CALENDAR

OF THE

STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

SCOTLAND

AND MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS

1547-1603

PRESERVED IN THE

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND ELSEWHERE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS, the eleventh volume of the Calendar of Scottish Papers, consists of 706 pages of text, covering a period of little more than two and a half years—from January 1592–3, till August 1595. 1592–3.

With the exception of some material from the British Museum (duly indicated in the Calendar), the original documents are comprised in volumes L.–LVI.[1] of the collection of Scottish Papers in the Public Record Office, London. Transcripts of these were prepared by Mr. W. K. Boyd, but as ill-health compelled him to relinquish his editorship, the task of carrying his work to completion was entrusted to the present hands.

The first impression left upon a reader of this volume might well be one of bewildered confusion among the strife of factions and the play of self-interest and personal ambitions. He seems to find little breadth of vision or nobility of purpose to redeem the sordid story of aggrandisement, deceit and treachery. This, however, is partly because his vision is near-sighted and blurred. The brevity of the period covered, the mass and repetition of details, the interweaving of rumour and fact—all these make it difficult to obtain a detached and long-distance view of the swiftly changing and crowded scene. When, however, he does acquire a just perspective, events are seen in their true significance in their proper setting.

Looking back from the standpoint of the present day, one realises that these were years of uncertainty and precarious equilibrium. The Queen of England was old and childless, and would not name a successor from among "sundry competitors in title" (p. 252). Her life-long rival, the King of Spain, was declining "to his latter end" (p. 252), and on the uncertain thread of his life hung the chief hopes of the Catholic faction in Scotland, England and the Low Countries. The Huguenot King of France was fighting for a throne

[1] This Calendar actually begins with volume L., No. 3, the first two documents having been included by Mr. Boyd in the preceding Calendar.

1592–3. which he secured at the price of his religion.[1] No one knew what a day might bring forth, and in the prevailing state of tension, cautious souls walked warily, adventurous spirits speculated, intriguing minds plotted mischief. The times induced to recklessness; and the figure of the adventurer and the schemer obscures that of the honest public servant or the ordinary man pursuing his daily path. Yet it was these last that were the backbone of the nation and in the last resort moulded its destiny.

James VI. himself was true to one unswerving purpose: it is his determination to succeed to the throne of Elizabeth that provides the clue to the labyrinthine maze of his policy. It was his aim to keep the balance even between opposing factions at home, and not to alienate Catholic opinion abroad. In the duel between England and Spain he understood the value of Scotland's strategic position as a doorway into England. By temporising with the Catholic or Spanish party he therefore hoped to raise his price as an ally in negotiating with England. Elizabeth, on her side, realised that it was essential to keep Scotland out of the arms of Spain, but she had no desire to see her "good brother" strong, nor to buy his support with money if she could secure her ends by intrigue.

Accordingly we are presented with the spectacle of two Princes, interdependent on each other, always outwardly professing love and friendship, sometimes actively co-operating, but all the while engaged in a diplomatic fencing match, and watching narrowly for the chinks in each other's armour. The consequent atmosphere of tension and general reliance upon expediency were at once a cause and a result of the sensational happenings and frequent political regroupings of the two and a half years covered by our Calendar.

We are plunged at the very beginning into the midst of the sensation created by the discovery of the plot known as the "Spanish Blanks." The evidence of the cryptic letters intercepted upon Mr.

[1] Bowes, writing to Burghley on 15th September 1593, noted that the "actions and example [of the French King] are here so marked and taken by many that the well affected greatly fear that very evil and dangerous effects shall follow thereon in this realm" (p. 176). At the date of this letter Henry of Navarre was receiving "instruction" in the doctrines of "the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church." On 27th February 1593–4, he was crowned at Chartres as Henry IV., King of France, but he did not enter Paris until 22nd March, and the civil wars did not come to an end till 1598.

George Ker, the Catholic agent, was not in itself enough to incriminate Huntly, Angus and Errol, the three powerful intriguers with the King of Spain; and their wild scheme for a Spanish invasion of England through Scotland was probably never seriously regarded as practical statesmanship, whether by the Earls themselves or by Philip or by Elizabeth, who was not ignorant of the conspiracy that was hatching.[1] 1592–3.

It had a diplomatic importance in creating an atmosphere of apprehension and in affording England a pretext to interpose in Scottish affairs; but of deeper significance was the activity of the Kirk in conjunction with the burgesses and lairds. Immediately upon the apprehension of Ker, representatives of these classes consulted together "for remedies in the great dangers appearing, and thereon presenting themselves in great number to the King," they prayed for the adoption of decisive measures "and also freely offered their service with hazard of their lives and 'expense' of their goods and possessions in this cause" (p. 21). Their vigilance, alacrity and willingness to make sacrifices indicated a strength of patriotic public opinion and the existence of a self-reliant middle class which found its medium of expression through the Kirk. At times of crisis, barons, burgesses and ministers assembled in their own conventions and sent their commissioners to deal with the King,[2] and in the end it was they and not Elizabeth who supplied the money for the suppression of the rebellious Earls.

In the months that followed the disclosure of the Spanish intrigues, James, partly out of friendship to Huntly and partly from motives of policy, continued to temporise with the "Papist lords," while Elizabeth as a counterpoise gave support to James's arch-enemy, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. Such a situation, already sufficiently intricate, was further complicated by the

[1] The conspiracy of the Spanish Blanks is more fully considered in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 123–4 (*Scottish History Society*, 1932). The evidence of this Calendar shows that the Catholic party was rent by divisions and emulations: Myreton's depositions point to quarrels among the Jesuits; Errol was jealous of Huntly's prestige at Benrinnes; and each of the three noblemen in adversity put his own interests before the common cause. The King of Spain, for his part, is said to have doubted the "resolute minds" of the enterprisers (p. 357).

[2] *See* pp. 203–7, 227.

1592–3. opposition of the Court to Chancellor Thirlestane. When this volume opens he was living in compulsory retirement, from which it was the King's resolve to recall him to the Council table, while a strong party in Court, supported by the Queen, exerted all their endeavours to frustrate his intention. To this end the Stewart faction staged a sensational palace revolution by introducing Bothwell and effecting a shallow and short-lived reconciliation between the King and him. The letters of Elizabeth on 23rd August 1593 afford an interesting insight into the complicated situation that then arose (Nos. 119, 120, 121).

Elizabeth kept her finger on all the strings, with skilful dexterity wresting circumstances to her own advantage. To the disquietude of her conscientious ambassador she not only gave her countenance to Bothwell but at the same time she entertained overtures from Huntly and his "co-partners" (p. 167); and for her secret diplomacy she employed "instruments" who were not in the confidence of her official agent. Her statecraft demanded such "circumspection and secrecy" (p. 46) that the right hand should not know what the left hand did. The sorely tried Mr. Bowes exercised considerable self-restraint when he "noted," without further comment, that "the courses directed to be solicited with the state, and to be taken with the parties, do not very fully agree" (p. 167).

His is one of the most attractive figures in these pages. He appears as a laborious and painstaking diplomat, "very upright," and a loyal and self-effacing colleague, though somewhat wanting in initiative.[1] One can almost see him in his letters struggling like many of his contemporaries with the difficulties of self-expression, and occasionally rising, perhaps unconsciously, almost to poetic utterance.[2] No one doubted his zeal and disinterested fidelity, no matter whether his instructions caused him to "walk under great boasts" in risk of personal danger, or to enjoy the sunshine

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, pp. 66 and 448.

[2] Most of the letter-writers are characterised by a certain stiltedness, arising partly from the excessive repetition of proper names, where the use of pronouns would have made for greater flexibility. Pronouns have accordingly been frequently substituted for proper names in calendaring, when this could be done without causing ambiguity; but as far as possible the original phraseology and sentence structure has been retained. It may be noted that the title "Mr." still preserves its original academic meaning of Master of Arts.

of popularity, winning " the hearts of all honest men " in the English interests (pp. 128, 441, 455). He was stricken with infirmities and worn with thankless toil, well meriting the leave of absence which he obtained in October 1594. In his self-sacrificing devotion to his royal mistress's service he was typical of the kind of public servant who made the age of Elizabeth great. 1594.

Special envoys, no less than resident agents, found their task in Scotland arduous. Burgh and Zouche, sent to urge James to vigorous proceedings against the Spanish faction, found themselves committed to the prosecution of a double policy: besides their open mission to the king, they were entrusted with a secret dealing which, in Zouche's case at least, did much to neutralise the first. He was, indeed, expressly given to understand that " the Queen wold have her ministers doe what she will *not avowe* " (p. 270). He was privately instructed to promote a rising against the King's familiars at the very time when, in his official capacity, he was demanding the vigorous prosecution of the rebel Earls. The enterprisers, it is true, were admonished to respect the person of the King and of his infant son, but Elizabeth must have known just as well as they that " the King will be where the persons they resist are and will patronise their cause " (p. 306). It was small wonder, therefore, that Zouche prayed God to send him out of the country (p. 265), and that James remonstrated with Elizabeth about her ambassador's conduct,[1] just as at a later date he complained that the supplies promised by him were not provided.

The King, on his side, however, did not fulfil his written word to prosecute the Papist Lords " at the time prefixed " (p. 303). Six months passed before he took the field in proper person against them. In the interval they had committed at Aberdeen an act of open rebellion against his sovereign authority, and had entered into a treasonable band with Bothwell—to the ultimate undoing of both contracting parties to the unnatural confederacy. [2]

At such a time, menaced by powerful rebels still at large and crippled by an impoverished exchequer, James took the hazardous

[1] *Warrender Papers*, ii. 227.
[2] *Ibid*, 117–8.

1594. step of inviting foreign princes to participate at the baptism of his son.[1] It was a characteristic act, revealing the King's high pretensions, inadequate resources and fertility of expedients.

The birth of the Prince had strengthened the dynasty by establishing the succession, but the ceremony of his baptism was designed to have an imperialistic as well as a national significance. The concourse of ambassadors of Protestant states was in keeping with James's political ideal "to advance a general alliance and confederation between all Christian kings, queens, princes and states" against "the King of Spain and his adherents"[2] (p. 105). His personal aspirations were no less indicated by his choice of a name for his son. The heir of six Jameses of the House of Stewart was christened Henry in honour of the first Tudor king of England, on whose throne his father's eyes were set. Moreover, to the "misliking" of Elizabeth, an adulatory poet styled James himself "King of all Britain in possession" (p. 431).

In strange contrast to these exalted pretensions were the actual penury of his own estate and his personal lack of dignity. James was a people's king from the point of view of his reliance upon popular support and goodwill. He went in and out among his subjects and they knew each other intimately. The monarch who assured the townsmen of Edinburgh "out of the window" of Holyroodhouse that he was safe at the hands of Bothwell (p. 130), and who greeted the English agent familiarly with a "How nowe, George," was not a prince hedged around with dignity and remote from common life.[3] This, however, was the result of straitened circumstances as well as of his individual temperament.

From a material point of view, the rich gifts presented by the United Provinces[4] and the Queen of England more than compensated for the failure to form a Christian confederacy. So clamant was his poverty that Mr. John Colville openly expressed the opinion "that his Majesty shall have great shame before the end" (p. 377). On

[1] A plot was actually made to surprise the Dutch ambassadors and deliver them to their enemy, the King of Spain (p. 446).

[2] For James's design of a Protestant League, *see* Introduction to volume X., pp. xv–xvi; *Warrender Papers*, ii. 127–8.

[3] Compare Introduction to volume X.

[4] For a description of their gifts *see Warrender Papers*, ii. 241, note 2.

the arrival of the first ambassadors the Queen retired to Falkland, 1594.
" lest they should see her at the Abbey where she lay not like a princess of such birth and virtues " (p. 377). Owing to successive prorogations of the baptism from 15th July to 29th August, the King's embarrassments increased so much that in order to provide for the Danish ambassadors, who had been " so sumptious in their house-holding since their arrival," he had to resort to the expedient of secretly causing " the lords, barons and gentlemen of Lothian to invite them each one after the other to their houses till the very day of the baptism " (p. 385).

Poverty, indeed, was at the root of many of James's difficulties, and was rendered more acute by his carelessness in money matters. The astute and self-seeking Mr. John Colville knew how to deal with a prince whose " gentle nature is such that he cannot refuse, even if it were to give one thing twenty times "[1] (p. 596). Roger Aston, who impresses by his honesty no less than by his clear-sightedness, had the same report to make : " You know he can refuse nothing, . . . not looking what may follow " (p. 580).

Lack of funds manifestly weakened the executive machinery by undermining the King's " power to command " (p. 483). In the crisis of the raid against the rebel Earls in November 1594, Aston recorded that he " has done what he can. His jewels are in mortgage. His people are sore taxed, so that he can crave no more. He is now borrowing from the men of Leith to serve the present necessity " (p. 483). We have seen that it was largely the Kirk and the burghs that raised the money to pay the hired soldiers of the campaign. For the rest, the King had to rely on fines and feudal levies ; and he resorted to the time-honoured policy of playing off rival baronial factions in the interests of the Crown. In this case he set Argyll against Huntly, thus enabling him to pursue a family quarrel with authority as the King's Lieutenant.

James was fully aware that such an elemental way of solving the difficulties of executive government meant ultimately the deepening and perpetuating of the ancient feuds which he sought to pacify.

[1] It was Colville who also noted that " the barons of religion have offered to furnish " the King's raid against the Earls, " but they will give no money in his own hands, seeing they know it shall be ' used to ane other use ' " (p. 378).

1594. It was therefore with an aim to emancipate the Crown that he sought to establish a strong bodyguard of professional soldiers. Elizabeth, on the other hand, had no desire to see her neighbour thus strengthened, and the "evil affected" had some ground to allege that it was "no ways her intention to give her assistance, but only to put the King and his subjects by the ears and so leave him" (p. 483).

The time soon came, however, when she required his help against her "traitorously affected Irish" (p. 467), and found that her policy reacted on her. Tyrone and O'Donnell, who were raising revolt in Ulster, sought support from among the clans of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and although Elizabeth professed to despise such a rabble of traitors she did not disdain to write personal letters to James and Argyll, in October 1594, urging them to restrain the resort of their subjects to Ireland (pp. 466, 467; cf. p. 238). The King's conduct shows that he was fully aware how to profit by the new situation. He played her Majesty's own game of procrastination in order to raise the value of his support. Not only did he show no alacrity "to regard that matter more than we [the English] regard his contentment" (p. 619), but he was also not ignorant of the advantage of being able to disclaim responsibility for the actions of chieftains who lay "under the doom of forfeiture, neither answerable to King nor law" (p. 495). It may be remarked, moreover, that by committing Argyll to ward "for redressing of the faults of the highlanders" (p. 526), he was thereby postponing the date of his "answer to her Majesty anent the matter for Ireland" (pp. 527, 542), and that by taking order "for the quieting of the highlanders" he forced all the broken men "to be in readiness to depart" (p. 573).

Sir Robert Cecil and his royal mistress were, however, too astute to place sole reliance upon James and Argyll. The English government had long kept its eye upon the Western Isles, and the same tortuous policy which had been employed in dealing with Bothwell and the Catholic Earls was now applied to negotiations with the Celts.[1] Mr. John Colville, the henchman of Cecil, provided his

[1] It is significant of the importance that was attached to the Western Islands that Burghley was supplied with memoranda respecting their clans and fighting forces, etc.

1594.

"honourable Maecenas" with young Campbell of Lawers as a spy upon the movements of the islanders. But a man who could do greater service than he was Lauchlan MacLean of Duart, an influential Island chief and a kinsman of Argyll. With this fiery magnate a correspondence was maintained through his servant, Mr. John Auchinross, and Auchinross's gossip, John Cunningham, merchant burgess of Edinburgh. In addition to these agents there was the rather elusive personality of Mr. John Archibald, besides Mr. George Erskine, a dependent of Argyll, who was employed to negotiate between his master and MacLean, and who acted as an intelligencer to Nicolson, the English agent depute. It is characteristic of such a tangled skein of diplomacy that although co-operation between Argyll and MacLean was essential for the successful restraint of the islanders, and although they actually held counsels together for this end, yet till the very close of our Calendar "Argyll does not know that her Majesty has intelligence with MacLean, nor that MacLean has his purpose to seek the subjection of these men for her service" (p. 678, cf. p. 623).

MacLean's was the master mind that devised the soundest plan of action, but he made it plain that his support must be bought with a price, and that if the English government desired his service "the same must proceed by contract and appointment" (pp. 647, 648; cf. 592). Both he and Argyll were tempted with fair offers from the Irish rebels, whereas parsimony threatened to cost Elizabeth dear. It lost her the services of MacLean at a crisis when a "little expense" would have done "more than twenty times as much at another time" (p. 688). On the grievance that he was not employed as he looked for, he disbanded his garrison of 600 men and so allowed the adventurers free passage to Ireland; and, as John Auchinross pointed out, it was "harder and more dangerous . . . to cause them return than to make them stay at home before their passing" (pp. 629, 648). Whether Elizabeth at last realised "that these matters are too long deferred with words and require more haste" (p. 690), it is left to a later volume to disclose. The present Calendar leaves an

(*see* No. 198). Tytler depicts the ramifications of the connecting links by which Elizabeth, "sitting in her closet at Windsor or Greenwich, moved the strings which could assemble or disperse the chivalry of the Isles" (*History of Scotland*, iv. p. 235, edition 1864).

1594. unfinished tale both in the story of the Irish rebellion and in the story of domestic politics and Court intrigue.

The strife of factions that followed upon the subjugation of the rebellious Earls was in many aspects a meaner and more sordid thing. One may justly charge the "Papist Lords" and Bothwell with treachery, lack of patriotism and the pursuit of personal ambitions in the guise of religion, but they were young men, spirited and reckless, who enjoyed the excitement of playing with fire. The intriguers who succeeded them dropped even the pretence of religious or patriotic motives and struggled for place and credit at Court. To serve their petty purposes they fomented differences between the King and Queen and made the custody of their infant son a bone of contention between them. Two rival parties—one consisting of Mar's supporters at Stirling, the other of the Queen's adherents at Edinburgh—threatened to divide the country into two hostile camps.

James's intention to reform abuses in the Exchequer alarmed the Master of Glamis, Lord Treasurer; and Mar's aim likewise to displace other ministers of state aroused the Chancellor and his following. By way of retaliation the threatened parties instigated the Queen to demand the keeping of the Prince out of the hands of Mar, his official guardian; but this was a thing which the King "cannot abide to hear," saying plainly that "whosoever would be movers of any alteration, chiefly for the removing of the Prince, seek nothing but the cutting of his throat and he will esteem them greater enemies to him than Bothwell" (p. 607). In such an electric atmosphere a sorry play was acted of personal jealousies, family feuds and palace plots. Out of the confusion, however, some points emerge worthy of note.

In the first place, faction was fomented by "wicked men"—"men who for revenge of their particulars will bring in the devil ere their cause perish" (pp. 588, 663). It is significant that at the beginning of the troubles it was Mr. John Colville who stirred up Mar against the Chancellor (p. 494). This sinister character, formerly the confidential adviser of Bothwell in the English interests, was not ashamed to offer "honest proof of his repentance" by betraying some of his associates, notably Hercules Stewart, nor to undertake

to act as a spy upon his erstwhile patron, and so, true to his nature, in the motion concerning the Prince he showed himself to be "like the night howlet . . . not seen in the day, and yet . . . not idle" (pp. 542, 494). There was irreconcilable feud between him and the Chancellor, to whose place he aspired, and for his own ends he took "the best course in following Mar" (p. 659). His correspondence discloses a subtle influence for evil in his stressing of low motives and his power of insinuation. It was he who had urged Elizabeth to leave James to his own devices in the prosecution of the Earls on the ground that he "must go against these Papists or lose his crown" (p. 398); it was he who advocated the employment of Bothwell as a goad to rive the King with a wedge of his own wood (pp. 397, 407, 424); and he who now in the crisis between husband and wife imputed to them a feeling of "lurking hatred, disguised with cunning dissimulation, each intending by sleight to overcome the other" (p. 683). In contrast to this is the opinion of Roger Aston that "there was never greater appearance of love between them than at this time" (p. 681). Both writers realised that the situation was strained: the difference between them was that the former was a blower of the bellows "to set all on fire" (p. 681), whereas the latter was "in good hope that all matters shall succeed well" (p. 682); and the issue, he believed, would depend upon the King. 1594.

The attitude of James was, indeed, a crucial factor. It was his disposition, Aston reported, "to have quietness that he may have hunting and hawking, which are his chief delights" (p. 589). His position was peculiarly difficult, because his affections as well as his interests were touched. Not only were his wife and infant son used as instruments of diplomacy by the opposition, but he was torn between his personal friendship with Mar and his loyalty to Thirlestane, his old and experienced councillor. He believed that both of them were "evil dealt with" by "some wicked men," and, acting upon this faith, he sought to reconcile them for the furtherance of his service (p. 568). Nevertheless, when he suspected the Chancellor to be implicated in the projects of the Edinburgh faction, he "used some hard language to him," commanding him to yield "all obedience . . . to his Majesty's will" (p. 663). It is clear that Thirlestane found himself "in great strait," seeking to stand on fair

1594. terms with both parties, dissuading from violent measures, but unable or unwilling to cut himself adrift from "the chief ringleaders of the plot" that was so obnoxious to the King (pp. 671, 681, 662, 665, 641). James, however, carried the day, withdrew his wife from her ill counsellors, and effected a formal reconciliation between her and Mar. Thus he secured the "quietness" which he desired to follow his hunting, although all thinking men felt that the peace was a lull, and not a cessation of their "great storms" (p. 681).

It may be noticed, finally, that the ministers played an active part in the work of pacification. The Kirk feared that "the division of this land into two factions" would afford an opportunity for the return of "the Papist lords, to the danger of religion and trouble of the country in greatest sort" (p. 669). So, just as they had been active in prosecuting practisers with Spain, in promoting the campaign against the rebel Earls, in apprehending Myreton and detecting the movements of Jesuits in general, so now they kept a vigilant eye upon the play of factions at Court and interposed to effect a settlement when occasion offered. At a time when no man dared speak openly with the King "in such matters as concern the Queen," Mr. John Davidson "spoke plain language," and Mr. Patrick Galloway was "somewhat plainer with the King than others durst be for fear of the Queen," while Mr. David Lindsay acted as an agent to effect "good and kind countenance and behaviour between them" (pp. 671, 679).

There was, however, no servility in the attitude of the ministers to the Crown. On the contrary, they could denounce the King and his courtiers with great temerity; and in pulpit they commonly mingled political perorations with spiritual discourse. It must be remembered, however, in this connection, that attendance at church bore a social as well as a religious aspect. Such ranking of precedence as obtained at Court was apparently extended to the house of God. Thus the refusal of Lord Maxwell to yield place in church to the Earl of Morton led to "some stir" and a serious risk of open strife (p. 42). Diplomatists also found an opportunity there for practising statecraft, as when the Chancellor "took occasion" to tryst Lord Zouche at church so that they might talk business on the "way homewards" (pp. 293, 294).

