effect, as such as saw them told me. Since, I have spoken with Mr. Mowbray and taken order with him that his letters shall be conveyed safely to your lordship in my packets. He is presently gone into Fife to the Earl of Crawford, and upon his return hither [in] about four or five days he will write to your lordship, which letters I shall use and

James VI. 1592. send, with my own opinion thereon, as your lordship has directed me. I have learnt that he received at the hands of Mr. Archibald Douglas 40 angels by the gift of her majesty, wherein he acknowledged to me the receipt of 40 angels given by her majesty and delivered to him by Mr. Archibald, saying that he held himself well satisfied both with her majesty's reward and also for the "remaine" detained for charges and kindness bestowed towards him by Mr. Archibald. He recounted to me largely his imprisonment suffered in Spain upon suspicion of the information that he had given to England of the practice to burn her majesty's ships, which, albeit it took not effect, yet he protests deeply that he knew it to be intended, and therefore discovered it, whereby he endangered himself and afterwards endured the imprisonment for that cause. He offers freely his devotion and all good offices to her majesty; so that I find that he hopes to be further comforted by her majesty's bounty, and his present estate requires relief. He and others of good intelligence are still of opinion that the King of Spain will send treasure into this realm to alter the religion and the estate; and some would persuade me that two Englishmen and Mr. Andrew Clerk, lately serving the Lord Hume, have brought already 5000 double pistolets, with promise that a greater sum shall be sent hither very shortly. Yet one acquainted thoroughly with all the secrets of the Catholics assured me that they were indeed dealing with Spain for men and money, wherein the King of Spain has been very cold and could not be induced to yield to the desires of the Scottishmen and others for them before he shall know them to be entered into action promising wished effects both for the restitution of the Catholic and Romish religion and also for the revenge of the death of the Queen Mother of Scotland, who by her last will and testament, sent to the King of Spain, left that revenge to be done by the King her son, or in his default to be executed by the King of Spain. In regard whereof, and upon the default of the King of Scotland, this kingdom was given by the will and testament of the Queen mentioned to the King of Spain. Nevertheless so many English papists and other practisers flow and are lately "comed" hither, and such general expectation and bruits of money and forces to be sent hither by the means of the King of Spain, and this late action of the surprise of the King should have so well served the Catholic turn—which action is now fallen in the ashes—that I dare not warrant this last intelligence given and assured to me, notwithstanding that I have it at the mouth of an honourable person of official quality and intelligence with the Catholics, and that it is confirmed as well by sundry letters of advice sent from Spain and the Low Countries to Catholics here and showed to me, as also by report of John Sempill, whom I caused to be apprehended and examined, as before I have written to your lordship, and who by the persuasion of his friends, religious and favouring the amity, has come to me to discover to me his whole knowledge and to offer all good offices after his coming to the Court of the Duke of Parma, whereunto he is ready to resort. Albeit that I have accepted his offer, yet I shall little charge her majesty thereby or credit him before he shall have performed service worthy to be regarded.

By sundry good and sufficient advices and directions generally and particularly given and expressed by your lordship's late letters to me, I am much relieved and comforted in the carriage of my course and actions

James VI. 1592. with all parties and causes for her majesty's services here, wherein, as I use to write only to your lordship in matters of negotiation and importance, and so far as comes to myself, so I hope to be holden excused in my advertisements, differing, perhaps, from the letters of others here and addressed to others at Court to be showed to her majesty. This much for answer to the several contents in your lordship's letters mentioned.

On Wednesday last, the 12th hereof, Mr. Andrew Clerk before named and two Englishmen came unto and lodged in Canongate, at Mr. John Mosman's house, a favourer of the Earl Bothwell and suspected to harbour papists. It was told me early in the morning that they were at Mosman's house; that they had a large budget fraught with Spanish pistolets; that the Englishmen were like to be Jesuits, for Clerk was well known; that they had with them coins of gold with *Agnus Dei;* and that they purposed to ride that day to Fast Castle. Clerk and one of the Englishmen resorted to Henry Keyre, a known papist, a suspected practiser and in especial trust [with] and serving the Duke of Lennox. The other Englishman went to Mr. Thomas Livinsgtone, a papist and likewise serving Lennox, on the morrow; and immediately on the discovery of the matter to me I acquainted the Council resident here, praying that these three persons might be apprehended, and that Keyre, Livingstone, Mosman, and his servants might be examined, and in case these three men should have departed, that order might be given to take them at Fast Castle. The Council readily consented to apprehend them in Canongate, but finding that they were gone from their lodgings before the commissioners could be ready to come thither, thereon the Council referred the matter to the coming of the King, looked to have been here that night; yet some of the ministers have travailed earnestly that commission might be given to follow and take them. By this these guests have been chased and put from their diet into the south parts of this realm, and likely into England. And opening this matter to the King, order is taken to prosecute them; wherein little better effect is like to ensue than that they shall be either put out of the realm or else into such place as they and their errands shall be discovered. The Lord Chancellor has told me for certain that they have come from Holt, an Englishman and confessor to the Duke of Parma; but I cannot learn that they indeed have come lately from foreign parts, and sundry of the Catholics hereabouts are ignorant of their coming and business here, and think the two young gentlemen of England with Clerk are rather recusants fled out of the north parts of England than persons trusted with matters of great importance, which the Catholics look to receive at other hands. Of these I shall hereafter give your lordship better knowledge.

Six or seven other Englishmen are presently at Seton; amongst them one is called Captain Collwood, and yet he is thought to be a Jesuit. Many other Englishmen have come into and harboured in the towns about Seton and in Fife, Burntisland, Kirkcaldy, and Dysure [*sic*], wherein I trust to procure speedy order to be taken for them.

The King has found amongst Mr. John Colvile's papers and ciphers the draft of a band betwixt Angus, Erroll, and Bothwell, whereby every one of them is bound "to others," that Angus and Erroll shall do their endeavours to restore Bothwell to his place and possessions, and that Bothwell shall aid and "partye" them in case they or either of them

James VI. 1592.

shall be "put at" for it. "Wherafter (for)" there is a vacant space and a cipher signifying religion so that the King and others understand this band to be made for the maintenance of religion professed indeed by Angus and Erroll. This cipher agrees with other ciphers sent by Mr. Colvile to the Laird of Johnstone and James Douglas, who both confessed to the King their whole knowledge, and also delivered the letters and ciphers in their hands.

All the occurrents fallen in the time of the King's journey in the west parts, and which are, I trust, certified at large to your lordship by Mr. Lowther and others, I leave to their letters, as before, fearing that I am over tedious in report of my actions and travails in the week last past.

It has been told me that Sir John Hamilton, base son of the Lord Hamilton, intended to have surprised the Castle of Dumbarton and very narrowly missed the possession thereof.

The Earl of Angus came into the King at Little Gill upon the letters of Sir John Carmichael wishing Angus to come to the King at that time to stay the country and others, which would be the better drawn to the King's obedience and service by his example, and to obtain his own peace. Angus on his knees presented himself to the King, saying, "Sir, hearinge that you were in the feildes I thought it my dutye to come and submit myselfe to you, notwithstandinge of myne inocencye, and for your majesteis honour and myne owne dischardge." The King said he need not submit or seek remission if he were innocent. Whereupon he prayed pardon for his fault, and the King commanded him to follow him. His first words were diversely construed and deemed to be proud and repugnant in themselves. He was brought hither and is still kept by the guard. He desires to be warded with the Earl of Mar at Stirling; but Mar likes not to receive him, whereby it is hitherto meant that he shall be sent to Blackness, and that Colonel Stewart, now at Blackness, shall be removed to Tantallon, Angus's house, and which house shall be delivered tomorrow to Alexander Hume of North Berwick for the King's use. Some of the confederates think that Angus has both deceived himself in his sudden entry into the King's hands and also broken promise, which was that he should be the last that should enter and submit to the King.

The Earl Bothwell is well recovered: he has been lately near this town. His company for the present is not great, yet he is in hope to be both well assisted and also to attain shortly to his desire by the possession of the King's person, which still is shot at, and which surely will be in very great danger unless better provision shall be made for the prevention of the peril than hitherto I see done. For by the evident discovery of so many persons of quality to be blotted with the late fault at Falkland, and by the particular malcontentment of Hamilton and general offence against this present government, cast down wholly into the King's own hands, all things are like to be confounded, as shortly, I fear, your lordship shall have further expereience.

The Chancellor, not called to manage matters as he was wont to be, rather beholds and looks for the success therein than presses to embark himself with peril and without thanks. Huntly's friends have banded together for their own common defence in their present distresses, and they have resolved to choose the Laird of Auchenden for their chief in

James VI. 1592. case Huntly will not both enter into the band and also give assurance that shall "partye" them in all their causes.

The Master of Forbes seeks to match his son in marriage with one of the Earl of Gowrie's sisters, whereat Huntly is much grieved, for he says that the same shall greatly weaken him. But by means I have both set forward the matter to be embraced by Atholl and his wife, who have power chiefly to advance the same, and also warned Atholl that he shall be tempted to enter into the Spanish faction, wherein promise is made to me that he shall be withdrawn from the same.

Maxwell and the Laird of Johnstone, bringing with them the defenders guilty of the raid at Falkland, are appointed to be here on Friday next, at which time order will be taken for the warding and punishment of the offenders, which it is thought shall be little grievous to them in regard that Maxwell and Johnstone have so fully discovered to the King the parties and actions in the raid at Falkland.

A nobleman in Polonia, pretending title to the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, has sent hither a procurator and an Englishman to offer large sums of money for the same earldom. His offers are so far above the value of the earldom and possessions that the Earl of Morton and other friends of the young Earl of Buchan are willing to accept the offer, and it is thought that this "Poloynean" descended of the old house of the Cumings, "and which clamed the crowne of this realme againste Bruce and Bayloll, woulde seike to revyve his tytle to the crowne," which presently is little regarded.

The Earl of Mar is dangerously sick of a burning fever and was "let blood" this day. Captain Fenner has passed to the north with her majesty's ships to meet with Molerto—as he has written to the King—sent to spoil the English fishermen in the north seas. But John Sempill, who served, as he says, Count Dermount Molerto, an Italian, many years, is otherwise employed and sent by the King of Spain. Six or seven Hollanders have been at Orkney and there taken testimonials of their being there to search for Spaniards, and have departed from the coast. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

8¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 22. 721. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King, purposing to return to the Queen at Falkland after his coming hither from the West Borders, had put all things in readiness for his passage over the water betwixt Leith and Kinghorn on Tuesday last the 18th hereof, in the forenoon. In the evening before the King's passage appointed I was credibly advertised that the Earl Bothwell had prepared a crayer, then riding in the river and ready for Norway, and a little shallop; into the which vessels he would embark himself with twenty or thirty of his most sure friends and servants, well armed and furnished with victuals for two days, muskets, and other weapons, to surprise the King in his passage over the water, which easily might have been executed if the King had not been seasonably forewarned thereof. But knowing her majesty's pleasure and care for the preservation of the King's person and estate, I closely discovered to the King that night the whole practice, persons, number, weapons, and the manner devised for the execution, together with the signs and beacons which should be

James VI. 1592. given to Bothwell from Leith, Newhaven, Granton, and other places all which were perfectly described to me by one privy to the enterprise, "and by means I had one in companye with th'erle in the crayer, and th'accion." For which especial intelligence and other like and good offices done since that time, and promised to be hereafter performed, I must be suitor to your lordship to be mean to her majesty to grant him for his reward a licence for transportation of some convenient portion of beer to be carried from London into Scotland; wherein he will, I trust, be found worthy such bounty as shall please her majesty to vouchsafe to bestow on him, and wherein it may please your lordship to let me know her majesty's good pleasure for the comfort of this party, whom I have protested to keep secret and unknown. The King gladly received my advice, acknowledging himself to be most deeply beholden to her majesty directing her servants to take such care and do such offices for safety of his life and honour, and therewith heartily thanked myself. This he communicated to few others than Sir John Carmichael, promising to keep close the matter and my doings herein. Afterwards he resolved to send over the water, in the morning, his servants, horses, and carriages with bruit that himself was entered on the water, as was appointed, to try what Bothwell could do therein. All which being done as the King and some councillors had devised, a sign was given to him from Leith that the King had not come. Whereupon Bothwell rode still at the back of Inchkeith with the crayer and shallop, suffering the King's servants to pass without impediment, and looking verily that the King would have come in the afternoon, at the next tide. After the passage of the King's servants I let the King know—and it was evident—that the crayer and shallop rode still at the back of Inchkeith, whereof little care was taken either for the discovery or taking of these vessels, yet by my means an oyster boat was sent out to discover them; who, seeing the oyster boat approach, removed and held off from her, and in the afternoon of the same day the crayer and shallop came near and lay betwixt the Inch and Leith, attending the King's coming. When the tide was spent they were advertised by a beacon that the King would not come that time. Therefore, at night, they sent the shallop to the place where they embarked betwixt Newhaven and Granton, where they met and took in a gentleman who told Bothwell that his enterprise was discovered, and that the King had prepared 300 shot of Edinburgh and Leith, and, besides, the forces of the noblemen coming with him, with one ship, one pinnace and many shallops to set him over the next day. Whereat Bothwell in great passion said that he was betrayed, and determining thereon to retire, they put on land near to Newhaven and passed away on foot towards Edinburgh about one o'clock after midnight.

At their first meeting, and before they embarked, Bothwell opened to the company his intention and the cause thereof, charging all men to do no hurt or violence to the King's person. After the end of Bothwell's oration Nedderie prayed all men to promise faithfully to forbear to hurt the King or any other gentleman with him, other than such as were appointed to be removed from the King, and willed them in token of their consent to hold up their hands; which they did, and he held up both his own.

This action has ended without hurt to the King, and albeit that it is known to many that the King was in danger to have been surprised on

James VI. 1592. the water, yet the manner and parties are not hitherto made known to many. Howbeit I look that this matter and my doings—promised to be kept secret—shall be shortly revealed, as all other secrets used to be. Whereupon the feud is like to fall on me; which feud, and other storms threatened towards me, I little regard as long as I may do service to her majesty; wherein I find great impediment fallen to me by the weakness of my sight, beginning to fail me.

On the 20th instant the King accompanied with sundry noblemen, with 300 shot of Edinburgh and Leith and with other forces, passed the river betwixt Leith and Kinghorn and rode that day to Falkland, where he remains with the Earls of Argyll, Rothes, and Morton, and with sundry barons of Fife attending there on him for his safeguard.

On the 20th of this month I was again advertised that the Earl Bothwell, having gathered to him 180 horses, was at Cramond (Crawmontt), and purposed to attempt some great enterprise before Tuesday next. Whereupon I have both conferred with the Chancellor, warning him of his own particular harm intended, and with their councillors here, for the prevention of the danger, and also sent advertisement to the King this day at Burlye, and the King thereon has so strengthened himself that he is in safety for the time, except some in his own chamber and Court shall bewray him, against which I will give no warrant: for inward intelligence is continued betwixt Bothwell and sundry in Court, and the courtiers presently contend for the peace of their friends, wherein some seek to draw in Huntly, some Angus, and some Bothwell, and the parties for their peace and desires must part with "round" portions of inheritance severally to their friends being petitioners for them to the King. Amongst which the most of the Chamber have persuaded that Bothwell might "broke" his living and depart out of this realm for the King's safety and honour. And because it is thought here that the King shall be driven either to embrace and entertain Huntly or else to show favour and suffer Bothwell to depart out of the realm upon conditions honourable to the King, wherein it is generally conceived that the papists' course shall be advanced without any impediment in case Huntly shall be advanced; therefore Bothwell's peace is much wished and himself greatly favoured of the people, so that few or none will hurt him; and coming to this town after he came from the water on the 19th of this month, he remained and departed quietly with fair promises of friendship to be showed to him.

This morning I have been further informed that Huntly, Crawford, Ogilvy, and Gray have gathered their forces and are looked to come forward towards Falkland or this town. Some think that they and Bothwell shall join, in regard that Caithness has so travailed with Huntly to agree with Bothwell that Huntly has assented thereunto and offered by his messenger to put himself in Bothwell's will for the redress to be made for the slaughter of Murray; and if these persons shall thus join together, then most men here plainly conclude that the papists and Spanish faction shall adventure to possess the King and carry the sway without resistance of the well affected, who are so divided and without intelligence amongst them that I find it almost impossible to knit them together to avoid the inconvenience likely to fall out very shortly.

That I may work and draw all things to best effects, and that I may examine the intelligences given me before I shall hastily write thereof

James VI. 1590.

to your lordship, I am thereby kept occupied and enforced to be oftentimes slow in my advertisements; which fault growing upon these causes recited, I trust and humbly pray to be favourably pardoned.

Mr. William Macwherye, Scottishman and Jesuit—who being long a prisoner was delivered by the means of the Master of Gray—has lately come to Montrose out of Flanders in a French ship, which put him on land with a boat near to Montrose, and thereon returned and made sail for Flanders. It is told me that another Jesuit of Scotland was put in another ship to have come into this realm for the better expedition or surety to bring the like commission as Mackwherye has done, and that this ship is either taken on the seas or else driven to arrive in England. Mackwherye hasted to Mr. James Gordon with his commission—which hitherto I know not—and soon after his coming to Mr. James and Huntly, these four northern lords assembled their forces, a matter evil liked of here by the well affected.

Sundry of the ministers shall be speedily convened to make suit to the King that the former and general band made for the maintenance of religion may be renewed. This band was made at the coming of the Spanish fleet into these seas, and with the renovation of that band the ministers and myself shall diligently travail to associate the well affected noblemen, barons, boroughs, and ministers, with the King's privity, for the preservation of religion and of the King's person and estate, which I fear cannot be compassed in time and manner requisite. But the matter is begun, and all diligence shall be used in the same. It will be found the more difficult by the present sickness of Mar, whose death is expected, and whose death will greatly hinder the good progress of this cause.

The Laird of Restalrig's house at Fast Castle lies under charge, and himself must appear here on the 26th day of this month to bring in Mr. Andrew Clerk and the two Englishmen mentioned in my last before these to your lordship. He denies to have had any dealings with them, and yet it is evident there that Donkin, his bailiff at Restalrig, carried them near unto Fast Castle, and the officer bringing the charge to him saw a young English gentleman with him at Fast Castle, whom the officer thought was one of the Englishmen come with Clerk. But it may be that some officers of the Marches of England may give better information touching these persons than I can hitherto do. The Chancellor still assures me that Clerk and those two Englishmen have come from Holt, confessor to the Duke of Parma, who now is more ready to hearken to the Scottish motions than before he has been: and herewith it is told me that Clerk, being but a simple fellow, is sent by Parma to stir Hume to perform the things devised by Parma and to show their sure friends in Scotland the accords betwixt Parma and Hume. The Englishmen lately at Seton and thereabouts are recusants fled out of England. They are now scattered into divers parts of this realm, appointing to be again together in Lothian in the beginning of the next month.

An English papist calling himself Thomas Carr came lately from Mr. James Gordon, in the north, to this town. He was troubled with a frenzy and with fear that I sought to apprehend him here in this town, where he died the other day. His letters and papers were conveyed by his friends about him at his death to his friends in the north.

James VI. 1592.

The Earl of Caithness, suspected to have aided Bothwell, is charged to appear, and letters are directed to Huntly to exhibit and send him in; but it is not thought Caithness shall obey the charge or that Huntly will prosecute him beyond his own consent.

The night before the King's departure Angus was committed to ward whereat he greatly storms, chiefly against Carmichael. He denies to answer to the articles offered in his examination, saying that he will inform the King presently in all things if he shall find himself well used, otherwise he will stand to his trial in law. Erroll being examined denies flatly the letters alleged to be written by him and all other matters objected against him.

The Earl of Mar, advised by the ministers and physicians to make his will, and thought by them to be past hope of life, has written to the King requiring that Thomas Erskine, son of Alexander Erskine, late captain of this castle in Edinburgh, may have the keeping of the same castle after his death. In this I have both travailed earnestly with the Chancellor to advance Mar's request for Thomas Erskine, and also sent to move the King in the same.

The Chancellor, being put in special trust by Mar with the bringing up of his children and preservation of his house, is willing to prefer Thomas Erskine by all the means he can, and in case Thomas cannot obtain it, then the Chancellor will challenge his former grant made by the King that the Duke of Lennox may be prevented in his suit for this castle, the keeping whereof the Duke would commit to some papist, as most in trust about him are known to be papists. I have my servant still at Court, and am advertised that the King is pleased to grant Mar's request in this behalf. For the safety of the King's person and to break the haunt about this town of Bothwell and his followers, it is devised that 120 horsemen shall be levied and kept about the King for a time, whereof the King will furnish and pay twenty, the Chancellor six, the rest to be levied and paid by noblemen and officers of estate. This device was well liked until the King appointed the Duke to lead and command this band; for it is said that the Duke has given proof that he will neither detain in his own hands any of Bothwell's possessions given him by the King nor hurt any depending on Bothwell further than shall well please Bothwell to be done.

Whereas by your lordship's last letter to me I perceive that your lordship is not pleased that my son and Sheperson should enter into the draft for the assurance of payment of my debts to her majesty, the other debt which I owe to the executors of Customer Smithe, deceased, and for which Sir Francis Walsingham was bound for me, whereupon the lady his wife is now charged, and whom I have faithfully promised to acquit or save harmless or else to render my body to prison and my possessions for her satisfaction, therefore I directed my son and Sheperson to sue your lordship to be mean that this debt to Mr. Smithe may be comprised in the assurance for payment of my other debts to her majesty. In regard that I have both assigned all the lands and livings which I have or can get of my son and friends for the payment of her majesty, and also that by this favour to me the Lady Walsingham shall be saved harmless—without which I desire no life, especially no liberty out of prison—and myself may be enabled to live in poor estate and serve her majesty truly, therefore I most humbly pray your lordship that this

James VI. 1592. debt owing to the executors of Customer Smithe may be counted with the order of payment of my other debts to her majesty, or otherwise that my body may be delivered to prison for the satisfaction of the Lady Walsingham, whom—after so great benefits received at her husband's hands by me—I may not suffer to be encumbered so deeply for me, nor live out of prison before I have given satisfaction to her herein. In this my son and Sheperson will attend upon your lordship, and wherein I "eftsons" and most humbly beseech your lordship to have compassion on me, choosing rather death than to be thus hurtful to such as have so highly benefited me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

July 24.* 722. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to your lordship's direction by your lordship's last letter, of the 18th instant, and received yesterday, I have "broken with" and obtained order at the hands of the Lord Chancellor and Council here that speedy and strait charge shall be given to all the inhabitants in Orkney and in the isles on the east and west parts of Scotland to give no victuals, harbour, or entertainment to any Spaniards or others serving the King of Spain, and coming on these seas or coasts, nor to suffer any of them to land there; which charge will be more straitly commanded than shall, I fear, be duly obeyed in case the ship for the King of Spain shall touch there, and may look verily for the Spaniards; yet I am still advised by an especial person privy to the secrets of the Catholics here that the King of Spain has no liking to send hither any forces this year; but he perceives that the Duke of Parma, seeking to stir and continue troubles in all places during the life of the King of Spain, who now, he says, is decaying fast, is much more ready and earnest to kindle the fire here than he has been, and for that cause he thinks that Mr. John Mackwherye is sent hither, whose commission he knows not as yet by reason that Mackwherye has addressed himself wholly and firstly to Mr. James Gordon, and next, with his advice, to Huntly, and to others as Mr. James shall direct.

This last night past the Earl of Bothwell, accompanied with 200 horsemen and above, as it was esteemed, passed over at Stirling Bridge, and is on his way towards Falkland. Six boats with other horsemen passed the water and landed at the "Cracke" at Aberdeen (*sic:* Aberdour) very early this morning. Sundry companies of ten or twelve horses have been discovered this night and found to be riding towards Falkland, where it is looked that those joining together and with other aids coming to them in Fife, they shall again attempt to surprise the King this day on hunting, or else assail the house at Falkland; wherein it is verily deemed here that these forces could not nor would not have thus assembled and showed themselves except they had good means about the King to advance the wished success of their purposes and desires: and albeit that the house of Falkland is partly fortified and the King sufficiently warned as well of the preparations for this raid to be enterprised this day or to-morrow, as partly by my last before these I have advertised your lordship, as also of these forces presently gathered and coming

* The letter is dated 14th, but this is evidently a mistake.

James VI. 1592. towards him, yet it is thought that he shall be in danger to be either taken against his will, or else by persuasion of such as shall be about him to be drawn to assent unto such order and composition as shall appease these troubles; wherein many wise and well affected here think that the King at this time shall not lack counsellors about him to advise him to grant this composition; and they think that Bothwell's forces shall little prevail except his friends charms or treasons shall better help him.

The Chancellor, this Council, and myself have been advertised very early this morning of this action, whereof immediate advertisement was sent to the King, so that he is well warned and privy to the doings and progress of this matter from time to time. The end, therefore, is yet uncertain; for the expedition of the discharge whereof I have sent two men to Falkland, and as I shall receive intelligence your lordship shall be speedily informed.

The Earl of Argyle came on Saturday last, the 22nd hereof, from Falkland to Dalkeith. He was suddenly married yesterday at Dalkeith, to Ann, the youngest daughter of the Earl of Morton, a matter likely to bring good effects, and whereof I wrote partly before to your lordship. This morning Argyll returned to the King at Falkland, hasting thither by all the means he could. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 24. 723. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the despatch of my former letter, written this morning at 6 o'clock, further advertisement is brought to this Council that the Earl Bothwell's forces still increase, and that himself hastes by all the means he can towards Falkland; whereupon this town and Haddington, the earls, lords, and landed men and others are warned upon pain of life by open proclamation to arms and to come hither to repair to the King at Falkland for his rescue and preservation. Such expedition will be used on all sides that the issue will be shortly seen. Edinburgh, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 24. 724. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This night last past the Earl Bothwell passed over Stirling Bridge with 200 horsemen and above to surprise the King at Falkland. Six boats passed over the water with horsemen and landed at the Crag at Aberdeen (*sic*: Aberdour) to join with Bothwell. Sundry other troops of horsemen are discovered following him; whereupon the King will be assailed this day. The King is well warned as well of the preparation of these forces as also of the present assembly of them. The house at Falkland is fortified and furnished. The country is warned, and open proclamation is made in this town this day—as the like shall be done in all the countries adjoining—to arm themselves and repair with all speed to Falkland for the King's rescue and preservation, so that it is thought that the King shall be in little danger, except it shall be by treason of some about him,

James VI. 1592. or by persuasion to be drawn to composition, wherein the issue will be shortly seen. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 25. 725. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Upon information given as well severally to the King at Falkland as also to the Council resident here, and to myself, that Bothwell, with his forces, was on the fields and way towards Falkland, and had passed over the water at Stirling Bridge to surprise the King, as yesterday I wrote over hastily to your lordship, and that upon this advertisement the King resolved to come hither with expedition, and the Council set forth proclamations to the effects specified and appearing in the copy of the same proclamation, published yesterday in this town and enclosed with these presents. Wherein, besides the intelligence privately given to me, sundry of the Council sent and gave me knowledge of these doings, giving me thereby occasion to write to your lordship as I have done, and as in my weak discretion I then thought meet to be done, yet now it is found that this information has been grounded on small matter of truth, and it is suspected that it has been rather practised for the furtherance of a deep practice devised by sundry in Court and of great quality to surprise the King in commodious place and with best surety. For, albeit that Hamilton of Perdovell was employed and sent, as he says, by the Laird of Killfawnes, brother of the Earl of Crawford and in especial favour with the King, to advertise the King and Council that Killfawnes had seen Bothwell with 200 horsemen and above, who had passed the bridge at Stirling to ride to Falkland to surprise the King, and that Kilfawnes found the field so full with sundry troops of horsemen following Bothwell that he thought it not convenient either to commit the advertisement thereof to writing or yet put himself amongst them, but rather to send Hamilton to signify these things to the King and Council, which Hamilton has confidently done by his own mouth to the King, and by means and messenger to the Council, wherein many stand to and affirm that Bothwell was indeed and with like number in the field, yet the King and Council are sufficiently informed, and it is manifest enough, that neither Bothwell with his forces mentioned passed over the bridge or fords near Stirling—"for theye kepte and watched"—nor any troops of horsemen which landed at the Crag of Aberdore and were conveyed in six small boats, as by my former [letter] I have partly advertised.

Since the King returned to Falkland he has been daily advertised of the preparations made in sundry places for his surprise, whereupon he fortified and furnished the house, chiefly the tower, at Falkland.

The Laird of Spynie, taking the opportunity in the King's chamber, has largely opened to the King how much the people misliked the King and his government and presently embraced Bothwell, concluding with persuasion to provide seasonably his best remedy, and in meetest place.

The Earl of Crawford, brother of Spynie, coming to the King in haste and abiding few hours, laid before the King the great dangers depending over him whilst he remained at Falkland, and thereon advised him to resort to and abide at Dundee. The King seeing clearly, as I am informed, how dangerous a place Dundee should be to reside at, seemed nevertheless

James VI. 1592. to allow well of Crawford's advice. Afterwards he dismissed Crawford, who looked to meet the King at Dundee. But upon conference with Carmichael the King changed his diet, so that yesterday he came from Falkland to Burntisland and this day he has returned hither to Holyrood House in safety and purposing to take order in all things.

It is verily thought, and very likely, that if the King shall deeply and sufficiently search the bottom of this device practised to put him in fear of this sudden surprise, and for his surety to remove unto and abide in northern places, that sundry much advanced by the King's only bounty and favour, and divers others of the nobility and good calling, shall be blotted with unthankfulness and found careless of the King's honour or welfare, a matter that will hereafter further break out and be known for the King's benefit and safety, if he shall handle all things rightly: but most men think that this cause, like others, shall be shortly forgotten.

The King has been informed that Mr. Colvile has ridden into England towards the Court there, and that the Master of Gray purposes and is in readiness to follow; whereupon he is presently possessed with troublesome conceipt, from which I trust, upon my access, sufficiently to deliver him, and wherein for his more full satisfaction and for my own direction to temper it to her majesty's best liking I pray your lordship to give me some light and advice. As yet I have not been with his majesty, but I am appointed since his coming hither this day to come to-morrow to him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghly's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Proclamation.)

"Apud Edinburgh xxiiij die mensis Julii, 1592.

Forsamekle as it is understand to the Lordis of Secrete Counsall that thair is a tressonable interpryse divisit and now intendit to be execute aganis the Kingis Majesties awne persoun be Francis, sumtyme Erle Bothuill and utheris his complices, gyltie of the formar tressonis, quha, as the saidis Lordis ar surelie informeit, ar alreddy past to the partis of Fyffe with certane nowmaris of horsmen in armes, of deliberat intenticun, as appeiris, to practize the same tressonable conspiracie with all celeritie to the endangering of his Majesteis persoun, croun, and estate, giff the same be nocht tymouslie and substanciouslie resistit. Quhairfoir the saidis Lordis ordanes lettres to be derect to officeares of armes chairgyng thame to pas command and chairge all and sundrie erlles, lordis, barronis, fewars, frehalders, and substantious gentlmen, togidder with the inhabitantis of borrowis dwelland within the boundis of the sherefdomes of Edinburgh principall and within the constablarie of Hadingtoun and Linlythquow, be opin proclamatioun of the mercat croces of the heid borrowis of the sam, that thay and ilkane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, addres tham selfis to cum and repair to the burg of Edinburgh with all possible diligence after the publicatioun heirof, and attend, pas forthuart and follow the directioun of his Majestie or his lieutenent for the better preservatioun and surtie of his hienes person, resisting to the invasioun of the saidis conspiratouris or persut of thame as occasioun sall offre. And to the effect that thai remain and depairtt nocht during

James VI. 1592. the necessite of this present service wnder the pain of tinsell of lyff, landis, guidis and geir, and sieklyk, chairging all and sindrie erles, lordis, barrownis, fewars, frehalders, and substantious gentlemen dwelland within the boundis of the shrefdomes of Streveling and Clakmannan in forme abovspecifeit. *Signed :* J. Cancellarius."

1 *p. Broadsheet. In a Scottish hand.*

July 30. 726. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At my access yesterday to the King, and seeking to inform him what sum of money was to be paid for him to Thomas Fowles at this time, and that the same might be well accepted by him, I recounted to him the great charges sustained by her majesty for the common and present affairs in France, the Low Countries, and other places by sea and land, so greatly burdening her majesty that she little looked that at this time, and for his own particular, he would add anything to make this burden more heavy to her majesty ; nevertheless her majesty had given order that 2000 *l.* should be delivered to Thomas Fowles for him and his satisfaction for this present, and I sought that this favour showed by her majesty whilst she was thus oppressed with the charges of the public causes touching the preservation of religion and the religious in Europe might be well received, agreeable to the direction given me by your lordship's last letter of the 18th hereof.

For his answer he laid forth the necessity presently pressing him to defray great sums of money so far exceeding his own store and all his means to provide sufficiently for the same that he intended to have sought her majesty's further aid to avoid the present dangers threatened to religion, his person, and estate, and to the peace and amity of both these realms, doubting nothing at all to have ready payment of the sum limited by the accords of the late treaty, in regard that on his own behalf he has straightly kept and fully accomplished all covenants therein, notwithstanding that by the same he has offended many, as he did by the delivery of Oriacke. And he said that he had such experience of her majesty's own favour and goodwill towards him that he would not think that, of his own disposition, she would thus stay so small a sum that might so greatly hurt her, himself, and the causes concerning them and both these realms. He gave me no time to reply, but proceeded to tell me that he was advertised that some of his rebels and fugitives were received in England ; that the Master of Gray had written, and himself and Mr. John Colvile will speedily follow to the Court in England ; and that Thomas Musgrave, Captain of Bewcastle, had given such entertainment and favour to Bothwell, to the King's great hurt and displeasure, that he trusted her majesty would not allow. With which matters he seemed so sharply pricked that I thought it meet to gather them all up and first to persuade that this sum of 2000 *l.* to be delivered to Fowles for him for this time might be taken in good part ; next, to let him know that the Master of Gray and Mr. John Colvile have been seen here in Scotland so lately that they cannot be entered into England, and that her majesty would check and punish Thomas Musgrave for his evil behaviour made known to her majesty as should well content the King. Wherein I laboured the more earnestly in respect that I was

James VI. 1592. credibly informed that some about the King had endeavoured to make him think that her majesty little cared for him or his standing. Thereon he descended readily into very kind terms towards her majesty's self, but otherwise I found the scar of some offence sticking and appearing in him, the "remove" whereof I refer to your lordship's good consideration and means.

Afterwards I let him know that, by advice, it is discovered that four ships furnished by the King of Spain set forth at "the Groyne," in Spain, to come into the north seas about Shetland, Orkney or Isles to prey upon the English fishermen either there or returning from Iceland, or else on the English merchants coming from their trade in Muscovia. Whereupon I prayed that speedy and strait order might be given to the inhabitants of those coasts of this realm that no victuals, landing, or entertainment might be given them. He let me know that the Chancellor, upon my motion to him, had already acquainted him with the matter; and he frankly promised not only to restrain all victuals landing and favour to be showed towards these Spaniards or strangers, but also that, upon discovery of their coming into these seas, he would arm and set forth all the power he had to take them. For he said that it was high time now to look to these matters; and thereon he required of me whether Mr. William Creichton had come from Spain into this realm, and had brought gold and comfort hither to the Catholics. After thanks for his good offer and promise mentioned, I told him that Mr. Alexander Macwherye, whom in my former letter I named John Mackwherye, had arrived near to Montrose and had commission to negotiate the causes committed to his trust with Mr. James Gordon the great Jesuit, and against whom I had many times prayed that the laws of this realm and his own orders enacted might have been executed; and albeit I doubted whether Mr. William Creichton had already entered here, yet it appeared that both gold and also promise of more gold and of forces to come hither were brought hither. He said that these things were lightly regarded in England by many and he had little help to withstand them, yet he would do his endeavour, and with the greater comfort, if he might find assistance, offering thereon to part from me. These and the manner as they passed betwixt the King and me, I thought meet to certify your lordship, to be made known to her majesty, that they may be considered and myself directed as to her majesty's pleasure shall be best agreeable.

Because I find here many Englishmen doing several offices, of which sort some may be, peradventure, sent for services, yet the most part are occupied with practice or fled for religion or crimes, therefore I have prayed that they may be examined for what causes they have left their own country and remain here, to the intent that they may be used according to their qualities. The King has agreed to my request, giving me order to specify the names in writing of all such as I would undertake to be honest, and that he would proceed against the rest. I have made known the names for whom I will answer, but I look not for hasty order to be taken with the rest.

Having sufficiently found that this late bruit raised that Bothwell had passed Stirling Bridge to surprise the King was practised to have drawn the King northwards to have entrapped him there, I opened in very general manner the matter to him and advised him to try the same

James VI. 1592. for his great benefit. But he so flatly denied that any counsel was given by him to draw into the north parts, that, seeing his disposition, I ceased for that time to proceed further, trusting that things shall be so well handled and "dreshed" that he shall be much better prepared and disposed than I left him at this time; and of the doings and success in these behalfs your lordship shall be shortly advertised.

Whereas he doubted in some circumstances in the surprise to have been made of him in his passage betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, I have not only fully satisfied him of the express truth thereof, but also let him know that he was foully betrayed by some about and near to him. In all which he is now very fully satisfied; and I have been credibly advertised that by the means of some to have been with him in the shallop, the rudder of the vessel should have been encumbered and such impediments made that he should have been easily taken.

The Lord Maxwell, now Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, moved me that he might ride into England for apprehension of such Englishmen as accompanied Bothwell at the raid at Falkland and were fugitive and disobedient to the Warden of the West Marches in England; wherein he said that he heard that Mr. Lowther had received warrant to that effect. But I answered that Mr. Lowther or the officer succeeding had order to apprehend all such offenders that they may be punished according to the laws and for the King's contentment, and he should find good concurrency with Mr. Lowther and the officer succeeding in that service, so that he should not need to ride into England for the same. Wherein Mr. Lowther would also satisfy him both for the expedition of the service and also for the certainty of the warrant supposed to be directed and come to Mr. Lowther.

Huntly has sent Crawford to the King to procure his licence to depart out of this realm, which the King has granted; yet it is thought that Huntly will not thus suddenly leave the country, but hopes to find shortly new occasions to stay him. Murray's friends are nothing satisfied with this manner of punishment, coming by Huntly's own suit, therefore some of Murray's friends have purposed to send after Huntly in case he shall go out of this realm.

The King being informed that Bothwell was in the Justice Clerk's (last deceased) house near Linlithgow, sent the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hume yesterday to apprehend Bothwell, but they could not find him, for it was said that he was not within twenty miles of that place at that time, and I have been informed that Bothwell, the Master of Gray, and Mr. John Colvile were together on Friday last, the 28th instant, at the Earl Marishal's house near Dunfermline, and lodged that night at Balwearie's house, from whence the Master of Gray, as it is told me, had purposed to take his journey into England, according to the order before accorded amongst them.

The King will give the Priory of Coldingham to the Lord Hume, who shows thereon great forwardness to take Bothwell for the King's safety and pleasure, and the assurances are ready for the Great Seal. In like manner Kelso is to be given to Sir Robert Carr, who with great companies yesterday in the street met the Lord Hume yet in quarrel with him. These parties and their companies "had foughten" if the Chancellor had not stayed them, but now the King is minded to compound the matter.

James VI. 1592. Francis Mowbray is ready to be employed to do good offices, which he may yield with great fruit and profit in regard that presently he is to be credited and sent abroad in the affairs of Catholics; but I find him so ill satisfied with the last consideration had of his service that, without surety of better recompense to answer the charges to be sustained for the advancement of his service to be done hereafter, he likes not to embark himself therein. And because I dare not promise more than I can perform, I have thought it good to commend this to your lordship that he may be entertained, and myself directed as shall be found most convenient.

The Lord Scrope, deceased, made me one of the executors of his last will and testament, and the Lord Scrope, who now is, letting me know that the funeral of his father is appointed to be at Carlisle on the 22nd of August next, desires my advice and presence there. If it please her majesty to give me leave and liberty for eight days I shall, by God's grace, be at the funeral and here again within the time mentioned. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

[July]. 727. [ROBERT BOWES] TO [BURGHLEY].

At the writing hereof intelligence is brought that the parties in the enterprises intended by Bothwell and his friends are broken and divided; that the Master of Gray, Mr. John Colvile, and Hackerton, attending for the King's coming to Falkland, are scattered. Fintry, lying in Canongate to espy and give warning of the King's doings, is departed. Balwearie and Abbotshall, to have assisted the Master of Gray and others at Falkland, are seeking their best refuge; and Bothwell seeing that the noblemen—other than Morton, Mar and Lindsay—would either aid him or else wink at him, now finds himself so abandoned that he resolves to attempt some desperate adventure. The Duke [of Lennox], Sir James Sandilands and Sir Robert Melville, the younger, are purposed to travel into and tarry in Germany for two years, and in their journey or return to seek to come through England. One Ryseye, a Scottishman, being lately in Spain, is taken on the seas and brought into Rochelle. He has many letters to several persons, and some of them are thought to be meet to be seen, therefore I thought meet to give your lordship speedy advertisement thereof. *Unsigned.*

½ *p. In the hand of Bowes' clerk.*

July. 728. MEMORANDA BY HUNTLY.

"Remembrances given by th'erle of Huntlay to Patrick Murraye, and to be solicited for th'erle in Court and Parliament."

1. To advise if I may abide trial without danger.

2. To see if the Lords of Articles may be moved not to deal with my cause of forfeiture, in respect they have received "na just tryall against me."

3. To get the confirmation "expeid" with diligence to my son of my whole lands.

4. To purchase a letter of favour from the King and Queen's Majesties to the King and Queen of Denmark in case I pass there.

James VI. 1592. 5. To purchase a general letter from his majesty to the Princes of Germany in case I pass there.

½ *p. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July. 729. NAMES OF ENGLISHMEN AND SCOTSMEN AT THE RAID UPON FALKLAND.

"The names of th'inglishemen that were at Faw[k]land."

Gillesland. Not one of Gillesland.

Bewcastle. "Lawe" Forster of the Wyck.

"Browne" Adam Forster, hanged. Young David Grame of Sleitbeck. Andrew Forster. James Andrewe.

Leaven. Will Hetherton of the Bushe.

"Sande" Hepe of the Clift.

Esk. "Jacke" Grame of the Peartree, son to "Geordie," prisoner. "Riche," his brother.

"Watte" of the Peartree. Robert Grame, of the "Laike." "Rergie" Grame, son to Regie, prisoner. Christie. Robert Grame.

Sark. George Grame, son to William of Mylhill. Mathew Grame, prisoner, *alias* "Young Plump." "Gibbe" Grame, hanged.

Liddisdale. "Dickes" Davie, and "Watte" and "Wille," his sons. "Will" Grame; "Syme" Grame, the Pitches. "Rowe" Forster, of Backstangill.

"Scotesmen borderers at Fawkland."

Annerdale. Edward Yrwen of the Boneshawe. "Geordie," James, "Jeffraye," his sons. Francis Grame of Cannonby, son-in-law to Edward of Boneshawe, prisoner in Carlaverock. "Syme" Grame of Robewhait. "Arche" Armstrang, son to "olde Sande." "Hewgh" Armstrang, Davie, his brother, John, his berther, prisoner, sons to "Sandies Rynyone." John Armstrang *alias* "Jocke of Castle." William Yrwen, of Gretnahill. Davie Johnston, of the Redehawe. "Jock" Yrwen, of Steilhill. James Johnston, of Lowghouse. John Johnston, of Howgill. William Johnston, of the Kirkhill. Richard Bell, of the Clynte. William Bateson, of Darvington. "Christie" Bateson, "Rowies Christie." John Johnston, of Cartertrie. Hector Murraye, prisoner. Andrew Yrwen, "Jenkin's Andrewe." Peter Armstrang, of the Harelawe. "Andrewe of the Harelawe," hanged. "Riche" Armstrang, of Harelawe, prisoner. Rynyon Armstrang. Symon Rynyon, of Whiteleysyde.

Liddisdale. "Syme" Armstrang, young Laird of Whitehawghe. Andrew, his brother. Alexander Armstrang, of Twedon, hanged. Rynyon Armstrang. "Rowyes Rynyon," hanged.

2½ *pp. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk*: "July, 1592. Names of the Englishmen that were at Fawkland."

Bewcastle.

[July]. 730. NAMES OF ENGLISHMEN AT THE RAID UPON FALKLAND.

Bewcastle. "At the Rode, geven in by the Capten of Bewcastle." "Lawe" Forster, called "Edwardes Lawe." "Andre" Forster, called "James Andrew." *Signed:* Tho. Musgrave.

¼ *p.*

James VI. 1592. Aug. 4.

731. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

My very honoured lord, I wrote "of befor" the very true causes which moved the nobility of Scotland at this time to associate themselves, together with the true relation of matters as they fell forth. In my letter I likewise prayed your lordship to be a mover of her majesty to be a beholder whereby at least her majesty could be no loser, but "be" the contrary "sould conqueise the hairtis of the nobilitie of this realme," and should give great "argument" to myself and others well affected to persuade the worse affected to change opinion, as also it should "coute away" all occasion from all who "avanceth" the name of foreigners.

In my letter I craved answer of two points, the one was for the gentlemen in name of my fellowship, "which of them her majestie in speciall did suspect, if any sche did suspect, what reasonable evidenc her majestie would crave for preufe of the contrarie." The other point whereof I craved answer was in my own particular a "privie oversicht sume tymes to leive within her majesties country as occasioun sould offer; nocht that thairby I sould give any cause of quereling betwene the princes, seing I intend to leive als quyetly within England as I am for the present constrainit to do within Scotland." But in respect of the weightiness of your lordship's affairs "I did oversee my self that wrot nocht to sume freind thair to have keipit your lordship in memorie of my lettre." Now I pray your lordship for answer, to the end I may conform myself. It shall serve my purpose in my particular suit sufficiently if your lordship shall send only a privy note to your lordship's friend and "defender," Mr. Gray, of Chillingham, that her majesty can be content that I live quietly within his bounds. This carries with it some excuse in case it were "querelit," the gentleman bearing no office that reaches to any such matter, and he and I being of one name and arms. "I look this benefit being less then it, which is *juris gentium et hospitalitatis* grantit evin amongst Turkis, that I shall obtein it, and in recompence, if I can nocht do, at least I shall carie, a good will for to do her majestie services."

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 4.

732. MASTER OF GRAY TO MR. THOMAS MILLER.

Sir, I doubt not you have ere now heard the proceeding of our Scottish affairs and how certain of the nobility finding themselves far "misusit" associated themselves for redress. But it "fortuned" that Bothwell and myself "kythit" first in arms, which makes some in your Council think that matters go forth otherwise than indeed the truth is, and by some that my folly is so great that I "attemptit with only Bothwell," without any other associates. Thus I conjecture the rather that, having indeed written to my Lords Treasurer and Chamberlain the very sincere truth now twenty days past, I have never as yet received answer. Albeit being "desyrit" by my fellowship, I craved of them to be movers of her majesty, at least for a time, to be a beholder, seeing thereby she could lose nothing, for the "impotentis" who now possess his majesty's ear are so far tied to a necessity that, standing in hard terms with the nobility, they dare not stir, "albeit sche did forther then behoved, if the nobilitie prevaill (as without all, peradventure, in end they shall) then her majestie for her only behoulding shall have noble

James VI. 1592. men with thair King in place of impotentis, who can serve her to no propose, bot when sche haith litle to do with the aid of our King or country." And in case some of the nobility were evil affected to her majesty, yet myself and others, who have in effect given proof of good affection, have sufficient argument to move them all to become well affected in respect of her majesty's indifferent and calm behaviour at this time, if so it shall fall forth. Besides that it shall "cout" away all occasion which other ways her hard partiality might offer to the evil affected for enticement of the nobility to think of bringing foreigners within this isle, "and in deid thaie laikis nocht nether sutch offers nether th'offer makers. Thaie wer for the gentlemen which I craveit."

In my particular "lyknayis" I desired that I might have of her majesty a benefit which in deed is less than the common, for I craved only that a privy warrant might be sent to the Wardens that if it "fortuned me" to come within their wardenries that they should oversee me. I speak of a privy warrant for that I will not for any benefit I shall receive give occasion that any question shall fall forth, for I was to use it only as occasion fell forth, and to live as quiet at my own charges as I do now in Scotland.

If Mr. Secretary Walsingham were alive, or yet my gossip, they could bear witness that for good will at least I deserve no less of her majesty and estate of England than the benefit *juris gentium et hospitalitatis*, which is not refused amongst Turks. Thus far, sir, I have acquainted you with my state, in respect of the old friendship "haith bein amongst us," and pray you very earnestly "for to speik" my Lord Treasurer that at least I may have answer what to look for, to the end, "if I do whair I may be best hard, that her majestie querell nocht my auld promeis." I pray you to this the more willingly "that I seute no thing bod good will." So I look at least for your own answer, in recompense whereof use me in the old fashion. *Signed:* Mr. of Gray.

Postscript.—Sir, because Mr. Gray, of Chillingham, is my Lord Treasurer's defender, I crave no further but that his lordship shall send to him a warrant to oversee me in his boundis, if I fortune to come there, which may be "excusit" ever in the gentleman's own person in respect we are both of one name and arms. Direct the letters to Sir Harry Widdrington or to Sir John Selby. "Thair is a man thair throu meir dotting did horne him self and me both."

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

Aug. 6. 733. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

In these six days last past the Provost of this town of Edinburgh and John Arnett, last Provost thereof before this, appointed for all the burghs, [and] Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Andrew Melvill, and other ministers, for the Church, have both earnestly travailed with the Council here and also exhibited their petitions to the King praying that speedy redress might be provided for the safety of the King's person, oftentimes assulted, the maintenance of religion by the banishment of Jesuits, seminaries, excommunicates, and practisers for Spain, and for the administration of justice, especially in the punishment for murders, and namely in the person of Huntly for the slaughter of Murray. With

James VI. 1590. these I had some privity, and my own labours wanted not. Whereupon, coming to the Court with the King's leave and purposing with the advice of others to have moved the King and gotten his consent, and restitution to have been openly declared before the Council, these burgesses, ministers, and myself, for the better surety of the performance of the articles accorded, I found the King and Council assembled, and the King so passionately stirred with the motions of the Council, pressing him with some parts of the petitions exhibited, and in some sort touching the punishment of Huntly and reformation of his Chamber, that he had not then liking to speak with me. Whereupon the Chancellor, with the excuse, came to me and wished me "to take in good parte" and forbear to urge my access further for that time. Whereunto, for the benefit of the cause, I readily agreed, perceiving that I was thought to be over-severe against Huntly, and the reformation of the Chamber, the instrument of Huntly's maintenance; yet it has been noted by some about the King that, by the delay of the payment of 3000 *l.* to Thomas Fowles at this time, he thinks that her majesty does not so tender his estate and regard his present doings as she wonted to do. Besides, it is seen in Court that both her majesty's heavy countenance is continued against me, and also that others here are appointed for offices; wherein, peradventure, they shall be rather employed and accepted in all places than myself.

The King noting some strange affection in the ministers and people crying out so greatly for the slaughter of Murray, being the son of the Abbot of St. Colme, the younger brother of the Laird of Invermeath, far under the degree of the Earl of Eglinton, for whose death no passions appeared, it was answered by a minister that the offenders in the Earl of Eglinton's slaughter met him accidentally in the field, where for former feud they killed him, and for the same were justly forfeited, banished, and their escheat taken; some of them remain still in exile, and exemplary justice was timely given by the King; wherewith the ministers and people were satisfied, as now they would be if they might see the like justice done on Huntly and his accomplices guilty of the murder of Murray, slain in the King's sight in odious manner and with no little touch to the King's own honour: and herewith it was moved that provision should be made as well for the punishment of Bothwell and his followers as also for Huntly and other offenders, so the person of the King might be in safety and the realm governed with justice and peace.

It is now thought meet by the King and Council that, for the reformation desired, some change shall be in the Council established, whereby the Earls of Angus, presently in ward in this castle, Crawford, ready to depart out of this realm, and Glencairn, refusing to be a Councillor, shall be discharged, and in their rooms shall be placed the Lords Lindsay, Sinclair, and either Boyd or else the Master of Eglinton; that there shall be added to the Council the Provost of this town, John Arnett, before named, for the burghs, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce, newly fallen sick, or Mr. Patrick Galloway, for the Kirk; these burgesses and ministers to continue for two months, and afterwards to be chosen and appointed severally by the burghs and Church; that there shall be an association chosen out of all the estate of this realm of persons well affected and free

James VI. 1592. from all suspicion of papistry, practice with Spain, or any seditious and treasonable act. This association shall be strengthened by a general band expressing the causes and grounds of their union and accord, and to be subscribed by the King and all the parties named therein, and firmly protesting and promising their aid and assistance for the accomplishment of the effects to be expressed in the band; and the King, *in verbo principis* and by solemn vow and protestation, will give assurance to perform all his promises and accords to be made and declared to them at the perfecting of this band to be framed and made up with speed; which band is drawn, but not yet perfected or engrossed, therefore I forbear to send the same to your lordship.

Further, that fit persons of honour and quality shall be appointed to be lieutenants in every county to banish the papists, practisers for Spain, rebellious and offenders, and to put in execution the laws of this realm and the Acts of this Council: which Council to be thus established shall deliberate for the reformation of all defaults, and their resolutions enacted shall be executed with the authority of the lieutenants and with the assistance of the association.

The King desired the barons in Fife to levy and keep 100 horsemen to attend on him for one month for the safeguard of his person; but it was doubted that by this precedent to be given by Fife all the other shires shall be likewise charged, and therefore the King's request is not granted. The Earl of Argyll has brought Locheniel with 120 footmen, furnished with calivers, bows, and swords to await on the King for one month or two at the King's pleasure. By these means it is thought that the King shall be in safety, the government reformed, and the realm in peace. Yet it is plainly seen that, except the King shall herewith reform his Chamber and enter into punishment of Huntly, all these ordinances shall be made in vain, and Bothwell, being generally favoured and likely to be "partyed" by many, ceases not to watch for his opportunity; wherein it is told me by great personages that Balwearie and Fintry will provide 40,000 *l.* Scots to be employed to entertain forces to assist Bothwell in his enterprise; and it is told me that warning is sent to sundry gentlemen in Fife to meet Bothwell in arms this day near to Dunfermline; and the noblemen in trouble and suspected believe verily to see this government and Court to be shortly changed, against which very few will set themselves or think that the King will alter his former course, except they shall see the King enter immediately into the action of reformation. In which respect it is meant that some actions for execution shall go before the proclaiming of the orders to be enacted, and which will get little credit until something be done in the execution. Therefore Fintry, having appeared before the King and Council and being bound over until tomorrow, shall be first dealt withal, and that the full pains of the laws may be laid on him, it is ordered that all laws, statutes, and Acts of Council made against papists, excommunicates, and such like shall be viewed and considered; that Huntly shall be charged to send in Mr. James Gordon, the Jesuit. The Master of Eglinton or Lord Sempill must bring in Ladylands, and Maxwell must exhibit Browne, the Abbot of New Abbey.

Hugh Cranston, pensioner to the King of Spain, and lately come into this realm from Holt, the Duke of Parma's confessor, is taken and committed to ward at my request. He has offered to follow the Chan-

James VI. 1592.

cellor, who was most ready to give order for his apprehension, and who purposes to draw from him the discovery of matters of weight, or else to let him feel the pains for his fault.

Albeit that Huntly has sought leave to depart out of this realm and remain in foreign parts for three years, and that the King has granted his suit, yet it is found, as I am informed, that Huntly's friends in Court covertly seek to stay him, in regard that in his absence some other shall be lieutenant in those countries, and thereby his friends, guilty of Murray's slaughter, shall be wrecked; and it is thought to be more honourable for the King, and acceptable to the people, that he shall be expressly commanded by the King and Council to depart and to be by them limited. Wherewith Murray's friends are scarcely satisfied, fearing that, upon order given to put him out of the realm, he and his friends shall be protected during the time of his absence and thereby obtain greater benefit than they can do by his abode. Besides, Murray's friends hearkening for his departure, appear to be purposed to send after him; and it has been told me that Mr. John Colvile has written to some of Bothwell's friends in Court to stay the departure of Huntly, alleging that if her majesty shall know Huntly to be put out of the country, then she will give no aid to Bothwell.

It has been secretly told me that Francis Dacre has either come hither or else that he will be here very shortly. He has had good entertainment in Spain, and is esteemed to have both right to the whole possessions of the Lord Dacre and also power to command many men of good quality and strength.

Hugh Crankeson, David Lawe, two Englishmen, and "other" Scottish men and practisers have lately come out of Flanders and arrived in this realm. Crankson is especially employed and sent by Holt, who is suspected not only to seek the breach of the amity betwixt these two crowns, but also by the means of the Catholic and Spanish faction to practise that the King here may be surprised and delivered to the King of Spain; for which large sums of money are offered; and my intelligencer further tells me that Mr. William Creichton, now in Spain and running another course than Holt holds, has espied Holt's plot, given advertisement thereof hither that the King might be warned, whereof the Lord Treasurer here and other Councillors have got notice; and herewith it is told me Mr. William Creichton has written to Captain Haggerston, answering former letters touching both the captain and also the Earl Bothwell, and showing that they shall be welcome into Spain. Mr. Andrew Clarke is ready to return into Flanders with answer. He is presently seeking shipping and gone to the Laird of Balwearie, as I am informed, and that he brought hither with him little above 3000 pistolets. I have appointed some to attend upon him and his embarking, whereof your lordship shall be hereafter advertised.

Francis Mowbray, presently in this town, appears to be ready and very well able to do good offices, provided he may be enabled to sustain the service and find regard to be given to him for the same; yet hitherto he has not entered into any further intelligence with me. He thinks that her majesty may well satisfy him with some licence or gift, and being little or no charge to her majesty; and hereon he is ready to do as he shall be directed; wherein may it please your lordship to let me know what answer I shall give him.

James VI. 1592.

The King is made to think that the Master of Gray is in England and that he took his journey thither soon after his being at Balwearie's house, in Fife, with Bothwell, and there coming from Gubriell, Marishal's house near Dunfermline, and also that Bothwell had spoken with the Master of Livingston in Torr Wood. Of these I write little "or meddle in ther causes," being suspected—without cause—to have greater intelligence with them than I dare entertain without better warrant.

Sir Alexander Stewart has returned hither from his service in the Low Countries and France, showing his grief that your lordship should distrust him in his service offered to her majesty, and protesting that he will always serve her majesty, next his own sovereign, alone and above all princes in the world, with hazard of his life, or howsoever he shall be commanded, as he trusts that Sir Francis Vere and others, seeing his services for her majesty since he departed from your lordship, and his own actions shall witness with him. He only craves that her majesty will vouchsafe to continue her good opinion, and that your lordship would conceive well towards him, wherein I am pressed to pray your lordship so to direct me by your next to me, that I may give him comfort and contentment in the same.

The carrier of my last packets betwixt this town and Berwick was taken and straitly searched for the letters, but he so bestowed the packets in the corn that nothing could be found on him, and yet he recovered the letters, which were brought to your lordship with the longer delay; and hereby I am troubled how to send with safety my packets towards your lordship, causing me to be the more slow in writing to your lordship, yet seldom shall I want a matter to write of.

Lastly, by your lordship's letters I perceive that her majesty will not be pleased to accept the payment of 1500 *l.* for the executors of Mr. Customer Smithe, to be comprised within the yearly payment of 1000 *l.* to be made to her majesty by me and my son, and for which debt owed by me to Customer Smithe the Lady Walsingham and other of the executors of Sir Francis Walsingham are chargeable by bond given by Sir Francis for me, wherein myself and son are tied by the straitest bonds that can be to keep harmless the executors of Sir Francis, and for the which I may not refuse to lay down my life, liberty, and all that I possess, neither will I enjoy liberty or possessions without their good satisfaction; and having offered to pay yearly 1000 *l.* for my debt to her majesty, I have far exceeded my own power and so deeply charged my son to supply my wants, that we cannot by any means in our power acquit ourselves and duties in law, conscience or honesty, nor keep harmless the executors of Sir Francis—whose goodness to me justly challenges better recompense—unless the debt of 1500 *l.* owing by me to the executors of Customer Smithe may be thus received into the yearly payment to be made to her majesty by me and my son, wherein I find my son so heavily burdened for me, and so far beyond his power to sustain any heavier burden that I cannot press him further in this behalf. Therefore, finding my estate and case so miserable and that my services past or to be done cannot abate the offence of my fault nor redeem her majesty's good countenance to me, I cannot but think it high time for me to come and present myself, body, and possessions to be disposed by death, imprisonment, or otherwise as it shall please her majesty to censure and determine, that her majesty's own will may be timely executed upon

James VI. 1592. me, and that my body may be offered to suffer the pains for my debt to Sir Francis which my power suffices not to pay to his executors. Wherein, seeing my desire to leave this service is only grounded to receive judgment and endure execution of death or thraldom to give the best contentment I can, first to her majesty, and next, to the executors mentioned, I right humbly beseech your good lordship to acquaint her majesty with my suit and to let me know her majesty's good pleasure therein by your lordship's next letters to me, that, with her majesty's leave and in time as shall be appointed, I may repair to such place and obey such order as shall be prescribed to me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$5\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 10. 734. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Before the receipt of your lordship's last letter, of the 2nd instant and brought yesterday to me, I had diligently solicited the King in all the full effects thereof and to be moved to him, seeking to imprint those good advices in his mind and stirring many others of good quality to persuade him to embrace and practise the same. Thereon such "ployte" was devised for the preservation of his person and reformation of this government as by my last before these I have certified to your lordship. I shall again renew my travails with the King herein, and the rather because I find the troubles arising and threatening hasty and great inconveniences, and that presently this estate and all the chief governors therein are now so shaken asunder that the remedy provided against the dangers appearing is in the beginning of the action so corrupted that little hope remains for further progress or happy end, as the experience of the events shortly to be seen will plainly manifest.

Fintry, called on Monday to answer before the Council for his contempt against the Church and for breach of divers orders and Acts of Council enjoined to have been performed by him, pleaded that he was summoned to come before the King and Council to answer only to certain articles of treason, so that he ought not to be charged with other matters before he shall be lawfully summoned for the same. Albeit his plea was found to be of no force, yet the Council was at that time so well set for him by the presence of the Earl of Montrose, the Laird of Spynie, Mr. John Graham, and others of his friends purposely come for the help of his cause, and so exceeding the number of the rest of the other Councillors that by plurality of votes his plea should have been received, therefore the Chancellor thought it best to give him a new day, whereby nothing is proceeded against him, notwithstanding that the ministers were ready to prove his defaults and show the insufficiency of his plea.

It is looked that Mr. James Gordon, Ladylands, the Abbot of New Abbey and other papists shall not be brought as is ordained, but escape by like favour and means as Fentry has done. Colonel Stewart by his letters and by his information given to Sir James Sandilands—sent to him from the King—has revealed sundry dangerous practices devised for the surprise of the King's person, and, amongst other persons, has discovered the Laird of Burleye and young Logie, gentlemen of the King's Chamber and in especial favour and trust with the King, to have conspired to be executors therein. On Tuesday last, the 8th hereof,

James VI. 1592. Burlaye and Logie were apprehended by the Duke [of Lennox] at the King's commandment. Burleye readily confessed that he had intelligence with Bothwell, and being pressed by the King to have privity in sundry particular actions intended against the King, and which he thought had been discovered by Logie, he then uttered that Logie had drawn him into the company and course of Bothwell, who had been at his house, and to whom he consented to give his friendship and assistance, and thereon with submission prayed the King's remission. Logie denied stoutly until Burleye was confronted with him. Then he acknowledged that he had met and conferred with Bothwell at sundry times and places, and that it was devised that the King should have been taken four times. First, upon the water betwixt Kinghorn and Falkland; secondly, at his going to the church at Dalkeith, where a sufficient number should have been closely kept in the houses in the town until the King should be seen entered amongst them; thirdly, that the King should have been "trained" to have come forth to have taken the Laird Niddrie in some place near to Dalkeith, when the King should have been surprised by the ambush laid for him; and lastly that Logie, by the means of his mistress, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, should have gotten the key of the back gate of the Castle of Dalkeith and therein received Bothwell and his company in the night. The King demanding why he thus consented to these facts, he answered, for two causes: the one that Bothwell recovering again the King's favour and Court should prefer him; the other that he intended to draw Bothwell by this bait into the King's hands. The King seeing that he had proved himself a double traitor, recounted the extraordinary grace and benefits which he had given him. But Logie proudly and with little "advysement" answered that he had chiefly offended by the superstitious love which he bore to the King, and served long without reward, and plainly told the King that he had both sounded the minds of the rest of his servants in chamber or other offices, and found them all consenting with him and resolved to bring in Bothwell. He told the King that Bothwell had received a great mass of gold—as he thinks 100,000 ducats—sent from the King of Spain. The King asking him who made the infamous libel against him, he said an Englishman, who said that many worse libels were made by Scottish men against the Queen of England, and therefore he thought that he might well write in that manner. And farther he told the King that Mr. John Colvile copied out the libel, which he said Mr. John might do, as well as the King might report to others. These two remain in ward. Burleye is like to find favour for his pardon and lands, but Logie shall be executed if the King holds till his purpose; yet by the means of his mistress, born in Denmark, of good parentage there, and in great grace with the Queen, much labour will be made to save his life. It is thought that these two men shall "block" the credit of many great courtiers, and that by good examination matters touching great personages may be discovered.

The gentlemen in the King's chamber are fallen asunder, namely the Laird of Spynie and Sir George Hume; for Burleye and Logie tell evil tales on divers of them, and Spynie is persuaded that Sir George Hume seeks to draw into the King's favour the Master of Glamis and therewith to have a new Court to be chiefly guided by the Earls of Argyll, Marishal, Morton, Mar, the Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis and others

James VI. 1592. of their friends; which beginnings little please the Chancellor or yet Sir Robert Melvill the Treasurer, so that presently all things here are very loose.

The Master of Glamis, coming hither to answer before the Council in a civil cause touching his lands in Forfar, was called to Dalkeith by his mother-in-law, the Countess of Morton, who brought him to the King's presence, where the King had long conference with him, and left him with the show of very good countenance towards him. For in all these late actions and enterprises by Bothwell the Master has carried himself so well to the King's good liking that he has gotten the King's goodwill towards him. This last night Spynie gave him hard countenances, keeping in the house a number of men well furnished and beyond Spynie's "ordinarye." But the Master of Glamis has this day sent for and provided such company to be with him at Dalkeith that he little cares for Spynie. What shall ensue hereof it is uncertain, but many are perplexed therewith.

I am informed that neither Huntly nor Crawford will depart out of this country; that the Countess of Huntly shall return again and remain in the Court; and that it will be practised to knit together Huntly and Bothwell with the rest of the nobility presently malcontented, whereof there is great number.

According to your lordship's direction I delivered to Francis Mowbray the letter addressed to him by Mr. Archibald Douglas, who promised me that if anything in the letter either required return of answer to Mr. Archibald or to give him occasion to write to your lordship, that he would prepare and bring his letters to be conveyed by me; but since I have not heard anything of him.

Understanding by your lordship's letters that the assurances to be given for my debts to her majesty are delayed by my son and Sheperson, I have therefore both directed them to proceed therein with all expedition and as fully as may be in the power of myself and son, whose help I must seek to supply my want, and also by my last before these, written in the same to your lordship, and offered my own body to prison, *etc.* Wherein I right humbly beseech your lordship's good favour and help to be showed to me. And perceiving again that her majesty has commanded your lordship to commit my son and Sheperson to prison for "delayance" in this matter, in which the blame and punishment ought to be laid only on myself, therefore I most humbly pray that the pains may be "afflicted" and laid on myself and not on them, who have only followed my directions, *etc.* Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp.* *No flyleaf or address.* *Indorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 12. 735. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since his last letter Logie has escaped out of the house of Dalkeith. On Thursday last, before midnight, his mistress, Margaret Vinstarr, came hastily to the chamber where Logie was kept by six of the guard, commanding the guard to bring Logie to the Queen with speed. Being brought near to the chamber door Margaret Vinstarr willed Logie to enter and the guard to attend without until he returned from the Queen. After Logie was free of his keepers, Margaret Vinstarr took him through the chamber where the King and Queen were in bed and brought him

James VI. 1592. through the hall to a window, where she had prepared cords for his escape, and through which Logie passed down to the ground by the cords and there met with the Laird of Niddrie attending and having a horse ready for him. After Logie was horsed he caused three "daggs" to be shot as his token to his mistress that he was safe, and so departed with Niddrie, accompanied with thirty horses.

Yesterday the Council was at Dalkeith with the King, resolving that the King should come to this town on Monday next, and that all men should be commanded to depart from Court and this town and return hither when the King shall call for them. For it was intended that at the King's coming hither some order should be taken for the King's safety and prevention of the evils which at present are thought impossible to be removed.

Is informed that the King shall be brought hither this day and that Bothwell shall be "drawne in" to him by Lennox, Argyll, Morton, Mar, the Master of Glamis and their friends or by the Chancellor and Carmichael. Is told that Bothwell is at home, and that his [Bothwell's] chief instruments are in this town. It is expected that this day the King shall be thoroughly dealt with for Bothwell. The King has charged the Queen something sharply with the evil parts of her servant, and so far that they were both in tears. The King said it was his destiny "to dye in himselfe," meaning by the means of those who are nearest to him and most trusted. The King sent the Earl of Morton and Sir Robert Melvill from the Council table to the Queen to move her to provide to send home Mistress Margaret, and to bring the Queen's answer. But the Queen said she was not bound to give them answer, but to do it to the King, which she would do. By these and other like matters all things in Court are troubled.

Before Logie's escape Niddrie set up a "cartell" in writing on the cross in Dalkeith containing a challenge against any who would affirm that he had spoken any evil or dishonour against the King, and showing that since he came to the cognizance of Bothwell he found him ever resolute to honour and serve the King, and not to hurt him, and offers to fight in his shirt against any in arms who shall affirm the contrary. These matters against Burlye and Logie are said to be discovered by the Lady Patfaran, who received the intelligence thereof by Niddrie, who will, as it is thought, utterly deny them, and Sir James Sandilands has disclosed those to the King as from Colonel Stewart's mouth. Sir James being charged by the King and Council to give up his authority, has charged Colonel Stewart, and thereon the colonel was commanded by the King and Council to answer the same in writing, but the colonel plainly denies and offers the combat. This matter is thus fallen on Sir James Sandilands, who, as he [Bowes] is told, offers to prove by combat against Colonel Stewart and the Laird of Spynie that it is true that Bothwell was in Spynie's house at Aberdore, as Sir James has affirmed.

Yesterday the Chancellor, accompanied by Sir Robert Melvill, the Prior of Blantyre, and others, in the way to Dalkeith, met with the Duke of Lennox, Lord Hume, and the Master of Glamis, and upon "some evill countenances shewed," the Chancellor drew aside with 24 in his company and Sir Robert Melvill took his sword out of the "hangers," looking that the others should have charged them. But the Prior of Blantyre

James VI. 1592. passed to the Duke and the rest and readily stayed all. Yet it was so given the Chancellor to understand that the same company would assault him in his return from the Court to this town that he departed from Dalkeith to his house at Lethington, where he is presently.

The Chancellor yesterday told the King that his life and estate are in great danger, wishing that the King knew as well as he in what case he stood and how these inconveniences should fall upon him, which should, he said, come to the King by such means that he durst not reveal. The Chancellor meant, as he [Bowes] is informed, to have uttered all the same plainly to the King, if he had been commanded to disclose them; but the King answered that this country was presently so full of bruits and jealousies, without good ground, that it would be perilous to give credit thereto. Whereupon the Chancellor let the matter pass over.

The King has examined Logie particularly of many in his chamber and servants in his house, and Logie has dealt so plainly therein and blotted so many, as it is thought, that thereon the King lamented his estate and accounted his fortune to be worse than any prince living. It will appear to his lordship that the King's estate is in great danger, the Court and government likely to be changed, and all things so loose that no man can tell how to begin to fasten or bring them again into joint. Huntly has made large offers to Bothwell for his friendship. Has wished that the offers may be delivered in writing by Huntly to Bothwell. Can hear nothing of Francis Mowbray. Logie confessed that Bothwell had received from the King of Spain 100,000 ducats. Now Burleye has plainly affirmed that Bothwell has not received any gold at all, but that Logie caused this bruit to be given out on purpose, and to the intent that it might be thought that his credit was good in Spain and his power great in Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Upon report of the King's coming hither and of this sudden work to be done this day, sent his servant to the Court at Dalkeith for better certainty, and at the closing up hereof his servant returned and told him that the Court should have been removed and come hither this day, but it was stayed and would remain at Dalkeith until Monday next, as was ordered before by the King and Council; and he left the Court at Dalkeith after one o'clock in the afternoon of this day very quietly.

3 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[Aug.] **736. News from Scotland.**

Sir James Sandilands, the King's minion, has given it out that he is to take a voyage to go to Constantinople; but it is thought that, after some matters he is to despatch in Flanders, he goes into Spain. On the 2nd instant the King sent a charge to the Earl of Gowrie's mother, who has a very fair house in the Abbey, that she should pass out of it, which as yet she has refused to do, answering for herself that she marvels why the King would use her so, considering the house is her own, "which her self buylded." This house indeed is that wherethrough the Earl Bothwell passed when he came last into the Abbey to take the King. Moreover the King sent a messenger the same day, the 2nd instant, with a warrant to take the house beside the Abbey that appertains to

James VI. 1592. the Bishop of Holyrood House, with pretence that the Lord Hume, with the rest of that faction, should be planted about the King in all quarters, and that Huntly and the rest may be received quietly with their forces to repair to the King. There is a charge in great secret sent to the Queen of Scots that she shall discharge Mistress Margaret and sundry other ladies from her presence, who has answered she will rather go to Denmark than part with Mistress Margaret or any others her domestic servants, which is thought will engender great dissension between the King and her.

The Queen is greatly offended against the Chancellor, the Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, Sir George Hume, the Laird of Carmichael, and the goodman of North Berwick. The Chancellor would fain agree with Bothwell, but it is thought little for Bothwell's good. There is a new army to come out of Spain, but it will not be ready as yet. "There is to repaire to the Court within these xx^{ti} daies the whole principall papystes and the last rebelles." They have taken their houses all about the King quietly, and one of Huntly's own men has secretly given it out that his master is to come to the King.

1 *p.*

Aug. 15. 737. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit at my humble suit it has pleased your lordship to procure her majesty's licence for me to repair to the funerals of the Lord Scrope at Carlisle on the 22nd instant, and to give me knowledge of the same by your last letter, of the 7th instant, for which your lordship's great goodness I yield most humble thanks, yet I dare not now leave this service and place in the time of these present storms until I shall see the tempest better calmed, and therefore I have by this occasion excused to the Lord Scrope and to the rest of his father's executors my absence from the funerals mentioned.

At Dalkeith, on Saturday last the 12th instant, deliberation was taken, and it was concluded by the King and Council for the preservation of the King's person, oftentimes in danger as well by surprise intended by the Earl Bothwell as also by practice of some of the King's servants near about him and seeking to "put him out to th'erle," that the King should remove from Dalkeith to the houses provided for him in this town, on Monday or Thursday then next following, and that all the noblemen and Councillors with him should be commanded to retire to their own houses to the intent the King might best rid himself from the corrupted and suspected sort, and after call to and plant about him the persons most fit and qualified for his own safety and for the good government of the state. But his order, like others, was soon changed, and the King determined to remain in Dalkeith, especially in regard that the Queen misliked to lie in this town at this time of the year. Besides, the form to have been established for the new government is suspended and left to the resolutions of such as presently are about the King, and as it shall please him to call to the same. Whereby it is verily looked that, by the means of the courtiers now with the King, this old Court shall be "weltred" and that the King shall take to him the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, and Mar, the Lord Hume, the

James VI. 1592. Master of Glamis, Sir John Carmichael, and Sir George Hume, with others to be found meet by the advice of these noblemen and Councillors named. And by the sight of some griefs fallen betwixt the Duke and the Chancellor, and long time reigning betwixt the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, it is thought that the Chancellor shall be shaken off, which at my late speech with the King I could not find to be resolved by the King, but sundry wise men have let me know such arguments and how far Colonel Stewart has been yesterday dealt withal to accuse the Chancellor, that it seems that the Court to be set about the King will not brook the Chancellor's company. And herewith many think that the Earls of Angus and Errol, presently prisoners in the castle of this town, shall be joined with these other Councillors, and that Angus and Erroll shall be shortly at liberty; wherein Errol has already made his way and offered by Mar and by the Master of Glamis to give such full satisfaction to the Church as the ministers, with the Earls of Morton and Marishal and the Master of Glamis, shall think to be convenient.

Albeit the King embraces well sundry of these to be thus called, yet it is thought that divers are cast in amongst them to the King's small contentment; therefore it is suspected that the Court shall not long stand without alteration, and that the King shall still retain his affection towards Huntly and that he will not utterly remove the Chancellor, as some of these new courtiers will persuade to be done.

Yesterday, the 24th [*sic*] hereof, the King came to the castle in this town to visit the Earl of Mar, now recovered but not well able to stir abroad. There, and on the King's return to Dalkeith, I had much speech with him, and both "renewed" him her majesty's advices given him and certified by your lordship's former letter of the 2nd of this month, and also earnestly moved him to provide speedily for his own safety, for reformation of the government, for the examination and trial of the corruption disclosed to be in sundry persons near about him, and for the choice and call of fit men hereafter to serve him in all places. He answered that, according to her majesty's advice, which he well allowed, he had travailed with his Council and other chosen instruments of the Church and burghs to devise such form of government as might best remedy these present sores in the state, showing that thereby it was found necessary to plant some sound and new Councillors in the rooms of such as were meet to be removed; to erect an association for his defence and pursuit of Bothwell, and to establish lieutenants in every county, as before I have advertised to your lordship. This ordinance he resolved to continue and put in speedy practice, appearing to me then to intend no other innovation, except it should fall out that Spynie and others accused to have had intelligence with Bothwell shall be proved guilty thereof; in which case then it would be necessary for him to provide further and more hasty remedies. Wherein I found him not resolute in the election of the persons to be called to him, yet he leaned so much towards the Duke [of Lennox] and others named, and depended so on the trial in the accusations that he seemed contented to embrace this fellowship, but he showed no mind to remove the Chancellor.

In this he told me that he was lately informed that the Master of Gray was at one Storye's house in Northumberland, and from thence passed openly by post to London, where he looked to have access to her majesty. He complained greatly thereof, saying that before this her majesty, in

James VI. 1592. requital of his favour showed in delivery of O'Rorke, had given order to all the three wardens of the Marches to apprehend any such of his rebels as should come within their offices, and he looked that her majesty would both continue this good course with him and also stay the Master of Gray in case he should come to London or other places near her majesty; and therein he sought very earnestly to be satisfied. To this I assured that her majesty would give no access to the Master of Gray. Then he said the Master might address himself to the Council; wherein likewise I assured him that the Council would not give him audience. But again he said that the Master might deal with some one or two Councillors. In this I let him know that I might boldly answer for her majesty, the Council and estate, but to give precise assurance for every private person, I trusted that he would not so press me to do. He said that he found me more cold in this than he looked, and therefore prayed me to acquaint her majesty speedily with his desire, that the Master of Gray may be apprehended and stayed for him in case he shall come into England, especially if he shall be known to come near to her majesty's presence or Court. I agreed to certify to your lordship his desire and request. May it therefore please your lordship hereupon to direct me timely what I shall further answer herein for the King's satisfaction.

Yesternight the Master of Glamis received at Blackness and conveyed to this town Colonel Stewart, who lodged in this town this last night. This day he is carried by Sir James Sandilands to Dalkeith to be examined touching the accusation of the Laird of Spynie. The colonel is resolutely determined to charge Spynie directly to have received Bothwell into his house at Aberdore, which, if he shall do, then it is intended that Spynie shall be committed to ward to Edinburgh Castle, and that Stewart shall have time for the proof of the accusation. It is looked that the colonel shall likewise charge the Chancellor in matters of treason, and that thereon the Chancellor shall be "put at," for presently he is in great disgrace with the Queen, and the Duke [of Lennox] and the Master of Glamis will be pleased with his fall. What shall further proceed in these things is not yet certain, but all men here think it very sure that the Court shall be changed either by the King's voluntary assent or else by violence to be hastily practised for the same.

The King has been certainly informed that Bothwell lodged in this town on Friday last the 12th instant, and was seen openly in the high street without visor or disguising, whereat the King much storms. It is true that Bothwell was here indeed, and his minions were lodged near my house. They gave out that Bothwell should recover the Court that day, as before I was informed and certified your lordship, but there was nothing resolved or intended at Court, and the King's mind is nothing altered towards Bothwell, but is bent to prosecute him by all the means in his power. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Aug. 15. 738. FRANCIS MOWBRAY TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

I received your letter from my lord ambassador on the 10th of this month, written on the 20th of July, whereby I understand your lordship's meaning. I thank your lordship for your news. "Thay wair suner

James VI. 1592. heir in theis countray with other partiquelarytes. Gave I thocht that your lordship wald nocht be mair partiquelarly advertissit of the neuis of theis coun'ray nor I can, I wald vrayt to your lordship sae fair as I knawe. Aluays thair is daly consperyssis aganis the Keingis majeste revillit, quhilk is able to mak grait altaratione schortly in Court [ ]* I sall vrayt to your lordship schortly at mair lenthe." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Francois Moubray.

Postscript.—"Plais your lordship to schaue my lord Thressoreir that my harde tretment quhane I vais in Ingland gavis me no courag to du hir majeste any services."

1 *p. Holograph, also address,* "To his good lord, my lord anebassadour of Scotland, in London."

Aug. 17. 739. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as he owes to William Raven 300 *l.*, for the payment of which he [Raven] has travelled to Edinburgh, and finding him unable to pay him at present, he has desired him [Bowes] to entreat Burghley to be means that Mr. Robert Tailour would accept assurance for the payment in discharge of the debt imposed upon Mr. Raven by Mr. Tailour's means for the like sum left with Mr. Raven for the Earl of Hertford, wherein William Raven, Mathew Johnson, and Bowes shall give to Mr. Tailour good and sufficient assurance for the payment of this money at such convenient days as shall be prescribed by Burghley, and the same assurances shall be seen to his lordship to be good and sufficient for Mr. Tailour's surety for payment of the sum mentioned, according to such order as Burghley shall award amongst them. Beseeches Burghley to move Mr. Tailour to accept the assurances which shall be thus given. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed.*

Aug. 17. 740. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Soon after the despatch of my last packet to your lordship I was advertised that, albeit Colonel Stewart had been loth, and in manner denied, to be author in the accusation against the Laird of Spynie, yet before the King and Council at Dalkeith, on the 15th instant, he has affirmed plainly that Spynie had received the Earl Bothwell twice into his house and had intelligence with the earl in the actions against the King, and also offered to suffer death if he should not sufficiently prove the same. Spynie utterly denied "the receipte of or intelligence with Bothwell," and prayed to be confronted with the colonel; which was granted. Wherein Spynie, exhorting the colonel with many words to have regard to his honour, demanded whether the colonel would charge him by his own sight or knowledge. The colonel answered that he was so sufficiently informed that he had adventured his life to prove it. The other alleged that, seeing he had it by information, he ought to give up the informer, adding thereunto that the colonel was "infamouse by mariadge of sondrye wyves livinge," and that, being presently warded for treason, his accusation ought to carry no credit; which exceptions

* Some words in cipher.

James VI. 1592. were referred to the censures of the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll and Morton, the Justice Clerk, and Sir George Hume, who declared it to be sufficient for the colonel that he prove the matters objected by him against Spynie; and thereon it was ordered that the colonel should have fifteen days to make his approbation, and failing therein he should suffer death, agreeable to his own offer. In the meantime he should remain in the Blackness, whereunto he was carried the next day. Spynie was charged to enter into ward either in the castles of Edinburgh or Stirling, and he is entered into Edinburgh Castle. Many here are of the opinion that the "remove" of Spynie shall much alter the Court and government, and that thereby the "graces" of Huntly, Crawford and his brethren shall greatly abate in Court, yet the favour of the greatest there towards Huntly will be found hard to be diminished.

The King, by the Secretary, wished the Chancellor to take no suspicion on these matters or by his absence from Court, nor to think that the King will conceive any otherwise of him than well and as he has done. Colonel Stewart, in long conference with the King, disclosed many matters, yet hitherto it does not appear that he uttered anything against the Chancellor; yet it has been affirmed that the colonel was tempted much to do it, and the Earl of Mar, in chief grace with the King at this time, has written kindly to the Chancellor at his house at Lethington. Nevertheless the countenances of others frown at the Chancellor, as he is not thought to be clearly free from danger.

For the better strengthening of the company to be about the King it is intended, as I hear, that the Earls of Atholl, Marishal, Cassillis, and Gowrie shall be added and joined with the other noblemen and courtiers to attend on the King, and named in my last letter to your lordship before this. But it is feared that the manner of choice of Councillors and of course in government shall brook dangerous factions. For the prevention whereof, and that this new Council, furnished with many of "younge" years, may be accompanied with other Councillors of long experience and good affection, it has been thought necessary that the Kirk and burghs having before sought reformation—whereupon an order and "ployte" were concluded—should now renew their suit, and for the same some fit instruments are employed to travail again with the Church and this burgh to solicit the Earl of Mar to write to the King and to call on myself for the furtherance thereof. Wherein Sir Robert Melvill and others of the Council will be shortly at Court to give their assurance in the same. Yet doubting the success in many respects, I attend to see both how this action intended, and also the course begun in Court, shall proceed, and thereon I shall be ready to employ myself and best endeavour to advance the purpose, wherein your lordship shall have advertisement of the progress thereof.

The King has set at liberty the Laird of Burley, who secretly promises to discover further the confederates of Bothwell and their designs, wherein the King is very desirous to be well informed, the rather that by the confessions of Burley and Logie he is made to think that Bothwell, by his own words, has disclosed his intention to have either killed the King at his surprise in some hidden sort, or else to have kept him captive in a castle, that, by the King being in his possession, he might rule the realm during his life. It is not known with what truths these have been told to the King, but they so occupy the King's mind that

James VI. 1592. he is drawn to prosecute Bothwell by all the means in his power. Besides the King causes diligent search to be made where Bothwell lodged the other night in this town, and "it is made the King to thincke "that the Master of Glamis shall be found the best instrument to work the King's desires towards Bothwell, whereupon he now stands high in the King's favour.

Huntly's friends, guiltless of Murray's slaughter, persuade him to depart out of the realm with speed, but his other friends, guilty of that fact, move him earnestly to remain, and he is minded, as I am informed, to put himself in readiness for his departure, and nevertheless to abide still until he shall understand how this new Court proceeds and what means he can make therein for his profit, either in his departure or abode in this realm. He sent messengers lately to solicit closely his business in Court, but I know not what succeeded thereon.

It is advertised hither that order is lately taken in Spain that no Scottish men shall have any trade of merchandise in Spain unless they shall be commended by testimonial of such merchants as presently are admitted to traffic in Spain and are registered by Colonel Sempill, and that these testimonials shall be exhibited to Colonel Sempill. It is thought that this is done not only for the benefit of Colonel Sempill, but also to draw the burghs to the devotion of Spain and to alienate the hearts of the Spanish merchants from religion and the ministers. By means, I have sounded sundry principal Catholics to know whether they have sure promise of treasure or forces to be sent hither this summer by the King of Spain, wherein I am informed that some small number of pistolets has come, that the Jesuits and instruments labouring to draw noblemen and others into action offer and assure in very large manner; but divers of the most honourable degree and others privy to the secrets concur and have severally acknowledged that little treasure or forces are in readiness for this summer, and that no firm promises are given by any other than these Jesuits and instruments. It is still suspected that Francis Dacre came lately into this realm, but I cannot find any surety therein.

Francis Mowbray was advised by Mr. Archibald Douglas's letter that your lordship had directed me to give convoy to such letters as Mr. Mowbray should send to your lordship or Mr. Douglas, and by his letter enclosed he has written to Mr. Douglas and taken knowledge of your lordship's direction to me, but I find him still unwilling to enter into any office of intelligence until he shall know how to be entertained, which I leave to your lordship's consideration, humbly praying that I may understand what answer to give him herein.

According to the letter addressed by the Lords of her majesty's Privy Council to me, and received on the 7th instant, I have several times travailed with the Council and the Lord Admiral for restitution to be made to the Duke of Florence of such corn as was taken on the seas by Captain Ogilvy and brought to Dundee. The matter is wholly referred to the Duke of Lennox, Lord Admiral here, who has promised to give speedy and resolute answer to Martin Hythonsen, the Duke of Florence's solicitor presently here for this cause; wherein he shall, I trust, receive some full answer and order within few days.

Forasmuch as I have been lately warned by a Councillor bearing goodwill towards me that the King and the Council with him have noted much

James VI. 1592. that at this present I enjoy neither her majesty's good countenance nor your lordship's favour, wherein they have built their "conceiptes" not only that they find others employed here for intelligences, but also that they hear that her majesty's offence is great towards me, and that your lordship threatens to imprison my son and servant soliciting my causes, and not only deny to give order for payment of the entertainment allowed by her majesty for my service here, but also have left me to be "straited," as they term it, at the pleasure of my creditors, especially of Thomas Fowells, to whom it pleased your lordship to give answer in that behalf; all which things, and many more—to my disgrace and sorrow—are certified hither and are not only credited here but also spread far abroad by my adversaries busily seeking to hinder my service and all others to be sent to serve her majesty here; and it is thought strange that I shall be continued in service and in this disgrace, which by late advertisements and reports from England are so apprehended here, he said, that it touched narrowly myself, and deeply the service in my charge, chiefly at this time of alteration when the new Court would beware to deal inwardly with servants here suspected to want credit and grace at home. That your lordship has stayed the payment of any money for me or my relief until the assurance be given for my debts to her majesty, I understand by the letters of my servant Sheperson, and the other things meet for me in these straits, "and fillethe the eares of manye;" therefore finding myself so many ways cast down, *etc.*, I have thought it my duty truly and simply to make all things known to your lordship, and thereon still to offer my body to be rendered to such place or prison in England as shall be appointed to me to abide the punishment to be inflicted on me for my default, *etc.* Wherefore I right humbly beseech your good lordship to take in good part this true discovery of these things and of my own estate [and] next, by your lordship's goodness, it may appear to the eyes of the world that I enjoy her majesty's good countenance and your lordship's favour, *etc.* Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 18. **741.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Whereas her majesty under the Great Seal dated 14th November in the 26th year of her reign gave licence to Robert Scott, merchant of Edinburgh, to transport 1000 quarters of wheat and 500 quarters of barley, and at the time of Robert Scott's suit made to Burghley he had only transported 100 quarters of barley, Burghley addressed his letters of 4th May 1589 to the officers of the ports of Lynn and Hull to permit the said Robert to transport 200 quarters of wheat and 200 quarters of barley without paying custom; and because Bowes has had experience of the good devotion of the said Robert Scott to her majesty in Scotland, wherein he has done many and especial good offices to Mr. Randolph, Sir Robert Sidney, Mr. Asheby, and himself, and Bowes has known him to have endured charges in Caithness for discovery of the Spanish fleet, etc., and is enabled to do good profit for her majesty's service, especially in the north of Scotland where he has "purchassed" good intelligence, therefore he [Bowes] has thought it his duty to send with him [Scott] this letter and to commend him to Burghley's favour for the transporta-

James VI. 1592. tion of the grain remaining, without paying her majesty any custom or duty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 20. 742. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At the motion of the Lord Chancellor's friends I have diligently travailed with the Earl of Mar to reconcile as well the Duke of Lennox and the Chancellor as also the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, but I find the Duke and the Master so irreconcilable that my labours bring forth little fruit herein, giving just occasion to the Chancellor to shroud himself well from this storm, looked by many to fall out of the cloud presently hanging over him; yet by the words and actions of the King and by other notes I have gathered that the Chancellor shall "put over" this danger, unless he shall be found to have had intelligence with Bothwell, and without the King's privity; with which weapon many think that his adversaries shall assault him, and that the same shall turn to the loss of his office and peril of his person in case it shall be tried against him; wherein he shows his foot to be set so fast that nothing can shake him.

Sir Robert Melvill, presently at Court, enjoys the King's good countenance towards him, and nevertheless it is thought that he shall draw like lot with the Chancellor, for some suspicion reigns in the heads of some courtiers that Sir Robert has spoken with Bothwell; and these things are so apprehended by many that some change in Court is expected and gaped for by divers having good means in Court. Into these I have forborne hastily to thrust myself, and I have been ready to pacify debates amongst principal parties, that I be not deemed over hasty to welter Courts or over rash to shake off old Councillors, but rather that I may detain the goodwills of the well affected and seek that the best sort may be kept and drawn in about the King that I trust the best favourers of religion and the amity betwixt these realms shall be gathered together in this cause, wherein, by my next and by Roger Aston—appointed by the King to make repair speedily to her majesty—your lordship shall be shortly advertised with better certainty; for the King has sent for me to be with him tomorrow at Dalkeith, where I trust to learn of him both his intention in these matters touching the alteration suspected, and also the causes moving him so suddenly to employ and send up Mr. Aston, whose errand, I think, shall be to bar the passage of her majesty's favour to the suits of the Master of Gray and to acquaint her majesty with the present condition of the King's estate and course intended, that he may have her majesty's good advice in the same. All which I leave to the report of Mr. Aston, who will be with your lordship very shortly.

The King, purposing to proceed in his former "ploytt" before devised for the preservation of religion, his person, and estate, has with his own hand drawn the band for the association, and having called the Council to be with him at Dalkeith on Tuesday next, the 22nd instant—where he looks for the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill, and the rest of the old Councillors and officers of estate—he will there have this matter resolved, and thereon to be subscribed; and this is an argument moving many

James VI. 1592. to think that no such alteration shall follow as is here generally looked for. Yet some of good experience and intelligence in Court are of opinion that these matters shall not be cast off, but rather proceed slowly until the chief authors in this action find all things ripe for them; the further certainty whereof I leave to the next report, and here enclosed I send the double of the band of the association mentioned.

By the King's warrant Spynie is charged to depart out of Edinburgh Castle and to enter ward in Stirling Castle, much against his liking. He entreated Mar to take him into his favour and protection; but Mar, answering that he must obey the King's commandment, wished him to provide for his departure. Whereupon he went yesterday out of this castle, but whether he be entered into his ward at Stirling it is not yet known. The progress of matters of great importance depends much upon the sufficiency of the proof to be made by Colonel Stewart against Spynie, for the opening of that gate will make way for the courtiers now in Court to their other designs. Spynie and his friends are persuaded that Colonel Stewart will build the ground of his proof on the testimony of Ardrye, whom Spynie has caused to be put to the horn for debt owing to the Countess of Angus, now wife of Spynie, and late lady and mistress of Arderye. But Colonel Stewart shall deceive many if at the day appointed he shall not bring in other sufficient witnesses for him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Marginal note in Burghley's hand.*

Aug. 24. **743.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Because sundry carrying my packets from this town to Berwick have been lately taken by the way and searched for letters, therefore I devised and used to deliver to the carrier double packets, the one true and to be closely conveyed to Berwick and afterwards sent forwards by the posts, the other forged, stuffed with "blacke" papers and ready to be given to the surprisers for safety of the other true packets. According to this use I delivered, the other day, to my servant, John Archbald, two packets of the 17th instant, and addressed to your lordship, giving him charge to send forth by post the true packet and to bring back to me the forged, to serve for the next despatch; but, negligently, he delivered both the packets to the post at Berwick, who carried them to the next post, whereby they have come to your hands, and it will seem strange to your lordship to see such a packet addressed in that manner to your lordship.