The minister who denounced the government from the pulpit and exclaimed against the " odiousness " of crime (p. 646) was at least no moral coward and might easily incur the wrath of the King. Doubtless many a preacher might be " more circumspect in his words " than Mr. David Black and " more reverent in his reasoning " than Mr. Andrew Melville (p. 680), but from the social point of view we must consider that there were few available channels for expressing public opinion. For want of a democratic Parliament or of the modern popular press and political organisations, men in those days had to fall back upon such mediums as sermons and placards like the " infamous libel . . . found on John Carne's door," containing a declaration " that the Duke and Mar had conspired the King's death, the overthrow of religion with slaughter of the ministers " and other incredible accusations (p. 103). On another occasion opposition to the Chancellor in " the Sessions House " was shown by pinning above his seat " epigrams " against him and " jests " prognosticating his evil end (p. 553). This somewhat crude method of attack was at least more civilised than the alleged plot to kill him and the Master of Glamis " as they came out of the Exchequer and returned to their lodgings " (p. 531). 1594.

Our Calendar shows that the argument of the sword was, indeed, only too often adopted for the settling of old scores or more recent controversies. Thus because of a standing feud between Mr. John Graham, a Lord of Session, and Sir James Sandilands, a chance encounter led to the death of Graham himself in a pistol fight and to the slaughter or death of others who happened to be present (p. 49). Little more than two years later a " stirre " of some magnitude was occasioned when " upon the quarrel between Dunipace and Garden, Dunipace has slain Forrester (Foster), one of the bailies of Stirling, as he was riding to Kirkliston " (p. 624). In this case political complications followed, inasmuch as the victim was a servant of Mar and the murderers were reputed to be the tools of Mar's adversaries— " the Queen, the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis and the rest " (p. 625).

Dangerous broils were, unhappily, but too easily aroused when nobles habitually moved about with a numerous retinue of idle-handed retainers. This accounted for many a fray in the narrow

1594. streets of Edinburgh [1]; and when the political situation was tense the King had rigorously to limit the number of followers who might accompany their lords (p. 521). A concourse of the nobility in the capital was always matter of apprehension by reason of their feuds and dissensions, alliances and kinships. Their politics were very largely determined by personal ends—friendships, hatreds, acquisitiveness, or defence of what they held: and the old baronial families were often torn in sunder by the conflicting claims of consanguinity and marriage ties. Lord Burgh, coming as a stranger to Scotland, found that the nobility were "so interallied that, notwithstanding the religion they profess, they tolerate the opposite courses of the adverse parties, and excuse or cloak the faults committed" (pp. 75–6).

When one remembers, for example, that Morton had for one son-in-law the Catholic rebel Earl of Errol, for another the Presbyterian Argyll, who was the King's Lieutenant against the Catholic rebels, and for a third Lord Hume, who was "inward with the King and backward in religion," one is not greatly surprised that his affections and interests were divided. He himself had been tainted with the Spanish conspiracies in 1589, but "the danger of religion" in October 1593 moved him "to subdue his strong affection towards Angus and Errol, and to tender the safety of the religion" [1] (p. 208). When the call was great, men were apt to rise to meet it, and, conversely, when the strain was removed the inevitable reaction set in: petty intrigues took the place of national and religious struggles. Thus in the face of actual insurrection, Lennox, as the King's Lieutenant, "kept a very honest course" against Huntly, his brother-in-law but a Spanish practiser and a rebel (p. 497). He was doubtless supported in the straight path by his advisers, some of whom were ministers, zealous in the cause of the Kirk, others of whom, like Forbes, were personal enemies of Huntly, or,

[1] It is interesting that, at the time of the detection of the Spanish Blanks, when religious feeling was strong, the Kirk was willing to grant oblivion to Morton for his offences in 1589. "Quhatever this Nobleman has bein at this tyme it is not to be objectit to him, now efter his aith and subscription geuin to the contrair, gif he remaine constant" (p. 56). The treatment of the excommunicated "Polonian" may also be accredited to the ministry for tolerance. They "might have put him to great trouble by sending [a letter found upon him] to his Majesty. . . . But at the earnest request of his wife and friends, and upon their promise that he should leave the country, we proceeded no further against him" (p. 653).

like Sir Robert Melville, cautious men of ripe experience, fit counsellors for his "young years." [1] 1595.

One can see, however, that in less critical times such a network of inter-alliances and personal loyalties and animosities was likely to breed "the constant inconstancy of our estate" and make the work of government difficult for a prince of slender resources.

Governance was, indeed, lamentably weak in Scotland. To the student of constitutional history, the Parliament of May 1594 may be interesting in its judicial aspect, but it is clear that it had no independent life or control over policy. Justice similarly became a fiction when the jury could be packed as in the so-called trial of Bothwell, or when the court could be intimidated as when Argyll pursued the murderers of Calder, or Mar the murderers of David Forrester. A glaring instance of licentiousness pointed such a strong contrast between the rule of law in England and the want of it in Scotland that the sober Burghley was moved to exclaim upon "a miserable state that may cause us to bless ours and our governess" (p. 98 and n.). Familiarity with violence and bloodshed blunted men's susceptibilities. It explains, for example, the hint of callousness in the bald statement that "two of Huntly's men being lately hanged were taken down and carried to be buried, whereupon one reviving is hitherto suffered to live," and it underlies the exuberant jubilation of Auchinross over his master's crafty onset upon the islesmen—a piece of "good luck done by a valiant man of war and a man of honour" who "divers times . . . played this dance here against his enemies" (pp. 473, 668–9). Irresponsible power, also, made men brutal when their baser passions were aroused: witness the revolting pleasantry of Huntly in preparing "two [human] roasts" for Athol and Mackintosh (p. 165, cf. p. 91).

In addition to the political and social miseries of the unhappy country it was visited also by economic distress. It is noteworthy that when the Kirk proclaimed a fast in August 1595, among the impending calamities which they feared was "the extreme dearth here and appearance of the increase thereof through the continual

[1] It must be remembered that the King's Lieutenants, Argyll and Lennox, on the one side, and the insurgent leaders, Huntly, Angus and Errol, on the other side, were all young men.

1595. rains " (p. 670), while in the preceding spring Nicolson begged to be furnished with " speedy relief of money to supply our wants here by reason of the extreme dearth," and " the ministers have ordained a moderation of diet every Sunday, ' till the cornes come of the earth ' " (pp. 670, 585). Harvests were precarious, and the spectre of starvation must always have been lurking at the back of men's minds. The campaign against the rebels in October 1594 was curtailed by reason of floods and famine, whereby " sundry of the King's army died for want of food " (p. 470). " Plain hunger," also, drove hundreds of islesmen to leave Scotland and seek service as mercenaries in the Irish wars. The Highlands and Islands must have been over-populated for the scanty means of subsistence; and " broken men " everywhere abounded. Cattle-lifting raids upon neighbouring clans in the north, or from over the Border in the south, were a means of livelihood as well as an outlet for adventure.

This dark side of the picture, however, is not the only aspect. Thus, although the country was torn by faction, the interests of trade and commerce were not neglected. James himself took up the cause of aggrieved Scottish merchants in England, while his commission to Orde and the petition of a Dundee skipper who traded in Spanish wine showed that religious and political antagonism had not cut off commercial intercourse with Spain (pp. 108, 196). On the contrary, the threat to " bar the trade of all Scottishmen " throughout the dominions of Catholic princes indicates that such a trade was not insignificant (p. 401). We have seen, moreover, that the burgesses were sufficiently wealthy to finance the King's raid against the Papist lords and that they were politically active in co-operation with the Kirk and barons when their feelings were aroused.

An interest in art further testifies to a certain prosperity in spite of the general insecurity. Fingask took " the boldness to send " to Sir Robert Cecil some pictures such as Mr. Lock " had seen painted here at Edinburgh " and which " your honour liked well to have for a gallery of yours " (No. 291). It is perhaps still more illuminating to find John Auchinross ordering a pictorial " tabill of the kinges " of Scotland as a decoration for his room in his lodgings at Dumbarton (pp. 622-3, 638).

Building activities are also recorded incidentally in our Calendar,

Huntly hastened "the building of his hall and gallery at Strathbogy" only a few months before the castle was rased (p. 375). Labour was also expended to make "the house of Stirling" ready for Prince Henry's baptism (p. 413). Some of the structure erected was, however, merely of a temporary nature as a setting for the pageantry and festivities which provided a strange interlude of colour and gaiety in an otherwise sombre drama.[1] 1595.

We have seen, moreover, that the presence of foreign ambassadors at the ceremony of the baptism was a symbol that Scotland was a sovereign state in the comity of nations: and there are many other indications that the ancient kingdom was not cut off from the main stream of European events. The trafficking with Spain, the overtures for a Protestant League, the diplomatic, commercial and personal intercourse with France and Denmark and the United Provinces, the importance of Scotland as a back door into England—all these were factors that gave her a certain prominence in international relationships. Individuals also sojourned abroad, sometimes for religion's sake or under doom of banishment, sometimes for education and culture or in the course of business.

Foreign events, moreover, were followed in Scotland with an eager eye and a knowledge that men might be vitally affected by happenings abroad. King James himself, who was a kinsman of the House of Guise and the son of a widowed Queen of France, kept up a correspondence with his French relatives and offered to mediate between them and their sovereign.[2] Among his subjects adventurous and discontented spirits saw a chance of employment in the Dutch wars or in the service of the Emperor against the Turk, while the Kirk felt a kinship with their afflicted "brethren in France" (p. 182). Mr. Bowes found that "assuredly the servant in this place gets great help in her Majesty's service by the frequent receipt of foreign intelligence": and the King "called George Nicolson into his cabinet to understand the news in France" (pp. 139, 164, 509).

In those days of slow communications, when it took a considerable

[1] Another indication that the love of amusement and interest in the dramatic art were not dead is indicated by the reference to "Fletcher, the player, who was here" some time before March 1595 (p. 555).

[2] Pp. 315, 562, 571, 588.

1595. time for "the truth and manner" of even the most important events to become "certainly known" (p. 456), men were inevitably much at the mercy of rumour, and the pages of our Calendar show how easily false reports were spread. Bowes confessed on one occasion that "this sudden tale of the King's departure was over-rashly given to me by one of my 'talesmen,' and too readily believed by the other talesman and myself" (p. 209). Credulity did much, but deliberate purpose did more, to set empty rumours flying. Thus the rebel Earls sent Mr. Walter Lindsay to the King of Spain and the Pope to represent their cause as triumphant in Scotland; and, owing to the propaganda of Mr. James Gordon, Father Myreton "thought to have found the King to have been a Catholic" in the spring of 1595.

Rumour flourished in a period such as that covered by our Calendar, when the prevailing atmosphere was one of suspicion and dramatic events followed upon each other in swift and perplexing succession. The volume leaves an unfinished tale: it begins and it ends in the middle of a story of intrigues and unrest.

The Introduction is followed by an Appendix of six documents from the Harleian transcripts of the volume Cotton, Caligula D. ii. This has been done in order to supply gaps caused by the partial burning of the originals. Owing to the change of editorship and other difficulties, their existence was discovered too late for inclusion in their proper place, but cross-references are now given to help in placing them in their context. It will be seen that the transcriber sometimes deviates slightly from his original.

I desire to express my thanks to the Curator of the Historical Records of Scotland and his staff for their kind helpfulness during the editing of this volume.

EDINBURGH.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS (SCOTLAND).

JAMES VI.

1592–3. [January]

1. Copies of various letters taken upon George Ker.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 199–200.

(1) (John Cargill to William Craig.)*

I send these few lines in answer to "your lovyng and hartlye lettres." Although the sufficiency of the bearer might acquit me of the necessity of writing,—and our letters are of small consequence,—yet I consider it my duty to take the pains which you desired me to take for you, for in your so just and honest cause I will bestow my life and all that I have.

"Your advertisment hes ben long of coming, and this bearer being bowne for the waye makes you all the help the shortnes may permyt for the present." If our friends find my coming to you necessary, I shall be ready when they please. In the mean time I doubt not you will consider the earnest goodwill of the bearer in your turns and cause him to receive such favours as such a worthy personage merits. Your judgment needs no information to make it capable to discern of any man that merits. Further I remit to the sufficiency of the bearer, who can show you how ready I am at the desire of your letter, if it be thought necessary. Edinburgh, 12th June 1592. *Signed:* John Cargill.

Printed in Calderwood v. 210–211.

(2) (Certificate by James Gordon for George Ker.)

I, James Gordon, priest of the Society of Jesus, testify by these presents that the bearer, Mr. George Car, Doctor of Both Laws, a Scot of noble birth, has hitherto been constant in the faith of the holy Catholic Roman Church. For the faith's sake he has suffered many hardships in these parts, and now for the confession of his faith, and that he may serve God more freely, and avoid for a while the great persecutions of this time, he has determined to leave his native land for foreign regions where the Catholic faith flourishes. Wherefore I commend him warmly as a true christian Catholic, worthy of the benevolent support and charitable offices of all good Catholics. In testimony of which I

* The enclosures have been bound at random, according to no chronological order, in the following sequence:—James Christison to George Crawford; Certificate of Robert Abercrombie; Robert Scott to Robert Parsons; John Cecil to Robert Parsons; John Cecil to Cardinal Allen; Robert Sanderson to George Crawford; —— to ["cousin"]; John Chisholm to the Bishop of Vaison; James Christison to George Carr; John Chisholm to John Chisholm; Earl of Angus to ——; James Christison to Robert Sanderson; Quittance of James Cristison and Robert Abercrombie; Quittance of Robert Abercrombie; Testimonial by James Gordon; David Forster to ——; James Gordon to Franciscus Antony; Henry Gilbert to Robert Balfour; James Christison to Thomas Anderson; James Gordon to Anellanedus; James Gordon to Peter Rabadenero; James Christison to William Heroll; John Cargil to William Craig; Gambaro Crasso to the Sultan of Turkey.

have written and subscribed and sealed these present letters. In Scotland, 24th June 1592.

"*Sic subscribitur :* Jacobus Gordonius, Societatis Jesu." [*Latin.*]

"Stampt with I.H.S.

"*Item,* in a packet stampes of armes in wax, viz., Of Errollis arms—three ; of Angus arms—six ; of Huntlyes armes—four."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 200.

(3) (JAMES CHRISTESOUN [JAMES GORDON] TO THOMAS ANDERSON.)

I received a letter of yours the last of January, but no answer as yet to my two former letters, yet I abide daily some answer from you. The bearer can show you all that occurs here. I pray you to credit and entertain him as myself, for I and all our friends here have been very greatly "intended" to his kindness. If you please to send any word to your friends, you may assuredly credit him in all affairs. If he comes where you are, treat him well and make his recommendations to your friends with whom he is not acquainted. All other things I refer to his credit. Cumbrae, 1st July 1592. *Signed :* James Christesoun.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 201 : Christesone to William Heriot.

(4) (JAMES CHRISTESOUN [GORDON] TO WILLIAM HEROLL.)

Your friends here "thinkis very long" for you ; and therefore, understanding that the bearer was perhaps to come where you are, I thought good to put you in remembrance of your old friendship. Your good old friend, Thomas Abercrombie, has passed from this life to a better. Mr. Alexander Leslie is married,* and would gladly hear of your welfare. The other good man that passed to Sutherland with us is long since married, and has a son. All other particular affairs here the bearer can declare at length. He is constant and honest and a great friend to all your friends here. I pray you to help him with your assistance and good counsel. When you come next to Sutherland or Caithness, where I am now bound, I shall convoy you there, and show you how you shall speed better than you did last time. Dundee, 1st July 1592. *Signed :* James Christesoun.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 206.

(5) (TO .)

Cousin, on 9th August 1592 I received your letter of 12th November 1591, saying that you had not received any of ours for about two years ; but I assure you that we have sent them directed, according to your direction, to our cousin † Matthew by way of Flanders or France by a trusty hand.

The estate of our country and court is as changeable as ever it was, with as little obedience or justice ; many deadly feuds without punishment ; and reif and oppression throughout all the country. The Macfarlanes are worse than the Clan Gregor. I doubt not but you have heard of Moray's slaughter by Huntly, with Gight, Cluny and Auchendoun, where they left good Captain Gordon behind them, a prey to their enemies. I doubt not you have now heard how Bothwell on the evening of St. Stephen's Day [26 December] thought to have slain the Chancellor and taken the King, but missed all through misbehaviour and over soon showing themselves within the Abbey. No slaughter except John Shaw, master stabler, and his brother. Eight or nine of the Earl's men were hanged before the Abbey. He made another enterprise in Falkland about 21st June [which is briefly narrated]. He was forced to retire

* "is mirrie" in Calderwood. † *your cousin* in Calderwood.

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1592–3. to the south, and his Majesty came to Edinburgh. Immediately is slain the Laird of Luss by the Macfarlanes in the Lennox, betrayed in the night most shamefully. There is appearance that the Chancellor shall leave Court.

His Majesty is now guided by Angus, Morton, Argyll (who lately married Morton's youngest daughter, whom we suppose the Duke would have had), and Mar (who shall marry the Duke's sister). It is supposed that the Master of Glamis will be made Chancellor. All these "sound not" with us any wise, much less to Huntly, or Crawford, or any of theirs. The Laird of Burlie and young Logy (great courtiers) were taken and examined before the King and Council for being at tryst with Bothwell once or twice in Burlie's house. Burlie confessed and was remitted. Logy would have suffered for his fault, had not "his love" Mistress Margaret [Vinstar], a Danish gentlewoman of honour, craftily delivered him in the night through a window in the Castle of Dalkeith.

(6) (JOHN CECIL TO CARDINAL ALLAN.)

I have written you many letters in my days, but never any of so unsavoury an argument to myself and so ungrateful to you, as this. It will be heavy news to your lordship to hear how my apprehension and order and manner of "demission" in my voyage from Spain to England at Easter has been misunderstood and misinterpreted.* Such suspicions I should rather by contemning pass over and by life and behaviour control than by contending and apology seek to remove, were it not that I find that thereby the service of God is hindered and the vocation of priesthood slandered. A priest's life must be free not only from crime but also from suspicion. The greatest argument some indiscreet men use to confirm their curious conjectures is my being in the year '91 with your lordship in Rome. For, seeing all their other cavils and calumnies made invalid, they alleged that I made you not acquainted with my manner of escape from the enemy and that I departed from you without licence, disgraced and discontent. But your lordship knoweth that my last coming to Rome was upon very reasonable, just and important cause, and how that which I brought and that which I thought (to use your own terms in a billet you sent me from your palace to my lodging in Rome) was to you most grateful and acceptable. [You know] how I delivered you the whole discourse of my taking and my being with the Treasurer [and] of my escape, how I departed and made my return to these parts again by your express counsel and command both by word and writ. I wrote to you and to F[ather] Rectore † from places on the way and once since I came to these parts, informing you that the passport I had of you was very necessary for saying of mass in my journey, certifying you ever of the order and success of my voyage so that [if] you had been minded to have stayed me (as they also report) you wanted not knowledge where, nor means how. You know further that at my being with you, you saw I dealt and entreated with none but yourself and F. Rectore and such other as your lordship was privy to. You know further that I told you we were apprehended in a fleet of Hollanders by the Queen's ships between Dover and Calais (Callis), how we were sent by Sir Henry Palmer to the

* See No. (16) p. 11 for references to the ill repute of Cecil in England. See his biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement.* John Cecil, or Snowden, "priest and political adventurer," was sent to Scotland at his own request, and for "ten years contrived, without serious difficulty, to combine the characters of a zealous missionary priest, a political agent of the Scottish catholic earls in rebellion against their king, and a spy in the employment of Burghley, and Sir Robert Cecil."

† Probably the Rector of the English College at Rome.

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1592–3. Treasurer's,* detained by him, examined and dismissed—perhaps because he did not know us, as [being] blinded by that cover of our passport and pretence out of Spain, and of the ready relation we made him of Spanish affairs, of our lamenting of our evil entreaty there, of aversion we showed from the Spanish conquest and promptness to serve when occasion should be given. All this [pretence] was necessary for the persons we bore, viz., soldiers newly delivered out of the galleys and Spanish captivity; and as our persons and passports were devised for us by the Adelantado (Abhelando) and our other friends and superiors, so also were these answers (in case we should be carried to the Council) allowed and approved before we came from thence. Whether the Treasurer was deceived with this our gloss (as the Admiral and others of the Council were by other four of our said mission), or whether he dissembled his knowledge for name's sake or kindred's sake or for courtesy showed to his nephew (as your lordship knoweth) in Italy, I know not. But this I know, and this I protest upon my salvation, that there never passed from me anything prejudicial to my faith or function, never anything (as I remember) that might hurt or hinder the cause in general or any creature, much less any Catholic, in particular; that I always had this firm resolution, rather to be torn in a thousand pieces than to hurt the least hair of the meanest Catholic's head in the world. *Nemo fit de repente pessimus!* a man brought up from his mother's womb in the Catholic doctrine, sucking together with his nurse's milk a perfect hatred of all the enemies of God's Catholic Church, perpetually noted, pursued by that name, so many years for that cause exiled, trained up in a manner at your lordship's feet† and one of your household servants and family, promoted to priesthood and sent out to labour in the vineyard of our Lord; a man that hath laboured so much both for erecting the seminary of Valladolid (Vallour) and relieving that of Rheims; a man that hath loved you, served you and honoured you in all occasions with most prompt and sincere affection and that hath tasted on your part a reciprocation of his love, to make so sudden and strange an alteration! It is improbable, nay it is almost impossible. Albeit heaven and earth should fall, though there were not in the world another Catholic besides myself, yet I hope I should live and die in that demand. It was my affection to the common cause, perhaps my too much zeal to do good and venture my life, my too much solicitude lest Catholics should take damage if I had been dogged to any of their houses after my demission that caused me this "cumber." For always *metuebam Danaos et dona ferentes*; and I fear that they have dealt with us as Hannibal (Stinball) did with Fabius, that spared only his territories when he wasted the rest of Italy, to call his fame in question with the Senate. But to put your lordship out of all doubt, I protest upon my salvation that I never remitted one iota of my former zeal to the cause, never had so much as any temptation, much less any purpose or determination "to stead the adversary in the least punctill" that might disadvantage the common cause.

One thing I may inform your lordship by the way. If my friends had not been the more constant and propitious at home, and my fortune and God's providence the better abroad, some that shall be nameless might have given me up to my enemies' hands, as they did Mr. Plasden, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Besselye and Mr. Myres, now blessed martyrs in heaven.