That your lordship may see the form of the band drawn by the King's own hand for this new association to be united, I send enclosed the copy of that band, which copy I had provided to have been sent to your lordship by my last before this, and my clerk, closing up the letter and packet, forgot to put the same in, as I had directed.

By occasion earnestly occupying the King for pacifying of the debates betwixt the Duke and the Chancellor, and betwixt the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, and drawing the King yesterday and this day to this castle, he could not, therefore, finish his letters to be sent with Roger Aston, who is ready, and shall enter into his journey tomorrow or as soon

James VI. 1592. as the King shall have prepared his letters and instruments to Mr. Aston, who thereon will inform your lordship with expedition and certainty.

By the King's means the Duke [of Lennox] and the Chancellor are reconciled; whereupon the Chancellor shall bind himself to give good advice and aid to the Duke and all his causes, and for the performance of the same the Earls Marishal and Mar shall be cautioners, and the Duke shall promise his friendship and kindness to the Chancellor, which the King undertakes to be well accomplished on the behalf of the Duke. Albeit that this reconciliation is like to proceed betwixt the Duke and the Chancellor, yet it is suspected by many that the Chancellor shall be induced to think it convenient for him to clear himself from all dangerous feuds and to yield up his office and other charges in the government that he may draw himself to private life in the country with safety, or depart the realm to live abroad until the estate shall be better settled for him. The Duke has conceived this unkindness against the Chancellor by the advice that the Chancellor gave to the King to beware to make the Duke too great, in regard he was a competitor of the crown and many ways strengthened himself to advance his greatness. For the agreement of the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, the King has both appointed the Earl Marishal, the Provost of Linclouden, and Mr. David Lindsay, and also required myself to travail betwixt these parties, who readily may be wrought and persuaded to "drawe handes," but very hardly to join hearts to love and trust others, as it is wished and found requisite for the appeasing of these troubles.

The Earl of Crawford has provided to fortify himself with the forces of the Earls of Huntly and Montrose, and of the Lords of Ogilvy and Gray, and therewith prepares to be here at Edinburgh on the 29th instant; on which day Colonel Stewart must make his proof against the Laird of Spynie, who is entered into and remains in the castle at Stirling abiding his trial. But the King and Council, misliking such forcible assemblies, have charged Crawford not to bring with him any other forces or companies than his own ordinary retinue. Yet it is looked that the assembly shall be very great at this day of law betwixt Spynie and Colonel Stewart, and that by want of sufficient proof to be made by the colonel the day shall be adjourned to another time, to be appointed by the King. It is told me that Colonel Stewart will build his proof by the testimony of one of Spynie's servants who came in company of Bothwell over the water from Newhaven to Aberdore, the house of Spynie, where Bothwell met with and spake with the wife of Spynie, and lodged there that night.

It is written and sent to me from the north parts of Scotland that Huntly and Bothwell are agreed—which as yet I do not fully credit—and that many accompanying the Earl Bothwell at the late raid at Falkland are publicly received in the north, a matter noted to me to betoken firm trust and expectation of relief to be sent to them by Spain. By intelligence gathered "at" others of great experience and privy to the Catholic secrets, I am advised and informed that the Jesuits and other rabble of practisers coming hither from foreign parts have begged and gotten some small sums of money from the clergy to bear their charges and to entertain some especial noblemen to draw on the rest with fair "hestes" and promises; and no money is brought from the King of

James VI. 1592. Spain or the Duke of Parma, neither any surety of any certain course accorded to be followed forth in this realm for the King of Spain; wherein my informer wishes that if any intelligence shall be given to the contrary it may be well examined how the intelligencer or "talsman" knows, and with what mind and purpose he utters the same; which I leave to your lordship's consideration.

The Queen here showed herself to me very desirous to see and speak with her majesty, and heartily prays her majesty to give leave to some young gentleman and maiden, born of good parentage in England and having served in her majesty's Court, to come to and serve her in this realm for some time; and she has moved me to commend these her requests to such as may present them to her majesty for her and will return to her advertisement of her majesty's pleasure therein. All which, as I received at the Queen's desire, I thought meet to certify to your lordship, and to "attend" what shall therein be directed to be further done by me.

The Duke of Lennox has lately and in very fair terms to me offered to her majesty his devotion and all good offices in his power, wherein I have met him with due compliments, promising to make his goodwill known to your lordship, to be commended to her majesty. The Countess of Huntly, the Duke's sister, is daily looked for here to knit up the accords of marriage between the Earl of Mar and the Duke's younger sister, which presently is likely to proceed with speed.

The Lord Hume and Lord Fleming are lately reconciled by the means of the Duke and Master of Glamis, and the same is thought to be done to weaken the Chancellor, and little for the benefit of the Lord Hamilton. Hume, as I am informed, sought the tithes of Lawther, in the hands of the Chancellor, and of Kelso, in the possession of young Cesford. But the King answered that, for Lawther tithes, he could not give the possessions of any subject before they were forfeited, and that he had already granted Kelso to Cesford. Hume has hereon dismissed the greatest part of the great company attending on him at Court, saying that he is not able to keep them together any longer. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 25. **744. Bothwell to Burghley.**

"Rycht honorabill, my loving dewite remembrit. I haif neirby the space of thir tua yeris in all humilite cravit audience of hir majeste, bot culd never find that favour, for none vald undertak to resave or present my letters. In the mein tyme I haif bein sollicitit be forenneris, your enemeis, to imbrace a contrar course wyth larg promesis of assistance in verey substantiall maneir; wharunto nether my affectioun nor conscience vald permit me to agre. So having patientlie avatit wpon hir majeste's lasar wnto this hour, I haif at last presumit to mak my addres wnto your honour, hoping that of your naturall humanitie ze will be a meane to see my most humill petitions presentit wnto hir highnes; and to th'end your honour may be the moir incuragit so to do, pleis yow understand I am to suit no thing of hir majeste to hir interest ether in honour or suirtie, as upon the sycht of the particularis your honour

James VI. 1592. may juge. Wharof I haif causit our commun freind, Mr. Colvile, give information wnto Sir Richert Lowder, her warden, whiche I dout nocht he will impert wnto your honour, and if it salbe your plesour to extend this favour on me, besyd the guid service your honour sall do wnto hir majeste and that estate, yow sall oblise me wnto yow that so long as he sall live, to his power, sall study to requyit your curtesy wyth all offices of benevolence and sincerite that apertenit to ane thankfull man."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 31. 745. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 27th instant I received your lordship's letter of the 21st of the same, to my great comfort, and binding me thereby to yield to your lordship most humble thanks. For, finding that by your lordship's goodness the payment of my debt to Customer Smithe—for the discharge of the executors of Sir Francis Walsingham, bound for me, *etc.*—shall be knit with my other debt to her majesty, and that the assurance shall be accepted of my son, *etc.*, I hereby feel myself not only disburdened from a heavy mass of cares hindering the fruit of her majesty's service in me, but also to be enabled, with some profit, to serve her majesty, *etc.*

The other contents in your lordship's letter mentioned to be imparted to the King, I shall deliver with speed and at my access to him. Upon especial cause to be signified to your lordship by this bearer, George Nicholson, my servant, I have thought it meet to send him to your lordship with these presents, and with the particular "hearandes" committed to his report, wherein may it please your lordship to give him credit and to return him speedily for the contentment of the party interested; and I have both instructed him in sundry causes to be "remembred" to your lordship for her majesty's service here, and also left to his declaration the novelties and occurrents fallen here and come to my knowledge since my last letters before these to your lordship. In all which may it please your lordship to give him favourable hearing and thereafter to despatch him with resolution and expedition, the rather in regard that this estate is presently subject to great varieties, tossed with perilous troubles, and endangered with increase of these evils. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 746. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before this, Robert Bruce, sometime secretary to the bishop of Glasgow, in France, has remained long time in Flanders by the support of the Duke of Parma and Catholics, for whom he has been a diligent instrument and done all the offices in his power against the religion here, and for the King of Spain; yet lately he made suit to the Chancellor here and to Mr. Robert Bruce, minister in this town, for leave to return to and remain in this country, offering to discover plainly to the King the names of all the practisers and the secrets of their practice wrought in Spain or Flanders against the religion, the person or estate of the King, or the quietness of this realm or England. But in the meantime, and within these few days last past, he has sent hither with David Law,

James VI. 1592. Scotsman and servant to Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit, seventeen books containing such bad matters that, by the view of one of them, sent enclosed, it may appear to your lordship. He has addressed these books to such party as has delivered to me both the seventeen books and also Bruce's letter, directed to himself and written in the name of Edward Foster, Scotsman, one of his own stamp, and dead above a year past. This letter from Bruce, and the letter to myself from the party receiving these books, I send enclosed likewise to your lordship. May it please your lordship to direct me how I shall dispose of the sixteen books remaining to be destroyed or sent to your lordship, as your lordship shall command. The name of this party will be known to your lordship by the direction of Bruce's letter to him. He assures me that Law brought hither no more books, but he has heard that two Englishmen who arrived in this realm and passed into England had a packet thereof and left some few here. This party is able and ready to do sundry good offices, and trusts to be favourably considered with her majesty's bounty in such sort as shall be thought meet. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

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

Enclosure with the same :—

[Edward Foster (Robert Bruce) to Doctor Maketnay (Macartney).]

"Rycht honorable, efter maist hairtlie commendations, albeit I be nocht weill acquent with yow as I wold I war, for the guid opinion that syndre hes caused me to conceive of yowr vertuez and honestie, yit nochtthelesse hoping that for the same ye will tak in guid pert my hamlines, I am the bolder to adres wnto yow this litle packet containing 17 litle bukis, all of ane sort, and of sic matter as ye may perceave thereby. quhilk tuichis nather the religion nor estait of our contry, bot only that of our nychtboure, quhilk be the lawis of our contry is nocht forbiddin ws to knaw. Therfor I wold beseik yow to distrebut them to sik persons as ye think best, ye being acquent with many of the best sort be raison of yowr vocation. Gif this my hamely deling with yow be nocht agreable wnto yow I crave yow pardon. Gif utherwayis ye tak it in guid pairt, charge me, I pray yow, to serve yow in any thing that lyes in my powar, and I salbe als radie to obeie yow as any freind ye haif. Calais, 20th June, 1592.

I sal send yow with the first ocasion ane discours of the antechrist, quha is born in Babelon the 25th of May in the yeir 1590, at quhais birth, and by quhom sensyn gryt wonders hes bein wroght to the conversion of all that contry wnto him alredy, as we ar certinly advertesed be exploratures send be Christien princes in thais partis. *Signed:* Yowr humil and obedient frind at command, Edward Foster."

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To the rycht honorable Doctor Maketnay, dwelling in Edinburghe, this be delyvered."

Sept. 2. **747. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

Since the departure of George Nicholson has been informed that it has lately come to be considered before the King and some few of his

James VI. 1592. Council, in his Chamber, how the nobility, barons, Kirk, and burghs in Scotland are affected towards the King and his present estate. In which discourse the number, of all sorts, noted to stand for the King was found to be so small that the King, saying that the third part of his realm was not with him, asked very earnestly if his person and estate were not in danger of being wrecked. Whereunto it was answered that many subjects would obey him for their own safety, but few would adventure themselves and "feadinges" for his safeguard, and that thereby his person and estate were in great peril, and could not be delivered so long as Bothwell shall remain in Scotland. It is well liked that the King shall give commission to some one of the Church to confer with Mr. John Colvile or another fit instrument about Bothwell and by covert means draw Bothwell to depart, on condition that Kelso and Coldingham may be restored to his two sons, and also that he shall accept such favour for himself as shall please the King. It is thought that Bothwell shall submit, on condition that he be assured thereof by the King's consent. Finds sundry well affected to wish good success in the matter and has thought it meet to "holde it on fote and in progresse."

Is advertised that, forasmuch as it is seen that the discords betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis thus shake in sunder the old Councillors and the association, and brings on the confusion apparent and feared to increase, labour is again made to unite these parties, wherein the Master of Glamis has authorized one for him "to take upp" with the Chancellor. The matter is "in handlinge," but so desperate, and the Chancellor otherwise so "put at," that he may not with safety long remain "in case as he nowe standethe." The King begins to acknowledge to see the Chancellor in such plight that the King cannot use his service and government without the Chancellor's wreck.

The Master of Glamis, espying that Spynie shall be quit by the assize, attends to take the opportunity offered by Spynie's troubles. Finding that Crawford has lately obtained the favours of the Constable of Dundee and of many others of the barons in Angus—whereof many adhered to the Master—and also that Crawford is banded with the Earls of Angus and Erroll, the Master has sent an especial person to "take upp" with Crawford, who, albeit he sticks to the motion until his brother, Spynie, be delivered by law, has appointed Mr. David Lindsay to confer with the other sent by the Master; whereupon it is "looked" that Crawford and his brethren shall be reconciled with the Master of Glamis.

Because this new Court and in these new advices broached the parties carrying the sway are deemed to pass lightly over the welfare of public causes, and chiefly to shoot at the mark of private profit and revenge, has moved the Earl of Mar, on whom the principal hope of true reformation depends, not only in his own actions to answer the trust and expectation in himself, but also to draw the rest to prefer the common before their private causes. Finding that the choice of the nobility and well affected in religion and to the amity are joined now in this action, has offered himself and his labours to them, pressing them to attend first to the public services, that their private desires may afterwards succeed and be enjoyed with better surety.

The King and Council are purposed at the next assembly to resolve on the grant of the liberties of Angus and Erroll, in ward in Edinburgh Castle. Angus will not receive his liberty by the means of Sir George

James VI. 1592. Hume, as has been offered to him, and Erroll mislikes to be "in the comom" of the Master of Glamis for any favour to be showed him. They both pray to be enlarged, or else to have their speedy trial by assize. The King little likes their sudden enlargement. It is thought that Erroll shall be free within few days, for which purpose partly Mar is gone to the Court.

These Councillors and courtiers have put the King in comfort to take such order for the safety of his person and maintenance of his house and other charges that he shall no longer be endangered nor troubled with the cares presently possessing him in these behalfs.

Whereas the King has given to young Cesford the tithes of Sprouston, the same are now granted to the Duke of Lennox, and, as some think, of intent to be turned to the use of Bothwell's son, and letters are directed to Cesford to give up the possession. The Duke and Lord Hume have also willed Cesford to forbear to gather those tithes, and threaten that they will take them out of his barn if he shall carry them thither. Many think that these things are sharpened against Cesford with great extremity in regard that it has been bruited that the Chancellor has been, or is, at Cesford's house, and that Hume remains still in unkindness with Cesford; and presently the Duke and Hume joining, must needs have their appetites satisfied. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—It is reported here that the Master of Gray has returned with letters to Mr. Ralph Gray for his "oversighte," and this matter, as he hears, much troubles the King.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 6. 748. APPOINTMENT OF SIR JOHN MAITLAND, LORD THIRLSTANE, AS THE KING OF SCOTS' AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

"Oure soverane Loird remembering the lang, trew, and acceptabill service done to his majestie, his estate, and realme thir mony zeiris bygane be his trustie and weilbelovit cousing and counsallour, Johnne Loird Thirlstane, his hienes Chancellare, alsweill in his dewtifull and honorabill discharge of his said office in Parliament, Sessioun, and Secreit Counsallis, as in the furthering and advanceing of his hienes mariage and utheris wechtiest effairis of his estate committit to him, to his hienes singulare gude lyking and contentment and the weill and benefite of this estate, deserving in that respect his hienes thankfull approbatioun and honorabill rememberance to him and his posteritie, and having thairwithall sa gude prufe and experience of his singulare discretioun, jugement, literature, and sufficiencie alwyis to the discharge of quhatsumevir foreyne service to be committed to him, ordanis thairfoir ane commissioun to be maid undir the greit seill in dew forme makand, constituand, and ordinand his majesteis said trusty cousing and counsallour his hienes speciall ambassadour and commissionare to the effect undirwrittin, gevand, grantand, and committand to him his hienes full, frie, plane power and commissioun, expres bidding and charge to adres him with all diligence to the pairtis of France or other partes beyond sea, and thair in his hienes name and authoritie to remane and keip residence as his hienes ordinare ambassadour sa lang as his majestie sall think expedient, and ay and quhill he be dischargeit be particulare warrand, and with his hienes darrest brother [*sic*] or ony of his nobilitie and counsall to be appoynted

James VI. 1592. be hym to that effect, to treat, consult, confer, and conclude upoun all sic effairis as he salbe particularlie instructit in frome tyme to tyme, and generallie all uthir thingis to do, use, and exerce that to the office of a resident ambassadour is necessarlie requyrit, ferme and stabill haldand and for to hald all and quhatsumevir his hienes said commissionaire and ambassadour sall do agreeble to his instruction, as gif the samin war done be his hienes self. And for his gretare suirtie and indempnitie in the meantyme, gevand and grantand him, and tenne personis with him in cumpany, his hienes speciall licence to depairt and pas furth of this realme to the saidis pairtis or quhair uthirwyis for his helth and recoverie of his present disease he sall find mair convenient, and thair for the space of three zeiris to remane at his optioun and plesur. During the quhilk space his hienes hes takin, and be the tennour heirof takis his said cousing and Counsallour, his spous and bairne with all and sindrie his tennentis, vasselis and proper servandis, his and thair houssis, landis, takis, stedingis, rowmes, possessionis, officeis, guidis, and geir quhatsumevir in his hienes royall protectioun, sure mantenance, defence, and saulfgaird, to be unhurt, unharmit, unchargeit, invadit, molestit, troublit, convenit, callit or persewit in law or by law be ony maner of persoun for ony caus or occasioun bygane preceding the dait heirof. Promesing in the word of a prince to keip and mantene and caus the said protectioun be fermelie and inviolablie keipit and observit to him and his foirsaidis in everie point during the said space. Willing lyikwyis and granting that for his said depairture and remaning he nor his foirsaidis sall not be callit nor accusit criminallie nor civilie nor incur ony skaith or danger thairfoir in any soirt, nochtwithstanding quhatsumevir his hienes actis, statutis, proclamationis or inhibitionis, generall or speciall, maid or to be maid, in the contrair, or ony panis contenit thairin, quhairnent his hienes dispensses be thir presentis. Dischargeing thairfoir all and sindrie loirdis of his hienes Counsall and Sessioun, his hienes Justice Generall and his deputtis, his Thesaurare, Advocat, and all uthiris his hienes officiaris of justice, ministeris of his lawis within this realme, of all calling and convening befoir thame of his hienes said trusty cousing and Counsallour or ony of his foirsaidis in any actioun or caus intentit or to be intentit aganis thame criminallie or civilie induring the said space, troubling or persewing thame or ony of thame to the prejudice or violatioun of any point of this his hienes speciall protectioun in any soirt, as thai and everie ane of thame wil anser to his majestie upoun the point of thair obedience at thair uttermest charge and perrell and undir all hieast panis that thai can commit and inrin aganis his majestie in that behalf, and that this present be ane sufficient warrand to the Greit Seill, nochtwithstanding it be not past nather signet nor Privie Seill. Subscrivit be his majestie at Dalkeith the sext day of September the zeir of God j^{m}v^{c} fourescoir twelf zeiris."

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Robert Bowes. Underlined in parts. In a Scottish hand.*

Sept. 7. 749. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before and since the receipt of his last letter, of the 29th of August, has sought access to the King at Dalkeith, but the King and Council there have been so occupied for the apprehension of Bothwell and his

James VI. 1592. adherents, and about the examinations of Ardrye and Hackerson, lately taken at Leith, that hitherto no convenient time could be found for him [Bowes] before tomorrow or Saturday next.

The Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume were sent hither on the 4th instant with pretence of sundry errands, especially to entreat this town to pay to the King 2000 *l.* Scots, to be due at Whitsunday next for the interest of the dollars concredited to them by the King and Queen; but after 10 p.m. the Master of Glamis and Sir James Sandilands closely resorted to Abercromby's house in Leith, where they found and took the Laird of Ardrye and Captain Hakkerson in their beds and carried them with them to Dalkeith, where they have been straitly examined with the terror of the torments of the boots, and by other means, before the King, the Master of Glamis, the Justice Clerk, Sir John Carmichael, and Sir George Hume; which examiners either keep secret the confessions or else their dispositions will not yield the effects expected for proof against Spynie at his trial and for the accusations of others suspected to be guilty of crimes forfeiting their offices, to be distributed amongst the present courtiers.

This day Sir John Carmichael has delivered Ardrye and Hakkerson to the Provost of Edinburgh to be surely kept, and afterwards tried and executed, agreeable to the laws. Hakkerson has little hope of life: he is thought to be privy not only to the secrets of Bothwell, but also of the confederates for Spain; wherein he [Bowes] has sought that he may be well sounded by the fairest means likely to draw the truth out of him, but he shows such resolution that little matter of great importance can be hitherto got from him. Some suit is made for Ardrye's life, who pleads that he came to Leith to talk with Colonel Stewart, having warrant to confer with all men for the furtherance of his proof against Spynie. Albeit it is given out that one Kirkcaldy, a tailor, first discovered this assembly at Leith, yet many "drewe Ardrye to have put out Hakkerson," and that he intended to have done the like to Niddrie and Patrick Crommye, who supped at Leith with Ardrye and Hakkerson the same night that they were taken; and Ardrye earnestly entreated Niddrie to tarry there, offering to play with him at the cards that night, which Niddrie refused, saying that no man should know where he would lodge.

Is informed that Robin Hepburn, lately serving Bothwell, is quietly taken and kept and that Ardrye and he, with such others as they can bring, shall give evidence against Spynie to the assize, which is appointed, as he hears, to be four earls, six lords, and twelve barons, and whereof it is said that the Earls Marishal, Rothes, Morton, and Mar, and the Lords of Seaton, Sinclair, Sempill, Ochiltree, and others are named. Albeit it is looked that the assize shall be picked, and that the witnesses produced shall give sharp evidence against Spynie, yet he shall not be found guilty, and nevertheless lose his grace in Court.

Is informed that Ardrye has told the King that the Lord Hamilton and others of good quality, and in whom the King has great affiance, have agreed to join with Bothwell, a matter troubling the King greatly; and many think that it is a matter devised for the overthrow of the Hamiltons than grounded upon any sound truth.

Burleye, having promised to give the King further intelligence in matters for Bothwell, and to satisfy him by one Baforde [Balfour] in sundry of the King's desires, has so failed in his promise that the King

James VI. 1592. having given Burleye licence to depart out of the realm, now calls again for him; but it is thought that he will not hastily come in.

The Duke of Lennox and Lord Hume, pretending with their forces to gather the tithes of Sprouston, rode forwards towards Kelso and Jedburgh, but their chief intention was to have taken Bothwell, Ferniherst, and Hunthill. For the King, lately advised that Ferniherst, Hunthill, and other Borderers had entered into intelligences with Bothwell, gave commission to the Duke to bring in Ferniherst and Hunthill, who came to the Duke with greater companies than the Duke had, and offered their services to the King in the raid against Cesford. But when the Duke would have stayed them and "caried" them to the King, they refused, praying to have leave to disperse their friends assembled, "and provyde themselves"; and promising to come to the Duke on the morrow, they returned to their houses and afterwards advertised the Duke that they needed not to be brought by force, for they would, of their own accord, come to the King within four or five days. With which answer the King returned to Dunglass after he had taken possession of such tithes of Sprouston as Cesford had not gathered; for Cesford, upon receipt of the King's letter, agreed to yield to the Duke the possession of the tithes remaining in the fields, but he could not deliver the tithes already brought into the barns and stackyards. It is doubted whether Ferniherst and Hunthill will enter at the day limited. In the mean season the King is greatly offended with this success in the Duke's journey, and it is thought that the King is now so stirred up against Bothwell that he will not hear of any motion to draw him out of the realm.

The town of St. Johnstone is like to be fined for their late outrage against the Laird of Clackmannan; Dundee to be fined for the escape of a prisoner, and Edinburgh has heard that the King being moved to pacify the troubles betwixt the merchants and craftsmen and to punish the authors in that sedition, answered that he would be no more hasty to help them than they were ready to rescue him at Falkland. It is feared that hereby these burghs shall conceive malcontentment, that other burghs shall join with them, and that few well affected shall be contented in their next elections of magistrates, at Michaelmas, to accept and bear offices amongst them.

Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. Robert Bruce, ministers, have had long conferences with Angus and Erroll and drew them to good conformity in the articles of religion. Angus professes to remain steadfast therein during his life. It was meant that they should have had their liberty, but they are so far off either joining with the courtiers or acknowledging themselves to be beholden in this part to the Master of Glamis, Sir George Hume, or to any present courtiers other than the Earl of Mar, that their enlargement is still deferred, and it is noted that some sparks of unkindness are fallen betwixt Erroll and the Master of Glamis.

It is reported confidently that on the 6th instant the Master of Glamis obtained the King's grant to be wholly Lord Treasurer and to have power to appoint such person to serve as vice-treasurer as he shall think good, yet the King does not take any knowledge hereof, showing his accustomed countenance and favour towards Sir Robert Melvill presently Treasurer. It is verily looked that the other officers of estate shall be altered, but the King cannot as yet be persuaded to like thereof, and Mar

James VI. 1592. is much against the alteration of the old officers. Here is general expectation of great troubles and dangers to arise in this realm.

Sir John Carmichael has almost lost his sight by an old hurt of one of his eyes and by a thick film lately grown on the other eye, and this film or skin so daily increases that he looks to be utterly blind within short time, whereby he purposes to retire from Court and live quietly at home.

The ministers, lately convening here, have agreed to present to the King certain petitions appearing in the note enclosed. They have received fair promises, putting them in some hope for the execution of the laws against papists and the administration of justice for punishment of murders, chiefly on Huntly and his accomplices. They press him [Bowes] to aid them herein, which he will do with all his power, yet he partly distrusts the good success. They are purposed to warn Mar either to win Mistress Mary Stewart, the Duke's sister, to embrace the religion faithfully or else to forbear to take her to his wife; and they have some arrows to shoot at the Lord Hume. Thomas Tyrye and John Baylill, his [Hume's] two servants, have been entertained with extraordinary courtesies, as the ministers are informed, in many monasteries beyond seas, whereby it is meant to call them to account and to subscribe to the articles of religion, which they will do.

The King is not only pleased to grant license to the Chancellor to depart and remain abroad for three years, but also has employed the Chancellor to be his ambassador to the French King, and to receive him and all his possessions into the King's protection. It was meant that the Chancellor should have been sent in embassage to England, and some wide spaces or blanks were left in the bill to have been filled up, but by the advice of the Council these spaces were filled with the words limiting him to France or other parts beyond sea. That Burghley may know what words were inserted in the blanks, has written the words with his own ragged hand and also drawn a line underneath the words inserted. The licence, in this form, will be under the Great Seal tomorrow, yet suit will be made that the Chancellor may be employed as ambassador to the Queen of England, and by express words to have power to remain in England; against which it is looked that some courtiers will set themselves.

The return of Nicholson, his [Bowes'] servant, is greatly desired. The ambassadors of Denmark, ready to have come to Scotland, are stayed by the Lord Dingwall, and, as it is thought, by commissions given by the King and Queen. They were directed to have passed from hence to the Queen of England to certify the answer received from the King of Spain in the late motion for a general peace and in some other errands. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3⅔ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 12. 750. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At his late access to the King, at Dalkeith, acquainted the King with the contents of Burghley's letters of the 21st and 29th of August last. Let the King know how greatly the Queen of England lamented his estate. Proceeded to persuade the King to embrace the good councillors presently about him, chiefly the persons named in Burghley's letter, and that the King and Council would enter into immediate execution of the laws for banishment of papists and punishment of

James VI. 1592. murders. The King allowed the advice, recounting how oftentimes he had sought to put the same in practice. Assured the King that, without his liking, neither the Queen of England nor any of her Council shall show any favour to the Master of Gray, yet her majesty conceives that it would be better to suffer the Master to remain in some corner in England where he should not show any undutifulness to the King, rather than that he should be forced to flee out of Scotland to be Spanish or popish. The King answered that he was credibly informed that the Master of Gray had obtained warrant "to have oversight" in Northumberland, whereat he much stormed, saying that he was assured her majesty was not privy thereto. The King resolved "to staye himselfe" further herein upon answer from Roger Aston.

The assize to have been taken this day at Edinburgh for the trial of the Laird of Spynie is put over till the 24th instant, wherewith Spynie was little pleased. Colonel Stewart rode to the King at Dalkeith this morning and opened to the King as well his doings with Bothwell as also what matters and proof he had against Spynie. Spynie shall be called tomorrow to the King, to be examined secretly by the King's self, to the intent this matter may be compounded at the King's censure and pleasure, or else proceed to trial at the day limited. But this day being thus "shott," it is thought that the assize shall not be much troubled with such trial.

The King is pleased and purposed to send the Chancellor to the Queen of England in embassage, yet the Chancellor's repair thither will not be hasty. By these means the Chancellor is like to hold his office, and the Seal shall be committed to the keeping of some fit person. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 16. 751. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received his letters of the 6th, 7th, and 8th instant, together with a cipher. Yesterday his son, Ralph Bowes, and George Nicholson, his servant, returned to Edinburgh. Has advertised the Chancellor as well of the resolution taken by the Queen of England, as also of the advice given in that case.

The King continues at Dalkeith, attended on by the Duke of Lennox, Argyll, Morton, Mar, Hume, Fleming, the Master of Glamis, Carmichael, and Sir George Hume, but Carmichael, being almost blind, is purposed to retire and remain at his house at Carmichael. The Court is mightily troubled with fears proceeding upon jealousies within themselves, and by expectation of attempts by Bothwell and forces to be levied in the west by Hamilton, Maxwell, and others. It is seen that the courtiers cannot sustain the burden of the government of this broken estate without the assistance of more of the nobility and the advice of wise and well affected persons of the barons, Kirk and burghs, *etc.*

Lord John Hamilton, by his friends and by credible advice, has been given to think that Dumbarton Castle shall be taken from him and that his utter wreck is intended; and to avoid the perils he has been counselled to depart from Scotland. Hereupon he purposed to have come secretly in the night to Mr. Bowes for further advice. But knowing the appre-

James VI. 1592. hensions and bruits in Court, Mr. Bowes stayed his coming to him and his departure from Scotland, procuring him to send some fit person to signify the truth of his behaviour and actions "caried in great quietnes," and to offer his services with assurance "to flye all factions." This has been done, agreeable to the advice, and Hamilton is now quieted, resting devoted to the Queen of England, whose pleasure he desires to know in case he shall be "put at," and that Dumbarton shall be called for. Trusts these shall help to break, or at least to stay, hasty factions. Requests speedy directions herein, chiefly what shall be done for Dumbarton Castle and Lord Hamilton's departure in case of necessity.

The Chancellor is authorized by the King's warrant, now under the Great Seal, to be ambassador to the Queen of England, and the King will shortly deliver to him his especial letters and instructions. Sundry bruits have been raised to stir the King against the Chancellor, who has been bruited to have met with Maxwell at Drumlangrig, to have allured the Hamiltons, Maxwell, and his other friends to join with Bothwell, and to have resembled the King to a bagpipe sounding such tunes as the present courtiers list; yet the King's mind continues so steadfast towards him, and the Chancellor has so well satisfied the King by his late letters that these bruits have no edge to hurt him. Maxwell, hearing that it is noted in Court that he had gathered his friends together, sent an especial person to inform the King that he did it only for the King's service and to perform the promise made to the King, which the King takes in good part. Nevertheless the courtiers are still jealous of Maxwell herein.

The assize for the trial of Spynie is again deferred till the 3rd of next month. It is expected that Spynie shall be dismissed with loss of his place and of the King's favour. Colonel Stewart has now left the proof of the articles against Spynie to the King, who seeks further evidence against Spynie, who, commanded to ward in Edinburgh Castle, is seeking liberty upon caution and also that Colonel Stewart may be executed.

Ardrie and Hackerson, in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, are respited, and the assize is adjourned for fourteen days. Ardrye shall have his pardon upon proof that Colonel Stewart by the King's warrant had won him to open to the colonel all things in his knowledge against Spynie, and that to inform himself better in those behalfs he put himself into the company of Niddrie, Hakkerson, and others familiar with Bothwell, whereby he was taken with Hakkerson. The Lord Hume is such an earnest suitor for Hakkerson that it is thought they shall both be pardoned.

Colonel Stewart and James Cochran [Cougheran], Constable of Blackness, met with Bothwell at Tiviedale, by the King's commission, to have drawn out some matters against Spynie, whom the earl cleared, and rebuked the colonel; and he delivered to Cochran a letter addressed to the Duke and others, and to such effects as by the copy of the same letter will appear to Burghley. Is told that the colonel then and at another meeting earnestly persuaded him [Bothwell] to withdraw out of Scotland for the King's honour and satisfaction, but he does not like to leave without better assurance, for he thinks himself able, by the strength of the Borderers and others, to sway the balance betwixt the present courtiers and any other party against them. He [Bothwell] chiefly desires to be received by the noblemen and Councillors now about the King, to the intent he may be joined with the sort best affected to religion,

James VI. 1592. and thereby may more easily revenge the death of Murray against Huntly. Bothwell has obtained the goodwill of Ferniherst, Hunthill, town of Jedburgh, *etc.*, and daily draws the hearts of many to him.

Bothwell was warned that the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hume would come to Jedburgh with pretence to take the tithes of Sprouston, but their errand was to surprise Bothwell, Ferniherst, Hunthill, and Bedrule, whereupon Bothwell put himself in safety, and Ferniher stand Hunthill met the Duke and Hume and dallied with them.

Ferniherst and Hunthill have not appeared at the day appointed, and the King has resolved to ride against them and by proclamation commanded the country to attend upon him to Jedburgh on the 25th instant. It is doubted that the purpose intended under this pretence shall have little better success than the Duke's raid to Jedburgh. Angus and Mar have been advised to put themselves in the King's will and join with the lords with the King, but they so misliked the conditions offered that they remain in close ward. The motion betwixt the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, and betwixt Crawford and the Master, are broken up without any concord. Upon forged message from the Queen, Bothwell should have been drawn to Linlithgow and there surprised, but by the advice of Mr. Colvile he refused to come.

Is informed that Bothwell's wife shall very shortly meet with Mar in the fields. Understands that Crawford, intending to travel into Germany, will entreat him [Bowes] to be a means that he may have the Queen of England's safe conduct to pass through England. He [Crawford] seems disposed to remain a while in England and to devote himself to her majesty's services. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk and Burghley. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Sept. 16. 752. NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"The newis I hard last of Court is my lord of Spyneis day of law continewit to xx dayis, and the crowner and he remains bayth in warde as thay war of befoir. The Chanslare hes gottin licens to pas of the cuntrie, and his leving to be upliftit be his wyfe to his use, bot gif he may ony better do be will byde. The Dwik, the Erlle of Argylle, Mar, Mortone, my lord Hume, and the Master of Glammes, and my lord Flemyng remanis all at courtt, and is all other this factione aganis the Chanslare. My lord Boidwell is bissie, and materis gais hard aboute the courtt. The Laird of Carmychaell is to gang to his awin houys to tak remeid for his sycht. The erlles of Arrell and Angous remanis bayth still in warde as zitt. The Laird of Ardrie, Lowmpisdaile, and Capitane Hakerstone sowld have bene put to tryell this last Moneday, bot thay war contenewit to that day viij dayis. This new factione is of mynde to change the Chanslare, the Thesawrer, the Comptroller, and the Collectour, and to mak the erle of Mar or Mortone Chanslar, the Master of Glames Thesawrer, and Sir George Hume his depuite, George Dowlas of Lochlevin the Collectour and [*] Comptroller. My lord Hume wald be the capitane of the garde. My lord Wardane of Scotland mett with the Chanslare this last Tyesday at the Kirk of Penpont, within twa myles Drumlanrick, and meittis ther agane this next Tyesday,

* Blank in the MS.

James VI. 1592. as I can heir. All materis is dowtfull in this cuntrie. God send remeid. Thar was ane charge gevin my lord Wardane this last Fryday in his majestes name if he mellit nocht with ony of the barones. His majesty takis jurnay to the vist on Tyesday cum viij dayis gif it gett na stope.

[*Written on the back.*] I heir that my lord Wardane is informitt that my lorde Bodwell sowldbe ressett in Carleisle in pretie maner for his adois. *Signature in cipher, and* "Wische no better."

½ *p. In a Scottish hand. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.* "Advises out of Scotland."

Sept. 23. 753. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The day after his last letter to Burghley he received Burghley's letter of the 9th instant touching the advertisements given to his lordship from Carlisle of the Chancellor's being at Drumlanrig and of his meeting with Maxwell. Has been tied to bed for a good part of the week. This estate, rent in sunder, is continually tossed with alterations. The King has heard many tales against the Chancellor during his abode at Drumlanrig, where he will remain till the Provost of Lenclouden shall come to him from the Court. Lenclouden departed towards Drumlanrig on the 21st instant. The Chancellor met Maxwell and sought to have removed the dryness betwixt Maxwell and Drumlanrig, who being reconciled about a year had fallen again into some unkindness. But the Chancellor took no part with Maxwell against the barons suiting to the King to revoke Maxwell's patent, neither has he entered in any faction or party with Hamilton, Bothwell, or any other, as has been reported. He also met some of the barons now at Court against Maxwell, namely, Lochenvar, to whom he said that he advised the King to draw out of Maxwell's patent for the west wardenry the extraordinary clause giving him power to keep a Justice Court, to put to the horn, and to take up the escheats; wherewith the barons are grieved and have complained to the King and Council, who have given order to suspend the practice of that authority, and that he shall bring in his patent on 31st October next. It is said that Lochenvar told the King what the Chancellor said to him in this matter, and that the King passed hard terms against the Chancellor and thought him guilty of all other things reported of him; whereupon the King was tempted to have revoked his licence to go into England. Is credibly advised that the King told Lochenvar, and openly affirmed at the Council, that indeed he caused this clause to be inserted in Maxwell's patent against the advice of his whole Council. The licence granted to the Chancellor is not impeached. The Chancellor fears that, having once departed out of the realm, he shall be summoned to appear before the King and Council within sixty days, and failing therein, that his lands, offices, and possessions shall be intromitted; yet he builds his hope of standing upon the constancy of the King's favour, which hitherto is not seen failing to him.

The Duke [of Lennox] was advised, and well liked to accept the office of Lord Chancellor, but being given to think, as it is now told him [Bowes], that the exercise of that office should "imbase" the estimation of his estate and person—being now thought to be next heir to the King—he is resolved to refuse it. Therefore it was devised to offer it to Mar, who

James VI. 1592. will not take it. Is told that the Duke keeps an especial person in England to follow his causes there, and that still, by the advice of great personages here, he longs after Arbella [Stewart].

The Master of Glamis and Sir Robert Melvill are reconciled by the King. The office of Lord Treasurer shall be restored to the Master, and Sir Robert Melvill shall hold his office of vice-treasurer. Hears that neither party is pleased in heart. The bands of marriage betwixt the Earl of Mar and Mistress Mary Stewart, the Duke's sister, have been published. The solemnization of the marriage is appointed to be at Dalkeith on Sunday, the 1st of October next, much against the will of Mar's friends and of very many well affected in Scotland. Mar has fallen into relapse of his former disease.

It has been newly bruited that the Lord Hamilton has prepared eighteen ensigns in Edinburgh, and that some ministers of especial credit have been privy thereto and to the enterprise intended. Besides, is told that some in Court have offered to the King very earnest advice for his sharp proceedings against the ministers; wherein the King's own answer to the Councillors has killed the progress of the course advised. Hamilton can easily clear himself because, as he [Bowes] hears, he has not provided any ensigns or practised anything to be attempted. The ministers purpose to be petitioners to the King to try what fault can be found in any of them.

The other day the Duke of Lennox and the Master of Glamis, by the King's direction, travailed with the Provost and Session of this town for the choice of a fit person to succeed the Provost at Michaelmas next, to compound the griefs betwixt the merchants and the craftsmen of Edinburgh, and to require them to furnish the King with 100 men for his guard to attend upon him whilst he shall continue at Dalkeith, or for some few months, and for which they should be discharged of this raid to Jedburgh. The whole Council and Session of this town have resolved that all landed men shall send horsemen and all others shall attend on the King on foot in this raid to Jedburgh, to begin on the 25th instant, but they would not agree to bear the charge of 100 men for the King's guard for any time. It is now persuaded that if Ferniherst or Hunthill can be brought in to the King, this raid to Jedburgh shall be needless. Great means are made to draw Ferniherst to come this day to the King, but he doubts much how to carry himself clean betwixt the King and the Duke, *etc.*

The Duke and Master of Glamis have very lately travailed with Angus and Erroll to submit to the King. They appear in general terms to be conformable, and upon the performance thereof they shall be set at liberty, and brought to the Court in case they will join with the courtiers there. Erroll is already carried to the Court to be examined what gold has been brought into this realm from foreign parts in the last week, what the sum is, and from whom and to whom it is sent. For "it is done the King" to think that a little barque of 20 tons put in last week to the bay at the mouth of the little brook in the "Pethe" betwixt Copperspeth and Dunglass and there discharged sundry packs of clothes, and immediately put forth to the seas. It is given out credibly that in these packs of clothes a large mass of treasure was hidden, which was conveyed away by night. There is some bruit that these packs were cast down near Dunglass.

James VI. 1592. The Lord Fleming has lately quarrelled with Sir James Lindsay, an especial favourite of the King. It is thought to be done to "decourt" Sir James with his brother the Laird of Spynie, but the King, winking at the matter, has willed Sir James to abide in Court, and he has written quietly to Spynie in very favourable terms testifying that he is loth to taste of any alteration.

Ardrie and Hakkerson at their arraignment put themselves wholly in the King's will, whereby the assize was discharged. Ardrie still pleaded that by the King's warrant delivered to Colonel Stewart he agreed, by himself and such others as he could find, to bring sufficient matter against Spynie, and thereon, drawing Hakkerson to him for that purpose, they came together to confer with the colonel at Leith, where they were taken together. They are like to be pardoned unless the making of the infamous libel against the King shall prove to be done by Hakkerson.

It is discovered, and much noted in Court, that Maxwell has prepared in this town four ensigns for footmen, with the King's arms on one side and the arms of the Earl of Morton quartered with his own on the other side. All this is answered to be done by virtue of his office and for the King's service. It is said that Bothwell has caused sundry cornets to be made here for him, and it is looked that he shall shortly show the same in field. Colonel Stewart has sought to tryst and meet with Bothwell, but Bothwell distrusting his purpose has broken off with him, and now the King has declared openly and with great earnestness that he will not hear any motion in favour of Bothwell. It is thought that the courtiers will endeavour to get Bothwell out of the realm with some fair conditions and without blemish of the King's honour.

Because a Borderer by his letter certified Maxwell that Bothwell had been received by divers persons and in several places in England and Scotland, and that Maxwell sent the letter to the King, who immediately sent to him [Bowes] a note thereof, and to such effect as by view of the copy enclosed will appear, and also prayed him [Bowes] to learn and advise him [the King] of the truth and to acquaint her majesty with the same, therefore has written to Richard Lowther and sent to him the double of the letter, trusting that upon his answer he [Bowes] shall readily give satisfaction to the King and Burghley. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 26. **754. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

Since my last letter to your lordship the Earls of Angus and Erroll have been brought to the Court, where, by their confessions, they have so well satisfied the King that, with the advice of the Council there, they are now at liberty and great courtiers, and were appointed to have attended on the King in his raid to Jedburgh against Ferniherst and Hunthill; for which raid the King and others were in readiness to have marched forwards to Peebles this day, where the Lords Hume, Fleming, and divers others should have met the King, and the next day have ridden to Jedburgh, where Maxwell with his forces and the countries warned by proclamation should have come to the King; but advertisement was brought to the Court yesternight that Ferniherst and Hunthill would refuse to come in [and] that Bothwell was strongly accompanied

James VI. 1592. with Borderers and others and would show himself in the fields to the King and his army before he came to Peebles. The courtiers did not like to trust to Maxwell's strengths, notwithstanding that he has given the King good and frequent intelligence. The Lord Hume returned yesternight to the Court very slenderly accompanied, without his friends or followers. Mar and the Master of Glamis are sick and not able to ride, and the country warned by proclamation give little obedience, the rather because their corn is not yet gathered. Therefore it was thought meet and resolved yesternight before supper to continue and defer that journey until the 10th of October next. The King is greatly disquieted herewith, and all men look for confusion to follow in this realm, for the prevention whereof few or none are ready to put hand.

Bothwell openly runs up and down on the Borders, at Jedburgh and other places, at his pleasure. It is thought that his forces and friends assembled with him shall not depart and breakin sunder without resolution of some enterprise to be attempted; wherein the Laird of Tynnye, [*sic*] sent with advertisements to the King from Maxwell, told the King that Bothwell trusted to find some about the King who would either "put out" the King to him or at least not fight against him; and it is affirmed that if the King please to convene the nobility and to deal graciously with him, he shall discover to the King and convention of the nobility some more about the King who have promised to give him intelligence and do all in their power to draw the King into his hands.

The marriage betwixt Mar and Mistress Mary Stewart, the Duke's sister, shall be solemnized on Sunday next at Dalkeith in case Mar shall in that time well recover his health. This proceeds much against the will of sundry of Mar's friends and of many persons well affected. The minister of Dalkeith is like to be warned to beware to make the marriage before the lady, suspected in religion, shall satisfy the Kirk, and it is intended that the Countess of Huntly, presently come to the Court for this marriage, and Mistress Mary, her sister, shall be summoned by the next Assembly of the Kirk to subscribe to the articles of religion.

The Chancellor "[Menelaus"] for sundry reasons is advised to remain in Scotland, wherein the Queen's majesty shall be sounded, and in case the King of Scots will not grant the request, then they will repair to England, as shortly your lordship shall be advertised with better certainty upon the progress of this cause.

The Laird of Spynie is commanded to ward at Dalkeith, or within four miles thereof, with promise that he shall have his trial at the day limited for the same. His brother, Sir John Lindsay, was willed in the King's name to leave the King's Chamber and depart from the Court, but by the King's secret pleasure he remained still and now enjoys the King's and Queen's good countenance, as before he wonted. Colonel Stewart has obtained licence to depart out of the realm and prepares to pass into the Low Countries with the speed he can. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher.*

Sept. 29. 755. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Received yesterday his letter of the 22nd instant. The Chancellor is still at Drumlanrig, and by the labour of the Lord Secretary to the

James VI. 1592. King, with some help given by himself [Bowes], he obtained leave to come into and abide in England; whereupon the King thought meet to send him as ambassador to the Queen of England, but none of the Councillors now about the King, except the Earl of Mar, liked his coming into England. Nevertheless the King granted the same at the Chancellor's request, presented by the Secretary.

The Councillors presently about the King and in credit are the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, Mar, the Lords Hume and Fleming, the Master of Glamis, Sir John Carmichael, and Sir George Hume. The Earls of Angus and Erroll were lately prisoners in Edinburgh Castle for their confederacy and intelligences with Bothwell: now they are at liberty and in Court, especially Erroll, who has plainly confessed and disclosed to the King as well all his own doings in any matter with Bothwell, as also the actions of others drawing him into that course, and chiefly of Colonel Stewart, who first allured him to join with Bothwell and afterwards brought to him Mr. John Colvile, who tarried with him seven or eight days devising sundry plots which could not be brought to execution. Hereby the King perceived that Colonel Stewart had not satisfied the trust which he lately gave him. For although the King examined him so inwardly, and he confessed so largely therein that the King thought he had fully discovered all his knowledge, yet upon enquiry of these things revealed by Erroll, the colonel could not deny them. Whereupon the King, repenting that he had given him licence to pass out of the country, has shaken him off and wills him to hasten his departure.