I am much beholden in these parts to the Father of the Society to whom I have communicated my case, and being barred from my own flock at home I employ my poor talent here at their direction.

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* See the accounts given in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1591–1594, pp. 38–39 *et seq.*; and in *Catholic Record Society*, v. pp. 198–199.

† Cecil was Latin Secretary to Cardinal Allen for eighteen months (1587–8). See D.N.B.

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Lord Seton has been to me both in health and sickness rather a father than [sentence unfinished]. He heartily salutes you and has shown somewhat the more courtesy in that he was " whilome " your servant.

Mr. Dudley, Christopher Knight * and Mr. John Thules are in health and sometimes retire to these parts, and salute you humbly.

There is a general Assise holden this month at York for Catholics only. God grant the spirit of fortitude and perseverance.

If your lordship, these notwithstanding, stand not fully satisfied of my sincerity, I will perform what you appoint for my purgation. If you rest satisfied, I beseech you to send me your *quietus est*, and to let Mr. President of Rheims and Father Hoult, in Flanders, and Father Garret, in England, understand that you have received letters from me and rest satisfied. If I can do no good herein by letter, I will by my presence seek to make complete satisfaction. I pray you commend me to Mr. Thomas, Mr. Warnington and Mr. Baynes, who, I fear, were somewhat dismayed with these reports. Seton, 2nd October. *Signed :* John Cecyll.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 193–4 (without name of recipient).

(7) (JOHN CECIL TO ROBERT PARSONS.)

The enclosed to my lord [Cardinal Allen] I pray you to read and take as written to yourself. If I had overstepped my bounds so far as some imagine, yet I am surprised that good men will admit no excuse, when St. Paul to the Galatians sets down this rule : *Fratres, et si preoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis huiusmodi instruite in spiritu lenitatis, considerans te ipsum, ne et tu tenteris.* If I had spoken with you when I was last in Italy, as I hoped, I had perhaps made a better conclusion of my business there than I did. Lord Seton, in whose house I sojourn sometimes, saluteth you. You will learn of the affairs of the Catholics here from those by whose means this letter shall be conveyed. Lord Seton has a haven of his own which may hereafter be very commodious for our missions. Commend me to Senor Barth[olomew] Perei, Juan del Aquila and all my friends and to my patron, the Adelantado. [The commendations which follow and the personal names are in Spanish.]† Mr. Dudley, Christopher Knight, and John Thules, who, upon some sudden pushes of persecution, repair thither, are in health and salute you. Mr. Siall, a priest, died lately in Edinburgh. If you send any into these parts let them come furnished with ample faculty. Let them enquire for one, Mr. Jonas, which will be a token between us. Seton, 2nd October 1592.

[*Postscripts* ‡] We hear that J. Sowthell has potent friends and is in great hope of his delivery ; for 100 li. they say he is offered his freedom. There is now in York a general Assise for Catholics only. J. Creswell has done me much harm.

When you read the enclosed, pray seal it and send it away. Seton, 2nd October. *Signed :* " *In Domino,* Juan Cecilio."

Printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part ii. p. 323; Calderwood, v. 194–5.

(8) (EARL OF ANGUS TO MR. WILLIAM CRICHTON.)

Desires to hear of the welfare of Crichton and his friends, and of the " estat of matters " where he is. Could do him a greater service now, if he were in the country. Mr. George Ker, the bearer, will inform him of affairs

* The calligraphy of this name is difficult, and is misread by Calderwood (v. 194). Christopher Knight and John Thules were sent from the English College at Rome to England in 1592 (*Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,* vi. p. 117).

† Not in Calderwood. ‡ Postscripts not in Calderwood.

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in Scotland. Begs entire credit to be given to him. Edinburgh, 10th October 1592.

" *Sic subscribitur :* Yours ever at power, Angose.

" Blanke on the bake."

(**9**) (JAMES CHRISTESON [MR. JAMES GORDON] TO MR. GEORGE KER.)

I have sent with this bearer all the letters you desired and one more to another, whereof I remembered since your departing. If the ink be " evell " let the bearer know, because I could not find better ink in all his house. Since your departing from me, I and this bearer, Sandesoun, remembered " on " some things of ours in your possession, as he will tell you. [Begs credit for the bearer.] 29th October. *Signed :* James Christesoun.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 203.

(**10**) (J[AMES] CHRISTESON TO ROBERT SAUNDERSON [ABERCROMBIE].)

I came here yesterday. I pray you be diligent in the cause I send you for. Advertise me by this bearer how matters succeed with you. If this have not good success, we must assay the other way by others, and that shortly. If you received anything from Mr. George Carr, send the half here by this bearer and I shall cause it serve me and Henderson. Keep the other half for yourself and John Black and give him as he requires. Your man William departs to-morrow. I have written by him also. Henderson is here nearby in the new town * in the old fashion. I am to visit him shortly. Our man of verity has been at Pluscardine and is yet in Caithness or Sutherland. The bearer will be here again shortly, and I will abide some word from you with him. 1st November. *Signed :* J. Christesoun.

(**11**) (HENRY GILBERT TO ROBERT BALFOUR.)

[There has been interchange of letters.] All your friends here are blithe and merry, and from your last letters, of 1st November, delivered to us on 1st April, we were rejoiced to hear of your health, " especiallye the dene of Glasco, your eldest brother," who is content with the " estimation ye ar attayned unto amongst good and learned men." Notwithstanding all your heat of wars there [*i.e.* in France], we count you a great deal happier than we are at home, who live in such misery and vexation. Sundry of us sent letters at sundry times by mariners going to Bordeaux, but we know not when you are in those parts or if our letters come to your hands. Now we are glad of the opportunity of this bearer, your friend and old acquaintance and ours. I expect that as many of us as happen to know of his coming will write to you by him, and some will write on behalf of the rest and of your aunts, who cannot write. We " fare well presentlye," and most heartily recommend this bearer, your most special friend. You may credit him entirely in all things, for he is discreet and honest and loves his country, although for conscience sake he cannot live in it. His intention is, there to prosecute further his studies and to apply himself to any vocation his spirit may esteem fittest for him. I again beseech you to do your uttermost for him. Because of his " suffeciencye and aquayntance with all your speciall frendis and favourers," we may be " the shorter in our letters, for of sikness or of health, death or lyfe, being maryed or unmaryed,

* *in the Newton* in Calderwood.

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constant or variable in all ther affections towardes you, and amongst themselves, of the fyrst part of them all he can geve you information."

The King and Queen are in prosperous estate. Other news occurs not, neither will we write, but remit to the bearer ample and particular information about all your friends.

"I have bene sick almost this 2 years bygone, and my diseasse is langwissing, but now the vehemencye of it within these thre moneth last past is so growen to excesse that I beleve all the medicines in this countrye is not able to cure me," so that I look for no convalescence, unless I depart. This is "displeasaunt" to all our friends and favourers, but necessity has no law. I recommend me to your prayers and devotion. All your friends here do likewise, and long to get your letters more frequently. I recommend very specially unto you George Makeson, who has been a good friend to your uncle, James Gordon, and has let him want nothing he had need of. Remember this, according to your discretion, "for the sayd Georg can procure much better for others then he can informe for him selfe, and is a very descreit and devote persone, willing to pleasure all persones to his power, as I may assure you, for I am well acquainted with him." What way we may have soonest word from you again, he will import to you his advice; for many passengers are daily from Bordeaux.

Let the bearer "want nothing he may have to do with you or with any other of the universitye, that he may prosecute his studyes, ye haveing the credit, for onely in his charge takes he this hazard for the love he hes to vertew. He will acquaint you with Thomas Forbeis his estat and affection toward you, which will never decaye, as the sayd Thomas byddes you be perswad. In one grayne weight he is all yours, and wantes no goodwill to have satisfyed the desyr of your last lettres," if he could have done so without great inconvenience. I need not pray you to do what you can for Gabrell Goundistoun. If every hair in my head were a man, I would bestow them all for Mr. James Balfour. I would you agreed discreetly William Craig and Bartholl Bodsone. I recommend myself unto your favour and devotion, and all this "gen" [against] Telman's advice.

"From my resedence wher I am very diseassed, this 4 of November 1592.

"*Sic subscribitur:* Yours ryght assured to his utter power to be commanded, Henery Gilbert.

"To his trest frend Mr. Robert Balfour."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 212.

(12) (JAMES GORDON TO JAMES ANELLANEDUS, OF THE SOCETY OF JESUS.)

I was not a little rejoiced to hear lately of your good health from a certain English priest who came here out of Spain. Now the present bearer, Mr. George Car (truly dear to God and us*) is setting out to salute you in my name and to notify you of the health and estate of myself and the other Jesuits here. He is one whom you may trust without any hesitation, as the most faithful companion of our labours and affections. I delight in the friendship begun with your reverence when we were together at Vienna (Vienne Austrie), and I greatly desire to hear something of your good health. The bearer may enable me to learn of your estate more frequently. We who are here as sheep in the midst of wolves desire the prayers of all our Fathers and Brothers, as you can abundantly see from the report of the bearer, to whom I beg you to give credit. From Scotland, 20 November 1592.

* A pun is intended in the Latin: *magister Georgius Carus* (*vere Deo ac nobis carus*).

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"*Sic subscribitur:* Tue reverentie servus in Christo, Jacobus Gordonus, Scotus, Societatis Jesu.

"Admodum reverendo in Christo patri patri Jacobo Anellanedo presbitero Societatis Jesu." [*Latin.*]

Printed in Calderwood, v. 213.

(13) (JAMES GORDON TO PETER RABADENERO.)

[Rejoices to hear of his good health from the English priest, as in the preceding.] I cannot and will not forget ancient kindnesses done to me when I lived under your rule at Rome many years ago. Therefore, when the present bearer, Mr. George Car, had determined to set out for Spain, I begged him to carry these letters as a testimony of my old esteem for you. From him your Reverence may learn more fully what is happening here, and of the state in which I and the other Scottish Jesuits find ourselves. You can give entire credit to him as a good Catholic and fellow labourer [as in previous letters]. He will communicate something to you personally in my name, because the violence of the time does not permit of everything in letters of commendation. [He begs for the prayers of all the Fathers and Brothers for them in their great straits and difficulties; as in the preceding.] From Scotland, 20 November 1592.

"*Sic subscribitur:* Tue reverentie servus in Christo Jacobus Gordonus, Scotus, Societatis Jesu. Admodum reverendo in Christo patri patri Petro Rabadenero, Societatis Jesu presbitero." [*Latin.*]

Printed in Calderwood, v. 211.

(14) (JAMES GORDON TO FATHER FRANCIS ANTHONY.)

He is glad to have had news from the English priest; [as above]; and remembers old kindnesses received many years before at Vienna. He takes the opportunity of sending these letters by Mr. George Car; and asks for prayers [as above]. From Scotland, 20 November 1592.

"*Sic subscribitur:* Tue reverentie servus in Christo Jacobus Gordonus Scotus Societatis Jesu. Admodum reverendo in Christo patri patri Francisco Antonio, presbitero Societatis Jesu." [*Latin.*]

Printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 323–4; Calderwood, v. 195–6.

(15) (JAMES CHRISTESON [JAMES GORDON] TO GEORGE CRAWFORD [WILLIAM CRICHTON].)

Your friends here have directed the bearer to you for full resolution of all your affairs. We have delayed too long, but he will show you the cause. The next best is that you use all expedition against next summer. If you come, you will find more friends than ever you had; but next summer many are bound to other countries and will wait no longer for you. Send word to your friends, that we may put them in good hope of you, and they will tarry the longer. You may credit the bearer as myself. I would have come with him, had I not been persuaded that you would wait for our answer, and because I got a "stopp" out of Flanders, as the bearer can show. You have got all that you desired [relative to the blanks*]; therefore make haste. The bearer is come to you at his own charges, therefore you must have respect to him. Your last messenger arrived behind hand, and has had no satisfaction as yet, because nothing could be got here, and we could find no man except this bearer, who would pass at his own expense; otherwise you would not

* Written in margin of *Criminal Trials*; inserted in italics in brackets in Calderwood: not found in this State Paper copy.

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have received an answer so soon. "We will abyde and hear your selfe shortlye,* and I would ye brought the rest of your frendis with you that ar beyond the sea [the Spanish armie †], for yf your bloke [block] ‡ passe forwarde, those must also be present, otherwayes we must come and avyse [visite]‡ with you." Your wife and children [the Catholik Romans and their confederates †] look to see you shortly. If I or Sandeson [Mr. Robert Abercrombie †] receive any silver from the bearer, we will notify you of the amount in another letter, subscribed by us both. All other matters I refer to the bearer. Dundee, 20th November 1592.

(16) (ROBERT SCOTT TO ROBERT PARSONS.)

John Cicill, a good and pious man, about whom some false rumours were spreading from his own country, has asked me to write to you. This I have willingly done, both because of his probity and because he does good work in our barren vineyard. I beg you to conceive no evil of him, because he has purged himself here sufficiently, and no rumours to the contrary should now circulate from his own country. From Scotland, St. Catherine's Day [25th November] 1592.

"*Sic subscribitur :* D.t. servius [*sic*] in Christo, Robertus Scotus, S.J.P.

"Generoso domino Roberto Parsonio, Anglo." [*Latin.*]

(17) (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY JAMES CHRISTESON [JAMES GORDON] AND ROBERT SANDERSON [ROBERT ABERCROMBIE].)

They acknowledge to have received from Mr. George Ker, son of the late Laird of Newbottle, on 3rd December 1592, the sum of 100 crowns of the sun for the sustentation of themselves and their companions here remaining [in Scotland] in present necessity; and certify that they will repay the same. They request that this money may be repaid without delay, thankfully and diligently, so that they ["both ye and wee"] might have further credit in times coming.

"*Sic subscribitur :* James Cristesonn. Robert Sandersonn."

(18) (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY MR. ROBERT ABERCROMBY.)

He acknowledges receipt of 100 crowns of the sun [as in the preceding] at the command of Mr. James Gordon, his Superior for the time, as may be seen by a blank subscribed by them both under changed names. He prays that the money be refunded thankfully at the sight of this his obligation, written with his own hand, and sealed with his own seal.

"*Sic subscribitur :* Mr. Robert Abercrumbye.

"Stampt I ✠ S."

(19) (DAVID FORESTER [GRAHAM OF FINTRIE] TO [A FRIEND].)

Printed in Calderwood, v. 203–206.

I received your courteous and comforting letter yesternight from John. Five days before the receipt of it I had "spoken" the gentleman [whose ticket §] you send me enclosed in your last letter. He said nothing to me anent

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* Text in *Criminal Trials* and Calderwood reads : *We will abide heir your selfe schortlye.*

† Written in margin of *Criminal Trials*; inserted in italics in brackets in Calderwood; not found in this State Paper copy.

‡ This is the reading in Calderwood and *Criminal Trials.*

§ Supplied from Calderwood. The omission makes the present text unintelligible.

1592–3. you in particular, but he assured me that against Catholics in general "ther was over hard a conclusion set downe." For my own part, although things are at present as difficult for me as for any others within this realm, yet I thank God that "I neyther lyghtlyed his advertysmentis, neyther yet apprehendet I it any more vehementlye nor I ought to have done." I doubt not that God, in Whom I have put my trust, will preserve me, and work all things for the best. In the meantime, if commodiously I might, I would gladly be freed from this prison to prepare to go forth of Scotland, for I sustain more "incomodities" here than any one can easily imagine. I pray you and all our other special friends to take heed to yourselves, "for in this world men which hes any evell intention dresse querelis *de al[i]enis ignis*," and forge false pretexts where none are.

I am sorry that George Makeson has been so long disappointed of his horse, but it was much better to await "ane canny mercatt nor to have hazard ane ould gleid, which myght have stumered and put him in hazard."

I doubt not that all will turn out for the best in the end for George, who means honestly and sincerely, and he will haste word how soon he may commodiously come back. Care never for rumours, but do well and dread not. "This is all. The fyrst thing hes bene invented falselye without anye ground."

The man who fell sick in Seton was willing to have spoken with me, but my opportunity served no further than sending commendations and offers of good will. To him who sent the ticket I showed my opinion freely concerning all these sorts of people.

I consider your opinion and Mr. Sandyson's anent your filling of his bottle "*sed quomodo evitemus periculum in quo versatur puer? Nam ne veremur illi.** Neyther is yt a good estate to lett him leane into." Almost as great difficulty will be with his mother and many other near friends. But for my part I mean to prefer God to all.

As touching the information given you by David Gilb[ert] of the friendship I had of these two ministers, I never so much as dreamed it. But the minister of this town accompanied with the master of the school last Wednesday at even, and never before, came, unknown to me, to the castle garden and directed up the porter to know if I would come and speak with them. I thought it a point of incivility to refuse to hear them speak, so after some talking they said that they came upon the goodwill that they bore to me, and upon that my bedfellow said she was sorry that never a man would take the pains to travail with me, which I knew not of. In conclusion, they desired to know if I was content to confess to them gently. For my own opinion, I think it "lyklyest" not to enter into any conference. But I shewed them that if I did, I would first speak *de ecclesia et ejus auctoritate.* So I crave your advice. I would not have them to vaunt that for diffidence in our cause I feared to enter in conference, albeit indeed it requires a better scholar than I. We reasoned an hour *de ecclesia.* None was present but John Tompson.

This minister appears courteous enough, but I foresee no fruit of our conference; but rather they may give it out as they list. Write both your advices in this; and let Catholics, if need be, understand the verity. I purpose by God's grace not only to eschew *periculum* but *scandalum omnis generis*, which all Catholics ought to respect. Send your answer by a boy of mine who will come for it. Commendations to all your family.

[There follows a paragraph, in corrupt Italian, recommending "Cornello" to proceed prudently, and with faith in God. Doubtless their enemies have

* The Latin quotation of the State Paper copy is corrupt. It is here taken from Calderwood.

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some great affair (*hame quatthe queam cosa per te*, i.e. *hanno qualche grande cosa*), but God is able to frustrate their designs.] 9th December.

"*Sic subscribitur:* D.V.S. illustre affect. come frateelo David Forster.

"Io non so [? ho] ceremonie con v.s. perche s[o]no tutto suo."

Printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part ii. p. 324; Calderwood, v. 196–9.

(20) (ROBERT SANDERSON [ROBERT ABERCROMBIE] TO GEORGE CRAWFORD [WILLIAM CRICHTON].)

I regret the sloth and negligence of your merchants in answering your last suit; apparently if they had made answer in due time our wares had been here in due time; but no one would undertake the journey on his own charges, and the matter was almost clean forgotten until the bearer took it on hand. He is willing to spend his goods, and life itself, in that cause. Let him be acceptable to you for this, as well as for his affinity of blood; for both his grandmothers were Crichtons. For wit and ability in managing these affairs he is inferior to none of your merchants. Although he has undertaken the matter at his own charges, yet your friends here think it reasonable that he should be recompensed. I cannot commend him too highly. If you can do him a pleasure, wait not till he crave it, for he is a bad asker in his own cause.

You will remember that at your departing you gave Mr. James Mackartnay * a procuratory to intromit with Mr. Alexander Home's little living in East Lothian. Now there fall out such troubles that we may lose all, if remedy be not found. First Mr. Alexander's nearest friends and heirs in judgment proved him to be dead, and so entered heirs to him, by this the Laird of Spott's land is forfeited and so the land wards. Mr. Alexander King advises us to sell the land to him, and to use the silver in a more sure manner. I think that if we do not come to an agreement we shall lose all; and it is better to have something than nothing. Name, you, the price; for he has mentioned none as yet, but he will give as much as any other, because he has some land adjacent.

I doubt not but you have heard how those young men, whose father was slain by the Laird of Buthwous (Ruthwens), slew him "agayne"; whose lady is married to James Reed. Camnay is come in the Constable's hands, and your nephew is privy to it, "by the moyen, I trow, of Abraham, your brother. Bot your maich † is little better than begging." Drumkill (Drumkilbo) is dead, and Thomas Tyrie is tutor.

Advertise me how Mr. Stevin Wilson has come by Lord Livingstone's obligations, which you had, of the forty crowns his lordship was owing you. I durst never make mention of the hundred crowns from the father, and forty crowns from the son, which you left me power to crave. Lord Livingstone is departed of this world. David Forster has another son, born in the Castle of Stirling. There is but one of our nobility that has of the King of Spain a pension well paid of 1200 crowns; but neither he nor his has yet done anything to promote the King's matters. Such pensions would be better bestowed upon others, who hazard themselves daily and hourly.

"At Scotland, the 15 of December 1592. Yours at his power, Robert Sandeson. To his trest frend, Geo. Crawfort."

(21) (GAMBARO CRASO TO THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.)

Remembering that some months ago I had great consolation from you, I could not let slip the opportunity of greeting you by the present bearer.

* See *P.C. IV*, 606. This reference identifies Mr James Macartney with Dr Macartney, of the trefoil sign.

† maich: kinsmen; also, son-in-law; father-in-law. (Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.)

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1592–3. My affection is not lessened by length of time or distance of place. [He commends the bearer and begs credence for him.] Antwerp, 23rd January 1592 [1593].

Italian. The transcription is corrupt.

(22) (JOHN CHISHOLM TO JOHN CHISHOLM.)

I did not receive your letter of 14th November 1591 until 10th August, St. Lawrence's Day [*sic*]. I showed your brother Thomas "anent your adoes" and your clothing. He will answer you. Thank you for your commendations from all in Vaison. About your uncle Robert's marriage, I have written at length to your brother [the Bishop]. I made your commendations to all at Dunblane. The parson and his wife "redubles their money" * to you. Lady Rickarton and her daughter are worldly women, and many bairns. Sir William Blackwood, his brother and his wife, John Morrison and William Morrison are dead, with many others in that town. Your brother would fain visit you, but his lady is not agreeable thereto. I wrote to you sundry times to write to your brother Thomas to pleasure me in my necessity with some of the worst of your clothing, and at our meeting I should have pleasured you with as good again. I will write to your brother as soon as I know to what place to write. Commendations to Allister and his children, and "Jacques Gasport in Cresyt." *Signed:* John Chisholm.

Addressed: "To his beloved cousyn John Chesholme, for the present with his brother in Vayeson."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 209–210.

(23) (CERTIFICATE BY ROBERT ABERCROMBIE, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, FOR MR. GEORGE KER.)

I, Robert Abercrombie, Scot, of the Society of Jesus, certify that the bearer, Mr. George Ker, Scotsman, Doctor of Both Laws, is of noble family and a champion of religion, for which cause he has fled from the persecution of the heretics, especially the ministers. I, therefore, for the love of Christ, for Whose sake he has suffered, exhort all men (especially those of our Society) to show kindness to this semi-martyr, to receive him into their dwellings and colleges, and omit no possible service of benevolence or liberality. In witness whereof, I have appended our seal, and have written and subscribed with my own hand. [Undated.]