Angus has acknowledged to have met the Countess of Bothwell and the Laird of Spott, but he denies sundry things which Maxwell opened to the King against him, and he has not yet given satisfaction to Sir George Hume touching the Laird and possessions of Spott. Erroll, by many solemn protestations, has avowed his obedience to the King. Erroll has returned to his own house with promise to attend on the King on the 10th of October in his raid to Jedburgh.

He [Bowes] and his clerk erred in certifying by letter of the 16th instant that Angus and Mar were still prisoners in Edinburgh Castle. Their error is that Mar is entered for Erroll.

The Earl Bothwell has directed his letters to the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Argyll, Morton, and Mar, the Master of Glamis and "remanent" nobility about his majesty. It has been commonly thought that Bothwell has noted the Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael, and Sir George Hume to have been his principal adversaries amongst the Councillors now about the King. Some think that the late goodwill betwixt him [Bothwell] and the Lord Hume is partly shaken, in regard that Hume has received and possesses Coldingham.

Will warn Lord Hamilton ("Scipio") to bear his sail lower, and also he [Bowes] will beware to be seen to give comfort that may be taken offensively; but whereas he stands greatly upon the counsel of "Antonius" to know what to do in case Dumbarton shall be called for, beseeches Burghley to cause the same to be done with speed.

By letters received from Richard Lowther, perceived that the information given by Maxwell to the King touching Bothwell's being in the citadel in Carlisle is not true. Many of the Grahams and other

James VI. 1592. Englishmen of the West Borders accompanied Bothwell at Hawick and assisted him to ride against the King.

At his [Bowes'] late access to the King and several conferences with Mar and other Councillors has earnestly travailed to persuade them to consider rightly in what danger the King and estate stand, *etc.* Since the coming to court of the Countess of Huntly, the Laird of Petlargo, Alexander Duff, and other friends and servants of Huntly attending on the Countess have moved sundry ministers here to receive the submission and repentance of Huntly for his fault by the slaughter of Murray and also to intercede with the King and Council for him. The ministers have answered that, forasmuch as he has again fallen into open papistry, they may not receive him before he shall give evident proof of his true repentance and new conversion, neither dare they move the King or Council in his favour. They doubted also whether these suitors had commission given by Huntly himself. In this treaty advice was given that Huntly should withdraw to England, Geneva, Zurich, or other fit place, where he might be instructed in the religion and make his reformation appear. But the commissioners answered that he would never go to England, and he could not be in safety in other foreign places, neither might his friends want his presence and assistance in their present troubles. The matter thus rests without suspicion that this motion and answer to the same shall turn to and be made some pique and quarrel against the ministers, who now call for justice against Huntly as freshly as they did at the beginning. But it is answered that the King's murder—meaning the intentions and attempts to kill the King—ought first to be punished, by which occasion the wounds in the hearts of Murray's friends and of the people bleed again; nevertheless it is not looked that this Court shall give great regard thereto.

The King is purposed to return hither in four or five days. The King was minded to have lodged in this town, but the houses here do not please him. He prepares great forces for his raid to Jedburgh on the 10th of October against Bothwell, Ferniherst, and Hunthill. He has sought advice whether he may call a Parliament without his Council and nobility, wherein resolution is not yet given by the Advocate and others; and the success in the last Parliament was found of contrary course to his mind and desires, as it is holden dangerous for him in this sort and in this evil condition of this confused state to call another.

Bothwell continues openly on the Borders. It is looked here that he shall seize and cause to be threshed the corn at Kelso and Sprouston. But knowing that advertisements of him and his doings shall be given to Burghley by others, leaves all the same to their report. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher.*

Oct. 4. 756. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has received Burghley's two letters, one of September 6th, brought by Roger Aston, the other of September 23rd. Has not been with the King since Mr. Aston returned. Understands by Aston that he has delivered the Queen of England's letter(*) to the King. This letter is noted

(*) Printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, Hatfield MSS.*, Pt. iv. pp. 227-8.

James VI. 1592. by the wise and well affected to agree with and renew her majesty's grave advice before given to the King, and also to be fraught with princely wisdom and experience. It does not hitherto appear that the King conceives so hardly of Mr. Aston's return without money from her majesty "as some of the Counsell freatt therat." It has been advised that some fit person of quality should be shortly sent to her majesty to know what the King might trust to touching the performance of the yearly payment accorded by the late treaty. Has many times specified the huge charges sustained by her majesty for the maintenance of the common cause in France, *etc.*

Soon after his last to Burghley the King and Council resolved to call to them some other fit Councillors and to place about the King persons apt to serve in the rooms of such as shall be displaced, and it is meant that these new servants shall be chosen out of the kinsmen and friends of these noblemen presently with the King. Further, the King is purposed to remove from Dalkeith this day or tomorrow to Holyrood House, and to lie this winter at Edinburgh, in this house where he [Bowes] lodges. On the King's return hither it is intended that order shall be taken for the progress or stay of his journey to Jedburgh, *etc.*

The Chancellor, ready to go to England, is stayed by Bowes, for Bowes gave advertisement that the Court in Scotland was changeable, and therefore no need to hasten into England, but rather to attend and see how the wind should be. This advice is well accepted, but if the wind shall not shortly come about, then they will seek to make sail for England in most ready and speedy manner, yet not through the East Borders. Begs Burghley to let him know speedily whether the Queen of England will allow any place there for their abode in quiet manner.

The Master of Glamis' sickness so greatly increases that the physicians think his life in danger, and by his death it is thought that this Court "shall take a welter." The Earl of Mar is fallen so sick that he is driven to keep his bed, whereby his marriage is deferred. The Chancellor is at the Laird of Lochenvar's house and is expected to come to Garlie's and other barons now "in sute" against Maxwell, yet he will not seek to mediate any agreement betwixt Maxwell and the barons without the good liking of the barons. It is said that the Chancellor was warned of some surprise to have been lately attempted against him.

By the means of the Duke of Lennox, Ferniherst put himself in the King's will. By sundry articles set down before the King and Council Ferniherst was bound to abandon Bothwell, submit to the King publicly, to bring in Hunthill, the Provost and Bailie of Jedburgh, and to endure imprisonment in such ward as the King should appoint for all the rest. Albeit that these conditions were thus given him, yet the King committed him to the custody of Sir John Carmichael, who, at the Duke of Lennox's request, delivered him to the Duke, who let him depart to his lodging in Dalkeith. Whereupon Ferniherst withdrew, in regard that he understood that the King intended to imprison Hunthill and the others to whom the Duke and he had promised they should be freed by the punishment of Ferniherst. In this the King has called and entered into great passions against the Duke. But the Duke stands upon terms of his own honour and for the performance of the conditions accorded and given to Ferniherst, who hitherto "resethe" to render himself again to the King

James VI. 1592. at the call and pleasure of the Duke, as he trusts Mr. Aston, who married the sister of Ferniherst's wife, will more fully advertise Burghley. The Duke, in these passions, purposed to seek licence to travel into foreign countries. The name of the Duke's servant in England is John Elphinstone.

By Ferniherst it is discovered that Lord Hume and Gray have travailed with Bothwell for the overthrow of religion; but Bothwell refused. Understands that this matter shall be further opened by Ferniherst to some of the ministry and others. For this purpose offer was made that 3000 men should be levied in Caithness and in the north, and that sundry noblemen would have backed the action.

The Master of Gray "hathe latelye comed unto, and quit himselfe to have further to do with Bothwell" or his actions, and he pretends to be resolved to seek grace and remission at the King's hands, who carries a very hard opinion and countenance against him; yet the Master sees how other offenders get grace by means of courtiers, and the Lord Hume will "pleasure" him all that he can.

This day the Lord Hume was called to appear before the Synodal Assembly of the Church gathered here and offered very frankly to come to them; but, soon after, he sent his servant to let them know that the King had sent for him, and that he must return home to furnish himself for the King's raid to Jedburgh. The Assembly thereon gave commission to three of them to confer with him, but he departed before they came to his lodging. It is meant that he shall be cited again on Friday next. The Lord Seton has also been this day before the Assembly of the Church and satisfied them in such articles as were propounded to him; but he is to be charged with receipt of many English seminaries, recusants, and papists haunting daily to his house, and order will be given to him to banish such as be with him and to "barr" from others coming hereafter.

It is advertised that Bothwell, finding Ferniherst with the rest of the Borderers in Tiviedale resolved to leave him and to seek their peace at the King's hands, was greatly grieved therewith and has returned to the west parts. It is said that Bothwell has Mr. John Colvile in some jealousy in respect that Mr. John lately conferred with Dunipace without Bothwell's privity.

Angus has returned from Court: he has carried himself with great stoutness at Court and has come voluntarily to Mr. Robert Bruce and himself [Bowes], protesting to stand fast to the religion and has offered frankly his devotion to her majesty. At the late election of the Provost at Aberdeen some tumult and slaughter has fallen out by means of Huntly, present there with 300 men, and who has placed a provost against the votes and will of many of the town. Young Burley, coming to Bothwell, was in danger of his life by the friends of such as accompanied Bothwell at the raid at Holyrood House, and were taken by Burley and executed thereon. Now Burley remains with Bothwell in small favour or comfort, and order is given by the King to rase his house. The King knowing that he may call his Parliament without council or convention is earnest to have it, but the courtiers have no liking thereof. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$3\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

James VI. 1592. Oct. 5.

757. MASTER OF GRAY TO BURGHLEY.

"My lord, your lordship shall not attribute to unmyndfulnes of the benefit receavit that I have not retournit thankis for your lordship's favorable wryting to Mr. Gray, of Chillinghame, at my requyst, in my favour, seing I have never bein in theis pairtis since. Bot within theis thre or four dayis, whair being in conference with Mr. Gray, he did schau me that his majestie, my souveraine, ether by wryt or utherwayis advertisit her majestie of England that he, Mr. Gray I mein, sould have givein furth that he haid warrand from her majestie or Counsell for to protect me within England, which he thocht strange, and so did I. And thairfor, lyk as to him, so unto your lordship I mak my purgation that I ves nocht so fare forgetfull of deutie as to have recompensit sutch a benefit with the lyk ingratitud; and albeit in deid th'occasion offerit not that I did ever since (quhill nou) use the benefit, yet I haid bein to blaime if I sould so fare have abusit it. As for Mr. Grayis purgation, I remit it to him self, for your lordship knoueth the man not to be so rache in langage as that he would so fare have outschot in a maiter so deiply tuitching him self. In deid it fortunet me to be in a hous quher Roger Aschtoun wes in his going, and I kneu he haid sumquhat to say tuitching my abode in England, which maid me that as yet I have never since my trouble bein in any gentlemans hous within England, nether ever kythit I my self eicht myllis within the verie bordour thairof. Bot this I think to have rysen by sume covirture of men who be in the lyk cace with me, jalouse that as occasion serveis I lye one this Border, and of no certaintie; whairof I pray your lordship give her majestie assurance."

"Becaws in this and all my affaires I have found in your honourabill lordship more then freindly dealing, I am to be verie plaine tuitching my auin affaires. I wes in societie with a nombre of noblemen, who standing in sume doubtsumenes, I could not tak uther course then they, and so this quhyll have keipit my self doubtsume in my deliberation. Nou they have takin a certaine course, and haith villeth me to do the lyk; and so I intend to do, and am in hoyp schortly to be revocquet. And thairfor I am to pray your lordship deall with her majestie to tak sume doing for me; not that necessitie moveis me, for the maiter shalbe drest befor ever her majestei shall kyth in it. Bot in cace I be revokit only be my fellouschip, I forse I might be thair only followuer. Bot if her majestie shall assist my restablisment, then I shall have place to freind her majesteis affaires, as bound thair unto by obligation. When my maiter is neir a point, then I shall preseume to wryt unto her majestie for this effect."

"Nou your lordship shall see it treuth. I wrot of befor that my falling in action with Bothuell wes only accidentary, for mens desingis shalbe sein to tend to an uther bute then his preferment only, yet we wisch him weill. If by your lordship's ansuer I shall understand her majestie to be myndit for to tak sume doing for me, when I have the maiter in rypnes then shall her majestie understand more particulairly th'estait of our countryis affaires then I am assured sche doeth yet. Which ansuer Mr. Gray or yet Sir Hary Wedringtoun may savely convey to me, for I am presently to depert England.

"Restith, my lord, to let your lordship knou that thair is verie evill disposition in sume of our borderers for making incursiouns, cheifly amongst

James VI. 1592. the brokin men, for a bratch is thair avantage. Ther they have found a maiter fit for thair propose: for sume Englischmen haith delt with the outlais of Scotland to ryd on sume thair unfreindis and countrymen for particulaire venenges. Thus, my lord, I have stayit theis sept being my self amongest the outlais. Bot nou being to retir, I thocht good to advertis your lordship of this, to th'end the wardene may be acquentit with it, and in cace any attemptad be committit befor it can be prevented, I shalbe more speciall both in maiter and names. Bot this suffiseth for the presente, not willing to be thocht couriouse, being a stranger. From the Borders. Signed: Mr. of Gray.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 7. 758. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King is very resolute hitherto to proceed in his raid to Jedburgh, notwithstanding that Farnihurst has entered into his ward in Edinburgh Castle. The King purposes to ride to Peebles on the 10th instant where he will remain one day. The next day he will pass to Jedburgh and there abide one or two days for the punishment of such borderers as have accompanied Bothwell, and from thence he will repair to the West Borders to do the like chastisement on the offenders there and to rase the houses of Manzerton, Whithaugh, and others.

Is credibly informed that Bothwell and Erroll, with the assent of the King of Scots, are entering conditions that the King of Scots shall give Bothwell the lives and possessions of himself and of eight persons to be named by him, who nevertheless shall be banished Scotland during the King of Scots' pleasure. The messenger carrying the assurance of these conditions is gone to Erroll this day. Bothwell is in these parts to see that the assurances are good and sufficient; upon liking whereof Erroll will be here with the King of Scots on the 9th instant to assure him that Bothwell will suffer himself with a small company to be suddenly surprised by the King of Scots, and will thus cast himself into his hands and will, so that this raid shall be honourable and peace shall follow thereon. It is told him [Bowes] constantly that this matter has so far proceeded that there is good hope of the success thereof; wherefore Bowes doubts greatly what shall ensue thereon, the rather because the Kirk verily look for some great storm against them, whereof lately they have been earnestly warned. It is feared that at the beginning of any change in this Court and estate the enterprise shall be attempted. If these things shall succeed as they are looked for, then this Court will be changed, and he [Bowes] shall have need to know how to change his course.

Bothwell lately sent to Angus to know whether he will "partie" him or not, and if not whether he would "give up with him." Angus thinking this to be done to entrap him, answered that he might not "partie" any while he remained attainted, and that he had little to do with Bothwell, yet there was no cause of unkindness "to give up with him." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

James VI. 1592.

759. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Oct. 10. This day the King entered into his journey towards the Borders to chastise the offenders "partienge" Bothwell and to draw them to his obedience, with delivery of hostages or lands for their loyal and good behaviour, or else take and rase their houses, especially such houses as be of strength. Because the King distrusts that some of those houses shall be holden against him, therefore he has required him [Bowes] to write to Mr. Richard Lowther that one of the cannons at Carlisle may be put in readiness and delivered to him, with sufficient planks of oak for the carriage thereof by sledge.

The Earl of Erroll has come to the King. Is informed that Mr. John Colvile has remained sundry days in Edinburgh and travailed with the Earl of Mar for managing the voluntary surprise of Bothwell. This matter is kept very secret.

Has been advised that many letters, with two English books, have been lately brought to Scotland from Brussels, and from known practisers, to Mr. James Gordon and other Jesuits and principal Catholics here. Knowing that the ministers had power by Act of Parliament to seize all letters and books sent into Scotland from suspicious persons, has procured Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay to make the search, "who, beinge in ther jornye towardes St. Androwes, have founde manye lettres and two Inglishe bookes, with the memorialls and notes of one Simpson, the carier of this packett." Some of the letters are stuffed with ciphers and riddles not yet deciphered and full of suspicion. Mr. Bruce and Mr. Lindsay have carried all with them, promising to bring them to him [Bowes] at their return. The same intelligencer assures him [Bowes] that Mr. James Gordon, Mr. Alexander Mackwherry, Mr. Robert Abercrombie, Jesuits, and other principal and practising Catholics were lately drawn into these parts, and near this town, to attend the coming of Simpson with these letters to them, and also to solicit noblemen to be careful for the advancement of the Catholic religion, seeing that by long and great labours made to the King of Spain by the English and Scottish Jesuits and instruments, the King of Spain has resolved to send hither men and money, provided that a sufficient number of noblemen here shall first send hostages to the King of Spain or other good assurances for the safety of his forces and for the due concurrency of the noblemen with their parties in Scotland and in the actions to be enterprised. The first thing to be attempted by these confederates is suspected to be massacre of the ministers and burgesses in chief estimation, wherein some of them have been lately warned, with the tears of the parties warning. The Duke of Lennox, Huntly, Erroll, Lord Hume, and Lord Fleming are noted to be in best trust and readiest for these purposes. The King of Scots has not yet been dealt withal, but must be hereafter; yet the instrument to have been used therein has lost his grace and is "discourted." It seems that the King of Scots already smells and fears this matter, for he has secretly broken with some of the Kirk and wished them "to put at" these others before named.

Found that the King did not fully digest the lack of payment of the money hoped to have been received from the Queen of England, but satisfied him. The King showed the continuance of his good opinion towards the Chancellor, and readiness to receive him again, if he listed

James VI. 1592. to come and serve. Finding the Queen in displeasure against the Chancellor, the King moved her either as party to declare his fault, or else as a principal to hear his petition; whereupon it is advised that the Chancellor shall in humble wise submit and make suit to the Queen for her favour and good countenance, and when this has been got, the Duke and other adversaries of the Chancellor shall be "layde" off by the King's means. By common bruit raised that Huntly has come into and remains in these parts many are stirred with passions thereat, and some are hunting to find him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Oct. 11. 760. CERTIFICATE OF ANDREW CLARK'S CONSTANCY IN THE FAITH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"Ego Robertus Scotus, presbitter Societatis Jesu, fidem facio per presentes literas Magistrum Andream Clark, Scotum, presentium exhibitorem, in fide sanctæ ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ, hactenus fuisse constantem, imo hujus fidei et religionis causa varia incommoda hisce in partibus sustinuisse, et nunc tandem ob eandem fidei confessionem, atque ut liberius Deo inserviat, gravesque hujus temporis persecutiones aliquamdiu declinet natale solum deseruisse et ad alienas regiones in quibus religio catholica floret commigrasse; quare ipsum omnibus presentes literas inspecturis tanquam virum vere catholicum serio in Domino commendo, dignumque esse attestor, qui ab omnibus probis et avitæ religionis amantibus omni benevolentia et charitatis officio excipiatur et consoletur." Scotland.

¼ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed in the same hand:* "Pasport of Mr. Robert Abercrome, preist and Jesuit, to Andro Clark redy to returne into Flanders and other places."

Oct. 13. 761. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Bothwell was tempted, but refused in points of religion. Finds still so little regard given for the prevention of perils, and the remedy so far beyond his [Bowes'] power, that he holds it his duty to inform and leave it to good deliberation. Fair promises for the redress are given by the King and Council. It is expected that at the King's return order shall be put to all these things. The disease is not yet so desperate but that it may be cured. It is looked that Farnihurst should have given further information, which he has not done.

The estate of the Chancellor and others and their desire and readiness to come into England, he [Bowes] has signified by his letters of the 29th September and 4th October. All possible means will be made to abide in Scotland, but if not, then it is required that England may receive them in the north. Is pressed to give resolute answer herein.

The letters brought by Adam Simpson, priest, are not of such importance as was looked for. The commission of credit given to Simpson consists principally that he shall inform the fathers, the Jesuits here, that by long suit made to the King of Spain by Jesuits and Catholics of England and Scotland the King of Spain has granted to send hither men and

James VI. 1592. money, *etc.;* next, that the fathers shall do their diligence to procure the noblemen to bind themselves together and to send to the King of Spain hostages or assurances required, that the forces and treasure therein may be sent hither, as is promised; thirdly, that the fathers shall allure the noblemen to enter of themselves into such worthy enterprise and action as shall be advantageous to their cause and put the King of Spain in surety of their intentions. The device of the plot is left to the resolution of the fathers and parties to be joined therein; in which Simpson has no commission to advise any particular matter, but it is thought that a sudden massacre of the ministers and burgesses shall be persuaded to be attempted. Andrew Clark is put in readiness to pass into Flanders, and has Mr. Robert Abercrombie's (Jesuit) passport in such form as by the double thereof enclosed will appear.* Simpson has spoken with most of the Jesuits and with sundry noblemen.

The flocking hither of Jesuits and the sudden departure of Clerk, with the secret coming of Huntly, give great suspicion that their matters are either resolved or at point of resolution. Angus is suspected to have spoken with Simpson. The King of Scots "is hitherto holden free, and Simson knowethe none other." If he [Angus] and the King of Scots shall continue sound, then divers wise men and such as must have their part in the play wish these confederates to discover themselves in the fields.

Lord John Hamilton remains steadfast: he sent to understand what return of advice he [Bowes] had received from Burghley. The Chancellor still continues in the west. The King appears willing to receive and use the Chancellor's service, or else to give him leave to depart. Is informed that Mar has let the Chancellor know that the fellowship with him marvel that he will not use his licence and depart. He has also alleged that the King, purposing to send him to England and France, has given him neither particular commission nor instructions. The Chancellor purposes to write to the Queen for recovery of her grace and good countenance.

Colonel Stewart has procured his stay. It is believed here that Huntly lodged in Canongate these few days past, and that last night he passed over the water with one man in his company. Some of Murray's friends were advised of Colonel Stewart's being here. The King rode to Peebles on the 10th instant, where he remained the next day, and on the morrow he rode, very strongly accompanied, to Jedburgh, where Maxwell, Cesford, the Carrs, Scotts, and most of the Borders will attend on him with great forces. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Received advertisement from Mr. David Lindsay that they found an A.B.C. or cipher amongst the papers intercepted. Encloses a copy of the cipher.

3¼ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(to Robert Bowes.)

Please your lordship, receive the names of the persons to whom the letters we found were directed, together with the writer, place, date, and chief contents. First, a letter with a ring of hair and a ticket hanging

* No. 760.

James VI. 1592. to it, directed to the Laird of Ferniherst, written by one Leirmouthe, the 1st of July, from Pont, wherein is contained (*for full particulars of these letters, see No.* 765).

These letters were found "in ane written booke of Aristotles, with twa Inglish bookes," as your lordship was informed, which your lordship will see at Mr. Robert's [Bruce] return; and two other books, the one to teach the form of confession, the other written notes of the Jesuits. I would your lordship caused the Provost to make diligent inquisition for the said Simpson. Dr. Macartney knows where he is, if he likes to declare. I left one of the ship to inquire for him, and advertised the Bailies. If he be gotten he can reveal secrets; for I perceive by the letters his greatest "turnes" are by commission, and referred to his own credit. Therefore, if he could be gotten, I doubt not but some great mystery might be "tryed," especially in respect of the letters. Largo, 10th October, 1592.

1 *p. Copy. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed in the same hand:* "Notes of the letters brought by Mr. Adam Simson and intercepted by Mr. David Lyndsay and Mr. Robert Bruce."

Oct. 17. 762. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"Johne Marshall, Scottesman, being licensed by her majesties warrant under her highnes signature for the transporting of 1c. tunnes of beere free of customes, subsidies, or duetyes to her majestie for the same, it pleased your lordship for that effecte to directe your letters or warrant in his behalf to the officers of the porte of London." The said Marshall, having transported part of the said 100 tuns, is refrained from transporting the residue. Requests Burghley's assistance for the transporting of the said beer. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 18. 763. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Mr. Robert Bruce has not arrived with the intercepted letters. Trusts Burghley has been advertised of the submission of the offending borderers. Whilst the King has been on the Borders Bothwell has continued in these parts in secret manner and has spent some days in this town and near thereto. Has found means that Ferniherst should be sounded for discovery of the confederacy, and, by his report, the band is drawn and accorded. Ferniherst has promised either to procure a view of the principal band or else to deliver a copy thereof, adding further that, in case of necessity and in seasonable time, he will affirm the truth hereof. [*In the margin:* "This is yet in *fieri* only so far as I can perfectly understand."] Farnihurst thinks that the attempt shall not be long deferred, because the confederates make full account of the success to their desires, and without difficulty, purposing to possess the King of Scots with their own accord or otherwise.

His [Bowes'] "familiar" informs him that Bothwell has certified some of his friends here that Huntly will be here this night or tomorrow. [*In the margin:* "By late searche I finde that Huntley could not be here, as is confidently believed, except he came in post."] All the fathers,

James VI. 1592. the Jesuits, are abroad. Adam Simpson heard that the magistrates sought for him and fled. Mr. Andrew Clerk is stayed. Fintry and Mr. James Gordon, commanded to depart the realm, will not hastily be gone; for Fintry suits for longer licence, and Mr. James is resolved to abide in the realm, trusting to the change looked for. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 21. 764. JAMES COLVILE, LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS, TO BURGHLEY.

"My lord, efter my maist humble commendation of service. The estait of this cuntre is so thrauard that I am constrainit to mein my self to hir majestie, gif zour honor think itt gud, for I am to be assiegit be Monsieur Daumal, ane of thir tuay dayis, and gif it plesit zour honor to desyr hir majestie that the troupes that passis in Birgtanigie micht only mak shaw heir, I think it var relief aneuche, or a part of them, to land at ony port, hauldis for the King. Zour honor dois this for me makis me ever zour bound man. St. Valerie." *Signed:* "James Colvill of Estveimes."

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 23. 765. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At his late being with the King since his the [King's] return hither he entered into long discourse, declaring to him [Bowes], with great grief, that he had earnestly desired that none of his rebels or fugitives—chiefly such as violently had assaulted him in his own palaces and houses—should be received or harboured in England, yet now he was certainly informed that Bothwell with sundry of the assailants had openly resorted to and haunted the houses of Walter Graham, "Dickes Davye," and of other Grahams in the West Borders of England; that he will prove Bothwell to have been in Carlisle, notwithstanding that Mr. Lowther firmly denies the same; and that the Master of Gray and other offenders have been openly maintained in the East and Middle Marches of England. He added that, by the support found in England, these persons were in safety from his pursuit, and their minds stirred up and encouraged to attempt daily enterprises against his person, honour, and estate, with great danger to the same and much disquietness to his subjects; whereof many, seeing these rebels thus supported, with great boldness adventured to "partye" them against their sovereign, and, for their suppression, he was driven to sustain in his own person the pains and travail endured in the late raid to Jedburgh, where his whole Council offered their services to him to take speedy and honourable revenge, namely, against Walter Graham, "Dickes Davye," and others.

Is informed that all the Council there present (except Lord Lindsay) and especially some new courtiers, showed great earnestness to draw the King into hasty action for this revenge. But the King, of his own accord, chose rather, first, to seek redress by means of the Queen of England.

Hereupon the King and Lord Maxwell wrote to Mr. Lowther for remedy. Mr. Lowther returned answers to such effects as by the copies

James VI. 1592. of the letters sent by the King and Maxwell and of the letters returned to them by Mr. Lowther, enclosed, will appear. It was the King's desire that he [Bowes] should send these copies, and also this information of this matter, to the intent the same may be made known to her majesty, with the King's request that her majesty give order for the punishment of these offenders, and that Walter Graham, "Dickes Davye," Thomas Carleton, and other principal offenders may be delivered to him, and in case they cannot be found, that their houses may be rased and exemplary chastisement be inflicted on them.

The same day that the King returned hither he committed to the Duke of Lennox the keeping of Liddisdale. Doubting how this should please her majesty and how the Duke should behave himself in that office, he [Bowes] not only moved the King to have good regard therein, but to provide that a fit person might be appointed the Duke's deputy. The King told him that he cast this charge on the Duke that the disordered people might be kept in order by the regard which they would have to the quality of the Duke's estate and grace with the King, and that the Duke might be acquainted with the affairs of the Borders, for the King's better service. The King assured him that he would foresee that the Duke shall well carry himself and please her majesty in this place. The King promised further to plant a fit deputy in this office. Roger Aston puts him [Bowes] in comfort that Farnihurst shall be the Duke's deputy and shall be found a good officer for maintenance of the amity and execution of justice on the Marches. Mr. Aston will undertake for the Duke's good behaviour.

The King flatly denies that Huntly was here or spoke with him, and indeed he [Bowes] has found that Huntly was at Pluscardine and in Boggygethe on the Wednesday and Thursday before the Saturday whereon it is supposed that he came hither and tarried here some days. It is generally believed, and many circumstances prove great probability, that Huntly was here and lodged in Court before the King's raid towards Jedburgh. It is verily thought that Huntly removed from his lodging in Canongate after the King's departure, as before I have written, and, tarrying at Seton, has come hither again. The King was informed that Huntly had revolted and heard mass in Mr. Walter Lindsay's house after his subscription to the articles of religion, his solemn protestation on his knees before the King to keep his oath and promise to the Kirk, for which the King was cautioner. Therefore the King told him [Bowes] that he gave commission to Pitlargo to tell Huntly that he had borne with his late outrage in the slaughter of Murray in regard that it was done for a particular feud; but if this matter for hearing of the mass shall be proved against him—as the ministers are able, and will manifestly do—then he will neither spare punishment nor think any honour or good part to be in him; and therefore the King has willed Mr. Robert Bruce and the ministers to proceed effectually against Huntly.

Opened to the King the practices of the papists to entice his nobility to embrace the course for Spain, and discovered particular matters. In these the King always persuaded that the Jesuits and instruments employed will, for their own relief and reputation, endeavour to allure the King of Spain to offer succours and aid for the benefit of the Catholic cause and encumbrance of England, and also to draw the corrupted part of the nobility into action for the furtherance thereof; but the

James VI. 1592. King thinks that few will or dare enter therein whilst they know himself not dealt withal, but resolved, and the best party of the realm determined, to withstand such enterprises; and, for the prevention of the doings appearing, he promised to give order for the apprehension of the Jesuits and practisers lately come hither in these errands, adding that he had already provided that Mr. James Gordon, Fintrie, and the other Jesuits and excommunicates before delated should depart within ten or twelve days.

In conference with regard to Bothwell the King denied having hearkened to any motion made in favour of Bothwell, alleging that, seeing that he is purposed to "put at" the inferior parties offending, he may not with honour pardon the principal offender. Yet the King told him [Bowes] that in his late journey a borderer adventured to present to him Bothwell's suit, offering that, for the pardon of his life, he would leave the realm, never to return without the King's licence, and also all his possessions and children at the King's pleasure. But he seems resolute to stop his ear against all suits for Bothwell. Howbeit it is thought that, if Bothwell will shake off the Laird of Spott for satisfaction of some courtiers, and that Bothwell may be furnished to live in any place with safety and honour, labour will be made to open the King's ear; and it is noted that now the King takes his pastime so freely in hunting, with small company and without fear, Bothwell likewise shall be in no great danger in case he shall keep himself within the conditions limited.

Albeit the King found fault with the Chancellor's abode in places so far, and his seldom writing to him, yet he showed himself pleased to receive him with favour if he will come to him, or otherwise to be pleased that he should take his own course for his best safety and contentment. Since then the Chancellor's wife and the Secretary have been with the King suing for the Chancellor's return to the Court and service of the King, who first offered to give to the Chancellor a very honourable commission and errand to her majesty, to the intent he might speak with her and return speedily to him, with honour to all parties, and he persuaded them to accept the commission. Nevertheless, finding them scrupulous therein—for the Chancellor's friends think it not good for him to be so far from the Court and realm—the King showed himself well pleased to receive him into his wonted grace, service, and place. The Chancellor is purposed to write to the King and Queen severally with all humility and expedition, and thereon to proceed as occasion shall be offered. But herein he may, peradventure, find some block in his way. For, before these things, Mar had written to Lenclouden to move the Chancellor to take benefit of the King's licence to depart, as Mar had at his own request obtained for him. The Chancellor, by letters to Mar, has offered to depart, upon commission and instructions to be given him by the King. These letters, Bowes hears, have been seen by the King; whereupon the King gave the advice to the Chancellor's wife and the Secretary as is before specified. Yet it is said that the Chancellor shall "fynde a trompe caste in his waye" when the Lords of Session shall at their meeting, the 1st November next, sue to the King that either the Chancellor may occupy his place amongst them, or another be placed or deputed, as the King shall determine.

The Duke of Lennox is made the chief instrument for the execution of the King's pleasure. The Lord Hume is chosen Grand Master-Stabler,

James VI. 1592. and to him and his strength the King commits chiefly the guard of his person. Erroll and Fleming shall also be courtiers and lodge in Court. Dunipace is in great favour. Thomas Erskine and Closburn are received into the King's Chamber in the place of Spynie and Sir James Lindsay. Mar and the Master of Glamis have recovered, yet are so weak that they cannot come to Court.

The Parliament is summoned to begin on the 10th of January at Edinburgh. The Hamiltons suspect that the Duke of Lennox shall thereby be declared the second person in succession. The wise think the Hamiltons to be troubled herein with needless jealousy; for it is meant that this Parliament is called to stir Burley, Balwearie, and others forfeited to pay round sums for their fines, and that the Parliament shall be prorogued for the first time.

Some contention has fallen out in Edinburgh betwixt the magistrates and ministers against sundry burgesses, partly because the magistrates and ministers would restrain the merchants from trading in Spain, in regard that they are there subject to the Inquisition, and are thereby driven to do many things against the duty of a Christian, and partly that the market here, on Monday, is changed to another day, or two days in the week, to avoid prophaning the Sabbath by many people in the Borders, Glasgow, Stirling, and other towns frequenting this market and accustomed to travel on the Sabbath. The craft and basest sort of the people are most stirred for the markets. They were once pacified, but after they had been at Court they received such stomach that they refused directly to obey any ordinance to be made by the magistrates to change the day for the market. The matter is referred till the coming of the Lords of the Sessions. The general Communion appointed to have been ministered next Sunday is deferred.

Encloses copies of the letters sent hither by sundry Jesuits and others in the Low Countries and intercepted by Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. Robert Bruce. Encloses one of the books found with these letters; the other book remains in the hands of Mr. Lindsay, as yet in Angus. The true meaning and contents in these letters are not yet found out here, namely, in the letter directed to John Black, which person is gathered to be Mandevill; and many things of secret and weight are thought to be contained in these dark riddles and terms, wherein some few true matters are plainly written and mixed with the other dark sentences. By these and other like intelligences and circumstances gotten and marked by the ministers they are thoroughly persuaded that the papists intend some sudden massacre and uproar to change the religion and state and to possess the King's person; yet it does not hitherto appear that the nobility have subscribed any band or entered into plain articles for the progress and execution of the same, which is easy to be prevented if the King and Council would seasonably and freely put their aid therein. The ministers have chosen six especial persons of wisdom and quality to search out what is already done and to espy what shall be done by the adversaries hereafter. In this they earnestly require Bowes' help. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

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Enclosure with the same :—

(1.) (William Murdoch to Thomas Tyrie.)

Thomas Wishart, as you remember, departed out of this town "hail, 8 daies" before you, and, having spoken with the "medicine" at Metz passed secretly to St. Hubert, where he found Henry, your page. There having passed over some days they both returned to Pont, where the said Thomas "schew" me that you wrote with Henry to Brussels. He "tuke evill" with the matter, but I gave him to understand that the boy was the principal cause, which he took in good part at the last. This bearer "hes provision of the promisit latues seidis," not only for you but many others of our good friends. If for pleasure you would let them grow, plant them a whole foot one from the other. Those that you would keep for the seed, plant them in the beginning of May, and "luik not for their seidis weil ripe afore our Lady Day in September." Not having to trouble you further at this present, "desieris" you present my humble commendations of service and prayers to my l[ord], whom, with you, Christ Jesus have in his protection. I understand that Monsieur Grierson is at Bruges, in Flanders, "ane horseman." I think you will be "so gude to write to him" and give him to understand the pleasure he has received of you, and that you have left his writing with our fathers in Brussels. *Interim, vale.* From the Pont [à Mousson], 1st June [1592].

(2.) (James Tyrie to Thomas Tyrie.)

"Weilbelovit cosing," I received your letter from Calais, of the 30th May, but no other since your departing from this town, "quhilk haldis me suspens," chiefly because that which concerns my lord Sanquhar, considering he showed your will to be that we would "abide' 100 crowns from you "by" that which you left here. So will it please you to give advertisement what should be done in this behalf, as also of such things as occur. Mr. Alexander has come to you, to whom you will give this other letter, directed to John Black, and he will know to whom it should be addressed. I received a letter from Monsieur Creichton, but no final resolution. He means to pass to Italy, but we will not let him depart. My lord of Glasgow is well, as I know "of ane writing to me" the 3rd of June. The Cardinal is chosen bishop of Strasburg, but he must enter into possession by force, "swa the weir beginnis in Allmaignie," but the end is uncertain. Commend me most humbly to my lord. Pont [à Mousson], 23rd June, 1592.

"To his cousing Thomas Tyrie. P. Alexander. At Calis."

(3.) (Johannes Blensius to Alexander Macquen, priest of the Society of Jesus of Antwerp.)

"Reverendo in Christo patri, pax pie. V.K. datas 13 hujus, accepi hesterno die. Jucundum nobis fuit audire eum salvum et incolumem pervenisse Antuerpiam, speramusque Deum optimum maximum qui prosperum dedit iter ubi majores recurrent difficultates pro sua in filiolis bonitate majorem ad superandum largiturum gratiam. Gaudeo patrem Hippolitum missam literarum sareumlam [*sic*] accepisse. Occulta erit per nos v.k. peregrinationis causa nec orare desinemus donece um ad optatum portum appulisse intelligimus. Pater Reguinaldus solito penis habet, et ad paralisim, usu brachiorum jam orbatus, vergit. Christoferus

James VI. 1592. Mattelem eodem fere morbo vexatur. Pater Dondelius Melinstall valet. Ceteri Dei beneficia satis bene habent. Novum hic habemus Francie patrem Clementem Paternum, qui collegii visitacionem jam cepit, Virdunum deinde profecturus. Convenerunt phisici nostri Privetius et Henricus. Vehementer scire cupio num superior residentie Bruxellensis pecuniam hic a marcatore acceptam pro nobilibus Anglis, pro qua, ut novit v.k. spondere crattus [*sic*] fui restituerit. Moveat itaque nos, data scribendi occasione, de toto negotio, et mei ac totius colligii in sanctissimis suis ad Deum sacrificiis queso memor sit. Pont-à-Mousson. 21 June, 1592.

Postscript.—"V.K. salutent omnes Mussipontani; reverendum patrem Rectorem Antuerpiensem et superiorem residentie Bruxellensis ex me vicissim salutes . . . "

(4.) (James Leirmouth to the Laird of Farnyherst.)

I doubt not but since departing "we remember the ane of the other, thincking lang when to mete, quhilk fearing never to be, I have sent ane tickett of youris written by your faders hand, whom God hathe called to ane better, hitherto in my keping." He endured "mickle" for the time he had in this world, and I understand you are his son and heir in that part. I would be glad you lived at peace with all neighbours, for *concordia res parva crescunt, discordia maxima dilabuntur.* I have sent you a remembrance "that I forgitt you not as yet," nor cannot, nor should not, nor will not. Therefore "prayes" you to follow good counsel, "and tyne rather of your gudes and proper will nor him, *et quo Christus mortuus est.* A Monsieur Kar, seignur de Farnyherst."

(5.) (W. Stevenson to Robert Sanderson.)

I am "oblist" to you for the good remembrance you have of me and my friend dwelling two miles "besides" you, praying you to give him your best counsel now in his "auld daies," that he die an honest man. I doubt not but you think long to see me and to have me beside you. Now you know that I am old, and, indeed, not able to do anything wherein "I wold pleasure you" either in or out of your house, "except it were to intertaine some pece of your stedinges" that had been hitherto "weill muckitt and guddit," there to pass "over" my life in quietness and in service; and having found here a good master, I have not will to charge another, except he would be content to receive me to serve him "conforme" to my strength and ability, "quhilk to do I am redy to you before all other." Such remembrance I had I have sent herewith to you. "Praying" you to let me see your "hand writt" before I die; with commendations "in all sortis" to your household, l[ord] Robert, "Andro," and your "nepott." I "forgitt" not your neighbours James and William as my good friends. "I send you reid lattuce seidis." Metz, 1st July, [1592]. "To my gude Mr. Robert Sanderson."

(6.) (M. Stevenson to John Black.)

Trusty friend, we have received yours, "as Thomas our gude frendes given the 5 of June." Our household cannot forget him nor his good companion, John Wilson. The principal of Boncourt has sent for John Piper, who departed the 16th hereof and left us all in some pain. He "beseikis" Thomas to remember such things as he charged him with at his departing and to content James Gudeman. I find in an old

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"compt" how Peterson wrote to Piper that he should deliver to Powry Fotheringham's son thirty crowns, which he did, and was afterwards upon the said Peterson's "hand writ" ready to deliver other thirty, if the young man had lived. I pray you desire the said Thomas to take some information "at" the said Powrie Fotheringham, and to see if ever he delivered anything to Peterson, and how much that "moyen" may be found to clear our "comptes"; and that the said Peterson's "barnes indure not." John Barten craves 100 ells of "plaiding" lent to "Gibbe" Morison, as does Piper 24 ells, lent to William the said Gibbes' brother. If the said William says he gave them to Peterson we are free "with" him. The said "Gibby" must be solicited to pay other 40 or 60 crowns "evin" to Mr. John Henrison's heirs, at Aberdeen. Thomas Minzes at Aberdeen perchance has received all Gibby's aforesaid debts: this I would understand of you or your factors there. Thomas also will be so good as to "retire" 44 ells of plaiding from his brother John, to be delivered to James Gudman or Peter Seinling, "as all the forsayde debtes." I have some other "comptes" to make with you, but first I would understand how you handle "thir foresaides." I pray you, as does Thomas Anderson, to beseech John Wilson to go warily in all his "adois." You see whereupon it stands, since Martin Hart "hes set the fier in Stephen Barnett land and howses." Macpatrick writes nothing. Mr. Andrew Stevenson has sent great abundance of merchandize to William Key, and at the next fair shall send to "the vantage." I pray you confer with Thomas in all things, and to do as you have directions from Thomas Anderson, "so he wilbe so gude to put all thinges in execution," contenting every man; whereupon I look for your answer. The Gudeman of Blackstock received both Thomas and John Wilson's letters, "given" in this town in April, and answered the 20th May to them both with paper full of fair words and thanks. He has received ere now the wares that Thomas left here, as I believe, and if that Thomas left with Craig "were commit" here, the said Gudman should receive the whole. We marvel "of" this Craig's delay, but I have written to him, as does Anderson, before his departing. You will have George "abak" again, and let him no "tyne" his time to revenge his father's death, for he has but his own life to save, which may "perill melling" him in matters. You see in what perplexity is Deuchares "to have interprised" so high matters. Walter Gilbertson came not to our quarters. "Meny" [Pont-à-Mousson], 23rd July, 1592.

Postscript.—Adam says you left a chosen piece of your wares here, which I have not found amongst the "ordinarie" you left with me.

"To my traist freind John Blak."

(7.) (Alyson Hamilton to Captain George Seton.)

I have written so often and sundry times to you and never received your answer, marvelling much what is in your mind or what you are purposed to do with me and your bairns. "Ze sall witt" that there is here very evil payment; and the "debters" trouble me very sore daily. You are discharged of your entertainment unless you come here yourself in person, and if you come here shortly it will be made good. I pray you to send me word with the first commodity if I shall come home myself with the bairns or remain here upon your coming. Brussels, 1st August,

James VI. 1592. "To the right honorable and her best belovid Captaine Geo. Seaton, for the present in Scotland with my Lord Seaton or where he is.

(8.) ([ ] to Andrew Clerk.)

"Good Mr. Andro, I commend me hartely to you." This is only to "hald you remembred" of my affairs to send answer by the first commodity towards my chief and my Lord Seton. Also you may have from Alexander Paip "ave gloriosa" in plain song, with my commendations to him, his wife, and all our "unkinde freindes," especially to William Thein, "our nevo of Teligreg that he will send me ane bed plaid, and your self ane uther, as ye promisit me, nocht doubting ye will kepe." Brussels, 4th August, 1592. "To his good frend Mr. Andro Clark be this deliverit."

(9.) (John Cowper to his sister Margaret Cowper, spouse to John Lowry, burgess of Edinburgh.)

"Speciall belovit sister Margaret, efter hartly commendations to you and your good husband, being indebted and oblist, with saire lamentations of the greit skaithe and tribulacions, being at my hart sory that I had and was your occasion of sick trouble, quhilk was nocht my intencion nor yet expectation then, and the murmuracion of many thousandis, although man supponis and God disponis." Yet hoping it will turn otherwise than you think, therefor "desiering" you most heartily not to be offended at my ingratitude as yet towards you and your good husband, hoping, with God's grace, to make you some part satisfaction and recompense for your scaith and friendly entertainment I received at your hands when opportunity and time "representis" me to come into those quarters again, "nocht as to remaine"—for thanks be to God I have here a better place to remain in than can or may be had in Scotland. When God sends me there I dare not take upon me to be so bold as to come into your house again, and "mairattour," being desolate of father and mother, I hold myself as a stranger to all other friends. As for my brother Adam, God forbid that ever I charge him again, because of the report I have heard by Mr. Edward Forester, before his death. "Suppone with your self, althoughe debt be lange afore it be paied, yet it is not tint." Albeit I never recompense you, your reward is not the less before God Almighty, who is the rewarder of all good deeds. Send me word how the estate of friends stands. Albeit my writing "aforetymes" is of no value, nor yet answered, I will not forget my duty towards you. Yet albeit my brother Adam has promised never to write to me, I will not "leave" to write to him. Therefore commend me heartily to him. God forbid that I should bear any hatred of heart, "lett be my naturall bluide." With recommendations to my sisters and the rest of good friends, I will not "impesche" you with further writing. Brussels, 10th August, 1592.

(10.) ([ ] to Andrew Clerk.)

I received your letters by which you "made me understand" that you had not yet received your "bakett," which truly, sir, is not my default. For truly, sir, as soon as your packet came to Douai, which was three days after your departure from Douai, I gave it, as you commanded me, to the rector of the Jesuits, "the quhilk" he sent the second day to St. Omer to you, with my letters to you, my mother, and all other good

James VI. 1592. friends, together with another letter sent to you from Brussels, and the number of the things which I received from the messenger.

Therefore, sir, do not believe that it was my negligence that hindered your "baket," for, truly, I rather brought it to you on my back or I had disappointed you. I desire you to make hearty commendations to my mother, brother, sisters and all other friends. Douai, 13th August [1592].

Postscript.—I have sent your "baket" to you with Mr. Adam Simpson.

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Andrew Clark, gentilhomme Escose, à Cales."

(11.) (Cipher of names and terms used in the enclosure with No. 765.)

Dunde; Lauder. Sanquhar; the gudeman of the Blakstok. Ruthven; Oliver Durie. Veims; Bank. Venitianis; Bankours. The Pope; John Qhite. Card; his sons. Italy; Langside. Florence; Mercerie. His Duke; Mercier. Ambassador; procurator. The Emperor; the baron of Tussy. Turk; Julien. Loren; Mr. Gross. Navarre; Lanoy. "Watter"; heretic. Horsemen; copper. Footmen; leade. Silver; "pulder." Sweisland; hillis. Germany; Julien's wife. Metz; Julian's second son. Verdum; his first son. Strasburg; his third son. Maguntia; his fourth son. Sax; Robert Stor. "Laudis"; wife. Priests; "wobsters." Seminary; sheepfold. Pont; Meny.

6 *pp. Copy, in the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk,* "October 1592. Copies of certaine Scottish letters sent from Mr. Bowes" *and (by Burghley);* "These letters are from Jesuittes into Scotland."

Oct. 24. 766. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

A young gentleman of Scotland, of good valour, called James Monteith, who was lieutenant to the Laird of Wemyss, but now "verye evill wounded and mutilated of his right hande" in a skirmish which he, with some Scotsmen, "maynteyned" at the taking of him who was before governor of St. Valerie, came from Dieppe to this town on the 23rd instant, and brought him [Douglas] these letters which he sends to Burghley. Although the letters appear to be of some importance, yet by reason that the plague is sore in Dieppe, he [Monteith] is not "mynded" to repair to the Court, in respect of the proclamation, unless he shall be commanded. Monteith is desirous to pass home to Scotland till he recover more strength, and his request is that he may have a passport "to ryde home by jornye," which he prays may be directed to his lordship's house in the Strand. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

Postscript.—Here is also a gentleman come from Scotland called Cummin (Commyne), who is desirous to pass into Germany to visit some of his kinsmen in Austria, and desires a passport. Each of them has two servants with them.

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

Oct. 31. 767. JAMES VI. TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

"Richt trustie and weilbelovit cousing, we greit zow hartlie weill." This bearer's honest usage in his trade, and the great loss which he "incurrit" nearly five years since by way of piracy upon that coast,

James VI. 1592. has moved us from time to time to commend his "havy cace" to the favourable regard of our trusty cousin the Lord Burghley, Treasurer of that realm, "alwayis" without effect or prosecution of the order set down for his redress, howsoever he has, by direction of the Council, deduced such trial "thairintill" as "clearis" sufficiently the truth and equity of his complaint. "With this is he mair laitlie dampnifeit and thortourit in ane uther." For having, upon his great charges, procured a licence to transport a quantity of grain under our dearest sister's seal, and "enterit in a pairt thairof, quhair as he hes our foresaid cousingis letters for his furtherance to the rest, he findis thame crossit be contremandis," to his great hurt, *etc.* "Quhome as his honest handling, and the full trust quhilk we repose in zow, hes movit ws to addres unto zour onlie favour in this cace, 'sa luke we that, be the gude effect quhilk he sall finde, ze will give ws a pruif quhat our recommendatioun may do with zow." Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p.* *Addressed.* *Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 31. 768. [ ] TO [ ].

"My commendationes maist hartlie rememberitt. I thocht gude to visie yow with this letter, nocht doutting bot ye have hard that my lord Duikis grace of Lenox is maid lord of Liddisdaill and Provest of Jedburght. Atour I heir my lord Wardene is cumit hame and hes gottin hies awin turnis done indefferentlie at Court. Bot ever accontrair your cuntrie, gif he war able to do it. Zir he is nocht sa able as willing. Atour I heir na uther bot my Lord Chanslare is lyk to gett Courtt agane, thairfoir ze salbe the better lykit of; and gif ze have ony farder to do toward him, advertes or he gang owte of thir partis, for he is presently in the Grenelaw, and will nocht remane ther gif he can wyn to courtt agane, for the Session sittis down agane within x dayis. My lord Maxwell is presentlie in putting at sum purpois in Gallaway. It appeiris aganis the Lard of Lochinvar in taking upe of escheittis, the quhilk is lyk to draw other greitt cummer amangis nychtbouris." *Signed:* "Wische ne better."

Postscript.—"I wraitt ane letter to yow quhilk come nocht in dewe tyme, bot ze man exuse the beirare for the caws, for I understande nocht it was delyverit be him, for it was utherwayis directit."

½ *p.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Addressed:* "To my assurit frend geve this."

Nov. 769. OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

The troubles in Edinburgh have not ceased, for the restraint of the trade in Spain, the change of the market from Monday to Wednesday, and the division of the whole town into eight several parishes. The fury is great, with suspicion that it is nourished by the papists and seditious, and there is intelligence betwixt some papists and some of the crafts stirring chiefly these troubles. A bitter libel was cast into the pulpit and into the house of John Cairns. The copy thereof is enclosed. Some using to trade into Spain and denying to be restrained, have said that as the Scotsman who traded into England before the reformation of religion took part with the reformers, so they, "occupienge" for Spain,

James VI. 1592.

shall "partye" the favourers of Spain. The present magistrates here are blamed for some negligence and recklessness herein.

In Aberdeen there are presently two provosts; one drawn in forcibly by Huntly, the other by the choice of the town, with the means of Forbes. Bothwell, coming to St. Andrews on Sunday, tarried there till Tuesday. He showed himself openly there and visited his two sons: he haunts Edinburgh much, and rides at his pleasure with small company. Niddrie and some others of his principal followers have left him and are in hope and in good way of their pardon.

Lord Lindsay, coming from hawking to an alehouse in Fife, found there Mr. John Murray with some others of Bothwell's followers, who had taken and kept close and blindfold, against his will, Kirkcaldy, the tailor in Leith, by whose means Hakkerson and others were taken. The tailor hearing the Lord Lindsay's tongue came to him and on his knees prayed his help, and thereon Lindsay took him and sent him away with the lady his wife, and himself passed to the fields with two men, whom Murray with five others followed and assaulted with a pistol and three swords. But Lindsay and his servants defended themselves and escaped. Afterwards, Murray espying Lindsay's eldest son, a child, in the fields, took him and carried him away, and still they detain him.

Sundry of Liddisdale have come in to the King, and are ready to give assurance for their good behaviour. The Duke, their Keeper, is ready to ride into Liddisdale to establish all things there in order. It was looked that he should have appointed Farnihurst to be his deputy for Liddisdale, but hitherto it is not done. Mar continues very weak, and the Master of Glamis has relapsed into new sickness, with some danger.

Hakkerson had lately offered to the King that he would prove by the testimony of David Moffat and William Allen, of Leith, that Spynie met and conferred with Bothwell in Restalrig. Allen, examined, confessed that Hakkerson had dealt with him to have witnessed so much, but he never knew any such thing. Some others have been examined, and prove nothing against Spynie; whereupon the King had granted his letters that he shall have his trial, or else to be declared by proclamation to be clear and discharged of the crimes laid against him. He appeared in the Tolbooth on the 1st instant, and Colonel Stewart was there. But nothing is done. Spynie is kept from his place in the King's Chamber.

It has been bruited that Sir James Stewart should be called again to the Court, and the same was thought to have been sought for the "wracke" of the Lord Hamilton and Chancellor, but this is like to be found of little truth, notwithstanding that some great courtiers seek and wish it.

The Earl of Atholl lately by his letters required the King to give him licence to do justice in the lands of the Earl of Murray, now in the King's ward, and in his custody by the King's grant. He had appointed to have lodged the other night at Badenoch [Bageynoghe], where his supper was provided, and Huntly suddenly came thither with 1200 men on horseback and on foot, thinking to have surprised him. Atholl, with 80 of his ordinaries and retinue, was warned of Huntly's doings and purpose before he came to his lodging, by three-quarters of a mile, and thereon, with advice, he retired, and called his friends and forces together. He is again forth to try whether Huntly will stop him or not. He has taken

James VI. 1592. the defence of Mackintosh against Huntly. By the King's especial letters Mackintosh has been lately directed to be put to the horn. The King and Council are ready to pacify these wars; but being thus far entered, it is uncertain what shall come thereon.

Great search was made yesterday in Edinburgh for Bothwell, Burley, Logie, and Mr. John Colvile, for it was known to very many, and the King was informed, that they were in this town. The King remained in the town all the day, and returned at night without his dinner. None of these, or any other of Bothwell's followers, were found, and thereon proclamation was made that all such as had received and harboured Bothwell or any of his accomplices, and will come and confess the same, should be pardoned, and such others as were guilty and would not thus come in and confess, but be proved afterwards to be guilty, "should losse ther lyves and be hanged."

1⅔ *pp. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley,* "Scotland."

Enclosure with the same:—

(Libel against the Ministers.)

Printed in D. Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, (Wodrow Soc.), v. 177

Will Watson's wordes or Bruce's boist availl ?
Can Carnis or Craige mak marchants to remaine ?
Malcankers cryes a whitt shall not prevaill :
Balfour may bark, but all wilbe in vaine :
Ye spewe your spytes on sic as sayles to Spaine,
And leaves lyk lardes by bryberye of the poore ;
Howbeit we beg, providinge ye gett gaine.
Ye of your stipends will not want ane stuir ;
Ye crye for Kirks for furnishinge of your cuir,
Not taking tent howe men maye doe the tourne.
I fear your falles your dayes cannot endure ;
The best amange you wilbe laith to burne.
Ye curse but cause by warrand of the word,
We neid not feare the furye of your sworde.

What moves your myndes to mell with markett dayes ?
What lawe alleidge you for sic foolish actis ?
Your gukket zeale procures ane great disprais,
And heapes contempt and hatred on your backes :
The common people craves your publick wrackes,
Detests your tournes and dammis your devilish deids.
The devill himself can forge na curster factes.
Ye are but wolves cledd upp in wethers weides ;
Ye look lyk lambes, yet in your bossome breids
A poison'd speach poore people that perverts.
I hope to see your selves or elles your seids
Abandon'd all lyk utlawes in desertes.
Ye scorne but Christ, your countrye, kirk, and Kinge,
Prescryband points as Scribes in everye thinge.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk,* "Copye of the libell caste in the pulpitt in the great Churche, and in John Carnis house, againste the ministers in Edenburgh, 24 Oct., 1592."

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 79*b*.

Copy of the same.

James VI. 1592. Nov. 4.

770. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as the causes to be certified to Burghley are many, diverse, and weighty, commends all to the report of the bearer, George Nicholson, his servant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 4.

771. ROBERT BOWES' INSTRUCTIONS TO GEORGE NICHOLSON.

"Instruccions to George Nicholson, sent to report to the Lord Threasurer the present estate and occurrantes heare, with other thinges requesyte for hir Majestes service."

On the 29th of October last, received Burghley's letter of the 22nd of October, together with the French "occurrantes." Requests that the foreign "occurrantes" be sent to him, or that he may be allowed to "plante" a person in France to give intelligence. It is uncertain what shall become of the professors of religion here. The remedy advised by Burghley, that the Ministers shall procure the religious noblemen to band themselves for preservation of religion, can hardly be effected, in regard that chiefly the nobility and also others of action are so far disjointed that three faithful instruments of good quality and power cannot be joined to take due care and travail for that cause. For the present has provided, as much as he could to "shalder" sudden attempts, for prevention of the perils threatened, yet the medicine seems over weak for the disease. Begs to be directed in all his courses in every cause, "and with everye person, for the remedye to be prescribed by her majesties order and dereccion to me."

Because it will not please her majesty that the Chancellor shall go into England, therefore has sought that he make means to return to the King and his service under him, otherwise that he may retire and live at his own house. The Chancellor's wife finds the courtiers very earnest to cast him the [Chancellor] out of the country, chiefly in respect that the King stands fast in his affection and promises for his benefit. She has lately been informed that the Queen of Scots has required the Queen of England to show the Chancellor no favour or reception in England. Has been greatly pressed to procure the Queen of England's favour, for the Chancellor's former service and goodwill and for the good offices which hereafter he will do, that he may abide in England privately, in regard that the King will be pleased therewith and that he and his friends will endeavour to deserve it. Keeps his former course to the Chancellor, his wife, and friends. Requests direction whether he shall provide an "oversight" for the Chancellor in England, or what answer he shall give him.

The doings of the King in his raid to Jedburgh are sufficiently certified by Roger Aston, yet [Bowes] has mention of some things purposed to have been done in England by the Duke of Lennox, with the King's direction, as opened to him by Lord Maxwell. His [Bowes'] "familliar" advised him that the fathers here had "travelled and spoyle manye horses for th'expedition of ther buissines brought this farr"; that five hostages shall be sent to the King of Spain; that Mr. Andrew Clark shall immediately pass by sea with report of this and with letters in cipher addressed by some noblemen and fathers severally to the Count of

James VI. 1592. Arques or Arkes, Abbot of Barton, and resident at St. Cuyers, and who is lineally descended from the Earl Buchan, called Cumming, and is deputed by the King of Spain to "tryste" and treat with all parties in these affairs; and that these pledges shall be carried over by Fentry, in case he shall be driven to depart, or else by others; that the forces to come first by the King of Spain's commandment shall be 5000, to land in the north and always reside about the King and the noblemen with him "for a heade and garde"; and that garrisons shall be planted on the Borders, and in due time an army to be levied and employed against England, all those to be done at the King of Spain's charges, for alteration of religion and in wars against England. After the hostages are prepared and the band subscribed and perfected, with all other things put in readiness, then a person of greater quality—as Fentry or other—shall pass to Parma and to the Count of Arkes.

Clark will assure for these persons on the south of Firth, the Duke of Lennox, Hume, Maxwell, Herries, Seton, the Master of Livingston, the Lairds of Greynhead and Lunton; and on the north of Firth, Huntly, Crawford, Erroll, Montrose, Caithness, the Countess of Sutherland—for the earl is not esteemed—Oglevy and Gray. The fathers will deal with Bothwell by means of Hume, and privately. This much is by the information of Bowes' "familliar," who is still ready to do good services. Requests that "this good instrument" may be rewarded thankfully with some licence to transport beer or broadcloths without paying any custom. Renews his suit as well for this "familliar" as also for the other intelligencer, who daily does good offices. This party gave light of Bothwell's purpose—"water."

Sir James Stewart, late Earl of Arran, by Mr. John Sharpe, advertised some of the ministers here that he was tempted to have enterprised a massacre for the alteration of religion and the estate. This was made known to the King, who said that "Sir James used to lye," nevertheless he was fully persuaded that the papists in Scotland intended some violent and wicked attempt. Bowes' "familliar" verily thinks that the fathers or other catholics will not hazard any secret to Sir James' credit. Sir James has certified that two strangers of honourable degree are secretly kept in the houses of Huntly and Erroll and are honoured with greater reverences than is used to be done to the earls themselves. They are thought to be Englishmen, but his "familliar" suspects them to be legates or churchmen of great quality. Is credibly informed that such person is indeed with Huntly.

Some of the nobility and others of good credit have confirmed that the papists have in hand a dangerous enterprise against religion, the professors thereof, and England, and some of the best sort have given advertisement that six especial persons shall shortly surprise the King and detain him captive. Promise is made that either the "principall," made for this action and subscribed by many of the confederates, or else a true copy thereof, shall be showed to him [Bowes].

Nicholson is to deliver to Burghley a copy of the letter intercepted by Bowes' means at Aberdeen, and the book before promised, and to inform Burghley that Mr. Adam Simpson left in Yorkshire two great packets of letters addressed by Mr. Robert Bruce in Flanders, and by English Catholics to sundry Englishmen. Has given it out that all these letters left in England were intercepted and brought to the Earl of

James VI. 1592. Huntingdon, together with a Jesuit who had discovered all things; whereupon the earl had ridden to London to acquaint her majesty with these things and to decipher the letters "th'effectes wherof touchinge this nacion should be sent to me, and therby all thinges shoulde be heare disclosed." Some of Hume's friends seek him [Bowes] to be a means to draw him out of this evil way and to save his honour; and many ways it has done good.

Mr. John Colvile sent to him [Bowes] that if he would hear him he would disclose matters greatly and dangerously concerning her majesty's person and estate. Has agreed and met him. Colvile frankly offered Bothwell's services to the Queen of England, and, as possible, submission to the King. He [Colvile] denied that either any overture for his [Bothwell's] peace was made to him by any, or that he had sought the same by any means or persons employed by him, yet he confessed that this present Court favoured him and that from henceforth he would not seek to surprise the King or do any violence towards him. It is to be noted that the King told him [Bowes] that the borderer suiting to him for Bothwell's peace upon offer of submission was sent by Bothwell, and Bowes former intelligencer affirms constantly that the messenger sent by Erroll to Bothwell with articles of peace still assures him that he had commission to treat with Bothwell. The King is very resolute, telling him [Bowes] that he was never directly moved for Bothwell's peace in any such manner; that none, he thinks, will now move him, and that he will never grant it. Since this supposed treaty nothing has been attempted by Bothwell. Niddrie and sundry others chief about him [Bothwell] have forsaken him and are in hope of their pardon, agreeable to the articles alleged. Bothwell sent especial warning to the King by Mr. John Geddye. He [Bothwell] and Mr. John Colvile have been boldly in this town and many others. The King hunts at his pleasure, with very small company and without fear of peril, and intelligence continues betwixt Erroll and Bothwell, for the Lord Lindsay was lately advertised by Rothes that Erroll had been with Bothwell. At length he [the King] told him [Bowes] that the King of Spain was pleased and had promised to send into Scotland next spring 5000 strangers, with sufficient treasure to levy and pay 10,000 men to invade England with the aid of this nation, and to obtain a liberation of conscience to be granted to the Catholics in Scotland; that a person of good quality shall be shortly sent to the Duke of Parma with full report of the readiness of all men and the causes here; so that the action shall proceed without doubt, yet hitherto it is only *in fieri* and intention, and not fully concluded for the manner, time, and other circumstances, in regard that all the same must be done by the advice and order of Bothwell, who should be the principal executioner and general, and who shall be shortly acquainted with all things, that he may dispose thereof as pleases him.

Bothwell offers to be wholly directed by the Queen of England's will and pleasure in these things: he has hitherto delayed and refused to enter into this action, and if her majesty shall reject him, then his case is such that he must otherwise provide his relief and for his company by the most honest means he can, praying and pressing him [Bowes] very earnestly to procure with all speed the address of her majesty's pleasure and resolution whether she will receive him into her favour and support. Has excused himself to be no fit instrument to present this matter to her majesty. Nevertheless told him that he would take some

James VI. 1592. advice with himself. Requests Burghley to hasten the direction what he shall do. To prevent the mischief which may fall by the discovery of his meeting with Mr. Colvile—as nothing here can be kept secret—has in familiar manner craved remission of the King for such venial fault as in due season he [Bowes] shall open to him. Sought for light of some further particularities in this popish plot, but he [Colvile] could not, or would not further inform him.

Bothwell has been told that the Queen of England had written to the King a bitter letter against him, and that he [Bowes] had advised the Chancellor to beware to deal with him. These things Bothwell takes heavily; but herein he [Bowes] let him understand that the contents of her majesty's letter were not seen or known to him [Bowes], and that he had not written or sent any letter to the Chancellor, yet the informer promised to produce his [Bowes'] letter, which he cannot do, for in truth he has not written at all to the Chancellor.

The King sent Roger Aston to let him [Bowes] know that he had very newly received strange messengers and offers from the Duke of Parma on behalf of the King of Spain. Yesternight the King told him that he had received a message from the Duke of Parma, delivered to him by one of his own subjects; that one of his subjects, conferring with Parma, was required by Parma to declare to the King of Scots in secret and friendly manner that the King of Spain hearing of the King of Scots' troubled estate, and knowing of his good disposition to keep faith and trust with his friends, was desirous to have a firm amity and intelligence with him, which should be to this King's great honour and profit; wherein the Duke of Parma offered largely all his power and goodwill for the King of Scots' "most" benefit, wishing the King of Scots to accept the King of Spain's offer. Upon the King of Scots' demand what the offer was, it was told him by the messenger that the King of Spain had provided and put in readiness 40,000 crowns to be delivered to Bothwell for his relief, and for the comfort and support of the Catholics in Scotland; but now the King of Spain is content not only to give and deliver all these crowns to the King of Scots himself, but also by his further aid to enable him to obtain and enjoy the kingdom of England. The King finding himself suspected, and to draw the messenger to plainness, said that, according to the custom of princes, he liked well to embrace things most profitable for himself and his subjects; adding that he had found unkindness in the Queen of England, to whom he was bound in most strait amity, and thereby he might "the rather tourne to his owne benifitt offred." The King was assured that the King of Spain raising an army against England, the same should be employed to the King of Scots' service and commandment for the advancement of himself and his claim to the crown of England, for which he should be furnished with plenty of treasure and all other forces and necessaries that he should not need to distrust the wished success. The King alleged that his religion did not agree with the King of Spain's, and that he was by treaty solemnly accorded in strait amity with the Queen of England, which he could not violate without dishonour, so that thereby and otherwise he could not lead any army against her majesty or suffer England to be invaded.

The answer was that the Duke of Parma let the messenger know that if the King of Scots did not like to claim and take his right during the

James VI. 1592. Queen of England's life, and still to keep his amity with her majesty, then the King of Spain would be pleased to forbear to arm or send any army against England, and refer to the King of Scots' judgment the quarrels depending betwixt the King of Spain and the Queen of England, and that after her majesty's decease the King of Scots should be sufficiently strengthened by the aid of Spain that he should obtain and enjoy the kingdom of England.

The like offers, the King of Scots said, were presented to him by Colonel Sempill, and whilst he treated therein the King of Spain sent forth his navy and army against England and Scotland; therefore he asked what surety he should now have for better dealing, and why this great liberality was tendered to him without his desert or power to recompense, and what the King of Spain would demand at his hands?

This matter has been communicated to and approved by the Duke du Maine and others the King of Scots' friends in France, by whom he should be assured that the King of Spain should faithfully perform with him, and for the stronger obligation, Secretary Cosmo and Mr. Robert Bruce, now in Flanders, should, in the King of Spain's name and behalf, bind in writing with the King therein. Secondly, that a fast amity and strait league to be accorded betwixt the King of Spain and this King should so sufficiently profit and please the King of Spain that he would think all his kindness and charges offered to be well bestowed, and for all the same he would demand no more than thus to be joined in amity and league with him, and that the Catholics in Scotland might have ease and "oversight." It was noted by the King that the readiness to deliver so great a mass of money to Bothwell, his known rebel, argued little regard by the King of Spain or Parma for the King's life, honour, or welfare; therefore the messenger offered that Parma should send for Bothwell, if the King listed, so that he should no more trouble him. So shall Parma, says the King, be chargeable with dishonourable dealing. But the other answered that Parma would entertain and keep him still in that country with honourable allowance. Such protecting and maintaining of Bothwell, said the King, would prove little favour towards him, and he would give no thanks for the same. Whereupon they broke up without resolution and upon "advysment" to confer again.

[*In the margin.*] It is like that he will advise by view of his instructions or with conference with some authorised to manage this matter.

After the King had at great length "shewed" these things to him [Bowes] he recounted many reasons moving him to keep holy and fast the amity with her majesty, and also many other things done on his behalf to testify his care and readiness for the same, and protested solemnly to continue always in that course, as long as he finds that her majesty thankfully accepted his goodwill herein and in his "particulers" met him with like kindness, wherein he can not or will not distrust her good disposition and affection towards him.

The King of Scots required that, for his own honour and satisfaction, and generally to answer the expectations of his subjects, it may please her majesty to give order speedily that Thomas Carlton, Walter Graham, Dick's Davie, and such other principal persons as shall be proved to have been at the raid of Falkland with Bothwell, or to have received him or others of his accomplices in that raid, may be delivered to him. Requests directions herein.

James VI. 1592. Lord Herries is the messenger employed to the King by the Duke of Parma. He [Herries] has been with him [Bowes] offering his services to her majesty most frankly, and promising to deal in nothing prejudicial to her majesty or the amity.

Lord Maxwell has offered his faithful devotion to her majesty, letting him [Bowes] know that, by the advice of the Council with the King at Jedburgh, he was directed to write to Mr. Lowther the effects appearing in his letter and to demand the delivery of Thomas Carlton, Walter Graham, and Dick's Davie, and also redress against the persons named in the bill for taking horses and other goods at the raid at Falkland, wherein some particular men "billed" are charged with 6000 *l.* stg., and the whole bill will exceed 20,000 *l.* stg. The Duke of [Lennox] was sent "to have ridden on" these men and razed their houses, but Maxwell, understanding that the King was not in field, and misliking the raid, kept his own Marches; whereby the Duke, being slenderly accompanied and knowing that Mr. Lowther had assembled and in readiness the forces in that March, with advice returned to the King. Yet Maxwell has commandment to call for these parties and the bill, and, in default of justice, to cast down their houses; wherein he finds him [Maxwell] purposed to be very slow, nevertheless in case of necessity to execute his sovereign's commandment. Her majesty's direction for the order to be taken in the grant, denial, or delay of the delivery of these persons will suffice.

For remedy against the papists' practice and present dangers it is purposed that at the assembly of the Council serving for this quarter, good information shall be given of all these storms and perils, *etc.*; provision shall be made that the late provosts and officers, with other principal burgesses, shall be ready at all alarms with assistance of the best sort, well furnished to defend their towns and all good men. Further, that, to prepare and stir up the minds of the noblemen, barons, gentlemen, and others of action in this country, learned and meet preachers shall travel in the country, and also the ordinaries, pastors, and ministers shall be directed to notify the confederacy of the papists to encounter the same and to stir the people to care for provision of requisite means to defeat the designs of the enemies. For this purpose 26 of the most learned and "experimented" ministers have warning to come hither next week. This day agreement is made with the traders for Spain and the crafts in Edinburgh for change of Monday market. It is much doubted that this remedy shall be found very weak. It is meant that the enemy shall not find all sleeping, *etc.* Requests directions herein.

The Earl of Crawford and Sir Robert Melvill are ready to pass into foreign countries, with the King's license: Crawford to France, as he pretends, and Sir Robert to Flanders. They desire her majesty's safe-conduct to pass through England. Sir Robert Melvill, the father, finding that he [Bowes] has made some difficulty towards Crawford, has moved him for them both.

Requests that the cipher be made perfect. Francis Mowbray has written to Mr. Archibald Douglas to such effects as Mr. Archibald will communicate to Burghley. Francis is ready to serve, but must endure peril, pains, and charges. Requests that Burghley's pleasure be signified to Mowbray herein.

James VI. 1591. Hearing the bruits raised that Sir James Stewart should be called to Court for the "wracke" of the Lord Hamilton and the Chancellor, and seeing the emulation betwixt the Duke and Hamilton, advised Captain Hamilton "to breake partlye" therein with the King to feel his disposition; wherein the King showed his constant goodwill and favour towards the Lord Hamilton, disclosing therewith that Bothwell had sent advertisement to the King by Mr. John Giddie that the Lord Hamilton intended to surprise the King. The King told the captain that he gave no credit to any part thereof, and willed him to acquaint the Lord Hamilton therewith that he might come to the King at his own pleasure to clear himself against Bothwell, and bring with him hounds that they may hunt together.

Nicholson is to take with him Atholl's letter to Bowes, to show his case and offer to her majesty, and procure direction to Bowes for him [Atholl], and for Mackintosh. Finally, Nicholson is to sue to Burghley to know whether Bowes' service is to be continued here; for it has been written, and Poury Oglevy now confirms it, that he is to be revoked. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

9½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley. Marginal notes by Burghley, Bowes, and others.*

Cott. Calig., D. iI., fol. 70. Copy of the same.

Nov. 4. 772. NOTE OF THINGS GEORGE NICHOLSON IS TO SUE FROM BURGHLEY.

"A note of suche thinges as George Nicolson is directed to sewe for of your lordship for his maister's instructon howe to deale in the matters following."

What shall be further done for the "encountring" of the papists and Spanish practices, and what course his master shall take with the King and Council, with the Church and well affected, and with his intelligencers. What he shall do to entertain or shake off Bothwell and that matter. What he shall do with the King in the matter touching Parma. What answer he shall give the King for Thomas Carleton, Dick's Davy, *etc.* What he shall do for Crawford's and young Sir Robert Melvill's safe conduct. Requests Burghley's pleasure to be signified touching Francis Mowbray. What course he shall hold in the emulation betwixt the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton, and if Hamilton shall be "put at" either in his person or for Dumbarton Castle. Whether he shall use her majesty's name for the furtherance of Atholl in the private quarrel betwixt Huntly and Atholl. Whether any private reception in England shall be granted to the Chancellor. Whether he shall be revoked as soon as is reported.

⅔ *p. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed by Burghley.*

Cott. Calig., D. II., fol. 76. Copy of the same.

Nov. 11. 773. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Soon after the receipt of Burghley's letter of the 1st instant, brought to him on the 6th, received a letter from Mr. Richard Lowther certifying

James VI. 1592. that he had apprehended Walter Graham, and that Dick's Davy had escaped and had built a "sheill" in Scotland, so that he could not get him, adding that the Scots made many raids in the West Marches, to the great hurt of her majesty's subjects there. Acquainted the King with the contents of Burghley's and Mr. Lowther's letters. The King showed himself well pleased, and desired to be better informed by Mr. Lowther whether Walter Graham confessed the "recept" of Bothwell or not, whether Mr. Lowther had razed Dick's Davy's house in England, in what place in Scotland Dick's Davy had built, and what he would answer for Thomas Carlton. The King let him [Bowes] know that since his discovery of the King of Spain's offer, he has not spoken with the messenger.

For the furtherance of this plot to draw Spanish forces and treasure into Scotland, Mr. James Gordon and the other Jesuits met together in these parts. They depend much on a party in England. They have set forward Mathew Bailie with their letters. Mr. Andrew Clerk is yet stayed, and shall embark near Seton. These fathers hasten greatly, with good hope of their wished success, yet he [Bowes] is advised that the principal parties, finding their designs far disclosed and good provision in working to encounter their enterprise, are not so forward as the fathers desire to give pledges and assurances for the satisfaction of the King of Spain, and they doubt that these late troubles fallen to Huntly and the Gordons shall greatly hinder their cause, which, nevertheless, they covertly advance by all the means they can. Is afraid that albeit his "familliar" has been lately well entertained amongst them, yet they have him in some jealousy; for they have denied him the sight of the bond subscribed by the confederates, a copy whereof was promised to be got by another.

The King, of his own accord, told him that it was generally bruited and believed that he would receive the submission of Bothwell, and that some of his Council, thinking the same true, had sought to know his doings and mind therein; but he still "utterethe" himself with great earnestness to be resolved never to receive Bothwell to his grace, seeing that his favour given to Niddrie and other followers of Bothwell pardoned is to draw them from Bothwell's company and to discover his secrets and entrap him, in that they have plainly given up with him. Finds Roger Aston of opinion that the King will not change his mind herein. Thinks that Mr. Aston, now in especial favour with the King, knows the King's meaning and will advertise the same truly by his letters. Perceives that Aston receives all secrets. Yet by Councillors and persons of best intelligence is constantly informed that Mar, on Tuesday last at the Castle, obtained the King's assent to receive Bothwell's submission to be made to him upon his sudden meeting with the King in the fields a-hunting, and there casting himself at the King's feet; that the Duke of Lennox and Hume, not privy to Mar's success, went yesterday to the Castle that Mar might open the matter to them; and that Sir George Hume liking little of these proceedings has pressed to know the King's doings and to stay the progress in this behalf. Most of the Council and others of good experience think that Bothwell shall find grace and depart out of Scotland. [*In the margin.*] Is presently advertised that the King has denied his grace to Bothwell.

Whereas the King had purposed to send the Chancellor with large commission to the Queen of England and had addressed the Lord Secretary

James VI. 1592. to impart the same to him [Bowes], has showed the King that such manner of employment of the Chancellor would not be honourable to her majesty, the King, or Chancellor, in regard that the errand shall be slender and not fit to be brought by a person qualified with such a high office, and which person, presently in disgrace, shall not come from the King's presence, but out of a corner, and hardly return to Scotland with safety. The King resolved to stay the commission. Afterwards the King sought to know whether her majesty would be pleased that the Chancellor should go privately into England, but he [Bowes] passed the answer over with the allegation that the Chancellor trusted and sought rather that the King would receive him into his service or protect him to live retired in his own house with safety, which the King granted. Has advised the Chancellor's friends to prosecute the matter in that course for him. The Chancellor has been secretly in this town and seeks to come again to Court and the King's service, or else to live at his own house; for the furtherance whereof means have been made to reconcile the Duke, and the Chancellor, and other Councillors. Mar has showed himself ready to embrace the Chancellor on condition that the Duke's favour can be obtained. The rest of the Council here have entreated the Duke to agree with the Chancellor; by which agreement, it has been alleged, many great benefits shall come to the King and this estate. But the Duke resolutely answers that he will never be friend to the Chancellor, and that the King shall not keep him in case he shall again receive the Chancellor, neither can he like well of any that shall love the Chancellor. It has been answered that his resolution was over hard, and that by it the Chancellor should be enforced to leave him and succour himself by others, whereby the Duke shall win little profit, and the Chancellor will little regard the Duke if he could recover the Queen's goodwill and countenance.

Has been informed that whilst the Chancellor was here the Lord Hume was sent for, and intended to have surprised and cut off the Chancellor, which being discovered it was thought meet for the Chancellor to depart. Further, that Lord Hume is purposed to "rufle" or kill the Provost of Linclouden, to the intent all others shall be put in fear of suing to the King and follow the suit of the Chancellor.

Means have been made for reconciliation betwixt the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis, but the matter is "dashed" or at least greatly hindered. The Council assembled with Mar at the Castle, and upon long deliberation for order to be taken for the preservation of religion and execution of justice, especially for the murder of Murray, it was concluded that the King should be effectually moved thereto, but "it is fallen in the mariage," and hitherto nothing is done; yet some well affected are labouring to renew the matter to the King and by other means to provide defence against the papists.

Mackintosh has lately slain 96 of Huntly's friends and tenants, amongst whom three Gordons are killed. The prey of 4000 sheep and 320 oxen and cattle is brought away. Atholl has gone into Murray with the most part of his forces, so that it is looked that there shall be more blood drawn betwixt him and Huntly very shortly. To pacify these troubles Angus is sent with commission of lieutenancy that he may raise the people in the countries to aid him. He is directed first to stay Huntly and his forces from revenge; next to take order that Atholl shall retire

James VI. 1592. in case he be not already come to the King; for the King has sent for Atholl to come to him, but it is thought that Atholl will not obey. It is likely that these companies in field shall meet and assail one another before Angus' coming. These broils against Huntly in those parts will hinder the Catholic course. The Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton are assembling their forces, and these wars are looked to arise very shortly, yet order is now taken for the quenching thereof. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk. Partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Nov. 13. 774. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

"This letter [No. 771 *supra*], bearing date as maye be considered, came not to my handis till the xiijth of this moneth, at whiche tyme I receaved the same frome a servande of Mr. Bowes, there resident ambassadour. As for the other letters mentioned therin, I never hearde of any of them. I have presumed to sende the same to your lordship herinclosed, to the ende that your lordship may directe suche answer to your saide ambassadour as maye be agreable to your pleasour, or otherwyse directe me what answer I shall make, whiche I shalbe readye to performe upon any information that I shall receave frome your lordship. The estate of all matters ther ar so well knowen to your lordship that I will forbeare to be more troublesome." *Signed:* A. Douglas.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Indorsed by Burgley's clerk.*

Nov. 16. 775. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sundry times has earnestly moved, and it has been firmly promised, that before this time Mr. James Gordon and the other Jesuits and papists should have been banished and put out of this realm; wherein the King let him [Bowes] know that Petlargo had directly undertaken to send away Mr. James without delay. Nevertheless he [Bowes] is advertised by his "familliar" that Mr. James and the rest have resolved to remain in this realme; that they have returned to these parts and have lately been in Edinburgh; that Mandeville, Thomas Tyrye, Mr. Andrew Clerk—not yet entered into his journey for Flanders—and sundry others met and conferred with Mr. James Gordon; that it is resolved that petition shall be exhibited to the King and Council for liberty of conscience to be granted to the Catholics in Scotland upon assurance of their loyalty and obedience, *etc.;* that for the preparation and advancement of the suit and offer, their best friends shall be drawn to the Court and to Edinburgh, in which behalf the noblemen having either promised to "partye" them or subscribed to the band are already sent for and required to be here before the end of this month; and that many others of quality are ready to join in the action to be "broched" and begun upon sight of fit opportunity and ripeness of their matters, wherein they assure themselves of success; and it is feared that hereafter they will attempt the establishment of their policy by the slaughter of the best affected and principal instruments in religion.

He [the "familiar"] added that these Catholics, depending wholly on the aid of the Spanish forces, would travail by all means to bring them

James VI. 1592. in next spring, and notwithstanding that their purposes herein shall be openly discovered; and further that these Jesuits have poisoned and hooked to them many of all sorts, and some so well disposed that it is very strange that such should be thus snared.

Is also informed that the band is subscribed by many; that sundry noblemen delaying to subscribe to it have satisfied the agents with firm promises to take full part therein, and that this band began at Hundelaye and other places on the Borders. The Master of Gray, being pressed for his subscription, deferred the same until the hands of some noblemen named by him should be put to it.

Some of this rabble have confessed that, at the beginning of this new Court, it was meant that the Chancellor should have been accused and taken away, and thereon the petition mentioned should have been presented; but a nobleman, pretending presently to be a good protestant, dissuaded such hasty course, bringing with it the plain overthrow of the cause. This crew wait for their advantage, hoping speedily to triumph, and the other side watch and pray carefully for the encounter, trusting to be delivered by the arm of God.

Many of the principal ministers in this realm are presently assembled in this town, purposing to disperse and sort themselves into the countries to "water" and visit the churches, to recover the revolted, to strengthen the weak, to confirm the constant, and to undermine and cast down the mud walls pitched up by Jesuits and papists. Their meeting is thought in Court to be sudden and for some requests and motions to be made for reformation. Is told that some questions shall be propounded to them therein by this state; that some of them have been inwardly advised to set forth nothing against the Duke; and that, nevertheless, others of the chief amongst them are willed by Petrea [*sic*] to call for reformation as well civil as ecclesiastical and prosecute it with earnestness. It is much doubted that in their doings herein some quarrel shall be picked against them to the intent that they may therein have colour to present their petitions and offers.

Certified by his former letter that the Parliament summoned to begin at Edinburgh on the 10th of January should be adjourned, but is now given to understand that the Council, lately convened at the Castle, thought it meet that the Parliament should begin at the day and place limited, to the intent that the "grandour," as they term it here, of the Duke might thereby be established and himself be declared the second person apparent to the succession of this realm of Scotland. The King's favour to the Duke abounds, and in respect thereof many incline to him. Mar, Hume and others are sworn to "partye" him. Has not found that the King has so fast tied himself to this stake as is pretended.

At this meeting of the Council at the Castle some of the Council have showed themselves resolute against the Chancellor, and that this Court and company received will not be removed "without strokes." The benefit hoped to come by the motion of the Church for reformation is now much doubted, so that it is expected that this Court and state shall run their own course whilst their power serves, and that good men in the meantime must "attend" for the success and provide for the worst in best sort they can.

The Chancellor being sounded for the resignation of his office to Mar, has thought Mar nothing fit for the office, nor the office fit for him, and

James VI. 1592. thereon denied to yield the office to Mar or any others without the King's express commandment, saying that if his life shall be violently taken from him he had rather die Chancellor than Laird of Thirlstane, Lethington, or Sir John Maitland; and finding the King's goodwill continued and lately showed towards him, he is resolved to lay the foundation of his standing and welfare on the King's favour, and has sued to the King to return to his service, or by him to be directed to retire and live at home with the King's protection; wherein he attends the King's pleasure and purposes to show himself openly at his house at Lethington within few days. The King publicly in the Tolbooth rejected James Maitland's bill demanding the house at Lethington and the evidence as heir to his father, late Laird of Lethington and Secretary. The Duke, Sir James Sandilands, and others have pressed the King in the favour of young Maitland, but the King has answered that he has taken the Chancellor into his protection, and therefore nothing shall be done against him in his absence, but upon his return justice shall be done as appertaineth. The King has quietly and severally directed some ministers to the Chancellor with his secret pleasure, and for the Chancellor's advice, but the Duke and his party resolutely determine to hold him out, and the Chancellor is of that mind and courage that he will not be barred the King's presence without the King's own commandment.

The Lord Hamilton received advertisement by the King that Bothwell, by Mr. John Gyddye, had brought notice to the King that Hamilton had put his friends and men in readiness to surprise the King, and hereon Hamilton, giving great thanks to the King for this discovery and favour, has prayed that Bothwell may certify the same by writing with his own hand, to the intent Hamilton may charge and challenge him thereon. It is looked that some bitter quarrel shall arise betwixt these two parties and that many others of good quality shall be drawn into the quarrels with them.

Bothwell, after the search for him in this town, passed to Eske, and some say into England. It is reported that he has provided money and intends to depart out of this realm. He stands very desirous to be tried for devising the King's death by witchcraft objected against him, but it is thought that the trial shall not be granted before his departure, and that he shall be persuaded to depart. Is told that the Countess of Bothwell has "closlye" come to this town, trusting to be received shortly to the King's grace.

The Laird of Samelston, Archibald Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton, and sundry other principal followers of Bothwell in the late raids at Holyrood House and Falkland, have come in and are accepted. Bothwell has sent home Lord Lindsay's son. The Duke has sundry times of late sent to Bothwell, and because it is denied here that this new Court honours the Duke as the head and governor of their association, therefore it is thought that his advice shall prevail with Bothwell in the names of the rest, so that all storms to be raised by Bothwell's wind shall be from henceforth calmed.

By means of the Queen leave is granted to Buccleuch to return to this realm. He is known to be of high courage and much favouring Bothwell, his father-in-law, and it is wished that he may be well allured to cherish the peace on the Borders, wherein he is able to do many good offices.

James VI. 1592. Hears that the greatness betwixt the Duke and the Master of Glamis is something abated, in regard that the Duke is "done" to think that the Master will choose to prefer rather his sister's son than the Duke; and the King, lately possessed with jealousy towards the Master, has sought to be satisfied by Mar in his "concept" of that jealousy and also whether the Master aspired to the office of the Chancellor. Mar answering that the questions were too high for him, the King pressed him to give particular satisfaction, but Mar passed it over.

The jars in this town, lately smothered, begin to burst forth again, chiefly by the Spanish traders, yet they are in good way to be quenched. It is espied that the Spanish and popish blow these coals diligently with the seditious sort.

Angus is gone to pacify the troubles betwixt Huntly and Atholl and to ward the party resisting his order. This commission was procured at the instance of Huntly. Atholl has drawn great forces together, and it is said that Argyll, lately departed from Court, has gathered his power near to those parts and given them order to attend on Atholl, who now is looked to leave the quarrel for the defence of Mackintosh and to turn himself to the revenge of Murray's murder thus long passed over without punishment by law. It is like that these forces of Atholl, Argyll, Lovat, Mackintosh, Grant and others once joined will rather prosecute this revenge against Huntly and the Gordons than obey Angus, and that Atholl's good success in this journey will greatly encumber the Catholics in their enterprise to be ever nourished in and by the north. Huntly doubting that his house should be seized has sent the strangers to the Slanes to be entertained by Erroll. Finds here one William Wilson, an Englishman, pretending to be a poet, but he [Bowes] is given to think that he used to give intelligence into England; and in like manner that John Gelsterne, a silly person, has busied himself lately and got letters from some Councillors of novelties here. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4¾ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 2. 776. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the commodity of Burghley's last letter, of the 10th instant, has renewed to the King the report of the order and commandment given by the Queen of England to Mr. Lowther for the apprehension and punishment of the offenders to be "billed and fyled" for "partienge and receipt" of Bothwell and his followers, wherewith the King is well pleased, and also travailed with the King to prepare the way for the commissioners to be sent to him by a certain number of the principal ministers in this realm, assembled presently in Edinburgh for causes partly certified by his [Bowes'] last letter, of the 16th instant. At this Assembly, begun on the 16th instant and continued until this day, and upon sundry petitions and conferences with the King, it is concluded, with the King's assent, that a chosen number of the King's Council, already established by Parliament, and of the best affected, shall be speedily called to the King, to be joined with the Councillors presently about him, and to remain this winter in Court and Edinburgh, to reform and quiet the disorders in this state and government, to punish the odious crimes, to provide for the King's house and ordinary expenses, and to prepare the matters to be presented to the next Parliament. These and others have lately and oftentimes come into deliberation and

James VI. 1592. received resolutions enacted by the King and Council, but hitherto they have got no life by any execution, as still is feared shall come to pass.

Erroll, Hume and others suspected in religion shall be cited and brought before the Church to be reformed, agreeable to the laws of this realm and censures of the Church; wherein the Lord Hume, seeking to be called before some private number to be assigned, has for himself offered to give full satisfaction to the Church and to discover the band made for the Catholics and all other things touching their doings known to him. But, albeit that he has been pressed to exhibit Mr. Alexander Mackwherrye, a Jesuit, otherwise called John Black, lately come from Flanders with practices against the religion and for the King of Spain, and much conversant in the Lord Hume's house and at his table, Mr. Andrew Clerk, another papist haunting the Lord Hume's house and company, and Thomas Tyrrye, a pensioner of the King of Spain and now servant to the Lord Hume and to whom the practisers for the King of Spain used to address their letters and the execution of their business in Scotland, yet hitherto he still shifts and puts over all these matters with excuses, and so far prevailing with the King that the Ministers distrust much to get redress against him or any other nobleman otherwise than by censure of the Church; in which behalf the King wishes that the Church shall deal gently with the noblemen to be touched for religion. Sundry religious barons shall be drawn to reside in this town this winter, that by them and their forces this town and good men may be preserved against the violence of the Catholics purposing to flock together and lie here, and suspected to intend to take captive the King, the chief ministers and burgesses best affected.

In every shire the barons, men of action, power, and good affection in religion shall be directed to convene to consult and provide for due resistance of all violence and sedition by the papists. Commissions shall be given to fit persons in every county to apprehend and ward all seditious and suspected persons, to give diligent eye to their practices and actions, and to give timely advertisement thereof to the King and Council, *etc.*

A certain number of the ministry shall be appointed to abide at Edinburgh to receive intelligences, to deliberate and determine in matters occurring, and to inform and deal with the King's Council and others therein. One especial person of the ministry shall be authorised to draw in the intelligence, to assemble the others, and to dispose things for the benefit of the cause.

Fit instruments shall be sent forth to discover the practices and proceedings of the papists, *etc.* The owner or master of every ship on arrival at any place in Scotland shall present to the magistrate and ministers such passengers as they have brought, with true report of all letters and other things brought in by the passengers, and that no person, letter or stuff shall be landed before the magistrate and ministers shall be advertised thereof. The ministers in this town shall from time to time sue to the King and Council for the due execution of these orders, and chiefly in the parts to be done by himself and Council; and in the others executory in the behalf of the barons, ministers, and others all diligence is promised. These are the remedies hitherto provided. In these conferences the King has opened to three or four of the commissioners how far he has been

James VI. 1592. dealt withal on the behalf of the King of Spain, and for the Dukes of Parma and Guise.

On the 17th instant the Countess of Bothwell, great with child, cast herself at the King's feet, in the street, as the King went to the Castle, and, by earnest request of the Lords Hume and Lindsay, kissed the King's hand, with some sharp words of the King uttered against herself and most against her husband. After the same she was carried to her lodging with great concourse and applause of many gentlemen and others of this town. Whereupon the King, whilst he was in this castle, resolved to "charge" her from this town and to send her away with double disgrace. On the morrow she was commanded to depart, and proclamation was made that she and others of her husband's company lately received to the King's mercy should withdraw and not come within ten miles of this town. Some chief "means" drawing the Countess to this action denied utterly to have been privy thereto, yet they labour either to bring in her husband to do the like, or else that he shall depart the realm. Some courtiers have advised that his coming in this manner should be restrained by proclamation.

The wars betwixt Atholl and Huntly still go forwards. It is bruited that Atholl has killed 33 of Huntly's men at Scabroth, within four miles of Straboggie, Huntly's house; Atholl lies at Anderness, and has sent hither 500 picked men for some especial exploit; and that Argyll has put in readiness his forces in Lochaber, according to Atholl's desire, and has personally gone thither to second Atholl in this action against Huntly. Angus has hitherto little prevailed either to pacify or to ward either of them. It is thought that Huntly shall hardly resist Atholl's forces, notwithstanding that he shall be aided with the best means that the papists and Spanish faction dare presently give him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 21. 777. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

After the despatch of his other letter with the present one to Burghley three persons well affected let him [Bowes] know that another person of good estimation had offered to them, for reward, to intercept and deliver the original band subscribed by the confederates of England and Scotland, and also bring in the Englishmen and Scottish men who shall be employed to negotiate these matters for Spain. The party making this offer demanded no penny to be given him before he shall have performed the work. Is told that this party has a pension from the King of Spain, which he shall certainly lose, with adventure of his life. It is demanded that his reward shall be rated agreeable to his losses and charges. Has offered to give as much as shall lie in his [Bowes'] power. The parties presenting this offer are well worthy of credit, but the party making this offer will not be known to him [Bowes] before he shall promise to give him a sum certainly set down. Great haste is made for Bowes' resolution in regard that the messengers and instruments to be employed for England and Scotland shall with all speed pass into Flanders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The two persons kept severally in Huntly's and Erroll's

James VI. 1592. houses are the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane. These have the bands of the noblemen, and are ready to return for Spain by the west seas. It is feared that these have a far higher pitch than to take this band. Fears that Mar ["Sempronius"] has got some tale of these companions and their doings, then it is like that "America" and the Duke of Lennox shall be acquainted therewith. These two men have a particular course by themselves and give intelligence of their doings to the King of Spain by means of the Duke of Guise and not of Parma, and send by the west seas. The Jesuits travail for Parma, using to come and go by the east seas. The Englishmen trafficking here pass into Ireland and from thence to Scotland.