Latin. A careless copy; the text is more correct in Calderwood's version. There are numerous transcriber's errors in all the copies of the letters taken upon Mr. George Ker.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 208–9.

(24) (JOHN CHISHOLM TO [WILLIAM CHISHOLM] BISHOP OF VAISON.) †

Your letter of 12th November 1591 I received on 9th July 1592. You expressed surprise that no answer came from any of us to those that you wrote. If I had received any, I had been very negligent had I not answered. I enclose a memorandum of the news of our country. On 15th June 1592 the marriage of your sister Margaret was solemnised by all her special good friends and the Laird, her brother, and with her own desire. Many noblemen were present: the Earl of Argyll, Lords Drummond and Inchaffray (Inchenfraye), the Master of Livingstone, the Countess of Menteith, the Lairds of Keir, Touch (Towch), Bonhard, and many more, with their ladies. Her

* ? return their many commendations.
† Succeeded on resignation of his uncle Bishop of Dunblane.

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1592–3. husband, the Laird of Muschet (Muschat), we cannot but count as one of our own. Now, much more, there is good appearance of him; and [he] might well survive his grandmother and mother. Thereafter he will be worth thirty two chalders of victual "attour other pennye male * and gresumes." †

Lady Kinfawnes, my sister, and the young ladies and their husbands ‡ are in health; likewise young Merchinsoun and his wife and all the rest of our friends, except in Dunblane. "Attour the death of John Moreson, William Moresine, taylour, Elezebeth Henryson, na moe rest but onely good Sir Wilyam Blakwood." We cannot yet get the Laird of Keir and William Sinclair agreed "foranent" Achingrayth to his hurt; no justice for the poor in any degree.

The Laird of Fintrye is lately commanded to ward in the castle of Stirling, and my lord of Spynie accused of treason by "the crowner" [Colonel] Stewart. Their day is tenth August § 1592, before the Council. Huntly remains ever in the north. "If the Court change handes at him, our ministers would have Fentrie. Haveing manye marrowes, as your brother and all the rest, nane good of that surname but your brother the parson. Your lordship's commendations are sone made, if to none other but Catholiques." ||

My lord of Inchaffray (Incafraye) is yet unmarried. You wish to know whereon I depend. It is eight years since ever I drew any pay, and yet I am in no good estate with my competitor, albeit I have endured at your pleasure banishment in England for the space of two months. Would to God that I had made that voyage to your lordship, as I would have done but for the troubles, and hoping for redress, and yet deferred.

I doubt not that your cousin, Mr. Edward Drummond (Dramond), knows of the death of his brother, the Laird of Rickertoun. No more at present, except commendations of service to my lord, my brother. Your brother's children are two sons and two daughters living, "ryght fayre and good of inclinatioun: his eldest James, of a good ingyne, and William also." Lady Merchensoun has two sons and one daughter.

"*Sic subscribitur:* Your lordship's ryght obedient and loving cousyn to command in service, John Chesholme.

"To my ryght speciall and good lord, the bishop of Vaysoun, in the court of Venisse." [December 1592.]

22 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley.* "20 Nov. 1592. Copyes of lettres taken uppon G. Carr, Jhon Cecell, James Cheisholm, John Chesholm."

Jan. 3. **2.** ROBERT BOWES TO [THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON].

Mr. George Ker (Carre) is taken in the Isle of Cumbrae (Comvey) "towardes" his voyage for Spain, and his letters and writings are found in Robert Jamisson's barque and brought hither; wherein sundry blanks are subscribed by the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Erroll. Whereupon Angus coming hither on Monday last, after having been with the King, was commanded to keep his house that night, and the next day was carried to the Castle here, where he remains prisoner at the King's pleasure.

* Penny-maill: a small sum paid to a proprietor of land, as an acknowledgment of superiority. (Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary.*)

† Gressoume, gersome, grassum: a sum paid to a landlord by a tenant, at the entry of a lease, or by a new heir to a lease or feu. (*Ibid.*)

‡ *sisters* in Calderwood.

§ *penult August* in Calderwood.

|| Calderwood's version ought to be compared with this, for many variations in text.

1592–3. Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume are sent to Stirling to entreat the King to hasten his return hither; and it is wished that soon after his coming he shall with expedition and force arm and ride against these conspirators confederated with Spain.

Proclamation was made yesterday in this town commanding all Jesuits, seminaries, excommunicates and such persons as were with the Earl Bothwell at Holyrood House or Falkand to depart out of the town within three hours upon pain of death, and not to approach within ten miles of the King's person or this town. The King has sent me notice that Bothwell is openly reset and entertained with great company at Bewcastle by Thomas Musgrave, the captain thereof, wherewith the King appears to be deeply grieved.

All "others" I reserve to the coming of my servant Sheperson. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed:* "Scottishe affayres." *Marginal notes:* "A letter to my Lord of Huntingdon," etc.

Jan. 7. **3.** PLOT TO INDUCE PHILIP II. TO INVADE SCOTLAND.

Seventeen of the Scottish nobility confederated to offer to the King of Spain under certain conditions, to invade their King and country, to reduce him and his state to the religion of Rome, or to deprive him, kill him or deliver him to the King of Spain. It is suspected that this offer is made by certain Scottish and Irish Jesuits who went to Spain upon Scottish affairs before [the Duke of] Parma's death. Some English persons have lately been pressed by Jesuits, the confessor of Parma (sometime the Queen of Scots' confessor) and others to give advice and aid to draw some of the English nobility and principal gentlemen to the faction of Spain by accepting the King of Spain's pension, with other large gifts and promises; and to advance this they offer them assurance of two of the nobility and good opinion with her Majesty and those of great ability in their country. They question how the principal officer of the Navy or "capten at sea" can be drawn to them for the King of Spain's service; also for apt means to kill the Lord Treasurer, seeming to be provided with a desperate instrument therefor, wanting but inward means here. Opinion of others coming against them this spring. The concourse of Jesuits and persons of note to Italy, Spain and Scotland more than is accustomed. The Duke of Ferria being last summer at Venice, Genoa and other free cities of Italy to procure shipping by the spring. The coming from Spain of 7000 under the leadership of the Duke of Pastrand, with many other inducements by plots, practices and reports to invade this realm. "Sterriles" often to go in and out, under counterfeit passports, as it is said: his dealing with Father Holt and others, and some things undertaken by him to be performed in England.

Cardinal Allen, with other bishops. The Duke of Guise, Monsieur St. Paul, with others remaining at Rheims, expect the King of Spain's forces to lead them to Paris for the election of another King. The army is seen not to be over 7000 strong of all nations, *etc.* The late Queen mother sent from Scotland an offer to the King of Spain from lords of Scotland to accept his forces and invade the King if he would not return to the Roman religion. When Huntly lay in wait with 3000 against the King of Scotland, the King spared him and took him into his favour.

Matter for the Queen and me. Bothwell wrote to her (when the King was in Denmark, as I remember), that he would disclose matters to her if she

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1592–3. would protect his life. [Scottish lords Spanish.]* Whereupon he disclosed that there are other lords in Scotland who were of the King of Spain's pension. This the Queen has never disclosed, and for that matter has ever spared to take him when he was in her power, as her people might have pressed her. But afterwards Bothwell attacked the King's person in his chamber and made an attempt to poison the King by two women of his chamber.

In the summer of 1592 the King wrote to the Queen for her advice in some matters concerning Bothwell, who practised against him, and the Queen answered by letter that it was the King's own fault, that he spared the offenders in his power, and that those who will attack a King are worthy to stretch on a halter. Whereas the King wrote that there is a very great offer by the King of Spain to have England if he would allow him a landing in Scotland, she answered that the King of Spain is not able to obtain England, and it is not yet his to give. If the King of Spain had these two realms in his power she did not believe that he would give more to the King of Scotland; and she advised him to take care how he trusted those who ambitiously seek the kingdoms of others, and to remember the practices against him, and that she saved his kingdom for him. After that Bothwell informed the Queen that several lords of Scotland strove on the King of Spain's part, and that he wished to expose this to the King of Scotland as the Queen should advise, if the King would pardon his life. He will not desire restoration of lands or goods, but only so much as may sustain life, and thanks the Queen for her charity towards him in her letter lately written to the King, as above. Then the Queen promised Bothwell that she would not disclose what he had told her, but neither would she favour him in seeking the King's destruction. Whereupon to know whether the King himself is of the combination of Spain, as it supposed in the Council he is, the Queen wrote to the King that there is an offender in his realm (not disclosing that Bothwell was the party) who would reveal all those in his realm who are combined with the Spaniards, on condition only of pardon of his life, and lands and goods enough to keep him alive. She desired the King's answer to give to the party and would cause to be done as shall be fit.

The King having received those letters six weeks since,† and being pressed by our ambassador has never answered this letter. Letters were intercepted about December 1592 going from the lords of Scotland to Spain, and subscribed by some of them, offering to deliver the King of Scotland's person to the King of Spain if he would not become a Catholic.

3 *pp. Rough notes in French, Latin and English. Endorsed:* "'92. Scottish causes."

Jan. 10. **4. Mr. John Colville to the Dean of Durham.**

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, p. 96.

Although unacquainted by frequent speech and meeting, yet upon the good report and fame you have everywhere, and by commandment of a special friend, I have presumed to signify to you a matter tending highly to the benefit of religion and the preservation of our sovereigns. A gentleman of good fame and honesty showed me not long ago that these matters lately detected in Scotland are but superficial, carrying only a particular credit from a few of the Spanish faction, as Angus, Errol, Huntly and Auchindown, but that the great commission from the whole body of that society in Scotland is to follow; and that, apparently, the more hastily by reason of the apprehension of Angus, Ker and some others. For discovery of this great com-

* In margin.

† Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XLV.

1592–3. mission, for intelligence out of the Low Countries, and practices of great consequence there, he has promised me upon assurance of condign reward to come to London, and perform (if so be her Majesty's pleasure) a service very necessary for her present estate. He craves only these conditions following: that he may have a safe-conduct under her Majesty's hand or the Lord Treasurer's, in case his overtures be not accepted: that he may have presently a competent sum of money for settling his affairs at home and preparing for his journey. I stand bound to reimburse this sum at my "upcumming" if he be not employed in that service. He craves nothing presently of his reward, which is to be set down at my upcoming. He is content to receive one half when the one half of his service shall be fulfilled, and the rest at the full accomplishment thereof. Until then he desired you to be surety for whatsoever her Majesty shall promise. I took my oath to utter this matter to no one except yourself until it be "proponit" to her Majesty. Just as he craved you to be surety for what shall be promised to him, so he wishes me to lie pledge at London that he shall fulfil all that he promises; which I am content to do, if so please her Majesty. At one time I intended to impart this "fruitfull" matter unto the Lords Treasurer and Chamberlain, but I was restrained by my oath aforesaid. I deliver this overture to your lordship "vord to word" as it was communicated to me; dispose thereupon with secrecy and speed according to your discretion; and let me have answer before the end of this month, for so I have promised the said gentleman. From Edinburgh, 10 January 1592. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript: I assure your Lordship that neither the Earl Bothwell nor any other man, "knawit" anything of this secret, except the gentleman and me; for as I keep Bothwell's secrets from him, so I keep his from Bothwell and all others. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

2½ *pp. Holograph; also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 12. **5.** CATALOGUE OF NOBLEMEN IN SCOTLAND.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. f. 158. Transcript in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 191

CATALOGUE OF NOBLEMEN IN SCOTLAND WELL OR EVIL AFFECTED TO THE AMITY WITH ENGLAND.

The evil affected:

[In the north],* the Earls of Caithness, Sutherland, Lord Mackay (M^{k}try) [MacLeod], Huntly, Crawford, Errol, Angus, [Ogilvy, Gray] and a great many lords. These are the men of greatest [commandment] from the North Sea to the town of Dundee.

[In the] south, the greatest men are Maxwell and [Herries]. Both are Papists, and Maxwell Warden of the West [March], which confirms his power not a little.

[In the wes]t, Lords Paisley, Boyd, Semple, Livingstone, Earl of [Menteith], and some think Montrose, but my opinion is not so.

[In the] east, Lords Seton and Home, Warden of the East [March].

[In] Court and Session are Lord Parbroath Comptroller, Lincluden Collector, Abbot of Newbottle Master of [Requests], lord of Polwart "cooper" to her Majesty, Sir James [Chisholm] nephew to the Bishop of Dunblane, one of the Masters [of the Household], William Shaw, a suspected Jesuit, Master of his Majesty's Works, Prior of Pluscardyn and Sir John Seton, "Sessionars" and sundry others.

* Words missing in the original are supplied in the transcript.

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The well affected are these:

[In the north], Marischal, Forbes. As to Gowrie, [he is but a] child, so the north is altogether unsettled.

[In the south], Cassillis. He is but a child: [and no other] earl nor lord.

[In the west], Ochiltree, Cathcart, Hamilton, [Glencairn, Master of] Eglinton.

[In the east, Lindsay, Yester. There is no more that I can remember except Bothwell were restored.]

In the Court, the Duke [Morton, Master of Glamis], and yet he is become suspicious to sundry [honest men].

By this catalogue it is clear that the Borders [and Highlands] of Scotland, which is the greatest part of the [realm, and a] great part of the heart of the country, [are commanded by] Papists. As to noble men that are no actors I reckon the[m not in] this catalogue, as Rothes, Oliphant, Innermeath, Argyll, [Orkney and] a great many others that are either simple men [or children]. It is also to be considered that these of the Spanish [faction are] all uniform among themselves, and the well affe[cted for the] most part at bitter quarrels, as the Duke and Hamilton, [Glencairn] and Eglinton with sundry others.

One thing would be diligently "adverted," that the chi[ef of the] Spanish course in Scotland are Huntly, comma[nder in the] north, Home and Maxwell, commanders of the Bor[ders, all in] great credit with the King, in so much that although [they were] all touched with these treasonable practices yet they shall incur no danger, his Majesty liking [so well of] them, the Duke and Mar, chief leaders of the [Court, being] both brothers-in-law to Huntly, tenderly allied w[ith Home, and] the Duke by his father's latter will bound to [stand friendly] to Maxwell and his house.

[So of necessity it seemed needful for their correction that some men were in credit about his Majesty, that, besides the general causes], might give advice in particular, and for [this purpose none] can be so fit as Bothwell, for Huntly had killed his cousin, the Earl of Moray, Home had [intruded him]self in his possessions, and Maxwell had caused [execute six] of his servants.

[If his] Majesty find fault with receiving Bothwell in her [dominions, it] may be justly replied that her Highness had done more in that than the King himself, for she had for that [cause bu]rnt some of her subjects, and the like as yet had [not been] done in Scotland. Moreover, Bothwell [every month] at his pleasure resorts to Edinburgh [and can] not be restrained. Then, how shall her Majesty debar [him her] Borderers, that be two hundred miles distant [from her residence]?

[And wher]eas his Majesty threatened to join against you with your enemies [if you sh]ow Bothwell any good countenance, assure yourself that his people would not permit him so to do, which he knows full well.

$2\frac{2}{3}$. *pp. Edges injured by fire.*

[Jan. 12.] **6.** [BURGHLEY] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Furthermore you shall understand that, besides the offence the King has conceived for Bothwell's relieving in England, he has seemed to her Majesty's ambassador to be displeased that he has not of late received such yearly payments as he pretends were promised him by some of her ambassadors upon treaty of amity betwixt him and her. Therefore if you shall perceive by the ambassador that he looks to receive some answer thereto, (since he willed the ambassador to certify her Majesty hereof), you may say that her Majesty thinks that he is moved to conceive this mislike rather by some that

1592–3. bear no goodwill to the amity than of his own consideration in the cause. The complaint seems to be that he had but 2000*l.* this last summer, whereas he had 3000*l.* divers years before, If those who advise him to mislike of the diminution of 1000*l.* this last year were disposed to consider what excessive charges her Majesty has been at these late years, (which rather increase than diminish), for defence of the French King in France and Brittany, with the charges also of a continual navy for the defence both of the French King's dominions and of her own, besides her former charges still continuing in the Low Countries, they should have reason to move the King to bear with her in these great extremities, for sustentation whereof she has not only burdened her people with yearly subsidies these four years past, besides certain loans received of them, and not yet fully repaid; and such have been also the extreme necessities for her Majesty's aids to the French King and the Low Countries that, besides all the aforesaid subsidies and loans and the ordinary revenues of her crown, she has been forced, greatly against her own natural disposition, to make sale of part of the possessions of her crown. And she thinks that in the present hard times this might be sufficient to move him to conceive no lack of her kindness to him. It is caused rather by these "burdenous" wars that hang still upon her arms without help of any other prince; and yet, nevertheless, her Majesty minds not to neglect the King's estate whensoever he shall have necessity to be relieved by her. And if you shall find him not satisfied with this kind of answer, then you may put him in hope that, rather than he should "impute" the diminution of the sums paid in former years, her Majesty will strain herself to satisfy him as far as possible, though there was not any sum expressed in the last treaty, as it seems that the King has been informed. Furthermore the ambassador has informed her Majesty of divers particular persons who have lately travelled thither at their own charges (not being men of wealth to sustain the same) to discover those late conspiracies, and to apprehend some special malefactors. The ambassador thinks they have deserved some reward towards meeting their expenses, and to continue them in their former devotion, and he shall inform you who those persons are; of what qualities; and what kind of services they have done, and with what charges to themselves. He shall also give you his opinion what might be convenient for rewards for the time, to be bestowed secretly lest the King or others should charge them with being mercenaries to England. Certify us by post of all particulars requisite, without giving them aforehand any assurance until her Majesty shall resolve how much she will dispose, and to whom. If the King shall make any remark that the sums received be "small helps," the ambassador may boldly affirm that to his knowledge there have been paid to divers of the King's ministers, for the King, since the treaty in the year '88, first 2000*l.*, and in the next year, being '89, at two several times, viz., in April and December, 6000*l.*, and in the next year, being '90, 3500*l.*, and in '91, in May, 3000*l.*, and now, in February last 2000*l.*; "of which somes how the King hath bene answered hir Majesty knoweth," but she has with goodwill at all those times, upon requests made by his Majesty, strained herself to have them paid. And whereas the King seems to have been informed that her Majesty was allowed greater sums by her father, King Henry VIII., most true it is that the allowances to her sister, the Lady Mary, and to her were but 3000*l.* by year apiece for all manner of charges, as by record appears.

2⅛ *pp. Draft. Partly in Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley* "1592. Copy of lettres to Mr. Bowes uppon Sir Robert Melvill's negociation." *The first part of the draft appears to be missing.*

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Jan. 13.

7. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Yesterday I received your lordship's last letter, of the 6th. I am very sorry that your late and small abstinence in writing to me was occasioned by sickness, and pray God to give you speedy and good recovery, chiefly at this time when your lordship's good advice and direction shall be so necessary to draw the present troubles in this realm to quiet and happy end.

Upon the letter of this Presbytery, addressed with the privity and consent of the Council in the King's absence, some noblemen and many barons, gentlemen, burgesses and ministers of Lothian, Fife, and some other few counties convened here, conferred with the ministers for remedies in the great dangers appearing, and thereon presenting themselves in great number to the King, prayed his help for the "indelate" punishment of the great treasons tending to the overthrow of religion, his person and estate, and also freely offered their service with hazard of their lives and "expense" of their goods and possessions in this cause. At first the King sharply checked them for convening in this manner without his foreknowledge; yet they justified their proceedings as grounded upon the orders of the Council and authorized by the acts of Parliament; and thereon the King entered into a calm and gentle course with them, agreeing to be ready to punish the offenders with all severity and without any partiality towards any person found guilty; and since he had written for sundry other noblemen, barons, gentlemen and burgesses to be here with him on the 14th of this month, he deferred the full resolution and order to be taken in this behalf to the coming and appearance of the others. He was pleased, nevertheless, to confer in the meantime with especial commissioners chosen by this convention. Whereupon this assembly, attending the coming of the others, remain ready and earnest to proceed in their actions against the conspirators for Spain. They have appointed and sent their commissioners to the King, who has delivered to them certain articles, which they have answered. This you will see by the enclosed copy of the King's articles and their answers.

The King appears to be well bent in these causes, and he has bound himself sufficiently to the same by fair words and promises. Provision is made that no person shall solicit him in favour of any offender. Nevertheless such dispositions are found reigning in sundry councillors and courtiers, and such means are feared to be made for the delivery of the principal offenders in the conspiracy, that I am warned and earnestly exhorted to travail effectually for the fulfilment of the King's promises. But my labours will little prevail until he receive better contentment and satisfaction from her Majesty in his requests concerning Bothwell and his own yearly gratuity. In these behalfs he purposes to send his ambassador, wherein choice is made of Alexander Hume of North Berwick, who, I perceive, is nothing willing to undertake the journey.

Great danger and hurt may fall by delay in giving good satisfaction to the King in these behalfs, or of applying fit means to draw him forwards in the action against these conspirators with Spain, and it is earnestly required that in season and with all speed her Majesty would send hither effectual letters and advice to the King, by some person well qualified and fit for the furtherance of the work. Let me know speedily what I shall do or look for to be done by her Majesty's resolution, so that I may put all things in best readiness I can.

When Captain William Cary learned that the King has been credibly informed that he had publicly entertained Bothwell, (whereat the King greatly stormed), he so seasonably and fully advertised me by his letter that he has not been in this realm this long time (as has been surmised), neither seen Bothwell for the space of near four years, that I hope to satisfy the King in

this part, and by the same to mitigate his passions towards others openly "recettinge" and entertaining Bothwell in Northumberland. For this I have sought access to the King, but I cannot obtain it with the favour and readiness accustomed to be showed towards me. I am deemed to have been over busy in the discovery of the late conspiracy, to be over inward with these noblemen, barons, gentlemen, burgesses and ministers assembled, and to have little power to satisfy the King's desires of her Majesty. It is needful therefore at this time to supply my present disabilities.

As by my former letter I certified that two persons of good quality, and suspected to be the Bishops of Ross and Dunblane, or such like practisers, were entered into Andrew Loggan's ship to be transported to parts beyond the seas, and that the ship would put in at Yarmouth, so it is "eftsouns" confirmed to me that two men clothed with black frieze cassocks with hoods, and with their faces covered, were put into Loggan's ship during the night of 29th December last; that all the candles were put out whilst they were carried and set close in their cabin; and that sixteen men well horsed attended on them and on the shore until they knew that they were well settled. I am informed that Logan, in this ship, and with the little pinnace mentioned in my former [letter], came before Yarmouth, as I advertised, and it is thought that the wind has not served him to sail southwards since his coming thither. Therefore I give your lordship knowledge hereof so that suitable order may be taken for the stay of these suspected persons, if they be not already taken upon my former warning.

Mr. George Carr remains obstinate in his examination and will not confess any matter of importance, yet by the motion and advices of his brother, the Laird of Newbottle, and of his other half brother, Comptroller of the King's house, (who have been employed by the King to draw him to plain confession), he offers to discover all his knowledge on condition of pardon of his life. I have been informed by my "familliar," speaking with some of his near friends and privy to these practices, that his discovery and confession shall tend to cast the whole crimes of treason on the Jesuits practising with Angus, Huntly and Errol, and to clear these noblemen as much as may be. He has oftentimes been threatened with the torture of the boot, yet hitherto he has endured no pain. Commission is given to the Justice Clerk, Blantyre, and Mr. George Young to offer him the torture this day. But many think that he shall suffer without confession and without great extremity. Lady Seton and two of her sons on their knees sued to the King in his favour: to whom the King said that they and their house were "suspect" in this crime and that they increased suspicion by their suit. The Queen of Scots has been a suitor for Carr, and yet they sent me advice to travail effectually with the King or little good would succeed in this matter. Of these things I have warned some in commission to examine Carr, but they find the matter so turned to the examinations and dealings of few persons that they doubt the good success.

The Earl of Angus by his letter to the King has denied to have intended any hurt to the religion, the King, the realm or the professors of religion. He offers to be tried for the same, and prays that upon caution he may be warded in his house with his wife and household, since his present charges in the Castle exceed his small living, and his late expenses in his journey in the north by the King's commission and commandment were very great. It was discovered that his page and one of his servants had taken in paste the print of the key of the gate near to his lodging in the Castle and had hired a smith to make the key to that form. The other day the King passing by the Castle cried to the wardens to keep well the traitor and to be sure of their keys. It is said that

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1592–3. some part of his possessions are given to some courtiers and that the King will retain the rest in his own hand. He is thought to be in more peril than Huntly or Errol, who have their means in Court. It is told me that the King of Scots has written to Huntly's wife to know truly their case in these things, to the intent Huntly may depart if he be guilty, or else be cleared by the best means. The King denied [*i.e.* refused] to read Huntly's letters presented to him by Pitlurg until the Council should be assembled and hear the letter read.

I am informed by my "familliar" that these Earls have given to Mr. George Carr perfect instruction in writing, and subscribed by them; that thereby Mr. George is directed both what to do in all the affairs committed to him and also how to fill in the blanks; and that it is appoined that one of the blanks subscribed by the three Earls and Auchendown should be filled and made to serve for his commission to the King of Spain; that the other should be the band binding them to entertain and join with the King of Spain's forces to be sent into this realm; these bands, with others given otherwise, should suffice as assurances to the King for the performance of all his demands and also of their covenants with him; and that it was thought more meet to give the King assurances by their bands than by hostages, in regard that the sending over of hostages should discover the matter. By the same I am informed that Lord Hume gave his band in this behalf at his being at Pont à Mousson (Pont de Messen) in Lorraine, and that Lord Herries delivered his band in Bruges (Bridgiss); further, that Richard Dudley and John Cecil (Cicill), Englishmen, were privy to these things; that Dudley, employed by Cardinal Allen and Parsons, the Jesuit, was sent hither from Spain to them and brought hither sundry Englishmen of divers qualities to confer with Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Robert Abercromby, the principal agents in this conspiracy, and who purposely came into these parts to speak with the Englishmen, and tarried hereabouts from August last to December; that so soon as this plot, devised to answer and satisfy the King of Spain in all his demands, was agreed upon, Mr. David Lawe was sent to advertise the accords [and] readiness of all things; and that another fit instrument should be shortly sent to give assurance and full contentment to the King of Spain, who has promised to send 6000 men hither next summer, and the lords here have undertaken to levy and keep at their charges other 6000. The residue of the army and garrison shall be Scotchmen levied by the lords, and paid by the King of Spain.

The Jesuits and their confederates in this realm have appointed to meet together to take order in their causes and to change their names and ciphers. They shall be in such place of the north that I can do little good there, yet I shall do my endeavour, and some noblemen have promised their help, but the time of their meeting is hitherto uncertain.

Lord Hume had no liking to come to this town without assurance of the principal courtiers that he should not be troubled by the assembly or by this town. The King has been partly moved to remove him from him until he shall be cleared of suspicions, yet, having called Henry Parkinson hither to hunt with him, will not want the company of Lord Hume for this time. Nevertheless the King will be directly pressed at the next Convention to take order that neither he nor any other known Papists shall be suffered about him. It is credibly told me that Sir George Hume wrote to Lord Hume to come speedily to the Court that he might get some share of Angus's possessions, for it was meant that Angus should be forfeited, but that Huntly and Erroll should escape the extremity in the end. This works great distrust in many of the

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1592–3. well affected, fearing that the course promised for the general punishment of this conspiracy shall not be prosecuted with full effect. Whereupon all this convention continue together, intending at their full assembly here on the 15th to draw the matter to resolute end and into action. Leaving the results to time, I pray to have her Majesty's instructions in all points. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp., partly in cipher, deciphered. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Articles delivered to the commissioners of the barons and others of Fife, etc.)

Your advice and answer to these heads. (1) In respect matters discovered requiring diligent trial, high punishment and to that effect foresaid what offer will they make to us of service and assistance at this time for prosecuting of the cause in general, and in particular for the surety and guard of our person? (2) How Jesuits and trafficking Papists wandering and lurking in this realm may be searched and presented to justice, and to whom commission shall be given to that effect? (3) What form of proceeding as well by law as by force against others either declared or suspected guilty of this crime, if they compear or be "unobedient." (4) How shall justice in this matter proceed unhindered or uncorrupt, with "solictacion" under a pecunial sum?

½ *p. Copy.*

Jan. 19. **8.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letters of the 10th and 13th inst., together with three from the Queen of England, whereof one is addressed to the King of Scots and two to myself; also one from Sir Robert Cecil to me. Before the receipt of these letters the King had departed from Holyrood House to take his pastime at hunting, purposing to return hither to-morrow. I sought to have access this day, but the King has "referred" me till his return, when I shall not only deliver her Majesty's letter to him and solicit the execution with all diligence of the directions given to me, but also will advertise your lordship of the success of the proceedings by Christopher Sheperson, your servant, with whom I shall send copies of the letters taken upon Mr. George Carr and other instruments.

On Wednesday the 17th inst. the King gave me audience anent sundry bills for the Borders. The King being credibly informed that Bothwell was openly received and entertained in many gentlemen's houses in Northumberland accounted the same to be done to his dishonour and scorn, as he termed it, alleging therewith that the parties thus entertaining Bothwell justified their action by colour of warrant from her Majesty and others. His passion was so much heated that he burst forth and said that if he should plainly find that Bothwell was thus received and maintained against him in England with her Majesty's privity and commandment, then he would no longer keep amity with England. Albeit I so well appeased his passion with assurance that these things for Bothwell were done without the Queen of England's knowledge or allowance, yet passing immediately from me to hear the commissioners of the lords, barons and others in their late convention, the King was "occasioned" by them to advise upon the choice of a fit person to be sent to her Majesty in embassage to report to her as well the great treasons discovered lately in this realm, as also the King's readiness and course to punish the same and prevent all perils with all expedition; and he renewed

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before them his former resolution uttered to me, and he shewed to them that the envoy should not only be sent to her Majesty with the report mentioned, but also with some particulars of his own against Bothwell, whom he esteems such an enemy to him that he would break amity with any prince in the world who should take the maintenance of Bothwell against him; and if her Majesty would thus plainly entertain and maintain Bothwell against him, then he will "give upp with her" by the same ambassador, and without regard of the danger of his life, crown or title, provided that all his subjects would join with him in his quarrel to defend his honour. These words were thought strange and were diversely interpreted. The Spanish faction and Papists are ready "to blowe the cole" for safeguard of the conspirators discovered and for the benefit of their cause. But the most and best sort exert themselves against all things which may for such cause shake the happy amity betwixt these two crowns. I hear that the King's mind is so much calmed that I hope at our next meeting to quench utterly this heat in him, or at least to discover what ground and what power this matter has in him. I trust that the good means of the persons to be sent hither by her Majesty shall suffice to wrap up this cause and also to advance all others for her contentment.

At this conference betwixt the King and the commissioners the King very frankly granted all their petitions for punishment of the conspirators with Spain and other Papists, and has so solemnly bound himself to proceed effectually in that action that more needs not be added in words, and the convention is well pleased and comforted therewith. Charges shall this day be awarded to command Huntly, Errol and Auchendoun to enter into ward at St. Andrews before 5th February next. Proclamation shall be made to-morrow commanding all men to be ready to attend on the King with their armour and weapons in his journey against the conspirators and Papists on 15th February, at which time the King has appointed personally to march with his forces against Huntly, Errol and Auchendoun in case they shall fail to give themselves to ward.

Order is now taken for the examination of all prisoners and persons suspected, wherein the Earl of Mar, Lord Lindsay and the Master of Glamis are appointed for the nobility, the Prior of Blantyre, the Justice Clerk and Sir John Carmichael for the King's Council and officers, Andrew Ker (Carr) of Fawdenside for the barons, Mr. James Johnston for the burgesses, and Mr. David Lindsay for the Church; and Mr. George Young shall write and register the confessions of the persons examined. Such secrets as the examinates would reveal only to the King shall be taken by Blantyre and Carmichael. Mr. George Carr and others refusing to answer plainly and confess the truth shall be put to the torture. It is enacted by the King and Council that any examinate denying any matter, which afterwards shall be proved against him by writ or witness, shall be esteemed guilty *pro confesso*. The barons of Fife would furnish fifty horsemen for the King's guard, to be under a captain and cornet to be appointed by them. The other barons offer to do the like, and the burgesses will set forth 100 footmen, whom they desire to be led by their own captain, but the King will have no other captain than Sir John Carmichael. Thus this convention is dispersed, purposing to assemble again on 15th February to attend on the King in his journey, in the furtherance whereof they showed their willing minds and great forwardness, and no little labour will be made by the ministry to keep them still in that course.

Angus's friends fear greatly that he alone shall be forfeited, and that Huntly and Erroll shall escape. Therefore, for the safety of his life, and chiefly for preservation of the ancient house, they have made offer to me to persuade

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1592–3. him to confess and reveal the full truth and bottom of all things, so that by her Majesty's means his life and house may be saved. Albeit I have given little comfort to the "motioners" of this matter, yet I think it my duty to advertise your lordship thereof, with request what to answer and do. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 19. **9.** PUNISHMENT OF PAPISTS.

"ARTICLES PROPONED BY THE KING AND COUNSELL TO THE MINISTERYE TOUCHINGE THE DISTINCION AND PUNISHEMENT OF PAPISTIS. Edinburgh, xix° Januarii, 1592."

What are the ranks of Papists upon whom the law should strike? How shall their merit and meddling be distinguished? The names of the other Papists in the country who "maye give and concure" to those who presently are under trial, that they may be charged to ward? The names of avowed Papists desired to be discharged from bearing public offices and from places of Council, Session, Parliament or other Judicature whatsoever? The names of Jesuits, seminary priests, excommunicate or trafficking Papists? The names of their resetters?

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "21 Jan. 1592. Articles for distinction and punishment of Papistes in Scotland." [Originally enclosed with No. 11.]

[Jan.] **10.** EFFECTS OF THE ANSWER OF THE CONVENTION TO THE ARTICLES PROPOUNDED BY JAMES VI.

"TH'EFFECTIS OF THE ANSWERE OF THIS CONVENCION TO THE ARTICLES PROPONED BY THE KINGIS MAJESTIE."

First, that their bodies, goods, friends, "alies," servants and their possessions shall be ready to serve his Majesty either the "wholle, half or by quarter," as it shall please him to command, and as shall be needful, to proceed against the parties to be pursued, and that during the pursuit of this cause they shall all be a guard to his Majesty; and also that he may choose and take such particular number for the guard of his body and daily attendance as it "shall like" him to appoint. The pay for this guard to be levied from the lands and possessions of the guilty; and if the same shall not suffice, then they will at their own expenses pay the sums remaining. Secondly, that the Jesuits, Papists and others in this realm shall be apprehended as well by the army and forces to be employed in this action, as also by other secret means and by commissions to be given to persons well affected and of honour; which persons shall be nominated at the next Convention. Thirdly, to proceed against suspected persons by ordinary course and term of law by short summons and proclamations to be made for their compearance. If they compear or be in ward, then to give them due examination and trial by law. If not, then the forces to come forwards according to the proclamations, and to march against the disobedient within two days next after the certificate made of the disobedience. Fourthly, such of his Majesty's domestics as shall solicit in favour of any suspected herein shall be dismissed for ever. Others shall lose their movable goods to the King's use. All these to be intimated by public proclamation.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk, George Nicholson.*

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Jan. 21.

11. Robert Bowes to Elizabeth.

On the 17th hereof and in the absence of the King, I received your Majesty's three several letters [as in No. 8]. Your most gracious acceptance of my poor service has not only given me great comfort in my "worne age" and distressed condition, but also binds me during the residue of my short days to employ and double my service, and freely to offer the sacrifice of my life to perform some part of my duty.

The King would not grant me access until he returned hither on the 19th and was at leisure on the following afternoon, when I first presented your letter, which he "broke up" and perused. Nevertheless he would not then confer with me or give answer, because he found, as he said, the sentences pithy and matters weighty. Next, I recounted to him the substance of your Majesty's letter of the 12th, touching the kind remembrance yearly looked for, the entertainment of the Earl of Bothwell in England, the appointment of the Duke of Lennox to examine the treasons of Huntly, his brother-in-law, and, lastly, the admittance of myself amongst the commissioners to hear the examinations of the conspirators. All which articles and matters contained in your Majesty's latter letter I enlarged, agreeable to the directions expressed in both your letters to me; and also, in the end, I showed your letter to him, according to the instructions given me by the Lord Treasurer, and in order that the "view" thereof might confirm my report, reform my error of misreport, and supply the default of any omission.

After the reading of your Majesty's letter and long reasoning upon each of the articles, he gave answer to the effect following. First, that he had been given to think that the portion allowed to your Majesty by your father, King Henry VIII., was 5000*l.* by year, yet understanding now that the same appeared by record to amount to no greater sum than 3000*l.* by year, he held himself satisfied therein. He is persuaded that Mr. Wotton and Mr. Randolph, your ambassadors here, did stipulate the amount to be paid yearly to him, and the terms for continuance thereof; and that they had power for the same given by your Majesty's commission, and not by any letter of the Secretary: "which was mistaken," as I alleged. He rejoiced to understand that your Majesty never thought that even a far greater sum would be overmuch in case of necessity and to do him pleasure; wherein he said that he would never press your Majesty but in times of his need, such as the present, and that he rather desired testimony of your affection to him and his subjects than profit of money. He could not call to remembrance the time and affairs wherein, as I affirmed, your Majesty had been at charges of 9000*l.* in one year, and had kept 6000 men in readiness for his service. But at length he resolved to send an especial person to your Majesty with full instructions in all these behalfs, wherein little sign of full contentment appeared in him "at that present."

Secondly,—after I had assured him that Thomas Musgrave, Cuthbert Armorer, or any other servant or subject of yours has not received or entertained Bothwell in England with your Majesty's privity or commandment, as shortly should be proved by the due chastisement of the offenders, and for which purpose Musgrave and Armorer were sent for—he alleged sundry informations proving that Bothwell could not have been so openly and favourably received and harboured in the houses of so many gentlemen in Northumberland without some warrant or hope of oversight to be granted by your Majesty or by some of your Council. As proof he recited many particularities and tales brought to him. I, however, not only let him know how vain sundry

of the surmises were, but also showed that the rest of them were either brought to him by a Papist or else craftily conveyed to the hearing of a Protestant by a Papist seeking to poison the King's ears with that venom in order to break the amity betwixt your Majesty and him, chiefly at this time when the discord betwixt you should promise surest impunity to all the Spanish conspirators, overthrow of the religion established here, and direct himself to work his own ruin, for in this I had learned the principal authors of these tales to have been Papists and followers of the Spanish faction. He protested that he never winked at or spared to apprehend Bothwell since he knew him to have so earnestly hunted for his life and assaulted his palaces and honour, still uttering therewith his implacable griefs against Bothwell, as also his determinate mind to bear no goodwill with any prince or person in the world who would foster and maintain Bothwell against him, wishing right heartily that your Majesty would rid your hands of him and keep him out of your realm. In this I put him in remembrance that the delay of his answer to your Majesty had hindered the accomplishment of his desire and retained you in suspense to accept or reject the overture made to your Majesty by one or two about Bothwell, and revealed to him by letter. But he would not grant by any mean that you had written to him touching Bothwell, until the letter was called for and viewed at my request; and thereby he was brought to understand clearly that your Majesty in that clause and part of that letter had not written of the overture or actions of Papists, as he had fully conceived, but had plainly opened to him the suit of Bothwell, and "respited" your Majesty's resolution for return of his answer. In the end he acknowledged to have far mistaken your letter and over long delayed his answer, resolving to write herein to your Majesty with his ambassador, and praying me in the meantime both to signify his determinate decree in heart utterly to reject Bothwell during his life, and also to entreat your Majesty to vouchsafe, for his honour and satisfaction of his subjects, to give speedy order that Bothwell may be removed and kept out of your dominions.

Thirdly, according to your Majesty's opinion, he condemned the appointment of the Duke of Lennox to be commissioner to examine Huntly's treasons, alleging that the convention and ministry lately assembled made choice of the Duke for this office against his liking, in regard that the Duke was minor in years and so near allied to Huntly. Nevertheless, having experience that the Duke had utterly shaken off Huntly for the slaughter of Murray, he thought, therefore, that he should have carried his actions herein with indifferency; and now he is admitted into the new commission for the examination of the conspiracy.

Fourthly, he answered that, as in all matters of weight or novelty he ever used to consult with his Council, so he would advise with them whether he might conveniently admit myself, agreeable to your Majesty's expectation, to be present with the other commissioners at the examination of these conspirators with Spain, in respect that their treasons threatened dangers indifferently to both realms in this isle, and at the next assembly of the Council he will resolve and acquaint me with his order herein.

Moreover, having laid before him the inconveniences of imperfect examinations, whereby the benefit of true discovery of the secrets and of the perfect course of trial is lost, he firmly promised to be very careful therein, and this day he has given order and commission to Lord Lindsay, the Justice Clerk, Mr. William Hart and Mr. George Young to examine this same day Mr. George Carr and to take his plain and full confession and discovery of the treasons conspired, or otherwise to give him the torture "in strait maner," and

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that the next day he shall be tried by assize, and executed upon his condemnation.

Upon my exhortation that no fair promises, device, faction or friendship should entice him to defer the apprehension or mitigate the punishment of any conspirators in this treason, he acknowledged himself to be so strait bound to perform what I required and to proceed effectually in this matter that from henceforth he will not think to be esteemed a prince of Christianity or of any honour if he shall not well accomplish all his promises herein; so now no further bond by words need be added, but his deeds must acquit him and his honour in the " execution " to which he has been exhorted by myself in your Majesty's name, and by his subjects for safety of religion, his own person and estate, and their lives and possessions.

Lastly, he readily yielded to your Majesty's advice to defer his Parliament until he had pulled up the roots of this foul conspiracy and well established his realm in quietness. In which mind, and under many other fair promises, I left him for that time, after a conference of nearly three hours without intermission, in the presence only of himself and the Lord Secretary, who now is *in lite* to be employed and sent ambassador to your Majesty.

With the next opportunity, and according to your Majesty's commandment, I shall inform Lords Sempill and Ross and the Lairds of Caldwell and Fulwood how graciously your Majesty accepted their good offices done in these late affairs. I have already communicated " with " Mr. Andrew Knox your Majesty's good disposition and regard to be had of his labours, charges, perils and services. Thereon he has returned into his country to learn the haunts of the Englishmen lurking in those parts and also to search out the letters and writings craftily withdrawn and taken out of Ladyland's chest, which, if they be recovered (as he hopes they shall), will clearly make manifest the extent of the treasons. Thus much for my proceedings in carrying out my particular instructions, contained in your letter, which I have reserved to myself.

For the apprehension of Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Robert Abercromby, the principal Jesuits and instruments in this conspiracy, I have procured especial commission to the Earl of Atholl, who has right frankly promised his best endeavour therein; and the Master of Forbes, Mackintosh and other barons of good quality have offered their assistance, and their devotion and all good offices to your Majesty. As I have built something in the west, so I am laying some foundation in the north of this realm, where the greatest dangers of troubles are nourished. I have espied the privy dens of these two Jesuits mentioned, and thereof given intelligence to Atholl by the Bishop of Dunkeld and his other solicitors of credit dealing with me. If everyone plays his part rightly these foxes are like to be " uncannelled."

At the examination of Angus this day one of his blanks was showed to him, but he would neither acknowledge nor deny that the same was subscribed with his hand. He accused the ministry as authors of his troubles, and thinking Mar, the Secretary and the rest of the examiners to be " fethered " for and sent by the ministers, he refused to answer their interrogatories, and he offered that if it should please the King that he should fully confess these mysteries, then he would do it with all truth and sincerity.

The Earl of Huntly, by his letter presented to the King by Pitlurg, has flatly and vehemently denied that the blanks or any of them were subscribed by him; whereupon the King has not only caused the several subscriptions of Huntly " at " his letter and the blanks to be compared, (" and which are founde to be all one "), but also called the Duke to judge of the matter; and the Duke, taking upon him to be thoroughly acquainted with Huntly's hand,

1592–3. thinks verily that the blanks are indeed subscribed by him. Huntly likewise wrote to the Duke, who showed the letter to the King; and before this Erroll wrote to the Duke, pleading the severity used against him by the ministers to excuse his default in not coming hither, as he had promised, and offering to the Duke his services in very lowly and frank manner.

Huntly, Erroll and Auchendoun pretend to be ready to enter into their ward at St. Andrews before 6th February, as they are charged, but it is verily thought that they will not do it without conditions or hope of extraordinary favour. If they do enter, then means will be made for their safe keeping. If not, then there is a knot of good company provided in the north to attend upon Huntly and his course, for it is said by some that some sudden enterprise shall be attempted by them, and the King will be earnestly called on to proceed in his journey against them on 15th February next, before which time the well affected heartily wish that it may please your Majesty to send hither some fit person to further the progress of these weighty causes.

It is verily discovered by the information of one of the same stamp and privy with the Papists that, for the preparation of their cause, the minister in every parish and the chief professors should have been slain, and this execution to have been done by the pretended friends and allies of the parties to have been murdered.