2 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 30. 778. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On George Nicholson's return, on the 26th instant, received Burghley's letters of the 18th and 20th instant. Thanks Burghley for excusing his error in committing to his servant matters of such weight and secrecy. Craves pardon for seeking to be directed in many things that require no particular direction.

Has opened to the King how kindly her majesty has taken the King's manner of plain dealing to discover, of his own accord, such matters as he revealed to him [Bowes]. The King allowed very well her majesty's advice, acknowledging it for a maxim to him. The King affirmed that Bothwell had sought aid at the King of Spain's hands and could not obtain it. He "uttered" himself to be resolved never to receive Bothwell to his mercy. The King charged him [Bowes] with receiving Bothwell into his house, and to have laboured that her majesty would take him into her protection. The workers of this untrue suggestion have practised thereby to work his "dismission" from this realm.

On the morrow the King sent Roger Aston to him [Bowes] to confirm his former resolution against Bothwell, and prays her majesty to forbear to give any favour or aid to Bothwell. Because he [Bowes] saw himself suspected, so that he cannot safely deal with Bothwell, as directed, has left this cause to be carried betwixt Lord Hume and him, and by the means of such as Lord Hume shall appoint.

Bothwell was very lately in this town, and has departed towards the Borders. The Master of Gray, with his brother James and Mr. Thomas Cranston, were yesterday received to the King's mercy, as Burley, Logie, and others were lately. Thus all the gentlemen of credit lately following Bothwell, except Hercules Stewart his brother, the Laird of Spott and Mr. John Colvile have come in; yet some of them shall pay fines and be banished, namly Burley, now pardoned in life and committed to Edinburgh Castle. It is looked that Bothwell shall also find grace. Lord Hamilton is sufficiently warned of the Duke of Lennox's intention against him. The King is pleased to write to all his Wardens for preservation of quietness and justice to be done on the Borders by frequent meetings. Has told the party who lately wrote to "Diogenes*" that upon proof of his good service his reward shall be answerable to his services, but he holds this for uncertain. Desires to know what order he shall take touching the reward to be given to two especial instruments. Has received the cipher sent by Burghley.

* "A. do:", doubtless for "Archibald Douglas" written above "Diogenes" in Burghley's hand.

James VI. 1592.

Crawford shall be answered for his safe-conduct to pass through England. Young Sir Robert Melvill, eldest son of Sir Robert Melvill, vice-treasurer and sometimes employed in the affairs of the King's mother, intends to travel to foreign nations and was ready to pass with Crawford.

The Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton had gathered great forces for the revenge of the slaughter of the late Earl of Eglinton, killed by the practice, as it is supposed, of Glencairn, but now the forces are scattered.

The Chancellor will "no wise seke" into England except in case of necessity, and in private manner. Has diligently laboured to be truly informed whether the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane are indeed in this realm, what they have done, and how they may best be taken and brought to England. John Smallett, a person of greater cunning and practice than of credit and sound dealing, chanced to see these two bishops in their lodgings in Dumbarton town immediately after their arrival there in May last. He was familiarly acquainted with Dunblane, who, espying that Smallett looked so earnestly at him "as he must neides bothe knowe him and also marvell to se him so farr imbase himselfe, as a servant in evill arraye and uncovered, to sitt at table with his master, of little accompt, and in an alehouse"; and thereon Dunblane plainly discovered himself to Smallett, offering large rewards to keep him and his doings secret. The other aged man in company with Dunblane, and in base apparel, appears to be the Bishop of Ross. The barque that brought them had no other loading than these persons and "ballance," and still attends for them near to Glasgow, where Mark Ker, of Edinburgh, shall convey them by the west seas. It is thought that they shall direct their course for Lubeck or other place in Germany. These two passed as servants to two others of little value to the north, and thereby it is gathered that they have been honourably entertained by Huntly and Erroll. Is advertised that Dunblane has been at the Laird of Keir's house and in other places in the west and near to Glasgow. Cannot get any probable tale of Ross, but a Catholic of good quality assures him that he continues in Rouen. The party offering to apprehend these men is John Smallett. He demands 1000 *l.* for the service, yet he could not assure Bowes to take both the bishops, the band subscribed, and their packets, neither can he deliver them in England or to himself [Bowes]. Has agreed to give him 1000 *l.* upon the delivery of their bodies or the body of one of them, with the writings, to such persons as he [Bowes] has named, and that he shall be further recompensed as his service and good success deserve. He [Smallett] has taken upon him to work this feat. Remains "in jelowsye" of this party and of the matter. It is gathered that these two brought the message delivered to the King for the King of Spain, Parma and Guise.

These few days past all men have been occupied with an expectation that Captain James Stewart, late Earl of Arran, should recover credit in Court. It is believed that the Duke, chiefly, Sir George Hume, Sandilands, Colonel Stewart, and the Laird of Dunipace labour for the captain's advancement, to the intent he may wreck the Chancellor, overthrow the house of Hamilton, and "knocke the pates" of the ministers. Captain James has been his [Bowes'] near neighbour in this town for some few days, and looked daily to have had access to the King, who could not be drawn to like of his return to Court or service; but the

James VI. 1592. King was well pleased that he should safely prosecute his suits in law as a subject not forfeited.

It is said that sundry articles of treason have been presented to the King against the Chancellor, wherein Colonel Stewart is judged to have been so forward that the King has sharply checked him. The Laird of Spynie had so well recovered the King's favour that the King made him his bedfellow and reconciled the Duke to him, but on the morrow the Duke sent his page to tell Spynie that he was a knave and willed him to depart speedily from Court or he would stick him. Spynie sent a gentleman to the Duke, who roughly returned the gentleman to Spynie with charge that he delayed not his departure as he loved his life. Spynie sent one to inform the King of the matter, but the Duke meeting the messenger sent him away with threats. By means of Mar the King was advised to send Thomas Erskine to advise Spynie to give place for the time. Spynie, unable to go alone by reason of a hurt on his leg, passed out of the back gate in the Court and continues in Aberdeen. The same day Sir James Lindsay, Spynie's brother, was discharged the Court without the King's privity. The King takes these things to be done to his great dishonour.

It is still thought that the Parliament shall begin at the day and place appointed, and that the greatness of the Duke shall be thereby established. The Chancellor has returned to his house at Lethington; whereupon the King addressed sundry ministers to him with his letters to him that he and other commissioners should take order in the petitions and causes of the ministers. Labour is made for the Chancellor's overthrow.

Many accusations were made to the King against the Lord John Hamilton, and especially that he was party to the escape of Niddrie and Samerston, but Niddrie has cleared Hamilton in this. Angus has partly stayed the troubles in the north; for Huntly submitting himself to Angus, as the King's lieutenant, has entered into ward in Aberdeen. Atholl is ready to come to his ward in St. Johnstone, but Mackintosh will abide to be put to the horn. Huntly offers to give caution for all his friends, provided that such as be at the horn for the slaughter of Murray may be released. By Act of Council yesterday Huntly's friends are set free from the horn. There were three lieutenants authorised by three several commissions, viz., Angus to pacify troubles betwixt Huntly and Atholl; Atholl to revenge Murray's slaughter; and Huntly had an old commission. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 4. 779. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has been suspicious of Smallett, therefore has found means that two honest gentlemen and some of the ministry shall attend on the barque waiting for the return of the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane, and also travail to discover perfectly whether they or either of them are in Scotland. It is feared that these men shall seek passage by other means. The barque lies still at the road, and is newly trimmed.

After the Master of Gray was received by the King he came to him [Bowes], offering to her majesty his good devotion and service. Bowes opened to the Master the report charging him to have entered into the

James VI.
1592. course with the Catholics and being party to the band. The Master protested never to assent to any confederacy against religion or the amity whilst her majesty lived, and that the band was grounded for the relief of the persons distressed, and not for religion. The Master prayed that her majesty would be a means to the King to hasten his discharge from ward. After the Master's departure he sent this letter enclosed to Burghley.

The other day Captain James Stewart was brought to the King's presence by Lord Ochiltree, his nephew, and the Lairds of Buccleuch ("Blougheu") and Ferniherst. His first access was given by the King whilst he was amongst his hounds near the "cannell": afterwards he was brought to the presence chamber, where some of the chamber commanded to make way for the Lord Chancellor, as is reported, and thereon he was "caried" to the Queen and kissed her hand. He sought to have spoken with Mr. Robert Bruce and other ministers to have stopped their mouths in the pulpit against him, but all in vain. Afterwards the King, by the Prior of Blantyre, let Mr. Robert Bruce know that Captain James should not be taken into or employed in Court. This message delivered by Blantyre was published in every church the next day, with bitter invectives against the captain. The next day the captain removed to Roslinge, within five miles of Edinburgh, and will return hither this day or to-morrow trusting to get grace. It is said that the Duke and the four young and counselling courtiers will draw him [Stewart] in to wreck the house of Hamilton and the Chancellor and "to quitt a common" with the ministers.

Hercules Stewart, Bothwell's brother, is received to the King's grace. Bothwell departed out of this town on Wednesday last. If Bothwell had tarried some few hours he had been surprised, for the King was perfectly advertised in what house he was. The King was told that he is gone towards London, but the talesman will be found deceived. The King thinks verily that Bothwell will never submit to any of the house of Darnley; but in truth he is ready to cast himself at the King's feet. It is said that if Bothwell can find no grace at the King's hands by the Duke's means, then he will join with Hamilton against the Duke.

The Prior of Blantyre has earnestly moved the King for his good countenance to be restored to the Duke, which the King offers upon the Duke's assent to be reconciled with Spynie but the Duke still denies his goodwill to Spynie. The Duke presently rules the Court by means of Sir George Hume, Sir James Sandilands, Donipace, and Thomas Erskine, who now supply the office of the Council.

Captain James Stewart has put the King in comfort to reconcile Huntly and Atholl. Mackintosh has gathered together seven several clans, and keeps the hills: he has lately killed some more of Huntly's followers. Argyll's people remain in readiness, attending what shall proceed in this agreement sought betwixt Huntly and Atholl.

The Duke has appointed Farnihurst to be his deputy for Liddisdale. Farnihurst has promised Bowes to be found very diligent to preserve the peace and do justice to England. The Master of Glamis continues so weak that he is not able to resort to Court and Council so frequently as he desires. The Master has lately noted some coldness in Mar towards him. The King has very sharply checked the provost, officers, and ministers of this town for their oversight and sufferance given to Bothwell

James VI. 1592. "to be receytt and intertained" in this town many days together, and against his proclamation. Sundry such as have lodged Bothwell shall submit themselves to the King's pleasure, and proclamation is again made to prohibit all men receiving or dealing with Bothwell. The ministers have been bitterly blamed for their sharp words against Captain James Stewart, and silence towards Bothwell, but they have given reasons for their doings against the captain and proved well that openly and oft they have deeply condemned Bothwell and his actions against the King. The King charged Mr. Robert Bruce to have received Bothwell into his house, to have had intelligence with him, and to have sought to depose the King and set up another. When Mr. Bruce had cleared himself and asked the King whether he thought him foul of any of these crimes, the King said that in truth he did not, yet twelve several persons had told these tales to him. Mr. Bruce prayed trial. The King will give up the names of some of these accusers. It is thought that the Master of Gray and Thomas Tyrye shall be named. The same accusers falsely informed the King that Bowes lodged Bothwell three nights in his house, procured him friends, and had written to her majesty earnestly in his favour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 4. 780. ASSURANCE MADE BY ATHOLL AND ANGUS WITH HUNTLY.

Be it known to all men by these present letters "us" John Earl of Atholl, at his highness special command "dicreit" with his lieutenant William Earl of Angus, for ourselves, and taking the burden on us for Lachlane Mackintosh, of Dumnachtorne, and all others one and his kin friends, servants, assisters, partakers that we may "stop or lait" to have assured, and by the tenour hereof specially assured the kin, friends, servants, partakers and assisters of George Earl of Huntly, Donald Macangaes, of Glengairy, Alan Maccandowi, of Lochell, and Allister Macranald, of Keppache, their kin, *etc.*, to be unhurt, unharmed, unmolested, untroubled, or in any ways pursued for old feud or new but only by order of law unto the 15th day of February next coming, except so many of the said George Earl of Huntly's kin, etc., who were actually with him at the murder of James Earl of Murray and Patrick Dunbar Sheriff of Murray, at Dunibirsill; and in case the assured persons above mentioned shall continue or assist by way of deed the said George Earl of Huntly or any of the aforesaid murderers "in our contrarie" within the said "space," this assurance to be null "and expyre in itselfe." And we shall keep this assurance inviolate under the pain of perjury, defamation, and "tinsall" of perpetual honour, estimation, and credit. Darnway.

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed.*

Dec. 17. 781. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Has stayed Mr. Locke and this letter these four days past for the receipt of the King's letter to the Queen of England. Has moved the King to give the "convoy" of his letter to Mr. Locke to the intent that the King might be drawn to satisfy such question as covertly in her majesty's letter concerns Bothwell.

The Lord Maxwell, Lord Warden of the West Marches of Scotland,

James VI. 1592. by order of the King, has exhibited to Mr. Lowther a bill against sundry Englishmen for the raid at Falkland, valuing the wrongs done there and answerable by the Englishmen above 1300 *l.* stg. Some part of this bill is already filed, amounting to 584 *l.* stg. The residue is offered to be likewise avowed "and prooved fowle." By another bill, for the occupation of certain debateable lands in Kirk Andrews, alleged to be allotted to England and claimed by Scotland, he demands 60,000 *l.* stg. By these administration of justice in those Marches has been stayed, and the broken sort take courage nightly to rob and spoil in the West Marches of England, boasting openly that these bills shall "quyte" all their attempts or else set them at liberty to "ryde" and take at their pleasure. Has procured the King's letters to Lord Maxwell to stay the bill for the occupation of the debateable grounds in Kirkandrews. Because the King, for the bill of Falkland, desired to be rather repaired in his honour and redressed for the goods wherewith the Englishmen are chargeable, has required that the offenders named in the bill may be apprehended or made answerable by Mr. Lowther. Has procured the King's letters for redress to be made by Maxwell to Walter Calverley, robbed and taken prisoner out of his house at Abbeyholme, in Cumberland, for restitution to Sir Cuthbert Collingwood by the Laird of Cesford, and for the cruel slaughter of five men and wounding many others in England; and that Farnihurst shall give in writing to Sir John Selby the names of such under him as he will answer for.

That Burghley may see what assurance is given that the two bishops are or have been in Scotland, encloses a copy of a letter. Nevertheless he [Bowes] dare not yet assure him that these bishops are or have been here. In the search of these matters and for these persons sundry mysteries have been partly discovered. The practice intended against Mar and for the surprise of the Firth of Moray, he [Bowes] has certified to Burghley. The Catholics had framed their supplication to Parliament for liberty of their conscience, and put together some articles against the religion professed and the ministers thereof. Some enterprises have been defeated, wherein the fathers accuse some noblemen of great faults. The Laird of Ladylands has been detected to have been a principal executioner in all these practices and to have consorted himself with Englishmen deeply embarked in these treacheries. It has been thought good that Ladylands and two Englishmen of the worst sort, and haunting together at Ladylands House, Irvine, and other places in the west, should be quietly taken and brought hither; in which business Mr. Andrew Knox, minister at Paisley, has endured no little pains and peril, for he so straitly pursued Ladylands and the two Englishmen through Glasgow and towards Irvine. Ladylands, providing to set away the Englishmen for their safety, set himself into the hands of James Hamilton, eldest son of Lord Claud Hamilton, who assisted Mr. Knox to apprehend Ladylands, who was brought by young Hamilton to the Lord Hamilton, who sent him by the conduct of Mr. Knox and Captain Hamilton to Edinburgh, where he was committed to the provost. The next day he [Bowes] procured the King's commandment to the provost to keep him closely and safely, and also the King's warrant to the Prior of Blantyre, Clerk Register, Mr. Robert Bruce, and Mr. David Lindsay, commissioners to examine Ladylands, and having order to acquaint Bowes with their doings and to call him to the examination as need should require. On the King

James VI. 1592. coming to Alloway he was persuaded to remove Ladylands to the Castle by new warrant. Is greatly discouraged to reap such fruits by Ladylands confession as were looked for. Fears that the apprehension of other offenders in Scotland shall not be worth the expenses and pains. Ladylands confesses to be excommunicated and to be of the Catholic Roman Church: he agrees to answer to any interrogatory charging him of treason, wherein he pleads innocency, but he refuses to answer any question touching religion, or that may accuse any person other than himself.

Encloses a copy of the remission granted to Mr. Robert Bruce. The strange substance and form thereof has put many doubts in the people's hands and stirred some of the preachers to speak thereof in their sermons. The King has sharply checked the Treasurer's clerk "preferringe" the bill for the King's signature without reading it, and has ordered that the bill shall be cancelled. The Lord Fleming is suspected to have furthered this bill over far. Now the flame is quenched, but the smoke is not past. The constant report of the death of the Duke of Parma has calmed the wind raised in this cause. The King denies having had further conference with the messenger bringing the King of Spain's offer.

Matthew Baylyes, hastily sent to Flanders in November with letters of the Catholics here, has returned with confirmation of the report of Parma's death. He brought letters from Bruce. The Parliament is adjourned to April 3rd. It is thought that the time did not serve aptly for the advancement of the petition of the Catholics or for the declaration of a second person to succeed to the crown. The King and the Duke of Lennox are reconciled. The Duke has promised to follow in all his affairs and actions the advice of Mar, Sir Robert Melvill, Blantyre, Collithy, and the Advocate. The King has a meaning by means of these Councillors to work agreement betwixt the Duke and the Chancellor and betwixt the Duke and Spynie. The King has established an order for the reformation of his Exchequer. The King purposing to have called the Chancellor to this town to show himself at the Session, now thinks it meet to stay his coming until he shall have obtained the Queen's favour and shall be reconciled with the Duke. This Court stands stiffly against the Chancellor.

The Master of Glamis, well recovered, is fully restored to his office of Lord Treasurer and has power to substitute a vice-treasurer. Mackendowye and others of Huntly's followers have killed in Lochenvar sixteen able men and above 100 women and children under Mackintosh and others. It is given out that Angus, Huntly, and Erroll have met together, and that some of them have been together in such secret manner that some suspicion is concerned therein.

The Master of Gray has acquitted himself of being the author of the accusation against him [Bowes]. Requests Burghley to return a letter written by Mr. Andrew Knox. Has received the King's promise to do pleasure to Mr. James Murray in any suit to him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6 *pp. Addressed. Indorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same:—

(Remission by James VI. to Robert Bruce.)

Jacobus Dei gratia rex Scotorum dilecto nostro consanguineo et

James VI. 1592. consiliario commedatorio prioratus de Blantyre, nostri secreti sigilli custodi, salutem. Quia ex nostris specialibus gratia et favore remisimus dilecto nostro Roberto Bruce, filio quondam Niniani Bruce fratris germani domini de Bydny rancorem animi nostri, sectam regiam et omnem actionem quam seu quas concepimus, habuimus, habemus seu quovismodo habere poterimus erga ipsum pro proditoria tractione, consultatione, precogitatione, actione vel occultatione quorumcunque criminum perduellionis sive lese magestatis adversus nostram personam, statum, aut regnum et similiter pro proditoria negatione cum principiis et peregrinis exterarum nationum extra regnum nostrum et cum Jesuittis, seminariis, sacerdotibus, et excommunicatis personis infra idem ullo tempore preteris [*sic*] pro alteratione vere religionis infra regnum nostrum professe ad eversionem et ruinam nostre persone et status ac pro receptione, distributione et datione monete et auri Hispanici infra regnum nostrum ad effectum et pro causa predictis et pro quibuscunque proditoriis criminibus seu aliis grosis attemptionibus per dictum Robertum ad inquietationem civilis status et subversionem dicte vere religionis pro principali professe commissis, necnon pro omnibus proditoriis, machinationibus, et molitionibus contra charessimam nostram sororem Anglie, reginam ejus, regnum et legios in prejudicium nostrum, et pro omnibus actione, pena, crimine et offensa quam, desuper signum vel dictum Roberti Bruce et circa quovismodo nuper utari poterint, ac etiam pro singulis aliis proditionibus, transgressionibus, criminibus et offensis quibuscunque per dictum Robertum quocunque tempore elapso diem date presentium preentenden' [*sic*] commissis sicut nos verbo principis per presentes declaramus quod dictus Robertus nunquam urgibitur nec agetur accusare aut divulgare aliquam personam vel personas conscias predictorum criminum aut eorum quorumcunque, sed erit noster liber subjectus omni tempore affuturo. Holyrood House. 8th December, 1552 [*sic*] and in the 27th year of our reign.*

"Subscribed by the King, the Duke of Lenox, Sir Robert Melvin, Justice Clarcke."

½ *p. Copy. Indorsed by Bowes' clerk.*

782. Bothwell's Lamentation to the Ministers.

Right loving brethren, I have to this hour, with no small danger attended your answer; but finding none, I impute your silence to the iniquity of time and to no lack of goodwill, seeing I have solicited you in nothing which I could in duty omit or you in reason refuse. For this cause I had "deliberate" no more to importune you, were [it] not I was "of new" informed that my enemies, still absuing his majesty by impudent lies, had induced him to deal with you to the effect you might immediately after my "forfalture" proceed to excommunication against me. Your wisdoms know that "forfaltours" have been so unadvisedly pronounced within this realm ever since they "crap in credit" about his majesty—who led his mother, of good memory, "by undoing her owne to her perdicione"—that the most part of those "forfaltours," as they were to his grace high dishonour against the worthiest of the land, yea against some of your number, most unlawfully in Parliament concluded, so by the same solemnity, to his honour, they were most lawfully "cassit" and rescinded. This experience and example "letts" me to despair.

* 27th year was 1593-4; but endorsed by Bowes' clerk: "X° Decembris, 1592."

James VI. 1592. Howsoever Acts and proclamations be 'thunderit" against me, so long as my conscience bears me record of my innocency and gives me sure hope that the same shall be some day manifested, when the authors of my calamity shall be ashamed of the process "deducit"; wherein "the witness shalbe tryed to be infamous and subornit," the judge corrupted, and I myself debarred from safe "comperans." But howsoever civil judgment has passed this while bygone, you have not been accustomed to draw the spiritual sword lightly and at every occasion; "for your forme hes ben to se the person baith comunale and obstinate before ye cut him from your societie. A preparative contrarious I trust ye will not begin at me and my distressit frendis." Obstinate shall I not be found, because I would with all humility receive your correction for whatsoever offence I have committed, if sure access and recess were permitted; and comunale in any thought or deed that may "noy" his majesty's life or person, the Lord knows I am not, neither are the witnesses admitted to prove my guiltiness admissable by the laws to prove a matter of 5*s*. The estate of my pitiful case is not far different from that of the noblemen lately banished; two "landit men" accused them of a conspiracy against his majesty's life. Richie Graham accused me. Two barons were most unjustly put to death as partakers of that crime. That the "delation" might seem the more probable, so is the said Richard executed, to my prejudice. Their depositions were formed and reformed at the pleasure of such as were enemies to the said noblemen. So are the depositions of the said Richie, "as his in thinckes [*sic*.] all true that is alledged against me." So was he then no less assured of the other, and no less "animate" against the said noblemen. But, howsoever, they were admitted to their own places about his majesty, the calumny appeared, for none were to accuse them, and so they were "sene guiltles." The like I doubt not, God willing, shall fall unto me, if it be His divine pleasure to restore me unto my Prince's favour. Now if the ministry that followed the Court a^t^ that time could in duty have excommunicated the said noblemen by reason of their "forfaultres" and other crimes alleged against them, I am content to be so used. Yea, further, for declaration of my innocency and obedience, if you upon your consciences will affirm that you think me guilty of the crime objected by the said Richie, I promise faithfully—providing no other crime be laid to my charge—not only to be content to be excommunicated, but also I shall, without condition, "enter" at what day you will assign to suffer the penalty of so lewd a fact, although, as the Lord lives, I am innocent thereof, yea so innocent [that] if ever it be God's pleasure I ever attain to my former favour, I desire not to be esteemed innocent until the time I be purged by a "condigne assize," and some of my enemies moved with conscience to confess that I have been abused in that cause; and with this "gif I can not prove sorcerye at the least consultacion with sorcerers and witches for obtayning and mainteyning of his majesty's favour on the part of my adversaries," then all shall be esteemed true that is objected against me. For these causes, beloved brethren, I beseech you "eke" not affliction to affliction, and separate not those from you that are with you conjoined in religion and heart, as, God willing, time shall "try." Howsoever I "be traducit" for declaration thereof, I have abstained, and shall abstain to repair to any country where I may not have liberty of conscience, albeit I lack not large and golden promises

James VI. 1592. if I would do otherwise. And if necessity shall compel me to repair to any such parts, I protest, by God's grace, that no calamity shall cause me to alter from the truth received and professed. We read of St. Ambrose that he excommunicated an emperor for rash prosecution and cruelty committed upon his people at the sinister information of his families. But we read not that any made excommunication a sequel of prosecution, and experience teaches us what absurdities should follow thereupon if all should be excommunicated who have been "forfalted" and in disgrace since his majesty took the government into his own hand; for then should they chiefly incur that sentence who in all honest men's opinion have been worthiest subjects, that is to say, his faithfulest servants and kinsmen. And by this reason my uncle, the Earl of Murray, Mr. Knox, and Buchanan, if they were alive, should be excommunicated, seeing his grace thinks no other ways of them "nor" of the most treasonable persons that ever his nation had; and, no doubt, if they survived to this hour their portion had been no better—so far as Maitland's credit might extend—than that of the Earls Morton, Gowrie, and late Earl of Murray. I beseech you therefore, dear brethren, weigh this matter advisedly. Think not your danger past so long as these hard impressions remain of so worthy persons, who only cared for the welfare of religion and their Prince's wealth. Consider how "Schebna" [Maitland] ran the Catholic course so long as it "made for" him. Now he seems to embrace you; but what have you profited by him all these ten years of his credit? He has not augmented your portion or privilege, yet of a beggar he has made himself "puisanter" than any two earls in this realm. He has "impoverit" the Crown, "defacit" the Kirk; "spilt" the country, and so shaken loose the whole body of the realm that no man is sure of life or land but so many as depend on him. For innocency is no guard, guiltiness no terror, equity no argument in pleading, "moyen" and bribes the instruments to prevail in judgment. In the end, when he shall see you to perceive his trumpery and that he cannot profit now by following out your course, he will return to his old wont, like as I assure you he has already begun to do by sending and receiving letters to that effect. To conclude, brethren, if you will have no friendly answer, at least "eik no gall unto my vineaker," and I shall accept it at your hands as a friendly benefit to abstain from that which, without slander and offence, you cannot do. And seeing my estate is rather to be pitied than envied let the punition which I patiently sustain move you to compassion. You know this year and more I, my wife, and innocent children have not had of my own living so much allowance as was bestowed on Richie Graham. During all his time I had neither the pleasure of the day nor rest of the night; for in the day I was forced to hide myself and in the night compelled to travel; my families and servants have been suborned to betray me; sundry odious crimes remitted to notable malefactors to murder me; some persuaded to poison me; Huntly set at liberty upon promise to apprehend and slay me. The rigorous edicts not only of impunity but of great rewards for such as would take in hand to murder the late Prince of Orange were not comparable to the inhuman and barbarous form used against [me]; for my enemies seek not only to deprive me of "harbery, resett," and all other necessaries for sustentation of my body, but their malice so far as in them lies tends to the slaughter of my "gaull," in so far as

James VI. 1592. they would have me to be excommunicated. The instruments of infidels were not so intolerable, for albeit they "interditit" sondry criminals from fire and water, yet seldom or never did they forbid the use of altars and temples.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Copy. In the hand of Bowes' clerk. Indorsed:* "The copie of Bothwell's lamentation set on the ministers' doores."

1592–3. Jan. 1. 783. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Forasmuch as some of the ministers in this town and he [Bowes] were advertised that the Catholics confederated in this realm had put in readiness Mr. George Carr, brother of the Abbot of Newbattle, one of the King's Council, to pass to Spain by the west seas in Mr. Jamison's barque, lying before Ayr and awaiting the coming of the bishops of Ross and Dunblane, order was sent to Mr. Andrew Knox, minister at Paisley, a brother of the Laird of Ramflye, to apprehend Mr. George and all his packets; wherein Mr. Knox discovered that Mr. George had put into the barque his coffers and stuffs and had closely committed to the keeping of the mariners two great packets of letters, and also that he had very secretly passed into the Isle of Comrie, in the west isles of Scotland, attending there the wind, and thereon to embark in most close manner. But Mr. Knox, with the help of Lord Rosse and others, sailed in the night to Comrie and there surprised Mr. George. Afterwards he entered into the barque, and with some favour well prepared amongst the mariners, he found out two great packets of letters, which he bestowed in safe custody. Yesternight the Lord Rosse and Mr. Knox, well guarded by many of this town, brought hither Mr. George Carr and his servant, who are committed to the charge of the Provost. In one of the packets are eight clean sheets of fair and gilded paper, whereon nothing is seen written, save only that some are subscribed solely by William Earl of Angus, some by George Earl of Huntly, some by Francis Earl of Erroll, some jointly by all three, some by the three earls and the Laird of Auchendowne. They are not directed to any person, yet by the humble words in the subscriptions they seem to be addressed to a King or person of high estate. With these blanks are enclosed the seals of the arms of each of the three earls named. The seals are so set down that they may be removed and affixed to the blank at the will of the bearer, and there are eight several seals of every one of these earls to serve for their eight several blanks. It is supposed that sundry of these blanks are filled and written with ink of white vitriol. Many other letters are in this packet and severally addressed by Mr. James Gordon, called "Crawford," Mr Robert Abercrombie, named "Sandyson," the Laird of Fentrie, termed "David Forster," and, by others, to sundry Jesuits, Spaniards, and officers in Spain. Finds letters of John Secylie *alias* Cicell, an Englishman, and a priest sent to Cardinal Allen, some Englishmen, and strangers. Cicell by his letters complains greatly that, without cause, he is suspected to give secret intelligence into England. Has doubted whether Burghley or any other for her majesty have quietly employed him in these parts. The Council here will call earnestly for the King to have all these packets and letters, and the ministers having those packets and letters are fearful and loth to displease the Council.

James VI. 1592-3. Ladylands has not confessed any matter of importance. Mr. Knox still assures him [Bowes] that the two bishops have been or still are in Scotland. It is supposed that these bishops are in the new ship of Leith lately set forth for Bordeaux. This ship has put back into this river. These Jesuits and papists have assured their friends that attempt shall be made in England for the benefit of the Catholic religion and pretend that the Isle of Man shall be taken for the Spaniard. Is informed by his "familliar" that at the meeting betwixt the Abbot of Newbattle and other Scottish Catholics with three English Papists there was one of the officers in the Isle of Man with whom Dudley returned to the Isle of Man.

The King by his letter to the Council has checked them sharply for pressing him to give up the author of the accusation of Mr. Robert Bruce and the ministers, which the King will not do, and he has written that they are like to be canonized for the favours to the ministry. The King has commanded that Ladyland's confession shall be sent to him. Warning has been given to the Master of Glamis that his life shall be taken within ten days if he does not well preserve himself. It is reported that Mackintosh has lately slain many of Huntly's people. These wars against Huntly have hindered the actions of the Catholics. The barons of Fife have made a band amongst themselves for the maintenance of religion, and have required that the barons in all other shires shall do the like. The Queen of Scots, for the pardon of John Douglas, Scotsman, prisoner in London, has written to him [Bowes] to such effect as by her own letter enclosed will appear, and has earnestlyrequired that Bowes would entreat Burghley to call John Douglas before him, that by him and witnesses he might know that Douglas killed her majesty's servant of the guard in his own defence. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Loggan's new ship of Leith has put out for Bordeaux. She will put in at Yarmouth and take a mast. Thinks the suspected persons will not be found in her. Andrew Loggan has sent him [Bowes] advertisement that there is not one suspected or unknown passenger in his ship.

4 *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

Jan. 1. 784. PROMISE BY LORD SEMPILL AND OTHERS.

"The lordis and gentillmen following salbe bund serwanttis to the Quenis majeste of Ingland and the profession of the religion of Chryst Jesu as it is presentle professit in Scotland, and sall bind them selfis and incage ther landis to that effect, ther dute being reserwit to ther awin soverane lord, and sall wpon hir advertesment nocht onle try all sic conspirates as salbe intendit aganis hir majeste's lyf and the religion, bot also sall prevent tham and be rady be ther forces to stay them." Robert Lord Sempill. Robert Lord Ross. Robert Master of Cauldwell. Robert Sempill of Fulwood.

¼ *p. Indorsed by Bowes:* "Mr. Andrew Knoxes note. Geven to me. Edinburgh *primo Januarii*, 1592."

Jan 3. 785. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Yesterday the King's Council fully perused the letters and writings

James VI. 1592–3. found with Mr. George Carr in the barque before Irvine ready for Spain. By the view of these letters, and chiefly of the blanks subscribed with the hands of Angus, Huntly, and Erroll, the whole Council thought it manifest that these and other Catholics in Scotland had confederated with the King of Spain. The Council resolved to send Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume to communicate these weighty causes to the King, to entreat him to hasten his return hither, and to persuade him to arm with all expedition and with his forces to take and punish these three earls and the rest of the confederates. Sir John Carmichael came from the Council to him [Bowes] with advice that he would write effectually to hasten the King's coming hither and to prick him forward to arms, and to be mean that the Queen of England would counsel and prick the King into this action.

Finds the scars of former apprehensions received by the stay of full payment of the year's gratuity given by her majesty to the King to be now "caste upp" with some of this Council, fearing that this matter has over-much possessed the King's mind and hazarded dangers. The Council, for this time, have chosen and sent to the King only one of these letters, written by J. Christeson, who is Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit, to George Crawford, who is Mr. William Crichton, presently in high credit in Spain. Encloses a copy of this letter, together with a note or abstract of all other letters found with Mr. George Carr.

Angus was with the King on Sunday last and recounted to the King his doings and success in the execution of his commission for pacifying the troubles betwixt Atholl and Huntly. It has appeared that Angus sways much the balance for Huntly, and laying some blame on Atholl in that he did not depart out of the county of Moray, the late slaughter done by Huntly's people is sought to be smoothed and covered over. On Monday last Angus came to this town whilst the Council were together, who charged him to keep his house for that night. The provost set a good guard on his house. The next day the Council sent Lord Lindsay and the Prior of Blantyre to carry Angus to the Castle. Angus, refusing to enter into ward, alleged that he had been with the King and was dismissed by him with his favour and good countenance. The town, hearing that he would not obey the Council's order, put themselves hastily in arms intending to have pulled him out of his house. Angus' servant seeing this counselled him to yield. Thereupon he submitted, and was taken to the Castle.

Another of Mr. George Carr's servants was taken yesterday and examined. He confessed that his master was at Dumbarton town with Mr. James Gordon, and in company of another man in grey clothing, old and tall, who is deemed to be the bishop of Dunblane. Albeit that Lord Sempll, Lord Rosse, the Lairds of Coldwall and Falwood have been much infected with papistry, *etc.*, yet they have offered largely their good devotion to the Queen of England.

Proclamation was made yesterday in this town commanding all Jesuits, seminaries, excommunicates, and such persons as were with Bothwell at Holyrood House or Falkland to depart out of the town within three hours upon pain of death, and not to approach near to the King's person or this town by ten miles. This order against Bothwell's followers is cast in to please the King, who has sent him [Bowes] notice that Bothwell

James VI. 1592–3.

is openly received and entertained with great company at Bewcastle by Thomas Musgrave, the captain thereof.

Is informed that a fine pinnace attends and sails with Andrew Loggan's ship, and it is supposed that this pinnace is prepared to receive the bishops and land them at their pleasure. This pinnace is bound for Bayon, in Spain. Is informed that a stranger of good estimation has embarked in a Scottish ship at Dunkirk for Leith with letters to these earls and the Catholics here. Has provided that watch shall be kept at Leith for the entry of this ship. The ship is of Musselburgh, where like order is taken.

Ladyland's chest was withdrawn before Mr. Knox's coming to the house. It is thought that the band, *etc.*, were in that chest. Has travailed with Lord Rosse and has written to Lord Sempill to be a means that that chest and all the letters and writings may be delivered to Mr. Andrew Knox. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. No flyleaf or address.*

First Enclosure with the same :—

(James Christeson [James Gordon] to George Crawford [William Creichton]).

Printed in D. Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc.) v. 195; *Criminal Trials in Scot.* ed. R. Pitcairn, I. Pt. II. 323.

Your friends who are here have directed this present bearer to you for full resolution of all your affairs in these quarters. We have delayed over long, I grant, but he will show you the cause of all. "The next best is yeuse" all expedition in time coming against the next summer, otherwise you will "tyne" credit here with your "factours." If you come you will find more friends than ever you had; but otherwise you will find no favour, because the next summer many are bound to other countries, and will not "abyde" on you any longer to haste home "heare." "Some worde to your frendis that we maye put them in good hope of you, and they will tarye the longer."

The bearer is an honest man and very sufficient: you may credit him as myself. I should have come with him myself were it not I was persuaded that you would "remaine on our answere"; and because I "gott ane stoppe out of Flaunders," as the bearer can show. You have got all that you desired, therefore make haste. The bearer has come to you at his own charge, therefore you must have respect for him. The last bearer that you sent came here "behinde hande," and has got no satisfaction as yet, because nothing could be got here, and we could find no man but this who would pass at his charge; and I fear that if he had not come at his own expense he should not have received answer so soon. Therefore you should treat him the better. "We will heare abyde yourselfe shortlie," and I would you brought the rest of your friends with you that are beyond the sea, "for if your bloke passis forwardes those must be also present," otherwise we must "come" and "vyse with you all." Other affairs of this country I commit to the bearer, who is faithful. Your wife and your bairns "commendes them" to you and look to see you shortly. If I or Sandeson, your servant, receive any silver you shall be advertised by another ticket how "mickle" it is and subscribed "with baithe our handis." The rest I will refer to the bearer. Dundee, 20th November, 1592.

1 *p. Copy. Indorsed by Bowes' clerk*: "Coppie of the lettre send

James VI. 1592-3. by J. Christeson, viz., Mr. James Gordon, Jesuitt, to George Crawforthe viz., Mr. William Crighton, presentlye in Spaine. This is sent to the King by Sir John Carmichell, Sir Geoge Hume."

Second enclosure with the same:—

(Note of letters and writings taken with George Carr.)

"The note of sondrye lettres and wrytinges taken with George Carr and perused by the Counsell at Edenborough the first of January, 1592."

A recommendation or testimonial of Mr. James Gordon in favour of Mr. George Carr, 24th June, 1592.

A letter subcsribed by James Christieson and Robert Sandison confessing the receipt of 100 crowns of the Sun, 3rd December, 1592.

A letter of Mr. Robert Abercrombie "uppon" the same 100 crowns.

In a packet to Cardinal Allen by John Cicell, 2nd October, 1592, the same Cecill's letter to the Cardinal.

Cecill's letter to Robert Parsons.

A letter in Italian subscribed by Garbaro Creuso, directed to one Cairo in Alexandria, in Egypt.

A testimonial by Mr. Robert Abercrombie in favour of Mr. George Carr.

Another testimonial written and subscribed by the Earl of Angus.

Another packet, and therein seven letters.

A letter to Patrie Anthonio, *presbitero societatis Jesu*, from Mr. James Gordon, 20th November, 1592.

Another to George Crawford by Mr. James Gordon, under the name of James Christison, at Dundee, 20th November, 1592.

One letter to Patrie Petro Rebadinero, *societatis Jesu presbitero*, by Mr. James Gordon, 20th November, 1592.

Another to George Crawford by Robert Sandison.

One to Jacob Anellanedo, in Latin, by Mr. James Gordon, 20th November, 1592.

A letter from John Cargill to William Craig, 12th June, 1592.

A letter from Henry Gylbert to Mr. Robert Balfour.

A charter, unsubscribed or sealed, made by Mr. Alexander Hume, of Polywall, to Mr. Alexander Kinge, advocate, of four "husband landes in Spatt and Eister Bromehowse."

An assignation "conforme" thereto, unsubscribed or sealed.

A missive bill, subscribed by "hym ye whot who"; who is Mr. Alexander Kinge.

A missive from James Cristison to Thomas Anderson, 10th July, 1592

Another from James Cristison to William Heriot, of the same date.

A letter from David Forster, which is Fintrie, to [ ].*

A packet containing five pieces.

One from John Chisholme to his brother John Chisholme in Vaisonn.

One from James Chisholme to Mr. George Carr, 24th October, 1592.

One from John Chisholme to the bishop of Vaihon.

A discourse of news, "of" John Chisholme's hand.

A missive from James Cristison to Robert Sandeson, 10th November, 1592.

A blank subscribed by William "Comte de Angus."

* Blank.

James VI. 1592–3. A blank subscribed by the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Erroll, and Laird of Auchindoun.

Another of the same form.

Another subscribed "Georgius comes de Huntley."

Another subscribed "Franciscus Errolie comes."

Another subscribed "Georgius comes de Huntley."

Another subscribed "Gulihelmus Angusie comes."

Three folded pieces of paper whereupon are stamped the "taschetts" or seals of arms of the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Erroll.

1 *p.* *In the hand of Bowes' clerk.* *Indorsed:* "Th'abstrack of the lettres taken with Mr. George Carr and vewed by the Counsell. Edenburgh, 2° *Januarii* 1592."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

James VI. 1589-90. Additional Letters of Robert Bowes, English Ambassador in Scotland.[1]

Jan. 27. 1.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"According to my former purpose certified by my letter sent to you before these presents, I have addressed and sent up this bearer Rafe Bowers, my sonne, not only to take some good order with you and Mr. Customer Smithe for the debt that I owe him, and to proceed in the matter betwixt Sir Robert Constable and myself, with other like business for myself, but also to inform you in such particularities of the present estate in this realme as I find here, and have committ to his report the enlargement of the discoverie of the same to you, wherein as his experience in these affairs sufficeth not to enlarge greatly the report of the intelligence, or to satisfy you with the advertisment of circumstances beyond the enstructions that I have given him, so it may please you favorablie to accept of his indeavour and best service in his power, and to procure tymelie resolution and direction, to be sent to me in such severall matters wherein I rest upon her Majesties pleasure and order to be signified to me, as this bearer will impart unto you. All other causes concerning myself and poore estate I leave to his further creditt and to your accustomed goodness to me, right humbly praying you to shew to me in this tyme of my necessitie the continuance of your wonted goodness and favour to me. I sent to the Master of Graie your letter addressed to him, whereunto he could not hitherto retorne you answere as by the coppie of his letter, th' originall whereof is brunt in the light of his servant, to be delivered to you by this bearer will appear to you."

Edinburgh.

Feb. 3. 2.—To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham.

"The Lord Hamilton and the Prior of Blantire retorned hither on Wednesdaie the 28 of Januarie last bringing with them Jaen de Merida, capten of the little bark, his lieutenant James Colvill, the pilot, and Hughe Hare of Waterford in Ireland. Albeit they shewed to me th' examination of these persons and their own doings at Whitehorne, yet knowing by the Lord Hamilton that he had sent the said examinations to the Lord Scrope, and acquainted his servant with all things then done at Whitehorne, all which I trust the Lord Scrope hath advertised to you, therefore I thought it nedeles to trouble you with further report thereof, but rather to staie these presents untill I could certifie the further progresse of the counsell with these persons mentioned, and th' Acts in this Convention presently dissolved. Because I found little matter discovered touching a true cause of th' imployment of this bark into this realme, therefore I did both solicite sundrie noblemen, and also moved the whole Convention assembled to do their good endeavours to try out the misteries sought

1 From eighteenth century transcripts in New York Public Library. *See* Introduction.

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to be covered in this behalf, and yet manifest enough, and thereon to advertise her Majestie by their own letters what they shall find by the same to concern religion or th' estaits of the Soveraigns and these two realmes, praying also to have Hare the Irishman, after they had ended to deale further with them. They redelie promised to be carefull in the matter, and with diligence to advertise her Majestie; and they have caused the capten and pilott to be newlie examined both before certen commissioners chosen for the purpose and also before the whole bodie of the Counsell. The Clark Register delivered to me both the Counsells letter addressed to her Majestie, and also the copies of their depositions, together with th' instructions given to the said capten and pilott in this voiage, and the copies of thre severall letters addressed by the Marquess of Ceralbo to th' Earl of Bothwell and the Laird of Barnes called Marquesse de May and by the said capten to the Lord Maxwell, which letter, depositions, and copies of the said letters, together with the copies of the examinations taken before at Whitehorne and elsewhere by Blantire, I send inclosed.

James Colvill the pilott is committe to the Castle, and albeit that it is pretended that he shall be severelie delt withall, and that the capten and bark shall be staied untill the Kings retorne, yet I find them so frended here as it is not likely that they shall long lack their liberties, for the which pursute is made that thereby the merchants in Spain may the better escape all troubles, and that Vaudres may be discharged of his caution, and promise given to the capten, and th' others upon their first submission, that they shall be delivered within ten days in case they shall not be found giltie of treason against the King or that estate: if Colvill shall be deteined the rest are thought unable to guide the bark. The rest herein I referre to the view of the confessions and other instruments inclosed.

The Convention hath appointed Capten Arnett to prepare himself and make sail with all spede to Norwaie to advertise the King of the coming of Mr. Patrick Gallowaie, who likewise shall be emploied and sent to the King to informe him of the present estate in this realme, with all late accidents in the same, and to persuade his spedie retorne and indelable order for prevention of the dangers appearing, like as by my former I have remembered.

Letters are directed by the Councell to the burrughs to send hither their commissioners on the 16th of this month to advise and determyn for provision of ships and all necessaries to transport the King and the Queen into this realme.

Commissioners shall be appointed in every countie to take the bonds of every suspected person in religion, that they shall give their assistance against th' enemies of religion and forren forces, or els to be committ to ward. It was moved that sondrie of the nobilitie well affected might be resi[d]ant here for the comfort of the good subjects and terror of the wicked, but no order was resolved therein: yet it is intended that sondry noblemen shall by turn be present in this town for the better preservation of the peace in this realme.

The Lords Sancker and Dumlanerick are charged to appear before the Counsell for their outrages against the Lord Hamilton.

The Earle of Bothwell retorned hither on Mondaie last from Kincarne the house of Montrosse: before his retorne he made it known where he was and what he was doing, to th' intent I and others, whose good

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opinions he sought to retain, might be satisfied and understand that he had not nor would not deale in any practice with the Spanish as he had ben suspected. It appeareth well that in this his absence he especiallie attended and went about his other affections, as before I have written to you; and I and others are crediblie advertised by sondrie of good intelligence that he is holden in great suspicion with the Spanish partie, who think him resolutelie devoted to her Majestie, the continuance and suretie of which his near frends have faithfully promised and assured on his behalf. And having appointed to be with me this daie I know that he will confirme the same so as, with the advice of the well affected here, I hold on my course with him, looking for all good offices to be done to her Majestie by him agreeble to his former offer.

Th' Erle Huntlaie hath written to the Clark Register to intreat him to signifie to the King that in his absence he will so duetifully carry and behave himself as the common peace and country shall not be disquieted by him or his meanes; he purposeth to send an especiall messenger to the King to seek the Kings favour and graunt of sondry parts of the possessions of the Bushop of Murrey, which nevertheles are claimed by th' Erle of Murray.

The suspicions that the Spanish confederates do intend some surprise or other like attempt do still continue, and many where provision is made to prevent the danger thereof, yet hitherto no manifest matter can be discovered as before I have signified to you."

Postscript.—"Your several letters of the 22 and 24 of January last I have received finding therein full answers and satisfaction in the most of the causes wherein I sought her Majesties pleasure and direction. And agreeable to the same I shall dispose my course both to give contentment to the parties having their desires granted, and also with the best means I can to please the other sort that must be contented with words, without the dedes looked for. I wished chefelie that this town by some small propyne might have tasted her Majesties benevolence, which in this place and generallie throughout the realme in the harts of all the well affected wold have wrought effects and services to her Majestie worthy the same to have been imployed."

Feb. 3. 3.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"If her Majestie shall resolve to write to the King with Mr. Patrick Gallowaie to perswade the expedition of his retorne into this realme, agreeable to the desier of Sir Robert Melvill and others of the Counsell before certified to you, it may then please you to hasten the same to me, that it maie be with me before Mr. Patrick's departure which I think shall be about the 20th hereof at the furthest; and I beseche that I maie be advertised whether I shall with Mr. Patrick write to the King and to what effect, so as I may nether omitt my dutie happelie looked for at my hands, nor yet committ any falt against my duetie to whom I may not offend.

Collonnell Steward hath imparted to me the overture, as he termeth it, for the Tripertite League, and this day he purposed to sett it downe in writings to be conveied to you which very shortlie shall be sent to you.

That I might understand such secrets as 333 wold not before committ to paper I sent unto him Edward Jonson agreable to his own appointment,

James VI. 1589-90 and he purposing to be here very shortlie deferreth the same untill his coming.

The intelligence given me as well both by Robert Scott, who is newlie returned out of the north, and very willing with his great paines and charges to help me for your sake, as also of such Catholick as I have imploied to trafick with others of his habit, do little concurre with th' advertisment of 333. I find that his father and himself have little interest with Huntley and the principal parsons in that partie. But he hath good acquaintance with sundry others that have secrett moyens amongst them. He pretendeth that his house is sought for and is desirous to have some ordinance for the defense thereof; at his request I have thought good to commend the same to you and leave it to your consideration and order what answer I shall return him.

I am informed by both the said intelligencers that the Spanish faction do look for forrayn forces first from the Low Countries and next from Spaine. They think that 6000 men shall be sent by the Duke of Parma unto the ayde of the Leaguers in France and that afterwards they shall be drawen to Newhaven and then to be imbarked for Scotland. The rest of th' advertisments of the parties I shall by the next send unto you."

Edinburgh.

Feb. 7. 4.—To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham.

"After many examinations taken of the capten and pilott of the Spanish bark the Counsell finding no further matter then before was confessed, and as I have certified, resolved to committ the capten and pilott to safe custodie untill the King's retorne and to leave the bark and company in th' hands of Blantire and Barneburrow; for the Counsell found the captain and companie giltie of such offence as deserved punishment and to be deteined untill the King's pleasure might be known. Nevertheless they thought it expedient to forbear to sett down and expresse the degree and quantitie of the cryme, commending the determination of the same to be done by the King upon report of th' estate of the matter to be opened to him. This course was partlie perswaded to satisfie th' Earle of Bothwell, clayming the bark and custodie of the men by vertue of his office of Admiraltie. And that he might be the more willing to consent to th' order of the Counsell, I was moved to travaile with him; wherein when I had perswaded him to yeld to the order mentioned, then the Counsell upon new and sodayne deliberation did cast the charge upon him, committing to him the keeping of the capten and pilott, men and bark, until the King's retorne, with direction that he should intertaine the capten and pilott, dispose and bestow the companie in gentlemens houses and fitt places, and to take from the bark her sails and takling.

[*Marginal:* I have been bold to lett sondry of the wisemen of the Counsell see the errour of their inconstancie therein.]

That Blantire and Barneburrow might be discharged of their promises given to the capten and th' others to retorne to the bark within ten daies in case they should not be found culpable of cryme against the person or estate of the King or safetie of the countrie, the Counsell have given out their Act in that behalf. Thus presentlie the bark and company are in the hands and disposition of th' Erle of Bothwell, and the captain and pilott at liberties upon such bond or promis as the Erle hath taken of them.

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Yesterdaie th' Erle Bothwell shewed that he had earnestlie labored James Colvile the pilott, being his servant, to confesse plainelie to him the truth in all things, yet he could not gitt out any more of him then that the Spanish Navie wold be in redines in th' end of May next, contrary to his former deposition, and were in purpose to attempt land at Plymouthe.

Albeit that Bothwell hath been bruted to have spoken with Huntlay and Arell in the time of his late absence, and that he mett them at Borgan, the house of the Lord Ogilby, and at Barresse, the house of the Master of Angusse, which matters Mr. Robert Bruce and myself did lay before him upon conference with him therein, yet with depe protestations he utterlie denied the same before Mr. Bruce and me, telling us jornies to Kincarne, St Jonstons, and Moncklure, much agreable to my former letters, and shewing us how he was occasioned to staie the longer in these parts upon report made to him that sixty of the Humes and their frends were comed over the water and awaiting to surprise him, against whom he gathered his friends in those parts, mynding to have cutt them off; but in th' end he found none intending any hurt to him.

Mr. Patrick Gallowaie is redie within few daies to make saile for Norway to the King. Some meanes have been devised to arrest and staie this ship prepared for him, which manie think to be done ether to staie his voyage, or els to dryve him to imbark in such other vessell as shall not well intreat him. The imployment of him in this service is stomaked by some, yet the well affected still travell to sett him forward with all expedition.

When the Lord Maxwell hath latelie carried himself so well as good hope was conceived of his continuance in a good course in th' absence of the King, yet the Ministers about him have latelie certified that he is retorned to his old papistrie far contrary to his former protestation. But hitherto I have not hard that he hath practised with any or entered into any action to trouble the state, wherein within few daies I shall be advertised with better certentye.

It is informed me that Huntlaie hath billed and put in readiness six score of his frends to attend upon him at his call. He is advised to forbear to come hither as he had purposed. And the matter betwixt him and the Master of Graie for Dunfermling is continewed untill the next month. They both are willing and have offered to surrender their interest to the King in that promotion, which the King hath given to the Quene. Arrell likewise hath fifty horsemen and thirty footmen of his frends above his ordinaire retinew. And it is told me, yet I am suspicious of the truth thereof, that Claude Hamilton hath also listed an hundred men, with pretence that it is done for his safetie in the feades against him. These are thought to be signs of troubles to follow, the rather because it hath been foretold, as I have before certified, that they wold increase their retinewes before their entry into any action; but some wold perswade me that these new companies may happelie be imploied in discord among themselves, for one of Huntlaies hath lately killed one Hay of the House of Arrell, and wherewith Arrell is presentlie so greved as the rest do bestirre themselves to pacify the matter.

It is given to me to understand that this Spanish faction have lately espied by some of the Spanish bark that the Spanish navie can not be redie this summer to come forwards, and that thereby they are sodainelie amazed, and resolved to mete for further deliberation, having sent to Mr. Robert Bruce the Jesuite to mete them, for he is retorned into Scotland,

James VI. 1589-90. as is confidently affirmed unto me, and lurketh at the house of Sir James Yesome [*sic:* Chesome] at Dundorne in Strayhenie [*sic:* Strathearn].

This towne weried with the charges imposed upon them have left of their watche and ward latelie raised, and given over their purpose to levie any men to serve for the safetie of it. The Duke is departed to the mariage of young Bas . . . in Fife, where Bothwell is also purposed to be. So as this town is left with few Counsellors. But many well affected are affraid that in this calme and securitie some sodayne enterprise may peradventure be attempted, against which some will be found watching.

Upon the understanding of her Majesties pleasure resolved to baptise the daughter of th' Earle Bothwell, and to give some present to the value of 100*l*, I have put a faire bason and ewre of that price to be made and redie for that use, and to entreat the Ladie of Murrey, daughter of the Earle of Murrey deceased, and who will be here within two daies, to supply the place of her Majestie. The King's House of Holyroodehouse is prepared for this assembly, but the day is not yet appointed." Edinburgh.

Feb. 7. 5.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"The Master of Gray by his letter inclosed hath written to you to such effects as by the same will appear unto you. He remayneth in opinion that the Spanish faction shall seek the surprise of his house at Borthy lyeing very fitt for them. Therefore he hath required me to renew his former request that he may have two mynions or fawcons of brass, two quarter fawkons and six harquebyzes of found, to the intent he may preserve the pece against the Spanish partie and for her Majestie's service to the which he devoteth it and himself with all such rediness as is sufficiently known to you. He is in purpose to send to you Edward Jonson in such sute to Her Majestie as he dependeth in your furtherance, and as you will shortlie understand further by the said messenger who to his power is very willing in dede to do all good offices.

333 hath given me intelligence that Bothwell was at Borgan and Barresse as in my former is expressed, that there he mett with Huntley and Arrell, and looketh to receive 1500 pistolets which he will not take in Spanish gold but in Spurr Rials of Scotland, and that he will not give his hand testifieing the receipt thereof to uses known amongst themselves, but his word and honour, whereupon he cannot get the gold. Moreover that Bothwell purposeth to seise and take into his hands Orkney, having alredie entertained 360 men and putt in redines two ships for that purpose. And that this is done to assure the Spaniards to fynde harborrowe and refuge in any distresse, and in case they shall be dryven to come upon that coast as before they did, he moved me to have delt with the Counsell to staie Bothwell's enterprise herein: but understanding how farre the King was pleased that Bothwell should proceed in this matter, and finding the matter to concerne the particular interests and estate of Bothwell and the Lord of Orkney, I did beare of to put my self into it, knowing that it should breed such hurt to her Majesties service, whereupon he resteth satisfied.

The other daie th' Erle of Bothwell shewed to me her Majesties safe-conduct granted to him for his repaire to her Majestie. The same hath bene procured and sent and the whole matter is carried without my privitie or knowledge, and wherewith I am right well pleased; therefore

James VI. 1589-90. he hath devised to be imploied and sent to her Majestie by the Counsell using my help to further the same. But because it seemeth that the King hath left no expresse warrant or order to the Counsell to imploy or send any ambassadour in the affaires of the State in his absence, therefore this devise will not be compassed without great difficultie, as shortly will be better known to you at other hands that have the handling of it.

Bothwell having intelligence with the Duke of Parma, as he telleth me, looketh to have sent to him within 8 or 10 daies a ship with armour and munition; yet he will still be at her Majesties devotion and will discharge himself, as he saith, honorably toward the King of Spain, with whom he will have no further dealing." Edinburgh.

Feb. 7. 6.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"According to my former Collonell Stewart hath both opened to me the overture or plott before mentioned to Mr. Ashby and my self, and also sett it down with his own hand in writing and delivered the same to me to be conveied spedelie to you. This note in writing I send inclosed to you. And that you may the better understand the same note, and the effects of his report of the matter uttered to me, I have also thought good, agreeable to his owne desier, to certifie you that in his negociation in Denmark in October, 1588, he conferred with the chief Counsellors in th' articles of his instructions given by the King his master. And upon deliberation and question rising on one especial article, how the dangers likely to fall on the whole Isle of Brittaine by the invasion and greatness of the King of Spaine might be prevented, the same Counsellors for remedie therein did propose and advise the plott following:—

That the King of Scotts, after his mariage with the King of Denmark's daughter, should imploy and send to the King of Spaine ambassadors well chosen, with commission to let the King of Spaine know that in respect of religion, blood, and habitation he could not but think himself, his honour, estate, and realme to be depely interessed and endangered by any invasion to be made into any part of this Isle; whereupon the ambassadors should endevour to draw the King to yeld to such honorable means as with equitie and suretie to all parties shall remove the causes breding or norishing th' occasions of any such invasion or warres to be attempted in this Isle;

That likewise the King of Denmark and Counsell shall have their ambassadors with the King of Spaine to second and advance the motions of the ambassadors of Scotland by all the good means they can.

If these peaceable motions shall be imbraced with good faith, then to procede therein in order honorable and sure; otherwise that th' ambassadors of Scotland, setting forth the just causes bynding the King his master to joyne with and assist the Queene of England in leagtie defensive and offensive, shall declare their master's resolution to take part with her Majestie in this warre by himself, all his frends, and confederates. And that the ambassadors of Denmark, shewing how straitelie the King their master and the State there are bound to assist the Queene of England, and to joyne with the King of Scotland now married and matched with the King's sister, shall likewise declare that the King and Counsell of Denmark, their frends, and confederates will take part with the Queene of England and the King of Scotts in this warre.

James VI. 1589-90. That thereupon the Soveraignes of these three Crownes shall both bynde and unite together themselves, their frends, and confederats to resist and annoy this common enemy, and also provide that no victuals, corne, habiliments of warre, powder, munition, takeling or furniture for shipps, or any other commodities whatsoever serving for the benefitt and use of the enemy, shall be transported out of any of the three several realmes to serve th' enemy.

He hath further informed me that the Counsellors of Denmark did not only propone and advise that plott at his first conference with them, but sithence the same, and earnestlie att his last being there, pressed th' expedition of the matter; whereby he gathereth and verely thinketh that the Kings of Denmark and Scotland and these Counsellors will redelie consent and agree to the execution of the devise and plott mentioned.

It is by him required that in case her Majestie shall be pleased to entertaine and accept well of this matter thus offered, and to be prosecuted in such due sort as her Majesties experience and wisedom findeth best, that then it may please her Majestie to advertise the King of Scotts of her Majesties resolution in the same.

That her Majesties letters to be addressed to the King of Scotts may be sent to Collonell Stewart before th' end of this month to th' intent he may carry the King his master.

That the Lord Treasurer and your self wold write to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland to stirr him forward in the matter.

That some frendlie letters may be sent to Monsieur Ranclus giving him thanks for his forwardness signified by Collonell Stewart in this cause and perswading his continuance in the same.

That Collonell Stewart may receive advertisement of her Majesties pleasure, as well for his direction for the progresse of this matter, as also for declaration of her Majesties good mynd towards him to preserve him and his interests in the Lowe Countryes from prejudice to fall to him by his open labours and imployments in these affairs. He eviseth also that it may please her Majestie to imploy and send spedely into Denmark some fit person to congratulate the King his master his mariage: and that therewith such person may have power and commission to negociate this matter after it shall be moved to him: for he thinketh it may be best renewed and revived again by himself, and for the which he offereth his whole service and power.

All which he hath required me to commend to you with especial request that in this all expedition secrecy and discretion may be used, and that he may with spede be advertised what to look for in this case, to th' intent he may in best tyme put himself in redines, and to do all things committ to charge with best effects and diligence.

These as I have received at his mouth and hand so hereby I send them to you as well[?] his report and mynd as I can, leaving the same to wise consideration and judgment." Edinburgh.

Feb. 12. 7.—To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham.

"Where Sir John Forster and Sir John Selby by their several letters have advertised me that the Larde of Fernyherst on the last of January last with one hundred persons with him came unto Lydewood in Tyndale in the Myddle Merches, and that sondry of Lyddesdale, West Tyvidale,

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and Water of Rowell in Scotland, being 200 parsons, came likewise to the towne of Myndrum in the east Wardenry of England on the fifth daie of this instant month, and that these severall companies have both severably brunt the townes, corne, and hay in the said two townes and caried awaie the cattle and goods found there, and also taken sondry prisoners, and do still kepe and deteine them, therefore I have written and sent an especiall messenger unto the Lord Hamilton, Lord Lieutenant of the Marches of Scotland, and also moved the whole body of the Counsell here for seasonable and immediate redresse for these attempts; letting them know that these outrages are not committed for pikeing, staeling, or revenge of feades, but rather are drawen on by some seditious persons in this realme seeking to bring in forrein forces for alteration of this religion and estate, and to breake the Borders for the more redy compassing of their practises: which matter I have the more earnestlie stood upon and urged bicause I have ben credibli advertised before the tyme of these attempts that the Spanish confederats were advised to procure the breache of the Borders, as I did lay fourth before the Counsell.

And because I have spered and found out some sundry particular offenders at Myndrome to be of Lyddisdale under the rule of th' Erle Bothwell, I have also travailed with him for the apprehension of these faulters, and for justice to be done with all expedition as to the necessitie of the case appertaineth, wherein he hath promised to give tymelie satisfaction.

The Counsell, shewing great care to give immediate redresse in these behalfs, have addressed their several letters to the Lord Hamilton, Lord Maxwell, and Lard of Cesford, directing both the Lord Hamilton to repaire spedelie to Pebles to take order that the principall offendors may be taken to be delivered for their offences, and that he provide by open proclamation and all other meanes in his power to staie and prevent all like attempts to be hereafter made in England, and also commanding the Lord Maxwell and the Lard of Cesford to come unto and attend upon the Lord Hamilton for th' apprehension of such offenders as shall be found within their severall wardenries and offices, and for th' execution of justice in these matters, like as by the copies of the Counsells letters mentioned and inclosed will better appeare to you. And the Lord Hamilton, shewing his redines by his letter and particular messenger addressed to me, hath promised his best endeavour for th' expedition of this redresse, as also by the copie of his letter sent to me and inclosed will be seene unto you. Of all these doings I have advertised Sir John Foster and Sir John Selby, sending to them the copies of all the letters of the Counsell and the Lord Hamilton, to th' intent they may better understand th' orders taken herein.

And agreable to the requests of the Counsell, I have written unto and praied Sir John Forster and Sir John Selby to take order that none in their wardenries and offices shall in this meane time make any incursion, reade, or attempt in Scotland in revenge of the faults mentioned; praying them further to let me know what manner of redress they desire to be yelded and done to them for these attempts, and I shall travell to procure th' obtayning of the same by the best means in my powre.

I have ben credibly informed that the Duke of Lenox seketh to have in mariage on of the daughters of th' Erle Morton.

It is also told me for certain that the Spanish faction are defeat in th'

James VI. 1589-90. especiall purpose and matter that they intended to have attempted, that sondry of them are presentlie together to deliberate of matters chefelie to pacifie the greefs amongst them and what they shall hould in case as they stande. They are persuaded that the King of Spaine will send an embassadour to the King of Denmark, both to treat for mariage and also to know whether in the late treatise betwixt the Kings of Denmark and Scotland any league or treatie be made with England, wherein the ambassador shall have commission to seeke to staie all th' articles that tend to intertayne any amity with England. This advertisment is given by letters from Crighton the Jesuit; and by Crightons letters it is further advertised that the Counsell of Spaine by their letters of the 28th of September last have advised the Duke of Parma to retire himself home to take the ayre of his native contry for recovery of his health, promising that his service shall be rewarded in him and all his posteritie." Edinburgh.

Postscript.—" The Lord Hume accompanied with four score men armed came yesterdaie to the sea lincks at Leith and taried there near four howers. It is thought that he had intended to have their surprised th' Erle Bothwell, who, as Hume was informed, had purposed to have ben there abouts; but by other occasions Bothwell staide, and knew nothing of Humes being there untill he was departed. This matter hath kyndled the fier betwixt them, and it is like to draw on evil effects."

Feb. 12. 8.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

" Your list of the third hereof I have received together with one note touching Mr. Richard Duglasse, which I have red and burned, according to your pleasure therein. Your opinion (thinking that 321 will not quite his trafique abrode untill he see how 32 will deale with him) is well grounded, and I find the same very evident, for albeit that by his open dealings with us his credit is eraised with th' other confederates, yet they are still willing to intertaine him as by sundry letters sent to him I understand, and he continweth his intelligence with them, keping all secrets in his owne bosome to do therein as he shall find occasion ministered to him. I wish still that the course with him may be caried by such as hitherto have drawen it to th' estate wherein it presentlie standeth, for their interest in him may rather make him constant then my meanes shall be able to work the same.

In many of the points wherein I have sought and praied your direction I am already satisfied by your former letters; yet of such as remayne and wherein I attend the advertisment of the resolution thereof and [*sic* I] have sent a note inclosed, humbly prayeing that I may know whether they shall be granted or denied, that I may upon notice thereof carye my self and course, and give the best contentment I can to the parties looking for answer therein.

For your goodness offered in myne own private and troublesome causes I do give most humble and hartie thanks, commending the same, my self, and estate, to your accustomed favour by the greatnes whereof alredie and many tymes shewed to me I acknowledge my self and all myne bound to honour and serve you with hart, hand, and all that we have during our lives." Edinburgh.

" For your French occurrents I give right hartie thanks, for the same

James VI. 1589-90. wrought me greater help in my service here than a round sum of monie could have done.

Sundry articles wherein I have before this required direction to be given me, and upon which I still attend being in many others alredie satisfied.

1 Her Majestie's letters to the King of Scotts required by Sir Robert Melvill and others of the Counsell to perswade th' expedition of the Kings return, and to be caried by Mr. Patrick Gallowaie redie to take that voiage to the King in Norway.
2 Advertisment of her Majesties resolution in the overture of Collonell Steward preparing likewise to return to the King.
3 The safe conduct granted to th' Erle of Crawford and Lord Sancker to be sent agreable to her Majesties pleasure certified therein.
4 Direction whether I shall write to the King with Mr. Patrick or Collonell Stewart and to what effects.
5 Your own letter to the Master of Glames, shewing your good opinion renewing and continwed towards him.
6 Advertisment whether the letters of Mr. James Murray be comed to your hands and what is done therein."

Feb. 16. 9.—"To the Kings Majestie of Scotland at Apslow in Norway and Mr. Patrick Galloway."

"It may please your Majestie. Upon advertisment given to her Majestie my soveraigne that sundry troubles appeared to fall out in this realme endangering the religion and th' estate, and upon the sute of Mr. William Ashby for his revocation, her Majestie was pleased both to imploy and send me hither to advise this Counsell established by your Majestie of the perills arising, and to offer to them her Majesties succours and aide for prevention of the evils, and also to appoint me to remayne and supply here Mr. Ashbies place during her Majesties pleasure, in which service I shall deligentlie endeavour to do the dueties to my soveraigne aforesaid and to your Majestie.

The preparations of the navie and army in Spaine and th' imployment of the Spanish bark sent into this realme, together with the signes of civill troubles likely to arise here by the practise of the seditious, who in your absence will be allwaies worst occupied, do so necessarily require provident regard to discover the plotts and progress thereof and tymely intelligence to be sent to your Majestie for resolution of your order to remedie in beginning the diseases growing. But trusting that your Majestie is sufficientlie advertised of the full trothe herein by your wise Counsell and others, I hold it fitt for me with this memorie of these weightie effects to leave the same to their report and to your grave consideration.

The late attempts in the Middle and East Marches of England severally by the Lard of Pherniherst and by sundry of Lyddisdale, West Tyvidale, and others Scottishmen, appear to be enterprised rather of intent to breake the Borders to draw on the designs of the favorits of Spaine then of any purpose to revenge feades, or seeke spoiles in the places burnt and harryed. And seeing the necessitie is the greater to redresse th' offence with expedition of justice, and to restraine the like attempts in the tyme coming and in your absence, it may therefore please your Majestie to address to your Counsell here, and to all and everie the chefe officers of

James VI. 1589–90. your borders, your tymely order and commandment for the seasonable execution of such remedies to be ministred in these behalfs as the greatness of the causes and the condition of this tyme duely require; and attending your tymely direction in the same, I have for the mean tyme staied both the Wardens of the Middle and East Marches of England to seeke any forceable revenge for th' attempts mentioned and also the repaire of forces to be drawen unto and planted on the Borders, thinking that the peaceable manner of the administration of justice to be commanded by your Majestie in this case with spede shall better preserve the amitie betwcen these two crowns then violent revenge, oftentimes falling rather on the innocent than the craftie offender.

All others I refer to the report of this bearer, whom I thought mete to accompanie with these effects remembered, and with the signs of due memorie of my duetie to your Majestie to whom I wish perfect prosperite and wellfare. Thus I pray God to give your Majestie a speedie and happie retorne into this realme." Edinburgh.

Feb. 16. 10.—To Sir John Mateland Chancellor of Scotland at Apslow in Norway.

"Being imploied and staied to succede and supply the place of Mr. Ashby in this realme during the pleasure of her Majestie my soveraigne, who, having experience on the good frutes growen on your Lordships labours and good offices for the benefit of the common causes, doth greatlie esteem and honour your Lordship for the same. I have therefore found it agreeable to my duetie, upon the commoditie of the repaire of this bearer to your presence, to accompanie him with due memorie and offer of my redines to be imploied by your Lordship to do to you all the good pleasures in my powre, knowing that the same shall stand with the contentment of her Majestie and myne owne duetie.

The present estate of this country I leave to the report of such as can with best certenty acquaint your Lordship, trusting by your careful and provident meanes the dangers appearing shall be seasonably prevented.

The late attempts and outrages done in the Middle and East Marches of England do so necessarily call for indiliate redresse for the preservation of the peace and the happie amitie betwixt these two Crowns, and for the prevention of the great inconveniences arising thereon, as I beseche your Lordship to imploy your good meanes and remembrance to the King your soveraigne for his tymely order to be addressed in th' expedition of the same: for albeit that hitherto I find good concurrency in the Counsell established by the King, yet I am not ignorant that many difficulties fall in the due and full execution of justice in like cases, which mischefe in the condition of this tyme and estate of both the realmes ought to be avoided, as I hope your Lordship will have in good consideration." Edinburgh.

"Memoriall to Mr. Patrick Galloway."

"1. That you may be instructed and know the contents of my letter addressed to the King of Scotts conveyed by your self, I have sent inclosed unto you the copies of the same letter to the intent you may advertise his Majestie of myne employment in this realme at this tyme and that the cause of my coming to this Counsell established by the King with all

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other effects expressed in that letter, which matters I wholly leave to the view of the copy mentioned.

2. Because the Kings Majesties order is craved in some things, chefely for th' expedition of the redresse to be made for the late attempts in the Myddle and East Marches of England, therefore it may please you to put the King in mynd thereof and to solicite th' execution of the same with the best spede.

3. To present to the King my service and good affection which willingly and to th' uttermost of my powre shall be imploied for his honour and good contentment agreeable to her Majesties pleasure addressing me hither for the accomplishment of the same.

4. To let me be advertised by the meanes best pleasing the King what his Majesties resolutions shall be for the Borders and for th' other parts of my letter.

5. To deliver to the Lord Chancellor my letter directed to his Lordship with all good complements promising all thankfull offices his Lordship.

6. To do my hartie commendations to the Lard Carmighell."

Feb. 17. 11.—To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham.

"Th' Erle of Montrosse, the Lord Ogilby, and others suspected convened at Skone in great numbers and th' Erle of Huntley had assembled 600 men. Whereupon it was doubted that some hastie troubles should have followed this quiet calme. But I have learned that the convention at Skone was to take order for the restitution of goods violentlie taken by Glamonken and to compound sundry private discords arising amongst themselves: and Huntlay assembled his frends and tenants to reskue the house of Vassaye besieged by Balengoone.

Sundry perticuler quarrells have lately fallen amongst the northern lords, chefely betwixt Huntlay and Arrell: for upon the slaughter of James Hay, kinsman to Arrell and slaine by Andro Hareng, servant to Huntlay, Arrell hath taken the escheat of Alexander Gorden, brother of Huntlay, and of the Countesse of Arrell, wife of the said Alexander, and mother-in-law of Arrell. Gorden and the Countesse his wife are at horne in civill actions, whereupon Arrell hath obtained and levieth their escheits.

Huntlay hath agreed Sutherland and Cathness, and labour is made to compound the grefes amongst the rest.

Arrell and Montrosse have severally moved Mr. Patrick Galloway to assure the King of their loyalties and obediance, and that they shall hold themselves quiet during his absence. Albeit that this calme contenewing and these assurances offered to the King do promiis peace in this estate, yet the well affected look for troubles upon the first opportunitie and advantage that the Spanish faction shall gitt.

I am credibly informed by a Catholique person that the Jesuits and other busy instruments have drawen sundry articles to be deliberate and resolved at the next convocation of the lords and confederats for Spaine; and that one especiall person is imploied and sent to the heads of the said confederats to confer with them in th' articles and to appoint some tyme to convene for their resolutions. In these articles they advise for the breache of the Borders, and how to defeat the redresses to be given to England for any attempts, whether it shall be convenient to surprise and kepe any strong townes and peces in this realme, who shall command

James VI. 1589–90 therein, and what entertaynement shall be allowed. And herein they chefely perswade to possesse the places adjoyning to Ireland, from whence they look to receive intelligence and comforts. They attend the coming of the letters of Crighton the Jesuit, by which they look to be satisfied with certaine aid in all their affaires. In the mean tyme these busy instruments seeke to perswade every one of them to kyth and manifest their good myndes and determinations for the progresse of th' action, agreable to such resolutions as shall be taken for the same.

Albeit that it is here denied that Mr. Robert Bruce is returned into this contry, yet this informer assureth me that he was in Aberdeen the 30th hereof, and with diligence seketh th' advancment of this cause with large offers and earnest perswasions to all the parties in the same; but how he and th' other instruments shall prevaile or what shall ensue of this convention intended and sought for he cannot as yet tell.

The Lord Hamilton by his letter to me hath appointed to be here the 24th hereof, to advise with the Counsell for th' execution of redresses to be made for the late attempts in the Middle and East Borders of England, and thereupon to be at Jedworth on the 20th of this month, having alredy given notice thereof to the country and taken order for th' assembly of the barrons and gentlemen to procede in th' execution of justice which is promised to be done with expedition and favour.

The Counsell by their letters have discharged the single combatt chalenged and to have bene performed the 22nd day hereof betwixt James Jonston, cosen to the Larde of Dumlanerig, and one Maxwell, servant to the Lord Maxwell. It is thought Maxwell, finding that the partie of Dumlanerig should be overstrong for him, did therefore by secret means procure his dischardge. Maxwell is noted to be cleane revolted in religion to his old Papistry and hardened in hart towards her Majestie.

Mr. Patrick Galloway is redie this daie to imbark at Leith for Norway, trusting to find the King at Opslow. I have thought it convenient by my letters with him to [inform] the King of myne employment and remayne here, and of th' estate of the Borders, requiring his spedie order for th' expedition of justice to be done there therein. And I have also written to the Lord Chancellor to intertayne his furtherance in my service and good will to myself, trusting that as I have done these for her Majesties service onely so my doings therein may be well accepted.

The Lord Boide, a man wise and of long experience, is dead." Edinburgh.

Mar. 5. 12.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"Upon receipt of your two severall packetts of the 18th and 20th of February last, I delivered to Collonell Steward both the letter addressed to himself and inclosed in the first packett and also her Majesties letter addressed to the King of Scotland, the two letters sent to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland and Monsieur Rainelus, and th' answer to the overture proponed by him; all which I found in my last paquett.

At the deliverie of these letters to the Collonell, I laide before him how nedefull it was to comprehend the French King in this treatie, approving the same by the reasons expressed in your letter to me, whereunto he agreed readely; nevertheless he wished that the motion of the same might procede by some meane coming from the French King. And pretending

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to have in memorie that he had ben acquainted with matters touching the conveniencie to comprehend the French King in this treatie, he said that he coold call the same to better remembrance, and thereon give you advertisment of his conceit seming still to yeld to draw the French King into this treatie.

After the receipt of these letters and consideration of the matter, he thought it expedient to have with him your letter to be addressed to Neyle Kaus, Chancellor of Denmark, and to such effects as by his letter inclosed will appear unto you. Therefore he hath required me both to give you very spedie knowledge thereof, and also to procure your letter for the Chancelor of Denmark to be sent to him with all possible expedition, that he be not dryven to loose any good mynde by his aboade for your letter required. He hath deferred his voiage to the King untill he may understand the resolution of the convention to assemble at this towne the 30th hereof to take order for the Kings transportation. For albeit the former convention charged the Brughs with the whole provision of shipps for that purpose, yet upon their refusall to performe the same this latter Convention is called as before I have certified unto you. He looketh to be ready to imbark about the 12th hereof, purposing to staie some while for your letter, and hartelie praieing you to send it with speid: upon which occasion I have addressed these to you with his hastie and extraordinarie direction.

Sondrie other matters I have in readines to advertise unto you, but understanding that th' Erle Bothwell will conferre with me in the parts of the instructions committ to Mr. Richard Douglas, commed hither on Mondaie last, I attend his Lordships leisure and staie th' others that I may send all things together to you." Edinburgh.

"Postscript—

At the closing up of these th' Erle Crawford and the Lord Sancker came to me, calling for her Majesties safe conduct to passe through England, which by your former was certified to be granted by her Majestie and sent to them. They pressed me to give them pasport and warrant under my hand; and Crawford pretendeth to be in mynde to abide in England; but being advertised by your former that her Majestie had granted them her safe conduct, I staie to give them any other untill I shall receive direction herein, which it may please you to send with spede." Edinburgh.

Mar. 8. 13.—To the Lord Treasurer and Sir Francis Walsingham.

"In th' execution of all your directions given me by your severall letters of the 17th, 18th, and 20th of February last, I first delivered to the Duke of Lenox her Majesties letter addressed to him, and accompanied the same with such memorialls both of her Majesties great favour tendred to his father after his arrivall in this realme and presentlie to himself, and also with the causes moving her Majestie to change and withdraw her good countenance from his father, upon the experience and sight of his defection in the course promised, as thereby he semeth to me to be sufficientlie warned, and bent to flie th' errours of his father, and with good offices to deserve the continuance of her Majesties good opinion towards him, wherein himself and sondrie of the well affected planted by the King about him have promised due accomplishment.

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In all things touching Colonell Steward I have by my letter of the 5th hereof given you advertisment. He prepareth to be redie for his voiage to the King with all the spede he can, thinking to be dispatched by the next Convention about the 12th hereof. But I think verily that the Convention shall not resolve and putt these affaires in such redines as he can depart before the 20th hereof.

Th' Earle of Crawford and the Lord Sancker, being redie to enter into their travell, do daily run on me for her Majesties safe conduct to passe through England, where Crawford pretendeth to be disposed to remayne some tyme; yet some thinking to understand part of his counsell and diett, perswadeth me that he will not make any great haste to depart out of this realme. It may please you nevertheless either to send to me the safe conduct or els direction what answer I shall give them.

On the first of this month the daughter of th' Erle Bothwell was baptised at the Holyroodehouse by the name of Elizabeth, where the Countesse of Murray supplied her Majesties place as one of the witnesses of the baptisme of that child. I presented for her Majestie to the Countesse of Bothwell one very faire bason and ewer of silver gilt and graven to the value near of 100*l* to be given by her Majestie to the child. This present was received with great thanks, and in the honour of her Majesties gift was shewed at the feast and bankett continueing three daies together with great charge and tryumphe.

The Countesse of Murray, trusting to find her Majesties favour to her for her fathers sake, and thinking that her service done at this tyme should put her Majestie in mynde of her fathers and of her owne devotion to her Majestie, pressed me very earnestlie to commend her sute to her Majestie, beseeching her Highnes to vouchesave at her petition to graunt pardon to George Tate, one of her Majesties pensioners in Barwick, for the slaughter of Nicholas Henry latelie slain by him in that town, which sute committ to my commendation to you to be preferred to her Majestie at the petition of this Ladie it maie please you to recommend and dispose as opportunitie shall be offered.

Th' Erle Bothwell understanding that the Spanish bark at Whitehorn was on flote and at her libertie doubted that she should escape, and could not be brought to Glasco, according to th' order of the Counsell sett down in that behalf; he therefore informed the Counsell of her estate and his doubt, seeking to be disburdayned of the charge; he moved my self in like case: but letting him see that I could give no advice or admitt anything against the resolution and order registred by the Counsell, and that th' escape of the bark should draw himself into great suspicion and blemish his honour, he resolved to seeke to staie her by all the means in his power; and thereon he wrote to the Larde of Loughenvarie to seeke to gett the bark into his possession and to kepe her safelie, giving to Loughenvarie th' office of Vice Admiraltie on that cost to stirr him to be more deligent herein. Loughenvarie hath written and certified to him that the lieutenant of the bark was in his house at the receipt of th' Erle's letter, whereupon he hath him, and will seeke by the lieutenants means and all other waies to possesse the bark, yet he remayneth in doubt of the successe thereof. The capten contineweth in the custodie of Bothwell, and hath oftentymes sought to be suffered to go unto the bark. And when three expert pilotts were sent to the bark with intent to have caried her into Spaine, they are staied at the commandment of Bothwell. The

James VI. 1591. Counsell is in great distrust that the bark shall be brought unto and laid up at Glasco according to their order, yet Bothwell promised me to imploy himself and all power to take her and kepe her as the Counsell hath directed or as her Majestie shall advise.

I am crediblie advertised that the Irish Busshop came to Glasco, where being founde a Papist and suspected of practise, he was staied by the Provost; but after your caution given for his appearance upon call, he was dismissed and was seen to imbark himself for Ireland. Sithence I am advertised he is not departed out of this realme, but returned and hath appointed to be shortlie in this towne, which if it shall so fall forth I shall, by Gods favour, give you better accompt of him. I am also informed that a Catholick is latilie commed to Huntley and kept close with him at Boggyghethe. It is thought to be this Irish Busshop, but there is no certaintie thereof.

The Spanish faction hold themselves very quiett; yett I and others have been latelie told that some of the meane Lords were appointed to have attempted a stirre in this towne, which should have been seconded by others of greater calling and strength; but thereof no certainetee appeareth. They have appointed to mete together about St. Johnstons on the 8 or 9th daie of this month. Albeit that they still provide and give assurance by letters and words to kepe themselves quite during the Kings absence, yet this estate dare give no creditt to them.

Claude Hamilton hath offered to this Assemblie of the Ministrie presentlie at Edenburgh that, upon commission to be given to him by the Counsell to apprehend Papists and excommunicate persons in the contrie about him, he shall soon and roundlie ridd the realme of them or fill the prisons.

Th' Earle of Montrosse hath made large offers to Mr. Robert Bruce, and he hath done like to myself, with such protestations to continew a faithfull Christain in this religion, a loyall subject to the King, and a sincere devoted person to her Majestie, as no further words or promises nede to be added; albeit I have recounted to him in what courses he hath bein found, and how jealouse men are of him, yet we ended and remaine in good termes.

The Lard of Fentree came before this Assemblie offering caution in very great somes to do nothing against the religion and peace of this realme, prayeing some conference and time to be further advised for satling of his owne conscience. Th' Erles Bothwell, Montrosse, the Lord Seaton, and the Lard of Ballwery came with him to entreat for him, prayeing th' Assemblie to give him 20 daies respett with leave to abide in this towne and travell in his own affaires. Th' Assemblie granted 20 daies respett, which tyme he would not accept, but demanded to have 40 daies. And because th' Assembly wold not grant that tyme to him, he is departed in some passion and offence. It hath been told me that albeit the Busshop of Glasco sought to preferr him to be a Cardinall, and that he was in good hope to be advanced to the same, yet now he is otherwise purposed, and will shortlie marry. The manner of his said behaviour and departure, and the companie soliciting his cause for him to th' Assembly, have greatly stirred th' Assembly against himself and the suters for him as publickly hath appeared.

Th' Assemblie of the Ministery gathered here at this present have bein earnest suters to the Counsell to put in spedie execution the former orders

James VI. 1591. given and enacted for the punishment and banishment of Jesuits, and seminaries, excommunicats, and Papists, and for prevention of practises to drawe into this realme forraign forces. The whole Counsell came into th' Assembly, promising both to give indilate direction for the execution of the said orders agreable to their requests, and also in all things to concurre with and assist them for the maintenance of the religion and orders in the Church. And with their assents and authorities commissions are to be granted to fitt persons in every countrie, both to apprehend all Jesuits, seminaries, excommunicats, and Papists, committing them to prison until further order shall be taken with them, and also to inquire as well of all such persons and Papists, as also of others that seeke to joyne with any forrayne Prince, or attempt any seditious fact or breach of the peace; which orders being well digested and fraymed shall afterwards by allowances of the Counsell be sett fourth in print, to be duelie executed for preservation of religion, th' estate established by the King, and common peace of this realme.

By my former and severall letters it appeareth to you how this matter hath proceded and is now like to be putt in practise. Th' effects that shall follow upon th' enquiries to be made in every countrie that thereon the parsons worthy chastisment may be apprehended and kept in safe custodie are to succeede. And it is intended that no good occasion shall be omitted to pull up the evill wedes that choke the good herbes, as upon opportunitie will happelie be approved.

George Peterson, Fleming, that took a ship of Harwich and killed the master of the said ship and a ship of Lynn loden with corn, and a ship of Ipswich loden likewise with corn which he brought and sould here, remayneth in prison in this towne of Edenburghe to answer his facts. He pleadeth a letter of marc given by the Duke of Parma, and great meanes are made for th' allowance of the same and his libertie: but finding him committ upon th' information of M. Ashby, and that he hath both caried himself very evill against her Majesties subjects, and also still threatneth to dubble his dedes against England in very spitefull sort, I have therefore alleaged that his letter supposed to be his warrant is both counterfait, and also ought not to be allowed in this realme, seing he hath brought hither the ship and goods taken by robbery. He is staid for some tyme at my request. It may therefore please you to give me direction what I shall further do to give triall to this prisoner by assyse, agreable to the laws of this realme, or els to seek his detencion in sort as shall be thought convenient, and to cause such parties spoiled or some of them to follow and give evidence against him." Edinburgh.

Mar. 8. 14.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"Upon receipt of your letter sent to me by Mr. Richard Douglas and view of the memoriall committ to him in answer of his affaires proponed for th' Erle Bothwell, th' Erle and he conferred with me for th' execution of th' advice given thereby; wherein the Erle hath depelie protested to prosecute the same with all good faith and diligence, and did shew himself of many good devises and strataghems promising th' advancment of the effects wished.

In this conferance he readelie resolved to imploy and send his servant James Grayme, brother to the Lard of Fentrey, with his letter to the Duke

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of Parma, and with full instructions to this messenger to intertaine good intelligence with the Duke, to report to him the dangerous condition of his frends in this realme, and to pray and bring to th' Erle the Duke's resolution and order how the dangers might be avoided and the King of Spaines frends be delivered. At th' Erle's request, and bicause Mr. Douglas shewed to me that it was your pleasure that I should be acquainted with these matters and do myne endeavour for the furtherance of them, therefore I agreed to frame some draught of the letter and instructions in English, to be by him or other translated into Italian, which letter and instructions I have drawen as nere as I could to the course advised by the memoriall, saving that in th' instructions I have sett fourthe in some particular sort the greatness of her Majesties navie and armies prepared, and the forces appointed by her Majestie to aide this estate by sea and land to suppresse the Spanish faction; whereby this messenger may lett the Duke see in what perill his frends here are wrapped, and to prosecute the cause according to th' instructions given him. The copies of which letter and instructions shall be sent to you so soon as they shall be perfected and put in Italian; and th' Erle purposeth to do it and dispatche the messenger within very few daies. Th' Erle is alreadie passed over the water to meete with Huntlay, Arrell, and the rest at S. Johnstons, promising to travell and deale with them, as by the memoriall is advised. He seemed to me to be ignorant that those Lords and confederates had apponted any meting. Therefore I gave him knowledge as well of their diett sett downe as also of the Irish Busshop that was or had bein with Huntlay. In which behalf and in all others he promiseth to give good satisfaction to her Majestie at his returne.

I looked that he should have acquainted me with especiall secrets to have bein commended to her Majestie for the benefit of her service, according to your expectation and letter sent by Mr. Douglas: but he hath not hitherto opened to me any matter, other then that some Papists of England seeke to have intelligence with the Papists in this realme, wherein I have by my former letters so farre alreadie advertised you. And where he could not remember the names of the Inglish Papists travaling here, and that I had bein advised that John Boast and one Rockwood were in Northumberland to solicite this cause with the Papists here, I naymed them to him; whereupon he affirmed to be them, but I perceive he is not very sure thereof. At his conference with these Lords he will informe himself with the full certaintie, and of it and all others give me knowledge at his return, whereupon I shall further advertise you.

Upon his retorne he purposeth to procure with the consent of the Counsell a generall Convention of the Nobilitie and States for the good execution of this course advised by the memorial aforesaid. I trust to make him such help herein as this Counsell shall readely consent to convene these estates; but I fear that not many of the Counsell shall agree and joyne to execute the matter as necessitie shall require if it be once broched.

Of his own accord he hath thought it expedient to acquaint Mr. Robert Bruce with the wholl contents of the memoriall, and with resolution to put the same in practice so well and farre as his powre shall serve him, and having no fitt tyme and leasure to do the same with Mr. Bruce as the waight of the matter required, he referred him to conferr with Mr.

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Douglas and me, which we did, finding Mr. Bruce very loath to be privie to such actions, and also greatlie jelouse and doubtfull of the happie event. Nevertheless by Mr. Douglas and my self he is pleased to attend the successe, and for the benefitt of religion and quietnes in this realme to kepe the matter quiet.

Bicause the good discoverie of the designes of the King of Spain to be done in this Isle, France, or els where may be profitable for her Majesties service, and that th' Erle thinketh that by the imployment of the capten of the Spanish bark, and some fitt person of qualitie to be sent into Spaine in this bark at Whitehorn shall readelie accomplish the same, and hoping that under that colour he may most easely recover the bark into his hands, therefore he hath advised and offered to imploy and send the bark [in] companie with [an] especiall person apt for the service into Spaine with letters to the King and others there, and with direction to travell therein as by her Majestie and Counsell shall be advised: but finding the matter full of difficulties, I have chosen rather to advertise his offer then to agree to the same, to th' intent that upon good consideration thereof you may direct to do as shall be thought expedient.

Understanding by Mr. Douglas that he hath alredie made you privie to th' information given to Bothwell by the said captaine for what cause they were sent into this realme, and what they should have done here, therefore I have forborne either to travell further, and to trouble you with nedeles advertisment, commending that matter to the view of the notes shewed to you by Mr. Archibald Douglas who hath the same.

Bicause this Counsell or any other principall person will be hardelie drawen and perswaded to touch or apprehend any noblemen, especiallie whilst no evident crime can be objected and proved against him, and that nevertheless it is necessarie and shall well satisfie her Majestie that the cheife heades stirring troubles and sedition in this realme in the Kings absence should be apprehended and warded, therefore for the more easie compassing of the matter I have sought that the Assemblie of the Kirk should presse the Counsell to award their commission for enquirie of Papists and practisers, trusting that upon presentation made of any manifest fact to be proved against the seditious heades as I think none of them shall be spared, that thereon (or by th' other devise to be put in execution at the generall Convention before mentioned) some good course shall be taken for the benefitt of the common causes and for her Majesties good contentment, upon which hope and matter I stay my self and doings, and shall with all care and diligence advance the successe hereof. All others touching chefelie these causes with th' Erle Bothwell, and other th' occurrents here, I referr them to the letters of Mr. Richard Douglas addressed to his uncle Mr. Archibald, who hath order to shew the same to you. Lastly I beseche you favorably to pardon in me this tedious manner of writing." Edinburgh.

"Copie of the Sidell annexed in the said Letter to Mr. Secretarie 8° Mar. 1589."