The other day the Council sent certain propositions to the ministers for their resolutions in declaration of Papists meet to be prosecuted and for the lawful proceeding against them, as by the copy of the same will better appear. [No. 9]. The ministers fear that this is done to lay the burden of all grievances on them. They find this town shrinking at the threats of the conspirators and their mighty friends in Court and country, and your Majesty's weak servant here is warned that no ordinary means shall preserve him. [He affirms that anxiety is like to bring him to the grave, but he will remain at the helm so long as breath lasts, or until her Majesty has compassion upon his "worn body and dried senses."] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript:—At the closing up of these presents annexed hereunto, and retained longer by that occasion than I intended, the King sent to me Sir George Hume and Mr. Robert Bruce to let me know that he had given order that Mr. George Carr and the Lairds of Fintrie and Ladylands should be immediately examined by all secret means: that if they do not truly and sincerely confess, then, without delay, they shall be tried by assize and executed after judgment; that Carr, warned by his brother of the King's determinate mind herein, has offered to reveal all he knows in these conspiracies, on condition that his life may be saved; and therein, in regard that both the realms are touched and interested hereby, the King has required my opinion to be returned to him with these two messengers. Wherein, being suddenly urged, I have hastily advised that, seeing the true discovery of the traitors, treasons and secrets therein shall more profit both the sovereigns and realms than the life of this man, by whose means the danger of future inconveniences may be seasonably espied and avoided, and exemplary justice ministered on the rest, therefore it should not be amiss to grant life to Carr upon condition that he shall plainly and truly unfold and disclose the whole body and bottom of this conspiracy, and in case he shall cover or deny any matter which hereafter shall be proved against him, that then he shall lose the benefit of his pardon. Besides, I have advised that some proof shall be taken of his true dealing herein, and that fit articles shall be framed and propounded to him, whereby he shall be either driven to open a window to the discovery of the mass of these treasons, or else to expose himself as a dissembler and unworthy of favour; further,

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1592–3. that his enlargement upon his good course be not hasty. This advice is well liked and like to be put in practice, therefore I most humbly pray your Majesty to allow thereof and pardon my defaults of haste or weakness. In your last letter to the King your Majesty gently pointed at his escape for the grant of his pardon to Robert Bruce, the practiser in Flanders.* This check is turned to my default in regard that I did not as well clear the King from the error of the grant deceitfully stolen from him without his privity, as I certified the matter to charge him; wherein the view of my letter of the 27th of December last, and addressed to the Lord Treasurer, shall, I trust, give contentment to your Majesty and him and relieve myself in this behalf. The King looks to be fully acquitted and delivered from the suspicion of any evil meaning by this grant, and would be greatly pleased by the knowledge of your Majesty's satisfaction in the same.

I am newly informed that the King was mightily ravished with the new phrases and so fully won with the sound advice expressed in your Majesty's last letter to him that he not only called to the admiration of it some of his chief counsellors and of the ministry here, but also by the same was stirred to enter into this round course and action against the Papists, so that the ministers there present give most humble thanks to God, Who ruled your Majesty's heart and pen in the draft of that letter. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Wax seals; blue silk fastenings.*

Copy of the same.

Jan. 22. **12.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

[Encloses the preceding letter, and refers Burghley to it for an account of his audience with the King.]

Christopher Sheperson will report such particularities as shall be requisite before the repair to Scotland of her Majesty's ambassador. It is hoped that he will arrive before 15th February next, when the King purposes to enter into his raid against Huntly, Erroll, Auchendoun and other conspirators with Spain. The bearer has been retained by occasion of the King's absence. Now I trust that my son and he will proceed effectually and give assurance for my debt to her Majesty, so that I may be licensed to come. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 28. **13.** GEORGE FAUSYDE TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

There has been nothing worthy of writing unto your lordship since my departure; but I send these few lines lest you should think me unmindful of my duty. I have not written as yet to my Lord Treasurer or Lord Admiral; but, if I do see or hear anything worthy the writing, I will not forget my promised service. I remain here for my ship, which I have sent "for Barnestaple" and expect her to return in August. If I may do you any service or pleasure, please to let me know either by her or any other ship that comes here. When she returns, I "do pretend" to go to Spain, where I hope to accomplish better my promised service to the Treasurer and Admiral than I can do here. If you have occasion to speak with any of them, please give my excuses, and assure them of my good will. There is neither wine nor fruit,

* See *Warrender Papers*, ii. 182–5.

1592–3. at this present, worthy the sending to your lordship, but I will remember to send some of the first that shall come, and now send a "boxe of marmelad and two barrellis of conservas." From the city of Funchal, in the Island of Madeira. *Signed:* George Fausyde.

1 *p. Holograph, also address,* "To the rycht honorable and his good Lord, Lord Archbald Douglas, imbassador for the King his Majesty of Scotland, give thes at Lym Stret in London." *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Wax seal.*

Jan. 29. **14.** STATE OF SCOTLAND.

"Memoryall of sondry thynges commytt to the report of Christopher Sheperson."

[*In margin:* The present estate.] The King agreed to the petitions of the convention, and promised to proceed in the actions for punishment of the conspirators with Spain. Huntly, Erroll and Auchendoun are charged to enter into ward before 5th February next at St. Andrews. If they obey not, then the King will ride against them with his forces; wherefore all men are warned to attend on him at Edinburgh on 15th February. For the King's guard the barons will furnish 100 horsemen, and the burgesses 100 footmen, and some money shall be levied for the King's expenses. The King has been informed that Bothwell is openly received and maintained in Northumberland and that the parties entertaining him justify their actions by her Majesty's warrant; therefore he has protested that if she will maintain Bothwell against him he will then break up the amity.

[*In margin:* The ambassador to be sent to Scotland.] It is meet that he be well furnished and instructed in these parts, viz., [1] what course shall be holden for satisfaction of the King touching Bothwell's being in England, and also for the order to be taken towards the Earl himself and for the King's answer to her Majesty's letter and for the end of that cause. [2] Order for payment or suspension of the yearly gratuity to the King. In these two matters the King will send to her Majesty an ambassador of his own, with the best speed he can. For rewards to be given to some intelligencers, order would be given either to the ambassador who shall go thither, or else by her Majesty's licences for beer and cloth, or other means. John [*sic; read* Lord] Sempill took great pains for the apprehension of Ladylands and Mr. George Carr and to intercept the letters, whereby the great treason was discovered, therefore he should be recompensed. Lord Ross would be well pleased with some jewel of no great value, and thereby her Majesty may have a good party in the west parts of Scotland. My master [Bowes] is about to lay a foundation to get her Majesty a party in the north by means of Atholl, the Master of Forbes, and others; he desires to know the Treasurer's advice and pleasure therein; and also touching John Cecil, who "is depe entred and acquaynted with the treasons." [*In the margin:* "John Cecilie *alias* Cecill *alias* John Bramston."]

The gentlemen of the King's house and others have billed Thomas Musgrave, Thomas Carlisle, Walter Graham and sundry other Englishmen for the raid at Falkland. This bill is above 13,580*l.* sterling, and some part thereof is already filed and amounts to 500*l.* sterling. The King is pleased to "accept" some few of the principal offenders that may be seen and delivered to him, chiefly for his honour, and for no profit; and upon such delivery the whole bill shall be discharged, to the great relief of the best sort, on whom the whole burden will lie. Little justice will be done by the Warden of the West Marches in Scotland until this bill shall be answered. My master prays some order

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1592–3. to be given to him in the same. Upon some occasion of distrust conceived, he prays the resolution in matters for Scotland to be deferred until the coming of his next letters.

1¾ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* " 29 Jan. 1592. Mr. Bowes' memoriall for his servant Sheperson."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 56. Copy of the same.

Jan. 29. **15.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Mr. George Ker (Carr) has been sundry times examined since my last letter, yet hitherto he has not opened his knowledge so plainly that he is found worthy to have his life, but still stands upon his trial and execution, wherein the means of his many friends in Court are like enough to preserve him. He has confessed that Mr. William Crichton and Mr. James Tyrie, Scottishmen and Jesuits in Spain, have before this advertised Mr. James Gordon that the King of Spain is pleased to send into England or Scotland money and forces, and to give them all their desires provided they send him the assurance of noblemen in Scotland for his satisfaction. Therefore they prayed Mr. Gordon to travail effectually with the noblemen therein and along with the assurance to send them a sufficient gentleman, whom they would employ there in the execution of these causes; and also to provide that, for the assurances and for all letters of commendations, they should rather send blanks subscribed by the noblemen than any band already written and perfected, so that Crichton, Tyrie and the gentleman employed, with the advice of their friends about the King, might fill the blanks to answer fully the King's mind and demand in all things. Whereupon Gordon, procuring these blanks at the hands of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchendoun, entreated Ker to carry them to Crichton and to solicit the matter in Spain, and thereon delivered the said blanks to Ker with his own letter certifying Crichton that they have got all that they desired, and praying him to come hither with his friends with all speed, as by the copy of Gordon's letters sent to your lordship will appear. He acknowledged that one of the blanks, subscribed by the three Earls and Auchendoun, should have served and been filled for a " procreation " (as he termed it), or commission to himself; the other blank, subscribed by the above four, should have been the band or assurance to the King of Spain for his satisfaction. Some of the six blanks severally subscribed by Angus, Huntly and Errol should have served for the particular commendation of Ker to the King of Spain. The rest should have been filled with matters to have been commended to the Pope and other potentates for the furtherance of the cause, and all these things should have been done by Crichton and Tyrie in Spain, where Ker (Carr) should have received instructions and in every behalf been directed by Crichton. He will not confess that he spoke or dealt with any of the Earls in this matter; but that only Mr. James Gordon travailed with him in the same and sent to him by Mr. Robert Abercromby the blanks and letters intercepted. He was directed, as he said, to sue " to " the King of Spain, with the advice of Crichton and Tyrie, that an ambassador might be sent hither to the Kings of Scots, with money to relieve the Jesuits and instruments travailing here (who this long time have received small maintenance), and to entertain the noblemen, courtiers and parties favouring the cause, and to tempt the King himself, so far as might be, to grant a toleration in religion, with such other offices as the said ambassador should require. For the aid of the Catholics in England suit should be made to the King of Spain to send an army into England, where he should find a sufficient party to join with the army and that many noblemen

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1592–3. and other Scottishmen would take part with his army in England. If the army could not conveniently land in England, then it might be drawn into Scotland and be disposed afterwards against England. [He confessed] that all these things are to be attempted in the beginning of next summer, and thinking that they are in readiness, he and the rest should earnestly sue for the expedition thereof.

It appears that many great personages of several qualities have been entangled with this conspiracy, but "hitherto" he will not enter into any particular discovery of any person or more plain matter than is before expressed; whereupon he shall be further and straitly examined, with signification of the King's resolute order that if he will not open the whole effects of the conspiracy more fully and sincerely, and without delay, he shall be tried by assize and executed for example. Wherein most men look for no such haste in deed as is pretended in words; and for the furtherance of it in deed I have both called on the King earnestly and also have received good words in the same.

Albeit the King promised to advise with his Council and to advertise me whether I should be admitted to the examinations of Ker and others suspected in this conspiracy, yet hitherto I had not received any resolution therein, and although the King sent me word that the confession of Ker should be sent to me, (whereby I gather that he will not allow me to be present at the examinations), yet I have as yet only received report thereof by my friend, so I cannot presently write fully and certainly.

By the means of the Earl of Montrose and Mr. John Graham, and with the help of a council set and wrought for the same, the King had given his warrant to remove the Laird of Fintrie from the Tolbooth in this town to the Castle, being a fair step, as it is deemed, to his liberty. But getting knowledge thereof I first stayed the execution at the hands of the Provost and then prevailed with the King hitherto to keep Fintrie in his lodging in the Tolbooth; wherein I have earnestly exhorted the King to give exemplary justice in the punishment of Montrose and Mr. John Graham, one of the Lords of Session, for their offence in breaking the late ordinance * providing that none should solicit the King for any person charged in this conspiracy, but herein I have stirred greater anger than I can hope for good success.

It is certified hither that Huntly and Errol met together last week at Aberdeen with the most of their friends, chiefly of the Gordons. Upon deliberation as to their entry into ward, Errol persuaded, (as it is written), to stand forth and take the fields; but Huntly answered that he would not withstand the King, nevertheless he thought it not meet to enter ward. Whereupon Errol, with some rebukes, told Huntly that he was feeble and had served him as he looked for, and so they departed in sunder from Aberdeen.

Huntly pretends to ride to meet the Earl of Caithness coming to speak with him. It is informed me that Huntly will flee into Caithness upon the King's coming against him; that Mr. James Gordon, (being already warned by evil means from Court that Atholl has commission to apprehend him), prepares to attend and always to be near Huntly; and that Huntly, Auchendoun and Mr. James, with all the Gordons guilty of Murray's slaughter, shall shortly embark in Caithness and pass away by sea. Some think that they will pretend to make sail for Norway, and nevertheless turn for Spain. But some have told me that they will indeed make their voyage for Norway and Denmark. In which behalf it is thought that their way is prepared for them.

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* See p. 21.

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It is heartily wished by many well affected that her Majesty will send speedily to the coast of Caithness some fit pinnace or vessel to draw these adventurers to such other port as shall be thought expedient. Wherein, if her Majesty adventure any charge, advertise me with speed and with all circumstances that, so far as can be conveniently done, I may concur with such as shall be sent and advertise your lordship of our doings and success.

Errol has provided upon mortgage of lands good sums of money. He keeps in one tower in the castle at Slains so many English and Scottish Catholics that expense of their victuals is great. Hitherto it is thought that he makes more for the field than for flight, especially by sea, yet his forces are so slender that it is looked that he shall shortly give place and cover himself amongst his friends and allies until he may be delivered by the Spanish power, (in whom the Papists still trust, and look to see them here before or near Easter next), or else obtain remission for his fault.

The other day the King quietly by message appointed the Laird of Spynie to come to him in the fields at hunting, which put the Duke of Lennox in such passion that he would have hazarded to slay Spynie that afternoon if he had not been withdrawn by the earnest persuasion of his friends. For this the King's countenance is much changed against the Duke, for he has said that he will not have his servant " pulled from by bostes " [*sic*]. The Duke sent some barons to inform the King that Spynie had so far wronged him that he could not with any honour abide the sight of him without revenge. Therefore he prayed that if the King would keep Spynie in Court, he would license him to depart out of the realm ; and if the King should resolve to entertain Spynie, that yet, for this time and for the Duke's honour, Spynie might be dismissed the Court until the Duke made provision for his departure. These last two days this matter has offered great occasion and expectation of troubles near the Court and in the streets, and the bands and parties were great on both sides, whereby many feared that these new storms should have put out of memory and speedy execution the pursuit intended against the conspirators for Spain. Therefore, to stay this fury, I readily persuaded Lord Hamilton, favouring the party of Spynie, to " ridd " * his hands therein, so that Spynie departed and passed over the water yesternight, and this broil is for this time appeased.

I have heard that some for Huntly will sue " to " the King to defer his entry into ward until 15th February next, at which time the assurance betwixt him and Atholl shall expire, and thereon he may have good excuse to enter into ward. But there is so little hope in this suit that it is thought it shall proceed no further.

Some advice was given in Council for general agreements and reconciliations amongst the nobility and others, but this was suspected to be intended not so much for the expedition of this raid against Huntly and Errol, (as is pretended), as cunningly to give advantage to them ; therefore it is stayed. Pitlurg lately soliciting the King for Huntly, received his answer on the 27th hereof and passed over the water. He was so pursued to have been slain that he was driven to hide himself in Kinghorn (Kincorne), where the Laird of Findlater's servants and friends rescued him.

So many impediments hinder the good examination and trial of these treasons and conspiracies with Spain and the punishment of the offenders that most of the well affected in Council, ministry and this burgh have very earnestly entreated me by the best means I can to hasten the coming of such as it shall

* ridd, rid : to interpose (Wright's *Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial Words*).

1592–3. please her Majesty to send hither, so that the best effects may be furthered in these behalfs, and therewith they wish that the person may be so well chosen that his countenance and qualities may the better advance the cause. All which I commend to your lordship's knowledge that by your good means at her Majesty's hands this weakness may be supplied and this service be cared for and put in execution with all possible diligence. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 29. **16.** THINGS CONFESSED BY GEORGE KER.

"20 Jan. '92. Confessyd by George Carre."

Crichton and Tyrie, Scottish Jesuits in Spain, certified James Gordon, in Scotland, that the King of Spain was content to send money and forces if they would procure the King's assurance of noblemen in Scotland for his satisfaction. Gordon got blanks subscribed by noblemen, as was desired, to the end Crichton, Tyrie and the trusty party therewith sent into Spain might fill them to answer fully the King's mind in all things. He procured these blanks at the hands of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchendoun, [and] delivered them to George Ker to be carried into Spain. [The two blanks with the four signatures were to be filled as a commission to himself, and an assurance to the King of Spain. Others were to be commendations of the cause to the Pope and other potentates; to move the King of Spain to send an ambassador to Scotland, and an army for the aid of Catholics in England: as in the preceding.]

The remainder of this document recapitulates very briefly the substance of the preceding: proposed removal of Fintry stayed by Bowes, and consequent anger against him. Conference of Errol and Huntly at Aberdeen. Belief that Huntly will flee into Caithness. Desire that Queen of England would send some ship there.

Errol has levied money on mortgages of land. Broil between Lennox and Spynie.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Endorsed. Rough notes, with corrections.*

Jan. 30. **17.** JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

"The berare, Williame Scot, marchant of our burgh of Kirkcaldy, traffiqueing for certane marchandis of Londoun in the ilandis of Asores, within the dominioun of Spayne, quhair he had continewit the space of foure or fyve yeiris, to thair greit gayne and contentment, sa it is that about the moneth of July, 1589, he being at the yle of Sanctmichaell with ane of his schippis, callit the *Cristipher*, laidin with wyne and salt, it happynnit the Erll of Cummerland thair to arryve, and tak twa Portingall barkis, quhom our said subject propyning with sum fresche wynis and watter, quhilk cuming to the knawlege of the governour of that iland, he wes apprehendit, cassin and detinit in prissoun the space of twa yeiris and ane halff, to his great greif and truble, and in the meantyme the maister and marineris of his said schip depairtit and past with hir and her laidning toward Londoun, quhair certane marchantis thairof, (heiring of his calamitie, and thinking him evir unhable to escape the tyranny of they mercyles strangearis), wranguslie mellit with his guidis and arreistit his schip within the rever; and now hearing of his releiff

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and addres thair, for recoverie of the same his schip and guidis be way of justice, they have resolved to challange him as debtfull to thame in certane sowmes of money, and be that indirect meane, sen he is a strangear unable to satisfie thame with souirtie thair as the ordour requiris, be his imprissonment to evacuat his lawfull sute, and consequentlie to hinder him in performyng his uther effaires, in quhilk consideratioun, and that he is ane of gude accompt and credeit," we are moved to request you to intercede with her Majesty to grant him protection and licence to resort in London and all other parts of her dominions for prosecution of his affairs without molestation. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Part of seal.*

Feb. 3. **18.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Saturday, at midnight.

Last week the King travailed earnestly with his Council and by many means sought to draw Mr. George Carr to reveal plainly the truth of the conspiracies with Spain. At length, and with great difficulty, he is brought, with some small taste of the torture and in fear of greater pains, this afternoon to disclose the particularities of the treasons and the persons of the traitors more sincerely than hitherto he has done, for now he has both detected Angus, Huntly, Errol, Auchindoun and Fintry to be guilty of those treasons, but also will give up the names of others privy and parties therein. Amongst these there is one especial person of quality about the King whom he will not name to the examiners. Nevertheless he has written his name and sent it " close " to the King, who at this present is not advertised of the success of the labours of this day, and all things are sealed up and kept secret, to be delivered to him this night or to-morrow, and it is promised that after he shall be fully acquainted therewith then I shall have a view of Carr's depositions, which I shall thereon " advertise " to your lordship.

Huntly and Errol will not enter into ward at St. Andrews on the 5th instant. The King has appointed the Earl of Rothes, Lord Sinclair, the Comptroller, the Secretary and Mr. Peter Young to attend at St. Andrews at the time limited [*i.e.* appointed], and to witness and record their default. Owing to bleeding at the nose, I am not able to write at such length as I ought of matters brought to me from such as have dealt with Huntly and Errol, and from others, therefore I defer the report till I send the certificate of Carr's depositions.

Sir John Carmichael, returning this evening from the Borders, has given the King to understand that Bothwell, accompanied with good forces, has crossed the Tweed and is coming towards Edinburgh, whereupon the King's house is fortified with an extraordinary guard of this town for this night. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅛ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 3. **19.** H. MAYNARD TO MR. ENGLISH.

Mr. English, my lord has required me to set down a note of such sums of money as have been sent into Scotland for five or six years past, which I cannot well do for want of my books, all being at the Court saving the last, and therefore I pray you to help me herein. You need to set down only the years and the sums. *Signed:* H. Maynard.

(Mr. English to H. Maynard.)

To Mr. Secretary Davison by a privy seal dated 6th October xxvii *Regine*, to be employed as he has order from her Majesty, without prest or account —1000*l.*

To him more in like sort by a privy seal dated the 18th January *anno* xxix *Regine*—500*l.*

To Mr. Secretary Walsingham in like form, 9th October *anno* xxix—500*l.*

To him more 24th December *anno* xxx—500*l.*

To Sir William Read to be conveyed to the Earl of Huntingdon, and to be issued as he has direction from her Majesty, 13th August *anno* xxx—6000*l.*

To him 27th March *anno* xxx—500*l.*

To Robert Bowes, esquire, by the hands of Robert Carvell, to be employed as he is directed from her Majesty or her Privy Council, with 20*l.* for the exchange of the same into gold, and carriage thereof to Berwick, 15th June *anno* xxx *Regine*—2020*l.*

[*Some entries follow which do not refer to money sent to Scotland.* In margin : *Pro Rege Portingalie.*]

To Robert Bowes, to be employed in her Majesty's special service as he shall have order from the Lord Treasurer, with 30*l* for carriage of the same, 27th April *anno* xxxj *Regine*—3030*l.*

To John Colvile, to the use of the King of Scots, 9th December *anno* xxxij —3000*l.*

To John Carmichael, to the use of the Scottish King, 21st June *anno* xxxij—500*l.*

To him more, 2nd July *dicto anno*—3000*l.*

To James Hudson, to the use of the Scottish King, *ultimo Maii anno* xxxiij *Regine*—3000*l.*

To the said James, 18th July *anno* xxxiiij—2000*l.*

Sir, whether any of these sums paid to Mr. Secretary were for the said King or not, I know not, neither any other of the former warrants, wherein I have not set down the certainty of the same. But these are all I can gather to be for the causes aforesaid within this time you require to have a note of. [*Unsigned.*]

1¾ *pp. The items of expenditure are noted at the foot and on the back of Maynard's letter. Endorsed by Maynard, who was Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 5. **20.** CONFESSION OF GEORGE KER.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 201.

Mr. George Carr, sworn and re-examined in presence of the Laird of Ormiston, Justice Clerk and Mr. William Hart, Justice depute, depones that he received the credit from the noblemen themselves when he spoke with them last ; that the two blanks subscribed by all four should have been filled at the discretion of Mr. William Crichton ; that he knows nothing of the noblemen's intention at the "rode of Fawklande" ; that the three noblemen subscribers acted for "the haile Catholique concurrance in this cause," and thought it meet for the greater secrecy that no other bands should be craved ; that his credit he shall explain in writing to his Majesty "at afternoone" ; that he knew no other person "uppon this partye" but the noblemen subscribers ; that the army should have entrenched itself where they landed and made sure both the ships and themselves.

½ *p. Copy. In the hands of Bowes's clerk.*

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1592–3.
[*c.* Feb. 5.]

21. GEORGE KER TO JAMES VI.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 188.

From my declaration of the 3rd and instant of this month your Majesty has learned "the haile platt" of my errand under two heads. My Lord Justice Clerk in your Majesty's name has craved more ample discourse in writing anent Fintry's part since the particular conference betwixt the noblemen and me. As for my credit, it was not infinite. It "consistit in that was expected be men and moyan fra Spaine for the advancement of the Catholique religion in this countrye," and the concurrence of the noblemen in an invasion of England. In this point I was instructed to declare that it should be without prejudice to your Majesty's titles. The other head, anent this country, they hoped to perform with your Majesty's own consent. They did not mean blood, unless they were first "invadit." As to the Laird of Fintry, he, being in ward, could be no dealer in this turn. What was betwixt him and me I pray to conceal until I speak with your Majesty's self.

I thank your Majesty for your assurance, although I am discouraged by the aversion of your presence from me. I trust that you will grant this afterward; and in the meantime that my ward may be somewhat enlarged, under caution, within this town. May this fault be excused as my first against your Majesty. "*Sit erranti medicina confessio.*" To satisfy your Majesty on one point: it is true that I "proponit" the matter once to Fintry. He answered in effect that he was glad Mr. James Gordon had not made him privy to it. He let me not know that he understood further.

1 *p.* *Copy.* *In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Feb. 6.

22. PAYMENTS TO THE KING OF SCOTS.

15 June *anno* 30, 1588. To Mr. Robert Bowes by the hands of Robert Carvel for the King of Scots, with £20 for the exchange thereof into gold	£2020
27 April *anno* 31, 1589 *	£3030
9 Dec. *anno* 32, 1589	£3000
21 June *anno* 32, 1590	£500
2 July *anno* 32, 1590	£3000
ult. May *anno* 33, 1591	£3000
18 July *anno* 34, 1592	£2000

½ *p.* *In the hand of Burghley's clerk* [*Maynard*] *and endorsed by him:* "vj° Feb. 1592. Paymentes to the use of the King of Scottes from the 15 of June *anno* xxx^mo—16550*l.*"

Feb. 6.

23. CONFESSION OF GEORGE KER.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 201–2.

Mr. George Carr, sworn and "re-examinate" depones that at his last speaking with Fintry in Stirling Castle he enquired of him if he knew anything of the letter received by Mr. James Gordon from Mr. William Crichton. He answered that he knew nothing. I enquired if he was privy to his dealings with the noblemen. He answered that he was not, and that he was glad that Mr. James "obscured it" from him.

That in Edinburgh about the time of the Parliament he entered with Sir James Chisholm anent this errand; that Chisholm obtained the French

* The details are the same as in No. 19. This is a fair copy of the items relating to Scotland in the list supplied by Mr. English.

1592–3. blanks from Angus and Errol in their own lodgings and had the first credit of that errand; that the blanks were procured at the Parliament, the credit thereof received by the deponer from the two noblemen themselves in October; that he "suted not" Angus's letter himself but that it was brought by Abercromby; that the noblemen's credit was an assurance that they would meet the army at landing, raise horsemen for conveying it to England and assist those left behind for the subversion of religion in Scotland; that he knows not perfectly who are the writers of the letters subscribed by Henry Gilbert and John Cargill; that Abercromby told him that the letter in Italian was by an Englishman; that in October last he communed with Sir James Chisholm in his own house anent "the haile headis" of the despatch; that he knows no other dealers in this purpose than the noblemen subscribers, the Jesuits, Sir James Chisholm and himself. "Subscryvit in this manner, George Carr."

¾ *p. In the hands of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Feb. 6. **24.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

It has been earnestly debated by the King and Council whether Mr. George Carr in his examination of these high treasons ought to be put to the torture, and albeit he had many friends in Council standing stiffly for him, yet the King prevailed with plurality of votes to ordain that he should be tortured. For the execution whereof the King and Council appointed sundry commissioners, who were found loth to proceed in that charge, in regard that few or none of the nobility or Council would assist them, so that the feud of the parties grieved with their act should fall wholly on them. The King therefore was "occasioned" to repair twice last week to the Tolbooth to press the commissioners to go forward, and thereby they let Carr taste of the torture of the boots, which readily wrought him to lay aside his former obstinacy, and with promise of his life upon his sincere discovery of the truth to confess the matters recorded by the commissioners and certified to the King, who yesternight, by Roger Aston, sent me a copy of the same, which I enclose [*i.e.* the preceding]. I find the King and Council more willing thus to acquaint me with the depositions of the examinates than to admit me to the examinations. Nevertheless, I have furnished the commissioners with some especial interrogatories to be ministered to the deponents.

Carr remains willing to reveal all particularities in his knowledge, acknowledging that the Earls have not only told him that all the nobility, except six or such a small number, would "partye" them either in the love of the Romish religion or else in the present malcontentment and feud reigning amongst them, but also named many whom they esteemed to be sure to them, yet he knows not whether these persons are privy with them in these actions; and he offers to disclose their names to the King, or as he shall appoint.

Albeit he is very loth to accuse the Laird of Fintry in particular manner, yet he grants that he was privy to these practices and a great actor therein; and now Fintry is to be examined. And Carr has "uttered" that Sir James Chisholme, one of the Masters of the Household to the King, procured two of the blanks at the hands of Angus and Errol, as in his confession is set down, yet without the naming of Sir James, who now is sent for, and who, it is thought, will not enter if he can otherwise escape and provide for himself.

The King is desirous to proceed in the trial and execution of some of these conspirators in ward before the entry of his raid into the north against Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun. [*Marginal note in Burghley's hand:* "This wold be furdered."] But divers difficulties will be found therein. He is

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resolutely purposed to proceed in the raid on the 15th hereof; to receive into his company no suspected person; to grant no exemption from service, except to those with licence from the Justice Clerk, Clerk Register and Sir John Carmichael; and he appears determined to pursue Huntly and all the rest with all severity; so that the ministers and people beholding his present forwardness are greatly comforted, rejoice and honour him highly in the same.

The King and Council have been given to think that Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun would not enter ward at St. Andrews on the 5th. Nevertheless order is given to the Earl of Rothes, Lord Sinclair, the Secretary and Mr. Peter Young to attend at the time and place appointed to receive them, or otherwise to record their defaults. [*In the margin:* "I ame presentlie advertysed that they have made defaulte yesterday and did not enter."]

Huntly and Errol have severally written to the King, the Duke and others in Court seeking that the day for their entry into ward may be prolonged, but their suits are utterly rejected. I have been credibly informed that Huntly once intended to come privily to the King and reveal all plainly to him with the intent thereby to redeem his life. But Errol, espying the same, has stayed him, and with the advice of Mr. James Gordon (who for his own safety continues in Huntly's company) has persuaded Huntly to take such part with him and the rest as should be found most safe and commodious. Herein the Earl of Caithness came to them at Aberdeen, where they have resolved (as I am advertised by my "familliar" who has spoken with themselves and the Jesuits) that upon the King's raid they will withdraw them and their especial friends, guilty in these treasons and in the slaughter of Murray, into Caithness to shroud themselves there during the King's abode in those quarters; and upon his departure, to return to their houses should they be able to recover the possession thereof by force; otherwise to take their voyage by sea to Bergen (Berone) in Norway, and from thence to some other port or place suitable for their passing into Spain, that they may return with Spanish navy and forces for this realm next summer. They are in hope to find relief, (as I am informed), if they are able to remain two or three months in this realm. For they have devised, with the means of their friends about the King and in the country, to draw the King to such place as they may obtain possession of his person. This plot is so far discovered to me, and I shall so seasonably impart the same, that the danger may be easily prevented.

For the transportation as well into Caithness as also to other places they have prepared a ship lying at Peterhead, twelve miles beyond Aberdeen, and within three miles of Slains, Errol's house, where presently most of the Jesuits and Papist Englishmen in this realm are resident, and ready to flee. Albeit I had hunted out their secret dens, where Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Robert Abercromby, the chief instruments in this conspiracy, were concealed, whereby I hoped that Atholl should readily have surprised them, yet now I perceive them so warned and provided that hardly can they be entrapped: in which behalf, nevertheless, no diligence shall be wanting. Huntly, Errol and the other Jesuits earnestly wish and daily look for the return of Mr. David Lawe, trusting that he shall bring them comfort. But some of the Jesuits, hearing that two ships with Spanish wares and some gold are distressed and by tempest put in at Holme Cultram (Holme), in Cumberland, and Pelafodery, in Lancashire, are much troubled therewith, doubting that some merchandise, as they term it, coming to them and to have landed at Kirkcudbright (Kirkowbraye), shall be intercepted; and it is suspected by many here that those vessels were sent to sound these seas and coast for the better convoy of the navy intending to come to Kirkcudbright, as Carr has deposed. Wherein, if your

1592–3. lordship pleases to employ Richard Booke of Carlisle, a man skilful in such services, for the search in these behalfs, he shall, I trust, serve well and diligently in the same.

The other day the King had purposed to have ridden to the Chancellor at Lethington, but the Council and courtiers, being jealous thereof, stayed his journey. The King is made to think that Bothwell has returned into these parts; that he was in Edinburgh on 30th January last and secretly withdrew upon hearing of the King's coming; that he and his companies have been seen about this town in the night; and that he goes about again to surprise the King if he can. Herewith the King is greatly grieved, longing to hear what order her Majesty has taken for the restraint of Bothwell in England and for the punishment of his receivers. In this behalf he looks to receive good satisfaction by her Majesty's ambassador, who is heartily wished to be here some days before the King's raid into the north.

By occasion of these great affairs the King cannot pick out any fit time and leisure to answer her Majesty's late letters to him; and purposing still to send a fit person to her very shortly, he has earnestly prayed me to excuse the delay of his letters, which he will send to her Majesty with the person thus to be employed.

The other day Lord Maxwell, claiming the title of the Earl of Morton, had taken the place in the church next to myself and above the Earl of Morton, to whom, at his coming to the seat, Maxwell would not yield place. Whereupon some stir fell out in the church, and the noblemen in the town so flocked to "partye" their friends that the alarm was great, and yet soon ended without any blood or hurt. Lord Hamilton and some others "partyed" Maxwell, but many of the nobility, barons and town resorted to Morton. The parties were commanded to keep their lodgings some few days. Now Maxwell has departed without any order taken in the matter, which lies open at the next occasion to work like or worse effects.

Moreover, hearing that the borderers in the West Wardenry of Scotland day and night committed great outrages in the West Marches of England, I obtained an order from the King to Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, both to deliver and clear all prisoners and their bonds unlawfully taken and detained, and also to keep the ordinary meetings and do justice for preservation of the peace on the Borders and amity betwixt these realms. Peace cannot be preserved except these continual outrages of the Scots be restrained by order or "refused" by force.

In the redresses to be given for goods and gear wrongfully taken the King calls earnestly for delivery of the English offenders at Falkland, and unless he be satisfied therein the course of justice will be greatly hindered. He seeks the delivery of some of the offenders at the raid of Falkland rather for his honour than payment of the bills exhibited, surmounting 13,000*l.* sterling. If, therefore, some of those "faultours" at Falkland should be delivered to him it is thought that he would be soon appeased, and that upon submission they might escape severe punishment in regard that the King has pardoned the most of the other offenders of this nation, and by their means the impediment of these great bills, hindering justice, should be best removed. The Lord Maxwell has liberally promised to the King and to myself, who much blamed him in this behalf, to do his whole endeavour for the peace. But if her Majesty or Council take not timely order for the bills of Falkland, or other course, small redress will be given to the Warden of the West Marches of England, wherein I trust these and my former [letters] shall suffice to procure the expedition of the order requisite.

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Since John Gelstern is contented to assign to others his office of comptroller of the customs in Berwick, lately given by your lordship to him, and for which I was a humble suitor in behalf of John Walker, my servant and clerk, and son of William Walker, late comptroller of the customs of Berwick, therefore I beseech you that this office may now be got to my servant. Christopher Sheperson shall attend to know your good pleasure herein. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Confession of George Carr.)

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 199–200n; with differences.

Mr. George Ker, sworn and examined in presence of the Justice Clerk and Mr. George Young, depones that Mr. William Crichtoun having been in Spain these two years bygone directed home last Marche a gentleman called Gordon with letters and credit to Mr. James Gordon "to let him and the rest of his Societie understand quhat travell he had tane sen his remayning with the King of Spayne in his negotiatioun, and how the King had opynnit to him how he had bene deccavit be Englishmen of before, and wald fra that furth imbrace the advise and way quhilk the said Mr. Williame sould lay out unto him baith for invading of the realme of England and altering of the religioun within this realm. For the effectuating quhairof it was cravit be Mr. William that he mycht have send to him als many blankis and procurationis within this realme as mycht be a sufficient asseurance of his traffique with the said King. Quhilkis were obtenit and delyverit be Mr. James Gordoun to the deponer to have bene careit thether, that be the foresaid gentilman the said Mr. Williame asseuris for the King of Spaynis parte that, the saidis blankis being send thether, ane puissant army should this nixt spring be sent in England to the nomber of thretty thousand men, quhairof four or fyve thousand sould be directed to remane within this realme, the haill to have landit in Kirkcudbrycht or in Clyde; that thir blankis were procurit of the subscryveris and delyverit to Mr. James Gordoun, quha then was myndit to have been himselff the carier; that Mr. James him selff was the procurer of the erle of Huntleyis twa; that the twa subscryvit severally be the erlis of Angus and Erroll in Latine were procurit of thame be Mr. Robert Abercrumby at thair being in Edinburgh at the last Parliament; that the uther two subscryvit in Frenshe be the saidis twa erlis were obtenit of thame in Edinburgh in October last be a gentilman quhais name he wald declare privilie to his Majesty; that the twa subscryvit be Angus, Huntlie, Erroll and Achindoun were first subscryvit be the erle of Huntlie and the Laird of Achindoun, and thairefter careit be the said Abercrumby to the uther noblemen, and thair subscriptionis thairto procurit be him; that at his meting with Mr. James Gordoun at Dumbartane he was persuadit be him to be the carier of the saidis blankis and utheris lettres intercepted; that the saidis blankis sould have bene filled with his recommendatioun and credite to the King of Spayne, the Pape and uther potentates of the league. The twa subscryvit be all four sould have beine filled with quhatsumever sould have been thocht meit be Mr. Williame Creichtoun for the avowance of that quhilk he had in directioun and credite of the noblemen subscryveris.

"That his credite was to have asseured that King that the noblemen subscryveris sould have mett the army at thair landing and sould have assisted the same with the haill force of horsemen they were able to mak or raise upoun the King of Spaynis chargis; that they sould fortifie sic as were to be left

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1592–3. behinde with all the power of their freindis and favoraris to the subversioun of the religioun presentlie professit and erectioun of the Romishe.

"Deponis lykewayse that thair deseng was that before the landing of the army ane great quantitie of money sould have bene sent hame be Mr. William Creichtoun to have bene imployit upon the taking up of forces for assisting sic as were to be left behind within this realme, quha sould inmediatlie have preissit to thair intendit reformatioun; that he spak with the saidis Erlis of Angus and Erroll here in Edinburgh, and from thame selffis resavit the deponit credite; that the thrie noblemen subscryveris tuke upoun thame and interponit thair credite be the saidis blankis for the concurrence of the haill catholiques in this realme in the said cause, and thocht it meit amang thame selffis that, for the greater secrecie, nane uther subscryptions sould be cravit bot thair thrie."

2¼ *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Endorsed by Bowes's clerk:* "Coppie of the confession of Mr. Geo. Carr taken 3° Februar. 1592. Delivered unto me 5° Februarii at night."

Feb. 10. **25.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. LOCK.

It may be secretly given to the E[arl] B[othwell] to understand that her Majesty likes so well of his offers, being but in a generality to do good service to his King and country, that already she has notified the same to the King, and has required him to consider what profit he may receive by shewing him mercy and taking profit of his offers. But hitherto her Majesty has found the King so hardly bent and unwilling to hear thereof that he has in some passion said that he will rather break the amity than suffer her to favour Bothwell. Yet nevertheless her Majesty now sends the Lord Burgh to renew this matter to the King, with signification of her opinion that he may take more profit by the Earl's life than by prosecution of him to extremities.

And because the King has alleged that her Majesty has received the Earl and given her warrant to her officers to receive him contrary to the treaties, her Majesty avows such information to be false, and therefore the Earl must be entreated that, until she learns the result of these her motions now to be made by Lord Burgh, he bear patiently her abstaining from giving him any succour or direct relief. But if the King shall persist in peremptory refusal to hearken to the Earl's offers, if he shall perform them to the benefit of the King and both the countries, her Majesty, being informed from the Earl of the truth and particularities of his offers, will, according as she shall perceive the same beneficial to both the countries—though the King shall neglect his own estate—have regard to the preservation of the Earl's life, and to provide that he shall not perish or be by force surprised to the danger of his life. Therefore the Earl must particularly inform her Majesty by some secret writing to herself in what sort he is able to procure such services for both the realms, so that she may be duly persuaded of the truth and probability thereof, and thereby with her conscience be the bolder to relieve him notwithstanding the King's offence [*i.e.* dislike], since she is persuaded that he is nourished therein rather by the malice of the Earl's enemies than by his own disposition. You shall require the Earl to attempt no new act to cause any further offence to be taken by the King until the Lord Burgh shall return with the King's answer.

2¼ *pp.* *Draft in Burghley's hand.* *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk*: "10 Feb. 1592. Mr. Lockes instructions."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 57. Copy of the same.

James VI.
1592–3.
[*c.* Feb. 12]*

26. A Memorial for Lord Burgh.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 76; transcript in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 109.

You will remember that her Majesty in conference with you showed that she had certain knowledge of sundry notable conspiracies lately discovered in Scotland with purpose to make a party for the King of Spain in Scotland, to invade England etc. The King, being made privy of the discovery of these conspiracies, has shewed himself outwardly greatly to mislike thereof, and has protested to those of his Council who are well affected to religion and the amity that he will not only prosecute by all good means the further discovery of these dangerous practices, but also cause the same to be sharply corrected by due punishment of the offenders without respect of persons. But forasmuch as the state of Scotland is so subject to change, and it is thought that the number of the secret conspirators is so many and yet unknown and that many of them dissemble their purpose with pretence to serve the King, and that his good servants lack his countenance which it is meet they should have for the rooting out of this conspiracy, therefore her Majesty thought it convenient by sundry letters of princely and friendly advice to animate the King to do that therein which belongs to a sovereign prince; that is, without respect of persons to minister justice without delay and let his subjects feel that God has not given him the sword in vain. For the prosecution of the rebels to some speedy and good end, her Majesty sends you, Lord Burgh, to solicit and animate him and all his noblemen and good counsellors to proceed without delay.

Item:—For the manner how you shall proceed herein, it is necessary to be informed by Mr. Robert Bowes, the resident ambassador, of the estate of things at your coming. Thereupon it shall seem necessary for you upon advisement with Mr. Bowes in her Majesty's name to solicit the King to perform what he has promised, letting him to know that otherwise he shall grow in contempt with his evil subjects and draw the love of his good servants to be subject to the malice of such as seek their overthrow, and force him either not to reign at all or else to reign only *precario modo et non regio*. And herein you may move the King to follow the example of her Majesty, who for these 34 years could never suffer any subject, were he never so great, to disobey her commandments, whereby he may see the peaceable government she has had in her realm far beyond any of her progenitors, and otherwise than any other princes, her neighbours, have enjoyed. You may also let the King understand that for proof of these conspiracies her Majesty has the confessions of sundry English traitors above a month past, and now in prison here.† You shall also be informed of such noblemen and good counsellors as have showed themselves faithful and stout in this action, and you shall take occasion to give them her Majesty's commendations and animate them to continue in the same.

You shall also confer with Mr. Bowes who of the King's Council may be most secretly and conveniently dealt withal by you and him to cause an association to be made of the principal noblemen and other men of good quality and valour, well affected to religion and the amity, by which they might by consent of the King bind themselves fast together by their writings and their oaths to serve the King against all his disobedient subjects and to maintain the established religion and the amity. The ambassador can inform you that this manner of action is not strange in Scotland, for it is very usual there to make bands of mutual defence and offence, with a colourable clause added

* Burgh's letter of credence was dated 12th February (*Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XLVI).

† This sentence has been added by Burghley, partly in the margin, which is decayed; but the text is preserved in the Harl. transcript.

1592–3. commonly thereunto that the same be not any way prejudicial to the King's service. None can better further the compassing of this association than the principal ministers and preachers that are in credit with the King; and Mr. Bowes knows all their dispositions how they can be dealt withal. And herein some circumspection and secrecy must be used that the King and that party may not know that it comes from you or the ambassador; but, if it be propounded by others, you may in speeches with the King take knowledge thereof and allow it as a thing very good for his own surety, and as a comfort to his best servants and a discouraging to his enemies at home and abroad.

Furthermore, you shall directly avow in her Majesty's name that she did never show Bothwell any manner of favour since his offence against the King; yet his followers have caused information to be given her that the Earl was able to do him special service, if the King would let him have the ordinary trial of his realm. He protests that he never entertained any hurt to the King's person in the attempts at Holyroodhouse and Falkland, and that he had the assent of sundry noblemen of great authority therein. In conclusion, his motions to her Majesty have been to let the King understand that his offers are to discover and break off this confederacy, the rather that he seemed to be participant thereof in former times, and refused to enter therein.

These things her Majesty, without any respect or favour to Bothwell, thought good to impart to the King for his own interest, to consider whether the Earl should not do better service living than if he should lose his life by execution. Moreover she perceives that he is like to prolong himself from that peril either by secret maintenance in Scotland or by fleeing out of the realm. To this purpose her Majesty wrote to the King heretofore, but has received no answer. But of late by her ambassador (who put the King in mind of that letter) she is informed that he had in some sort forgotten the contents thereof and would make some answer shortly. If this be not done at your coming you shall put him in remembrance to do so.