"Having made mention in my other with these of an enterprise intended to have bein latelie attempted in this towne, I thought good therefore to certifie the same to you, notwithstanding that the matter is not creditted, and that both the parties against whom it should have

James VI. 1589–90. been enterprised, and such as have received th' information, seeke to suppresse the brute thereof, distrusting the truth of the tale. It was told to some of this Counsell and Churche that Crawford and Sancker were appointed sodainely to have assalted Glames in this towne with their own retinewes here; and that upon this affray begun, th' other noblemen of their partis and present here should have seconded and assisted them, and thereon to have killed the Master of Glames, Sir Robert Melvile, Blantire, Colluthye, and the Registers Counsellours, also fowre of the Ministery and others; but finding the Ministry and others here so well on their gard, and that this towne was readie and resolute to assist them with great force, th' enterprisers staied their purpose rather upon their own particulars than for any practise touching th' estate. This matter is kept very secrett, because th' information is not credited as before, and the parties interessed intend to search the bottom of it, knowing very well that if it was indede in intention, then th' enterprisers will in tyme assay and renew th' attempt. That it be not known to have bein certified and disclosed by me, who can not escape my part in the tragidie, I have thought good in this manner to committ this to your knowledge and secrecie, beseeching you to use and dispose of it as you think the suspicion deserveth, and as I be not any author thereof.

By your former your opinion seemed to be satled to lay no foundation on 322, but I find the most waightie matters do depend and are hazarded on his faith and constant dealing, having both entred into an absolute trust to traffick with the professed enemies of religion and th' estates of this Isle, and also thereby obtayned powre to frame and carry all his deseignes at his own appetite. Because this hath been so well considered by the wisdome of those that can best determyn it, and is directed to me to be prosecuted in th' order appointed, I shall therefore do my diligence in th' advancement of the good successe, and awaite the happie issue of the same. Nevertheles seing that by the condition of this contrie th' intertaynement of one shall be the losse of another, I fear that sondry well affected shall be deplie wounded with the view of this new course: and amongst these 0700 will start thereat, chefelie in the case he standeth with small contentment that his desier is so little satisfied. But I leave all these to wise consideration. I never doubted but that 323 had ment to have stopped myne entry and aboade in this country and service as 15 hath told you, whereof I was sufficientlie warned, as thereby I hastened my coming hither in sort known to you, otherwise I had bein indeed barred, and after myne entrye such blocks were cast in my waie, and I passed over them as before I have certified.

If my son can presentlie compasse to gitt anie monie, either for his landes to be sould or by any other meanes, I shall therewith give spedie contentment to Mr. Customer Smithe; otherwaies I shall give order to sell my leases and goods and with all possible expedition to see him satisfied."

Mar. 8. 15.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"For the present to be given for her Majestie at the baptisme of th' Erle Bothwell's daughter, I caused a faire bason and ewre of silver well gilt and graven to be made by Thomas Fowlis of this towne of Edenburghe goldsmithe. It weighed 267 ounces ¾ at 6s. 8d. the ounce, amounting to

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89*l.* 5s. sterling. Besides, for the reward to be given for her Majestie to the norise, medwife, musicians, officers, and servants in the Earle Bothwell's house and serving that daie I received of the said Thomas in Scotts gold 20*l.* sterling; so as he must have in all 109*l.* 5s., which I have promised shall be paied to him the 16th daie of this month at London. I do therefore hartele pray you to vouchsave to be meane that this some of 109*l.* 5s. thus due to him may be thankfully paide to him for discharge of my promis, and to help him to satisfie his creditors in London. He is very honest, as I perceive you do alreadie understand, and worthy to find favour. And surely I could not have bought the plate in London under 7s. 6d. the ounce.

Moreover, where I had 200*l* imprested to me in part of myne entertaynment here, I have served here 100 daies amounting the full some of the said imprest, and I have bein at other great charges in my jorney hither by post, for cariage of letters and intelligence. Therefore I humbly besiche you also to move the Lord Treasurer for me, that my son in my name and for my use may have another imprest of 200*l.* I am both indebted to the said Thomas Fowlis in a good part of the said imprest, and he also is to furnish me with Scottish money from tyme to tyme and to receive his payment presentlie at London. Wherefore I eftsoones beseche you to help us both. In this my son Raufe shall attend upon you to crave and have your help herein." Edinburgh.

Mar. 16. 16.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"According to your letter of the 4th hereof I delivered to Mr. Richard Douglass your letter addressed to the Lard of Peryogilvie to be speedelie conveied to him, together with another from my self certifieing the Lard that, upon advertisment to be given to me of the tyme and place to be appointed for the baptisme of his child, I should [send] thither one gentleman, to be your deputie at the baptisme. I looke dalie for his letters and appointment of the tyme and place aforehande; and therein I shall see your direction, to be executed agreable to your pleasure: and I do right hartelie thank you for your French occurrents, which have not only comforted many well affected but also wrought to myself much profitt, for at sondray of my frends I can gitt intelligence by the benefitt of such newes more than by the commoditie of other reward. And therefore I must still remayne an humble suter to you to vouchesave to send to me such occurrents as you think fitt for me and this place, and chefelie of th' affaires of France, whereof all men here are very gredie.

Your former packetts of the 26th of February last and 4th hereof were broken up before they came to my hands. I could not perceive that the letters inclosed therein had bein opened, but the seale of the cover of the letters was broken, and the paper rent round about, whereby it was very evident that the same had bein opened. It may please you therefore to give order to the posts as well for th' examination of this default as also for th' avoiding of like errour hereafter.

I am exceedingly pressed by the Lord Hamilton to gitt some help to him to intertaine 50 footemen to be imploied by him in severall places for the quietnes of the Borders and for some small tyme. He offereth to lett me understand the particular manner of the defray of the monie to the footemen for this service and no penny thereof to be reserved for

James VI. 1589-90. himself. The charge will little exceed 50d. in the month, and the service nede not be continewed two months. This liberalitie will intertaine him with contentment and do some service. Nevertheless being so well warned by you how such motions are taken and imbraced, I dare not make any mention thereof in my letters coming to her Majesties sight before I shall receive better comfort from you of better successe then I hope for; and therfore I have chosen in this manner to commend this matter to you, prayeing you to direct me therein as you think good. The Justice Clark at his coming to you will assaie to procure her Majesties bountie to be shewed towards the King, which I leave to his dealing with you therein.

Mr. Fowler, being much recovered in his health, and yet greved with the paine of the strangurie, has his service remembred to you. I find him as readie as his body and health can suffer to further her majesties service and do you honour, wishing that he maie receive comfort agreable to his good deserving in the same." Edinburgh.

Mar. 22. 17.—"To the King of Scotts, Copnahaven, and Collonell Steward."

"It may please your excellent Majestie. Th' experience of your good opinion and favour continewed and approved by the view and effects of your late letter to me hath greatlie comforted and doth justlie bynde me both humblie to thank and alwaies to honour and serve you, and also with all care and diligence to do my best endeavour to accomplish the good offices directed by your letter mentioned to be executed by me in this place. And beholding your resolute determination expressed in that letter so constantlie to persevere in the religion and course professed as no contry or ayre shall prevaile to work any change therein in you, I am thereby greatlie encoraged with good hope of happie successe in my present service here, and I surely expect the sweete dewe of Gods blessing in heaven and earth to be plentifully poured upon you, making you to be renowned and knowne to be a Prince of sincere religion, and justice. To th' effects of such vertues, the good and godlie in all places will gladlie addresse themselves and courses.

The generall rumours of forrayne forces and like suspicions of some to partie them in this realme, as your Majestie hath hard and well noted to me, and the late outrages in the Marches, smelling of practice to breake the Borders, have threatned the fall of sondry storms and blasts in this land. Nevertheless God hath hitherto staied the evils and turned the darkness of these clouds into faire brightnes and a peaceable estate, and of such rare calme as seldom hath been seen and long enjoyed here of late yeres: the increase of which estate and calm your tymelie retorne hither shall best continew and norish, and the hope of th' expedition thereof hath presentlie quenched the force of the dangers remembered.

Upon the motion of an overture opened to me by this bearer, Colonell Steward, and which I thought to be both profitable for this Isle, Denmark, and all other Princes and estates professing the reformed religion, and also serving aptly for the condition of this present tyme and matters, I have commended it to her Majestys knowledge and consideration, and thereon received the answer in writing to the same and her Majesties letter addressed to your self. The deliverie of this letter and answer I have committ to this bearer, who being sufficientlie instructed in all the particulars of this cause, I do therefore referr the whole report of the same

James VI. 1589-90. to his sufficiencie, right hartelie prayeing God to move your hart and blesse your labour in the furtherance thereof, as you maie be worthelie honored with the wished success to be advanced by your means, and alwaies enjoy the benefitt of the fruits springin thereon.

Lastlie, after these affaires of estate, it may please you favorably to accept myne excuse that I cannot put your hounds in breath against your retorne, by want of fitt horses left behind me upon my sodaine repaire hither and uncertainetie of myne abode here; but upon your coming home and disposition to continew that pastime, I shall provide me better and be readie to awaite on you during my remayne in these parts. Thus wishing to your Majestie and gracious Quene spedie and prosperous retorne into this realme, with continuall possession and increase of all perfect wellfare, I pray God preserve you." Edinburgh.

Mar. 22. 18.—"To the Lord Chancelor of Scotland, at Coupnahaven, and Collonell Stewart."

"Th' advertisment of the Kings Majesties good disposition towards me, and your owne offer of correspondence to me in my present service and negotiation for her Majestie my soveraigne certified by your courteous letters to me, have both greatly comforted me with good hope of happie successe in my charge by your aide and advice, and also bound me to yeild to your Lordship such thanks in word and hart as may approve me thankfull to you, and carefull to deserve the favour tendred and the good opinion conceived towards me; wherein, feeling the insufficiencie of myne own abilitie to requite the greatnes of your curtisies, I must and will addresse me to the grace and bountie of her Majestie to supply my wants, and thankfullie to accept and recompense your Lordships especiall favours to me for the benefit of her Majesties services in my hands.

That the mutuall love and naturall affections entred and reigning in the harts of our soveraignes may be both norished and also increased, if it were possible to add thereunto, and that the happie amitie betwixt their realmes may be preserved, I shall with all care and diligence do myne endeavour, and in my weaknes fly to your Lordships support, knowing your former actions in the furtherance of these effects, her Majesties good opinion conceived, and your own readines to advance that which shall honour and profitt both these soveraignes and keep their kingdoms in wished quietnes.

The brute of forrayn forces with some partis to be made here for them, and the late broiles on the Borders, with jealousie of practise to breake the peace, have stirred great suspicions of troubles and tempests to arise soidainlie in this realme; nevertheless this estate at this present is very peaceable, enjoying such rare calme as seldom hath bein long possessed here of late yeres. I pray God it may be continewed untill and after the Kings retorne. And I wish that some in their mallice against especiall instruments of the preservation and norishment of this peace, ... they may have no powre to prejudice this peace, or hurt the person of that worthy member in this goverment.

The bearer, Colonell Steward, will acquaint your Lordship with the manner and effects of an overture made by him to me for the common benefit of this Isle, Denmark, and all other Princes and estates of reformed religion in Europe, and of my doings in the recommendation of the same

James VI. 1589–90. Mar. 22. to her Majesties knowledge and consideration, with tymelie returne of her pleasure and resolution therein. Herein her Majestie hath both retorned answer in writing to the said overture, opened by the Colonell to me, and also written therein particularly to the King your soveraigne: and Sir Francis Walsingham, in the furtherance of the matter, hath written to your Lordship and others in Denmark to such effects as by the sight of such letters and answer will be at large knowne to your Lordship. These letters and answer are committ to the deliverie of this bearer mentioned, and the state of the cause as it is hitherto intertayned and proceded is left to his report, to whose sufficiencie I whollie recommend the same.

And finding by your own letter to my self that God hath offered good occasion for the progress of this plott, as well by the death of some turbulent persons, mainetayners of ubiquitie, and enemies of th' establishment of trew religion in Germanie, and also of the good inclination presentlie kindled in the harts of sondry Princes and personages of qualitie in Germainie, who by the meanes of the King your master and your self may be drawen forward and prepared to imbrace this matter with best affection, therefore it is now high tyme that the King and your self do imploie your wholl and seasonable endevours for th' advancement and expedition of this holie and happie cause, which I wholly commend to your tymlie travells, wishing that you may be honored with the good successe and taste of the frutes springing thereon. Thus with continewall thanks for your goodnes, and resting to be imploied to do your Lordship honour and all pleasures in my powre, I committ you to Gods holie spirit and protection." Edinburgh.

"To the Larde of Carmighell of the same date, and by Collonell Steward."

"Sir, Your late memorie of me by your frendlie letter to me is an approved witness of the continewans of your accustomed good will to me, for the which I do right hartelie thank you, prayeng you likewise to imploy me in all things wherein my self and wholl abilitie may give testimony of my thankful mynde and readiness to requite your curtisies with all pleasures in my power and for your benefit and contentment.

Th' expectation that you have in me to accomplish all good offices in the course for the increase and norishment of the mutuall love betwixt the soveraignes and of th' amitie betwixt these two crownes shall not be frustrate, for with all care and diligence I shall travell for th' advancement thereof: and according to my former resolution, known to you, I am intent to seek releiff and help in my weakness and necessitie during myne aboade in this realme at the hands of your especiall frend, trusting to find his advice and furtherance to be graunted so favorable to me as the service in my charge of the common causes for religion and both the Princes and realmes may take the greater benefitt and successe thereby.

Albeit some troubles were doubted to have risen in this realme by forrayen forces, breach of the Borders, and sudden surprises to have bein attempted, yet hitherto this estate is very quiet and peaceable, and the calme thereof greater than I have looked for or at any time seen it before.

Her Majestie hath imploied and sent into Denmark either Mr. Daniel Rogers or some other lately appointed in his place. I think he will be

James VI. 1589–90. there before the receipt hereof, and awaite on the King your soveraigne, in whom we have great expectation of increase of his honour and happie continewance of the loving affections betwixt her Majestie and him.

This bearer can and will shew you all forraine newes and the present state of this country. All the same will be so large and well knowne unto you before the receipt of my letter as I have chosen to leave them to his report." Edinburgh.

Mar. 24. 19.—To Sir Francis Walsingham.

"Your two severall letters of the 15 and 17th hereof in one packett, together with th' extract of the letter intercepted, I have received, finding thereby that 323 hath both kept secret to himself part of his intelligence and doings with Parma, and also offered matter beyond his reach and performance. He hath before this entertayned intelligence with Parma, stirring thereby others in this realme to the like, whereupon the most part of all those suspicions latelie conceived by th' arrivall of the Spanish bark, and of the practises with Spaine hath bein grounded. He knoweth what the Spanish faction here is purposed to attempt, for the most of the chefe instruments therein depend on him and his help, and have been latelie with him in his last absence over the water, wherein by his own letter by Mr. Richard, and by other very credible persons, you may understand that he had dealings with them: nevertheless he will be knowne to me to have none with them, or to understand any thing of their deseignes.

But he will ether give you sufficient assurance of his sound intention and dealings by such discoverie as Mr. Richard Douglas shall bring unto you, otherwise it may be thought that he shall not be drawen utterlie to quench all his intelligence with Parma and others, as outwardlie he seemeth to be resolutelie determined. And I have forborne to press him with any importunacie or means to gitt out of him the discoverie of matter, for I wish that some others might guide the inward course with him, but rather to leave them to the report of Mr. Richard or his own advertisment by letter.

Where he doth intertaine intelligence he useth to lay platts and make large overtures as by the extract appeareth, having offered the pece whereof he hath litle power; but he pretendeth that some Inglishmen have sought a dangerous course and practise in this realme, wherein I perceive that Charles, late Erle of Westmerland, should have bein a partie, and that for that purpose Westmerland sought meanes to have bein suffered to abide in this realme with suertie; whether this practise intended by the Inglish shall concerne the pece naymed in th' abstract or not I know not, but I am perswaded that he hath little meanes to work any hurt or danger to that towne offered. Nevertheless I leave the matter and your good satisfaction therein to the discoverie of Mr. Richard.

Upon receipt of my Lord Treasurers letter signifieing both her Majesties mislike of the course taken by Bothwell upon the memoriall sent with Mr. Richard Douglas, and also her Majesties purpose to change that course to a latter advise, I have staied the first course resolved by Bothwell, and drawen him to the waie advised by her Majestie, wherein I have advertised the Lord Treasurer of my well doings agreeable to his letter to me. Therefore that the matter and all my doings may be in best tyme likewise

James VI. 1589-90. known to you, I have sent inclosed to you the duble of my letter to my Lord Treasurer, trusting you will so dispose of it as shall appertaine.

I am lothe to trouble you any more for the safe conduct for Crawford and Sancker, or your letter to the Master of Glames or Mr. Murray, because the delaie thereof assureth me that they are found not meet to be granted: which opinion if I knew I wold gladlie follow, and nevertheles content the parties and kepe my credit by such course as I shall take with them. It may therefore please you to give me some knowledge thereof as you think fitt." Edinburgh.

1590.

May 1. 20.—To the Lord Treasurer.

"This daie the first of May, about 7 of the clock in the afternoon, the King of Scotland, and the Quene, the Commissioners for Denmark, and the rest of his companie landed at Leeth with five shipps of Denmark and three of Scotland; the rest fell off in the chace of a pirate that crossed before some of the fleet and be not yet retorned. After that the King had brought the Queen to her lodging, and upon the end of an oration in Latin by Mr. James Elfinston, he entred into the church at Leithe, and there hard a sermon by Patrick Gallowaie, and after retorned to the Quene at her lodging in Leith where he remaineth this night.

The Duke of Brunswick, coming to Elsonure on the 10th daie of Aprill last, sought to be maried to the King of Denmark's sister before the departure of the King of Scotts, who wold not agree to tarrie about 7 daies, and the Duke of Miglebourgh praied that the mariage might not be in the Passion week. The Quene Mother of Denmark referred her vote to the pleasure of the King of Scotts, to whose advice she said she wold committ herself, her estate, and children; so as the mariage was solemnized on Easters daie last, and the King of Scotts with the Quene imbarked on Tuesdaie next after, as before I have written.

It hath bein told me that soone after the Duke of Brunswick's coming to Elsinore, the Kings of Scotts and Denmark, the Dukes of Brunswick, Miglebrough, Pomerland, and Holstein, with the Commissioners for the Duke of Saxony and others, have entred into band or league, as well for the common defence of religion as also for their mutuall amities and supports in all things concerning their persons, estates, and dominions; wherein upon some motion of an article to be made for preservation of the King of Scotts title to the crowne of England after her Majestie, I am informed that the old Duke of Miglebrough redelie accorded to that article, but that Brunswick, praieing to be advised thereon, did staie his resolution for two nights, and after consented with the rest.

It was looked that some imploied by her Majestie should have been there with them before the Kings departure, but none for her Majestie was then comed thither.

I am also advertised that the King is purposed to call a Parliament to begin within two months or thereabouts, to establish as well the estate of the Quene as also the policie and levings of the Church, and to increase his own revenues by some part of the possessions of abbaies and other like lands of the Church, with sondrie other matters of importance; and that the coronation of the Quene shall be within 20 daies or thereabouts, except it shall be staied for the coming of any especiall personages of qualitie to be sent hither by her Majestie, which is the rather looked for

James VI. 1590. at this tyme, because her Majestie was pleased before to have imploied and sent hither a nobleman to congratulate the Quene of Scotts mariage and repaire into this realme.

It is intended that the Duke of Lenox and Lord John Hamilton with twa of the cheefe ministers shall sett the crowne on the Quenes head, a noveltie not seen before, and thereby some scruple made by some for the convenience thereof.

The Lard of Carmighell, having direction by the King to dispose and put all things in order at the Kings landing, required me to staie myne accesse unto him untill the Lard should bring me knowledge of the Kings pleasure therein; for the King's arrivall is so late in this daie, and the house at Holyroodehouse not fullie prepared for him, as it is thought meete to lodge at Leeth for this night, and further as upon deliberation shall be found convenient." Edinburgh.

May 4. 21.—To the Lord Treasurer.

"On Saterdaie last the 2d hereof, I received your Lordship's last letters of the 27th of Aprill last past. The same daie I had been with the King by his own appointment in the feild nere to Leith, where I found him hunting, accompanied with a verie small number, and to recreate himself after his long voiage and late arrivall the night before.

After due and ordinarie compliments done unto him, and sundrie discourses made by him, as well of his doings and successe in his jorney as also of the present state of this realme, I entered to signifie to him that, upon the motion of the overture first moved to myself by Collonell Stewart and after renewed and recommended to her Majestie by himself with Justice Clark, her Majestie had accepted the same very kyndelie and was desierous of the good progress thereof, giving him her Majesties hartie thanks for his frendlie dealinges and good will shewed in the furtherance of that cause and towards her Majestie.

Hereupon he told me that soon after the coming of the Duke of Brunswick to him, for whom and chefelie for the advancement of this matter he staied so long beyond his diett and purpose, he took occasion to conferr and treat in that behalf with the King and State of Denmark, the Dukes of Brunswick and Old Miglebrough, and so farr prevailed with them as they are readie to proceed therein with all expedition and good will and as shall be thought most convenient; that these Princes and others will be assembled together at the mariage betwixt Brunswick and the King of Denmark's sister to be made on Trinitie Sondaie next: for albeit that the mariage is already consummate, yet the solemnization thereof is deferred untill the tyme mentioned, and he purposeth both to imploy and send to her Majestie an especiall person to advertise her Highnes of all his doing herein, and what course he thinketh best to be taken for the intimation of the matter to the King of Spain, and progresse of the League for preservation of Religion by all the Princes to be joyned and confiderated in this League, to th' intent he may thereon receive knowledge of her Majesties own good liking and advice in the same; and also upon receipt of her Majesties pleasure to addresse some fitt persons to prosecute the matter at th' assemblie of the said mariage in such sort as shall be advised and thought meet by her Majestie. For the better preparation and spede of this purpose he hath given me order to conferre with the

James VI. 1590. Lord Chancelor here, who on Saterdaie last appointed to meet me the next daie at the Court; but at coming thither to him, I found him so greatlie occupied with great affairs as in very earnest manner he praied to be spared for some little tyme, promising to give advertisement and to be redie to proceede with me upon the first good leisure he could gitt, which I fear shall be so uncertain, by the greatnes of his troublesome causes in hand, as I thought it my duetie to certifie your Lordship by these presents of my doings alreadie past, and as I shall proceed further with the Chancelor I shall give your Lordship tymelie advertisment.

The King let me know that he found Brunswick something nice at the first motion to joyne in this confideration, suspending his resolution for three or four daies with him, but the King perswaded him and drew the State of Denmark and Old Miglebrugh so to deal with him as he consented to take part with the rest. And it appeareth now to me that this delaie in Brunswick answer and consent did proceede only of the motion of the matter proponed for this common League, and not upon any article touching England to be inserted in th' accords concluded amongst the Princes then present at that place and tyme for the mutuall amities, as before I had bein informed and have signified by my last before these. Moreover, the King let me know that Ramelius is of opinion that the King of Spain will gladly imbrace the mediation of a Peace; wherein it seemeth to the King that Ramelius had some advertisement or other matter of importance to warrant his opinion therein.

The King thinketh it convenient that the French King with th' advice of her Majestie be made prievie herein, and to be comprehended in the League; wherein upon my conference with the Chancelor I shall satisfie your Lordship better, and in all other particularities and circumstances concerning this cause.

It is verie common and farr spred in this realme that Justice Clark departed from her Majestie and retorned hither with little contentment and satisfaction in his earands proponed to her Majestie for the King. I have found the Justice Clark's own words and behaviour herein verie discret, and that the King is nothing discomfeited or displeased with his successe, saieing to me that as he will francklie cast himself his estate and wellfaire into the armes of her Majesties good will and affection towards him, with purpose so to imploie himself and deserve at her Majesties hands as he trusteth to be alwaies in his necessities relieved by her Highnes's bountie to enable him to do her Majestie the greater pleasures, as I think in his own letters shall be approved and inlarged.

Yesterdaie I had accesse to the Quene, and after all due and accustomed curtesies, I let her understand how kyndlie her Majestie my soveraigne did accept of her late letters presented to her, and how greatlie it should please her Majestie to know of her safe arrivall in this realme and good health after her long voiage on the seas, with such other complements as might best please her and intertayne the tyme; whereupon she shewed me that by the favour and goodwill that she hath found by her Majesties letter to her self and by other her Majesties good affection towards her as she doth yeld verie hartie thanks and also professeth especial love and gladlie to do her Majestie all pleasures in her powre.

The coronation of the Quene is appointed to be on the 17th daie of this month of May, where I perceive it shall be verie comfortable to the King so he be then honored with the presence of any noble personage to be

James VI. 1590. sent hither by her Majestie, and her Majesties late presents prepared to have been presented to the Quene at her mariage shall come in most acceptable tyme and be thankfullie received.

That your Lordship may know th' especiall persons in this realme commanded to be present at this coronation, and the Counsellors, Commissioners and companie of Denmark comed hither with the King, together with th' order given by proclamation for the honorable enterteynment of them during their aboad here, I have sent to your Lordship the copies inclosed. All others to the next." Edinburgh.

22.—" By me Robt. Bowes Esq.

Thesaurer of Berwik and her Majesties Ambassidor presentlye in Scotland.

For as much as the bearer hereof Gowen Smyth, Scotsman, with his servaunt, are commended to me for personages of good creditt to have bene about thair affaires at London with request that they might have my pasporte, accordinglye I have thought good to give you knowledge hereof, and further to chardge and command you and every of you, that you permitt the said Gowen and his servant to passe without any your letts, trobles, or impediments whatsoever, they carieing themselves agreeable to her Majesties lawes. Faile not herein, as you and every of you may answer the contrary at your perills." Edinburgh.

Addressed : " To all Justices of Peace, Majors, Sheriffes, Bailiffs, Headbroughs of &c."

1591. July 6. 23.—" By me Robt. Bowes of Feske Esq.

Thesaurer of Barwick and her Majesties Ambassidor presentlye in Scotland.

For as much as I have despatched the bearer hereof William Wood, my servant, to make his personall repaire by poast to the Court about her Majesties speciall affairs, I do therefore will and require and in her Majesties name straitly chardge and command you to see him furnished from tyme to tyme and place to place, as well in his repayre thither as in his retorne from thence, with twoe able and sufficient poast horses and with a guyde accordinglye, and that att the rates and prices ordinary and accustomed, whereof faile you not as you tender her Majesties service and will answer the contrary at your perills." Edinburgh.

Addressed : " To all and singuler her Majesties Poaste Masters, Majors, Baliffs, and all other whom it may concern."

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Marches; writes to Lord Scrope; his relations with Bothwell; his orders for preachers, 404; to Burghley (enclosed with letter from Bowes, 7 Oct., 1590), thanking and encouraging Lord Scrope, 405; desires suit of William Cockburn to be commended to Burghley, 405; to Burghley (12 Oct., 1590), *ib.*; asks Burghley's help against counterfeiters, 405-6; to Burghley (21 Oct., 1590), regarding complaints of Edinburgh merchants, 406-7; grants letter of reprisal against Leaguers, 407; book of declaration of King of France presented to; letters of reprisal from, to burgesses, 407-8; letters to, from princes of Germany, *ib.*; sends message to Denmark about furthering cause in Germany, *ib.*; his relations with Huntly, *ib.*, 409; his promise to the Earl of Worcester; influenced by Roger Aston — his attitude to Papists; promises reforms at next Convention; tries to suppress books, 408-9; his dealings with Bothwell and the Borders; against marriage of Lennox with Gowrie's daughter, 410; to be discharged of Border offences in England, 411; gives mission to William ven der Wense, 411; Bowes reports activities of Papists to, 412; restrains Huntly's movements; orders James Gordon to leave Scotland; to assemble Privy Council to deal with Papists, 413; to be informed of confession of Don Pedro de Valdes, 413; reconciliation between Bothwell and house of Manderston, referred to, *ib.*; letters of, to Wardens to discharge prisoners unlawfully taken, 414; receives news from France, 415; disagrees with Maitland over provostship of Jedburgh, 416; the reform of the Privy Council of, *ib.*; his better opinion of the Master of Glamis, *ib.*; from the States General (12 Nov., 1590), 417-9; resolves to take action against Papists—anxious to inform Elizabeth; thanks her for warnings from Spain, 419; his feeling towards Maitland, *ib.*; his promise to Worcester; forbids Huntly his presence; will consult his Councillors about withstanding King of Spain; his declaration about trading with the French; his declaration regarding Bothwell and redress in the Borders, 420; does not believe Penry is in Scotland; Waldegrave has promised not to print anything without warrant, 421; Glamis makes trouble in the house of, with Maitland and others, *ib.*; dislikes absence of Glamis, 422; to [. . .] (20 Nov., 1590), repudiating authority of Archibald Douglas, and claims of William Cockburn, 422; Maitland to be accused of faults against; Maitland relies on his favour; expects Glamis to settle discords in the north, 423; petition to, to reform abuses in his revenues, 423-4; examination of witches by, 425; commits the Master of Angus to keeping of the Laird of Bass; writes to Burghley concerning liberty of Leslie, 425; to Burghley (1 Dec., 1590), on behalf of John Leslie, 426-7; Act of the Privy Council, for reform of abuses in revenue, 427-8; reads Bancroft's letter to Burghley, 428; orders Huntly and his adversaries to discharge forces, *ib.*; Huntly sends Cluny and Cobardye to; Bowes and Maitland warn, and remind, of promises to Elizabeth against Papists; promises satisfaction in this, and in Border affairs, 429; approves sending of English pirates to England,430; his dealings with witches, *ib.*; to be entitled to take his property into his own hands, 431; his resolutions concerning Huntly's disturbance, Bancroft, and redress in the Borders, 431-2; shews favour to Sir James Stewart, 432; Band against certain officers of, 433; approves of Hudson's efforts regarding Cockburn and merchants, 433; has prevented battle in north, *ib.*; relations of, with Huntly; commands Maitland to write to Burghley; acquainted with plot of Spain and Papists by Bowes, 434; promises Elizabeth to watch Huntly; his publication of hostility to French rebels; his order concerning Liddesdale; his enquiry for Penry; makes Waldegrave his printer; praises Elizabeth's government, 435; highly offended with William Cockburn; has small opinion of Archibald Douglas; sends for Huntly, Moray and Atholl, 436; his partiality for Huntly against the Stewarts, 437; his attitude to his mother's death; Huntly protests loyalty to; refuses to grant lieutenancy to Huntly, 437-8; grants remission to Huntly, (17 Dec., 1590), 439-40;

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attempt to seize, by Huntly (1589), 439; against alterations in the State; does not interfere in case of John Leslie; grants levy for France, 441; promises by, concerning Border causes; Atholl and Moray seek Elizabeth's help with; goes with the Queen to Aberdour, to Lord Spynie, 442; Maitland agrees with Huntly at his command, 443; Burghley's advice for safety of, 445; to Burghley (7 Jan., 1590-1); to Elizabeth (9 Jan., 1590-1) commending John Paulin, *ib.*; Maitland and Bowes urge, to stronger measures against Papists and seditious persons; orders discharge of bills filed in the Borders; deals roughly with Bothwell; advice from Elizabeth to, concerning Atholl and Huntly, 446-7; attitude of, to Bancroft; Act for resumption of property of, 448; unwilling that Carmichael should resign as Warden of the Marches, 450; quarrel between Lennox and Logie in his presence, *ib.*; to Bowes (25 Jan., 1590-1), on behalf of Thomas Pairman, 451; deliberates with Privy Council over delay in redress on the Borders; promise to, concerning, *ib.*; attempts by Catholics to avoid his displeasure, 452; Mackonell and Macklen throw themselves on mercy of, *ib.*; asked to mediate between Innerwick and Carmichael, *ib.*; grants warrant to Maxwell, *ib.*; Sir James Hume wounded at his treatment by, 453; his dealings with Lairds of Cesford, Niddry and others; dealings with Bothwell, *ib.*; to choose members of Council for household management, 453-4; anxious for redress concerning bills of Middle March of England; promises made to, by Bothwell, 454-6; promises safety of the sureties delivered to Wardens, 456; arranges with Bowes about Border offenders, *ib.*; his good will towards Huntly, *ib.*; sends Seton to England after witches; his dealings with coiners, *ib.*; request from, to Elizabeth, for deer; agrees to postpone meeting between Bothwell and Forster, 458; to work with Elizabeth; his restraint of the nobles; conferment of office on those not of noble birth resented; nobles come to Edinburgh against orders of, 459; still favours Huntly; seeks to compound his feuds, 460; to Elizabeth and Burghley (15 Feb., 1590-1), on behalf of Archibald Johnston, 461; Atholl and Moray strong enough to encounter Huntly without aid of, 462; his orders against witches, 463; fines Macdonald and Maclean, 464; at marriage at Lauder; Bowes entreats, on behalf of Carmichael, 467; asks for deposition of coiners; sends to England for fallow deer; against innovation; shows favour to Maitland; against marriage of Cassillis and Argyle's sister; mediator between Crawford and Glamis; favours Huntly; fines Macdonald and Maclean; increase of his revenue, 468-9; unwilling to make Bothwell lieutenant of Borders; O'Rourke seeks presence of; agrees to give redress for Mindrum; asks for delivery of witch, 470-1; Lord Maxwell and Lord Hume sureties to, 472; Maitland in debt over affairs of, 473-5; Irishman, a suspect, seeks his favour, 475; his income augmented, *ib.*; grateful for Burghley's good offices concerning Archibald Johnston, 475-6; to Burghley (26 Feb., 1590-1), on behalf of Francis Tennant and George Scott, against French towns of the league, 476; offers to, from Spanish Papists (17 Sept., 1590), 477; service of Archibald Douglas disavowed by (20 Nov., 1590), *ib.*; revocation of grants by (5 Dec., 1590), *ib.*; resolution of, against Papists (7 Dec., 1590), *ib.*; orders redress in Middle March of England (Jan., 1590-1), *ib.*; passport of, obtained for Henry Dethyck (Feb., 1590-1), *ib.*; licenses Tennant and Scott to arm against leaguers; Elizabeth writes to, concerning O'Rourke; to Roger Ashton about same; Macdonald imprisoned and fined by, 478; Bowes sent to Scotland in absence of (Dec., 1589), 478; sends Earl Marishal from Denmark; discharges Sir William Keith; appoints George Hume to office of Wardrobe (March, 1589-90), *ib.*; departs from Elsinore (21 April, 1590), *ib.*; arrives in Leith; Bowes congratulates; promises to send Stewart and Skene to Assembly of Protestant princes; Carmichael sent by, to Elizabeth, 479; proposed change in his Council (7-8 Aug., 1590), *ib.*; to receive Order of the Garter (1590), 479; answer of, to memorial (14 Aug., 1590),

480; from Elizabeth (6 March, 1590-1), concerning O'Rourke, *ib.*; revenues of, to be increased; movements of, 481; to Burghley (10 March, 1590-1), on behalf of Thomas Hall, robbed by pirates, 482; to deliver O'Rourke, 482-3; to confer with Council about the Borders; Westmoreland and other rebels seek licence from, to live in Scotland, 483-4; Elizabeth's exhortations to, *ib.*; to Elizabeth (22 March, 1590-1); hopes to deliver O'Rourke; her enemies are his; hopes Border affairs will satisfy her, 484-5; Bowes asks liberty of John Crakenthorpe from, 485; Elizabeth expresses thanks for settling Border troubles, 486; pleased at delivery of witch; asks for delivery of John Dixon; vexed at escape of O'Rourke, 487; to be asked again to apprehend O'Rourke; letters to, from Westmoreland; dealings with Macdonald, 488; to restrain his subjects from joining Irish rebels, 489; letters from, recommending Francis Dacre, 489; Elizabeth's approval of Border arrangements signified to; her yearly grant to, 491; disappointed with progress of Protestant cause in Germany, 492; zealous to observe treaties with Elizabeth; his dealings with O'Rourke, *ib.*; promises greater strictness with Papists, 492-3; agrees with Elizabeth about traitors; deals sharply with Alexander Dixon; presses apprehension of John Dixon, 493; his pension from Elizabeth, 494; dispute between, and burghs, concerning customs; Sir James Stewart working against, *ib.*; movements of, *ib.*; from Walter Stewart (30 March, 1591), interceding for O'Rourke, apprehended, 495; suspected of warning O'Rourke, *ib.*; pleased at apprehension of O'Rourke, 496; resolves to set free the Macdonalds and Maclean, *ib.*; appoints trial of witches, 497; commands of, in relation to the Church, 498-9; Patrick Adamson begs help from, *ib.*; peaceful relations between his subjects and Elizabeth's, 500; dealings of, with Carr and Elliot, 501; Elizabeth satisfied with his treatment of O'Rourke, *ib.*; his treatment of witches,, *ib.*, 502; offended at Lennox's marriage, 502; 503; Bothwell accused of conspiring against life of, 504-5; will spare Bothwell's house and children, *ib.*; asks for fallow deer from England; charges Bothwell with practices against his life; intercedes with Elizabeth for trade with Ireland, 505; sends Sir George Hume to Bowes about his annuity; calls convention for arraignment of Bothwell, 506; petition to, in favour of Bishop of Ross, 507; writes sharply to Huntly, *ib.*; expected to pardon Lennox, *ib.*; letter from Elizabeth, (April, 1591), 508; to Maitland (April, 1591), chiding him for finding fault with his revocation, *ib.*; leaving Edinburgh because of his health, 509; orders of, concerning Bothwell and witches, 509-10; tries to discover thieves of Bowes' letters, 511; pleased with letter from Elizabeth, *ib.*; resolved to discover truth about Bothwell, *ib.*; occupied with examination of witches, 512; promises to provide for Liddesdale, *ib.*; his request for fallow deer, *ib.*; summons convention (5 May, 1591) to consult about Bothwell, 513; witch tried for attempting life of, 514-5; to Elizabeth (15 May, 1591), on suppression of disorders in the Borders, 515; to Elizabeth (15 May, 1591), in favour of Archibald Johnston and others, 515-6; to the Privy Council of England and to Burghley (15 May, 1591), in favour of same, 516-7; disquieted by absence of lords in convention, and by result of Barbara Napier's trial, 518; in need of yearly gratuity from Elizabeth; interest of, in Border matters, *ib.*; report of Bowes to, concerning Spanish navy, 519; fallow deer of, *ib.*; alleged conspiracy against, *ib.*; anxious to have verdict on Barbara Napier reversed, 520; promises to imprison Papists, *ib.*; tries to mediate between Maitland and Glamis, *ib.*; desires guard of horsemen and others, *ib.*; from Parma (30 May, 1591), 521; his letter concerning Archibald Johnston, 521; desires increase of Elizabeth's grant, 522; assembles lords of session and others to decide question of witnesses; his anxiety over trials of witches, *ib.*; his speech at trial of Barbara Napier, 522-5; reply to his letter concerning Archibald Johnston, 525-8; to Elizabeth (11 June, 1591), on behalf of Udall and Cartwright,

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528; dishonorable words against; desires increase of pension; trial of witches for treason against, 530; suspicious of Bothwell, 531; expects Elizabeth's help to raise a levy, 532; continues favour towards Maitland, *ib.*; complaints to, by Scots, against Irishmen, *ib.*; informed about pirates in Orkney and Shetland, *ib.*; to go to marriage of Laird of Grant with Tullibardine's daughter, 533; to go to Perth, *ib.*; conditions of, for liberty of Bothwell, 533-5; learns of Bothwell's escape, 534-5; Bothwell declared traitor against, 535; busy with Border affairs and Bothwell; favour of, towards Earls Marishal and Erroll; revocation of grants by, 536; proclamation by, against Bothwell, 537; receives money from Elizabeth, 539; goes to Borders to establish peace, 539, 541; conditions of Bothwell's submission to, 539-40; Huntly tries to go to; few accompany him to the Borders; receives keys of Bothwell's house; news for, from Brittany and the Low Countries, 542; will follow example of James IV.; refuses to pardon young Cesford; attitude of, to Bothwell; distributes Bothwell's offices, 543-4; commends Hunter as merchant in Spain, 544; considers Alexander Scott guilty, *ib.*; thanks Elizabeth for friendly warnings about Catholic practices; his dealings with Stewart and Parma; glad that English pirates are punished; promises satisfaction in the Borders, 544-5; Danish ambassador received by, about peace treaty; receives letters from Duke of Brunswick; attitude of, towards Maitland and Bothwell, 546-7; refuses dealings with Huntly; receives Glamis; displeased with Sir William Keith, 547; letter from Monsieur Morland to (July, 1591), 548; warrant of, against Bothwell and Lord Hume, *ib.*, 550; thanks to, from Turenne and Morland, for letters to German princes; news to, of Sir Alexander Stewart; advice of, sought by Danish ambassador, about help to France, 549; letters from, to King of Denmark, 549; promises Bowes to persuade Denmark and Brunswick to join Protestant princes, 550; acquainted with plot against Maitland; threatens to charge Hume with treason; resolute against Bothwell; will enlist Elizabeth's aid against fugitive rebels; a guard to be maintained for his safety, 551; Cesford desires pardon of, 552; armed levy summoned to attend, *ib.*; to Burghley (2 Aug., 1591), on behalf of John Marshall, *ib.*; pleased with attitude of Sir James Hume towards Bothwell, 553; calls Hamilton and other nobles to give their assistance; publishes proclamations for assistance against Bothwell and Hume; suit to, in favour of Lord Hume; Buccleuch declares fidelity to, 554; reports to, about Bothwell, 554; his wrath against Bothwell; dealings of, with Glamis; likely to take Marishal into favour again; his favour towards Maitland; his expedition against Bothwell and Hume likely to be stopped; letter to from Elizabeth in favour of young Cesford; gives Bothwell's offices to Lennox; Huntly's assistance to, 556-7; permits Hume to quit the realm; gives commission to Ochiltree to apprehend Bothwell, 559; intends to give Kelso to Huntly instead of Dunfermline; sets Marishal free; Bowes asked to intercede with, for Master of Glamis, 560; from Elizabeth (12 Aug., 1591), 561; Maitland directed by, to keep Burghley informed of Scottish affairs, 562; affairs of Cesford and William Carr before, *ib.*; to Elizabeth (16 Aug., 1591), on behalf of David Garden, 563; to Burghley (16 Aug., 1591), concerning same, *ib.*; difficulty of redress in Liddesdale; will pardon young Cesford if Elizabeth asks him; attitude of, to Glamis; feeling of, against Roslin, 564; at Stirling for sport; his friendly reception of Elizabeth's letter; is pleased to pardon young Cesford, 565-6; resolute against Bothwell, 566; sends to pacify quarrel between Argyle and Ogilvie, 566-7; plot of Bothwell to waylay him; hastens agreement between Cesford and Carr's friends, 567; letter from Bothwell, a plea for his wife and children (Aug., 1591), 568; Bothwell's conspiracy against, 568-9; attempt to bring Maitland into disgrace with, *ib.*; displeased with Atholl, *ib.*; with Huntly; to do justice to Bothwell's wife and family; resolute against Bothwell, *ib.*; seeks to

reconcile Argyle and Ogilvie; difficulty in establishing revocation of grants of; attempts to make, favourable to Roslin, 570; letter to, from Bothwell (10 Sept., 1591), craving pardon, and favour for his wife and children, 570-1; commits Atholl, 571-2; angry at murder of Laird of Spott; places ministers in Perth churches; and quarrels among nobles in the north, 572-3; his unpopularity reported, 573-5; Privy Council delayed till his coming, 575; attitude of, to the nobles and their outrages; anxious for marriage between Argyle and Lennox's sister, *ib.*; firmly against Bothwell and Keith, 576; to Elizabeth, requesting furtherance of marriage of Agnes Swinton (16 Oct., 1591), 577-8; Bothwell escapes from, 578; grants warrant to arrest certain Catholics; mediates in Liddesdale affairs; Parliament to begin at pleasure of, 579; to Burghley (20 Oct., 1591), on behalf of James Colden, 579-80; his search for Bothwell; his examination of Bothwell's servant, 580-1; maintenance of house of, 581; charge of, against Lady Bothwell, 582; proclamation of, against Bothwell, *ib.*, 583; consents to Bowes' leave; anxious to settle Border matters; dangers from Jesuits brought to notice of, *ib.*; difficulty of, in apprehending Bothwell; grieved by slaying of Laird of Spott; appeal of, through Elizabeth, to the Emperor of Muscovy; orders by, concerning disturbances of Argyle and Ogilvie; reform by, of administration of justice, 584-5; signs warrant to grant Montrose office in session; wants to delay filling office of Lord Treasurer; discharges Master of Glamis, 586-7; to Elizabeth (11 Nov., 1591), on behalf of despoiled Dane, 587; to Elizabeth (13 Nov.), on behalf of the Carews, her Irish subjects, 587-8; to the Privy Council of England (15 Nov.), concerning same, 588; appoints Cesford keeper of Liddesdale, 588-9; orders by, for redress in the Borders, 589; restores office of Lord Treasurer to Montrose; warned of Bothwell's designs on Orkney, 590; sends Master of Glamis to prevent seizure of Orkney by Bothwell, 590; shows no favour to Sir William Keith, 591; from Elizabeth (25 Nov., 1591), *ib.*; pleased with contents of Elizabeth's letter to him, 592; learns of execution of O'Rourke; Elizabeth's answer to, concerning slaying of Laird of Spott, 593; dislikes Archibald Douglas, 594; will help the ministers against the Papists, *ib.*; Hudson considers he has complete control in the State, 594-5; will consider Elizabeth's warning, *ib.*; resolved to give Liddesdale to young Cesford; thanks Elizabeth for orders concerning murderers of Spott; ignorance of Lennox's intrigues, 596-7; his love for Lennox; but determined to have Cesford govern Liddesdale; immovable in religion, but negligent at beginning of danger; danger to, and to the State from Master of Glamis; warned against practising priests; his great need, 598-600; may prevent marriage between Argyle and Morton's daughter; content that Bowes should remain in England, 601; insists on Cesford accepting keepership of Liddesdale, 602; to write to Martin Elwart, *ib.*; requires Bowes' presence if Parliament meets, 603; to Burghley (20 Dec., 1591), on behalf of Francis Tennant, 604; to Lady Arabella Stewart (23 Dec.); from Elizabeth (26 Dec.), concerning case of Andrew King, 605-6; proposed motion by noblemen to, against Maitland; desires to hold Parliament; plans to stay at Holyrood; grants Coldingham, 608; Bothwell leads attack on, in Holyrood house, 609-10; to employ Cesford against Bothwell, *ib.*; warned in his dealings with Lennox by Elizabeth; allows Buccleuch to return home; may be surprised by Atholl, Moray and Erroll; his need of grant from Elizabeth, 610-11; attitude of, to O'Rourke; notes on affairs of, 613-5; to Burghley (3 Jan., 1591-2), 616; employs Cesford in pursuit of Bothwell, 616; his opinion of Lennox; attitude of, to Spanish factions, 617; raises guard, for personal safety; considers Bothwell cause of outrage against himself, 618-9; muster of guard of, 622; proclamation of, against Bothwell, *ib.*; again orders redress in Liddesdale, *ib.*; monitory bill set upon door of, 622-3; Elizabeth rejoices at safety of, and counsels caution against Jesuits or aspirants, 623-4; to the Privy Council of England (Jan. 22, 1591-2), 625; Liddesdale redress promised by, 625; hopes to sur-

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MacCallum (MacCalyean, Mackalean, Mackalzon), Effie (Eupham): to be tried for witchcraft, 497, 510, 518, 522; sentenced to be burnt, 530-1; burnt, 537.
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MacConnell (Maconell), Angus: surety for his nephew, 585.

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Macdonald, Alexander Oig (Alester Oig): 612.

——, Angus, of Dunyveg (Makonill of Dunnyveg): set free from Edinburgh Castle, 612; family of, *ib.*

——, Angus, of Islay: fight between his friends and the MacLeans, 463-4; fined, 469, 475; Cawdor's promises to Elizabeth, on behalf of, 493-4.

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—— (Makonill), James, of Dunyveg and Glens: 612.

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MacGill, Mr. David, of Nesbit (King's Advocate): to be of the Council during the king's absence, 179; 372; 373; 374; 523; Lennox to be advised by, 824.

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Mackay (Maktry) Lord: not well-affected to England, 620.

Mackenzie, Colin, of Kintaile: chosen Privy Councillor, 683.

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