And because such as have informed the King that her Majesty warranted Bothwell's resort in England have informed him falsely out of malice, she requires him to charge the informers therewith and to cause them to deliver the same to him in the presence of her ambassador with the pretences of their said information, so that upon due examination of Bothwell's resetters it shall manifestly appear that she has been free thereof, and the informers be punished according to their deserts. *And to prove that she did not give warrant for his receiving you shall have the letter of Thomas Musgrave to the Vice-chamberlain who had forbidden him in her Majesty's name to deal with him; which letter you may show to the King.*

Item:—You shall understand by the ambassador what persons of good quality favour the amity and continuance of religion, and let them know how acceptable their service is to her Majesty, and require them to persist therein. Among such noblemen the ambassador will inform you of Lord John Hamilton, but in respect of the jealousy conceived against him as an heir apparent to that crown, you shall forbear to deal in any open sort with him otherwise than with others. Yet by some trusty, interposed persons whom the ambassador will devise, you shall assure him of her Majesty's favour and good will; and you shall wish him to carry his actions in such discreet manner that his adversaries may not take any advantage of his seeking to advance his title to the miscontentment of the King.

Next to him, the Earl of Atholl is one of the principal noblemen that

* Added in the margin in Burghley's hand.

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favour the maintenance of religion and amity and is most able to serve in the prosecution of the late conspiracy. Upon opportunity you shall deliver him special commendations from her Majesty with assurance of her favour. And the ambassador may " as of himself " give him knowledge that you are descended by blood out of his house, " for which purpose " you have the honour to carry his arms as an heir of lands in England which you now possess, descended from some of his blood. Being thus informed by the ambassador, it is likely he will the rather accept your friendship in very good part.

You shall understand that there are two lords not so well affected as they pretended at their late being in England. One is Lord Hume, a great lord " towardes " the east borders, and the other Lord Herries (Harris), a man of good value upon the west. Both had her Majesty's licence to come out of the Low Countries into England and were favourably admitted into her presence ; and though there was cause to suspect that at their being with the Duke of Parma they had been enticed to become Spanish in affection and ill-disposed to the amity, yet each of them in a long communication apart with her Majesty made most earnest protestation of devotion and of their good offices upon the frontiers, so that she was pleased to accept the same very kindly and ordered them to be honourably used. Yet her Majesty perceives by her ambassador that they take a contrary course in all their actions and show themselves so forward that she has cause to think that when overseas they were corrupted to the Spanish faction. As proof of this the King informed the ambassador of some overtures from Parma to break with England. The message was brought (as is suspected) by Herries, although the King has hitherto concealed his name, but promised upon conference with the party to let her Majesty understand the whole purpose. You may do well to " remember " this to the King and require him to discover the matter further. Let him know that her Majesty leaves it to his judgment to discern by their actions how they are to be trusted upon their word. If any of them shall come into your company you may tell them that her Majesty requires them to examine their consciences, whether they have since their return performed their assurances made to her. If they have not or shall not, she doubts not but that God will revenge their ill actions and frustrate their intentions. But if they shall perform their promises, she shall think them worthy and they shall find it better for themselves to follow the King than to be carried away by foreign promises.

Furthermore, as to the persons worthy of reward for their travails in discovering the conspiracy, you shall be informed by the ambassador who these persons be, what services they have done, and at what charges to themselves ; and what might be convenient rewards for the time, to be secretly bestowed upon them so that the same should not be known to the King nor others that might charge them to be mercenaries to England. Thereafter you shall with speed by post certify her Majesty of all particularities requisite, without giving them any assurance of any specialities. And you may be bold to say both to the King and his trustiest counsellors that she is informed that their Warden animates the disordered persons to make these incursions by day and night.

The Cotton MS. ends here on an unfinished page.

Furthermore, if the King looks to receive some answer about the gratuity, you may say that her Majesty thinks that he is moved by some that bear no good will to the amity. If they that advise him to mislike of the diminution of 1000*l.* this last year were disposed to consider the excessive charges she has been at, they should have reason to move him to bear with her in these great extremities. Nevertheless she minds not to neglect his estate whensoever

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You shall understand that her Majesty is advertised by letters from Mr. Lowther, Warden of the West Borders, that a great number of the opposite borders have made of late divers incursions into England, against which the Warden has made provision to withstand them, although it is likely that if these incursions should continue it would bring on a war rather than an ordinary defence. The Warden has advertised Mr. Bowes, who doubtless will deal therein with the King; but you shall do well upon conference with the ambassador to open to the King these great insolences, and earnestly press him to send some person better disposed to the amity than the Warden there is to procure reformation. Of this matter also you shall do well to treat with such of the Council as you shall understand to be well-disposed to the amity to move them to take some care of this, lest it be an occasion of trouble.

10½ *pp. Unfinished. Notes in Burghley's hand.*

Feb. 14. **27.** FOUR MINISTERS OF FIFE TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

They write in favour of the bearer, William Scott, merchant and skipper in Kirkcaldy, [as in No. 16], beseeching the Privy Council to show him their "wontit favour, extendit to utheris our cuntrie men of befoir at our request." Having obtained her Majesty's protection, Scott shall be content to give lawful satisfaction for all causes whatsoever before he depart the country. Edinburgh. *Signed:* M. Andro Lamb, Minister of the Evangell at Brunteland; M. David Spens, Minister of the Ewangell at Kirkcaldie; M. William Murray, Minister of the Evangell at Dysart; M. Thomas Biggar, Minister of the Evangell at Kingorine.

1 *p. Autograph signatures. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Feb. 14. **28.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to the direction of her Majesty's Council I have sent to Lord Burgh the King's safe-conduct for his entry into and abode in Scotland. The King wished to have seen his lordship here before his departure against Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, but now, fearing to find the countries wherein he must travel to be wasted by the late troubles betwixt Atholl and Huntly, he is loth that Burgh and his company should be wearied with the evil and hard entertainment to be got there; nevertheless he leaves it to Lord Burgh's choice to spend some days at Berwick or in this town until he return, or to come to him in this journey.

The King purposes to depart on the 16th instant, thinking to find little impediment by his rebels, yet sundry men of experience are not void of fear of some strange events to succeed [*i.e.* to happen] in this raid. But the King frames himself not only to pursue the rebels and take their houses into his possession, but also to keep justice courts for punishment of the saying and hearing of mass with the abuse of the sacraments, for "receipt" of Jesuits, for the treasons done at the Bridge of Dee and not yet pardoned, for the slaughter of the Earl of Murray and "receytt" of the persons guilty thereof, and for the slaughter of John Keith when Huntly practised to have killed the Earl Marishal.

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It is said that Huntly and Errol have now chosen rather to shroud themselves with the Earl of Sutherland than with Caithness, in regard that Caithness has refused, and Sutherland shows no goodwill, to entertain them. Therefore provision is made, as I am informed, that they shall be received by M'Lean into the island of Carndburgh, a very strong place amongst the West Isles, where they will await to be rescued by the Spaniards, and to be brought to liberty and to their desires by their friends obtaining for them the possession of the King's person, which, it is thought, shall be weakly defended against them since the force of the barons and burghs comforted by the Kirk cannot be long held together.

For service to be done by M'Lean, I have moved the King to take into his hands his eldest son, now in the keeping of Mackenzie; which is promised to be done with sundry other things for the better countenancing and contentment of Atholl, who showed great forwardness in these causes. Hearing that Abercromby and other Jesuits have fled to the Countess of Sutherland to preserve themselves from Atholl, I have obtained a charge for the Earl of Sutherland to take and exhibit Abercromby, who nevertheless will be in small danger thereof.

Many bruits have lately occupied the Court that Bothwell and Angus's friends, notwithstanding divers failures, intend to surprise the King coming to the Tolbooth, or at hunting. Great search has been made for Bothwell in this town, where indeed he was lodged and escaped; and upon assurance that he would be found in Penicuik, the King sent the Duke, Mar and the Master of Glamis the other day to take him, who could not be found. In that journey Glamis broke three bones in his side by the fall of his horse upon him, and is not able to attend on the King in this journey.

Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun are declared rebels: their houses to be delivered into the King's hands. Sir James Chisholme has fled and ridden to them, and this last night, about midnight, *Angus escaped* * over the walls of the castle in this town by a cord. He crossed the water at Queensferry, passing into the north to Huntly and the rest, as it is thought. He left in his chamber a letter to the King for his excuse and to persuade him that he has not sought to bring Spaniards into Scotland or anywise to hurt the King or his estate, and with promise that he will not come "in feild" against the King nor be found an unfaithful or unprofitable servant if his fault be pardoned. It is now said that if Fintry and Ladylands had been carried to the Castle, according to the warrant (which I stayed, and for which I walk "under great bostis") they should have accompanied Angus in this escape.

Lord Hamilton, thinking himself evil entreated by the King's guard, departed suddenly from this town with some malcontentment, and suspicion that some Stewarts, understanding of his purpose to ride away before day and with so small company, lay in wait to have killed him.

Yesterday the Duke and Sir James Sandilands purposing, as it is said, to pass to Leith to play at the golf, overtook Mr. John Graham, one of the Lords of Session, who, thinking that Sir James would assail him in revenge of the quarrel betwixt them, turned with his company, exceeding far the number with the Duke and Sir James. Thereon they entered into fight with pistols, wherein Graham was slain and sundry of his servants and party sore hurt. Sir Alexander Stewart, being with the Duke, was shot through the head and killed.

I enclose a copy of the depositions confessed by Mr. George Carr since my

* Underlined by Burghley. Marginal note, in his hand: "Angus escaped the 13 Febr. 1592."

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last letter. Fintry has been examined and much threatened with the torture; in fear whereof he has prayed pardon upon revealing all things. He has confirmed the substance of Carr's depositions and also disclosed sufficiently his own guiltiness, so that the King has caused an inquest to be summoned this day to try him and Ladylands tomorrow by assize, and, if they be found guilty, he is presently resolved to command speedy execution. Yet I find that they have many and great friends willing to deliver them from this shower; and, although the King has wrestled to bring his Council to this point, it is feared that he shall hardly get his desire, for which he has laboured mightily in his own person, seeking the advice of the ministers and also that public fast and prayer might be made for him and for his good success; which fast and prayer the people performed on Sunday last with all humility. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 59*b*.

Copy of the same.

Enclosure with the same.

(Further confession of George Ker.)

Mr. George Carr, re-examined, depones that, in October last, he received from Angus and Errol by tongue the points of credit specified in his former deposition; that at the last Parliament he required the blanks from the three noblemen, from Huntly at Strathbogy, from Angus and Errol in Edinburgh; that in October he had his last conference with the said two noblemen, as he has deponed in his former depositions; that he received a" defferring answer " when he required their blanks at the said Parliament; that he craved them not again at their meeting in October, because Sir James Chisholm had already received them and delivered them to Mr. James Gordon. He conferred with them only about the points of his credit, namely, that they looked for the coming of an army of 30,000 men in spring, [etc. as in previous depositions]. After this conference with the noblemen he rode with Sir James Chisholm to his own house above Dunblane, and there conferred with him at length upon all the above points, and Sir James informed him that he had received the Blanks from Angus and Errol, and delivered them to Mr. James Gordon.

¾ *p. Endorsed by Burghley:* " 10 Febr. 1592. Georg Carrs confession."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 57*b*.

Copy of the enclosure.

[Feb.] **29.** CONSPIRACY OF SCOTTISH PAPISTS.

Printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part ii. 317 *et seq.*

" A Discoverie of the unnaturall and traiterous Conspiracie of Scottish Papists against God, His Kirk, their native cuntrie, the Kingis Majesties persone and estate; set downe as it was confessed and subscriuit be M. GEORGE KER, yet remaining in Prisone, and DAVID GRAHAME of Fentrie, justly executed for his treason in Edinburgh, the 15 of Februarie, 1592. Wherunto are annexed certaine intercepted Letters, written by sundrie of that factioun to the same purpose. Printed and publisched at the special commaund of the Kingis Majestie, at Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the Kingis Majestie, *cum Privelegio Regali.*"

To the reader.

Many and treasonable practices of Scottish Papists (or who call themselves " Catholicke Romanis ") against God, His Kirk, their native country and the

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1592–3. King's Majesty have been discovered, partly by the depositions and confessions of some of the practisers themselves, namely, Mr. George Ker, who is still imprisoned for that cause and David Grahame of Fintrie, who was justly executed for the same in Edinburgh, on 15th February, 1592; and partly by divers intercepted letters of sundry of the practisers. It is thought good by the King and Council that the most substantial points of the said depositions of Mr. George and David Grahame of Fintrie should be faithfully taken out of the originals, and be "summarly" gathered into the form following; that for purposes of reference the dates of the depositions and the names of the deponers should be set down in the margin; that some of the most remarkable letters intercepted with Mr. George Ker should be appended word for word, and the rest deciphered and translated; "and so the whole togither to be imprinted and set foorth vnto the viewe of the world." All these things are faithfully done herein, without any falsifying, forging or changing, as may be seen by "conferring" this extract with the originals in the hands of the clerk. Let the reader therefore consider the goodness of God, through Whose watchful care "our soule is escaped, euen as a bird out of the snare of the Fowlers." Let him also be awake to the unabated diligence, force and cruelty of our enemies, and in no way trust them, or feel secure from danger. That they are plotting "deiply and deadly" will be proved hereafter by their own bragging words in their letters. Yea, all kindly, native Scottish men and true lovers of the Christian religion ought to concur to the overthrowing of the common enemy within our borders. These unnatural traitors counterfeited friendship by subscription to the true religion, and common profession thereof with us, and by bands, affinities, oaths, and all attestations and laws, sacred and human, that might seem to procure credit among men. Consider what misery unspeakable would follow, especially to these miserable wretches themselves, if their woeful purpose to make the Spaniard our master should succeed. It is, indeed, high time that all good men and lovers of their native country should waken up to true repentance to the Lord, and to a diligent and substantial concurring to withstand these desperate attempts before they pass remedy, and timely to prevent further danger by assisting the execution of justice upon the rest of the detected traitors, without respect of persons.

"A discoverie of the unnaturall and traiterous practises of the Scottish Papists against God, his Kirk, their natiue cuntrie, and the Kings Majesties persone and estate."

[*In margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3, 5 and 6 Februarie, 1592."] By the depositions of Master George Ker and David Grahame of Fintrie, it is discovered that in March 1591, Master William Creichtoun, who has been these two years bygone in Spain, sent to Master James Gordoun, Jesuit, father's brother to George, Earl of Huntly, a gentleman called Master William Gordoun, son to the Laird of Aberzeldie, with letters to let the Catholics here understand what "travell" he had taken with the King of Spain; that the said King, having been deceived by Englishmen, would thenceforward embrace the advice of Crichton for the invasion of England, and alteration of religion in Scotland; that Crichton therefore wished as many "blankis and procuratiouns" as possible to be sent by this gentleman from the Scottish nobles. The blanks, sent with some other discreet gentleman, were to be filled up by the King of Spain and Crichton [*Margin:* "and deponit be David Grahame of Fentrie the 13 of Feb. 1592"]. It was concluded that an army of 30,000 men should be sent from Spain about the latter end of spring, 1592, to be landed at Kirk-

1592–3. cudbright or the mouth of Clyde, according to the wind. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Feb. 1592."]

[*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Februarie 1592, and be Fentrie 14 of Feb. 1592."] Money was to be sent to supply the said army. Four or five thousand were to remain in Scotland, while the rest took the nearest way to the English Border. The army in Scotland and the Spanish faction would work to alter the established religion, or at least to procure liberty of conscience and erecting of "Papistrie." [*Margin:* "Deponit be Fentrie 13 of Februarie 1592. Deponit be Master George Ker 3 Feb. 1592."]

[*Margin:* "Deponit be Fentrie 13 of Februarie 1592."] The letters sent by Crichton, being "concredite" by Mr. James Gordon to Mr. Robert Abercromby, were shown by him to Fintry at Abernethy in April 1592.]

[*Margin:* "Deponit be Dauid Grahame of Fentrie the 13 of Feb. 1592."] At one time it was thought most convenient to send Sir James Chisholm, then a Master of his Majesty's Household, to Spain with this commission, as he was otherwise bound to his uncle, William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane. He declared to Fintrie that he had dealt with Huntly and Errol; and had conferred with Ker anent this turn about the time of the last Parliament in Edinburgh, in June 1592, and again in his own house, in October 1592. But since Sir James could not be ready so soon, the commission was given to Ker, as he was about to depart, and both his grandmothers were Crichtons. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Fentrie 13 of Februarie 1592."]

When he was ready to make sail, he was apprehended on 27th December 1592, and sundry missive letters were intercepted, among them eight blanks.

Two blanks in French, subscribed *Guillaume Compte de Anguss*, and *Francoys Compte de Erroll*," were procured from them by Chisholm in their own lodgings in Edinburgh, at the time of parliament, in June 1592. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Feb. 1592."]

Other blanks are subscribed *Guilielmus Angusie Comes*, and *Franciscus Errollie Comes*. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Fentrie 13 of Februarie 1592." "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Feb. 1592."] These were both procured in October 1592 by Master Robert Abercromby.

Other two blanks are subscribed *Georgius Comes de Huntlie*. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Februarie 1592."] Both of these, and "the haill blankis," were "proponit" first to Huntly by Ker in Strathbogy. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Feb. 1592, and be Fentrie 14 of Feb. 1592."] The above six blanks were to have been filled with missive letters by the advice of Crichton. Other two blanks were subscribed "in the midds of twa oppin throuchis * of Paper"—*Guillielmus Angussie Comes; Georgius Comes de Huntlie; Franciscus Errollie Comes; Patricius Gordoun de Auchindoun, miles.*

[*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker 3 of Feb. 1592."] These last two blanks were first subscribed by Huntly and Auchindoun in October 1592, and then sent by Abercromby to Angus and Errol, who also subscribed them in October. They were to be filled up with procurations, and with whatsoever should seem meet to Crichton.

[*Margin:* "Deponit be M. George Ker 5 of Feb. 1592."] Ker received his credit from Huntly by "the report of" Mr. James Gordon, from Angus and Errol personally, in Edinburgh, in the beginning of October 1592. [*Margin:* "Deponit be Master George Ker the 5 and 6 of Februarie 1592."] The sum of his credit was an assurance that these noblemen would raise a force of horse-

* throuchis: sheets.

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men to meet and assist the Spaniards, and that they would be surety for the concurrence of all Scottish Catholics. Along with the above eight blanks there were intercepted six stamps in wax of Angus's seals, four of Huntly's and three of Errol's.

[*Margin:* "Deponit be Fentrie 13 of Februarie 1592."] Fintry deponed that he had met Mr. Robert Abercromby sundry times; that he received his first knowledge of this purpose from Abercromby in Dunfermline; that thereafter in the Castle of Stirling before Ker's preparation for his journey Abercromby informed him of Ker's commission, and that the blanks and letters were to be filled up at the discretion of Crichton and Tyrie.

In the following letters, borrowed and counterfeit names are interpreted in the margin, from interpretations contained in the originals:

1. From an English Jesuit; intercepted with Ker, 27th December 1592. [See No. 1 (7).]

2. From Angus to Mr. W. Crichton, intercepted as above. [See No. 1 (8).]

3. Mr. James Gordon to Mr. William Crichton; intercepted as above. [No. 1 (15).]

4. Mr. Robert Abercromby to Mr. William Crichton; intercepted as above. [No. 1 (20).]

[The marginal notes are the same as those printed by Pitcairn.]

Printed in Calderwood, v. 15.

"A letter directit to the King of Spaine be three Noblemen of Scotland, quhairof twa * hes sensyne returnit to the professioun and defence of the treuth, be thair aithis and subscriptiouns, quhairfoir thair names ar suppressit, the third his Name expressit (to wit, the Erle of Huntlie) because he continues as zit in his former wicked course.

"This Letter written be thame in the name of the Catholike Noblemen of Scotland, cypherit in French, wes interceptit in Januarie 1589, laitly befoir the time of the Raid of the Brig of Die, thairefter wes decypherit word be word and translatit in Scottis as followis:"

We regret the frustration of your Majesty's plans, and especially that "your Armie Navall" passed so near, "unvisiting" us, who were prepared to give it assistance against all enemies. Many vessels and men might have been saved from wreck; and would have found more friends here than in England, notwithstanding all that is spoken by the English Catholics. Some of your own subjects who have been here can testify to the commodities and advantages of landing in Scotland. If you had six thousand men here with money, you could lift trustworthy forces of this country as freely as in Spain. We, as natives, beg to offer some advice for your service here. Your army arrived too late in the season, so that it encountered the great winds of harvest; and it lacked experienced pilots, whom we would have been willing to supply. The best plan would be to avoid a fight at sea. If you sent a part of your army here in advance, and the rest by way of Ireland, you would compel the enemy to divide their forces, and so to weaken their strength to resist your invasion. If we had six thousand of your men, and money to enlist more, within six weeks we would be "weill farr within England" to co-operate with your army of invasion. Colonel William Sempill can show all to your Majesty. We have also communicated through Mr. Robert Bruce with the

* Lord Maxwell, titular Earl of Morton, and Lord Claud Hamilton (Calderwood, v. 14*n.*)

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Duke of Parma, to whom you remitted us from the beginning in these affairs. From Edinburgh, 24th January 1589. *Signed:* "G. Erle Huntlie *et cet.* in name of the other Lordis Catholikes in Scotland."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 16.

"A Letter direct fra the Erle of HUNTLIE to the Duik of PARME, interceptit in Januarie, etc."

I have received your letters of 13th October from John Chisholm. The ten thousand crowns, which you send for the weal of our cause, have been received by Mr. Robert Bruce, and shall be employed, as you have directed, only for the help of the most urgent necessity. Since the departure of Colonel Sempill I have been forced by necessity to subscribe the Confession of Faith. Otherwise I should have had to depart the country or take the field as a rebel. I shall, however, seek to amend my fault by my future conduct. I have gained such credit with his Majesty that he has replaced his former guard by my men. By means of them and their captains I can be master of his person, and, when your support arrives, deprive the heretics of the King's authority, and strengthen our cause. Send me your advice, and be assured of my unchangeable affection. Mr. Robert Bruce will write to you more amply. From Edinburgh, 24th January 1592 [*rectius* 1589].

Printed in Calderwood, v. 18.

"A Letter fra the Erle of ERROL to the Duke of PARME, interceptit in Januarie, etc."

Since God has lately brought me to the light of His holy Catholic faith, I feel bound to support the enterprises of his Catholic Majesty and your Highness for the advancement of religion and of "some ciuill cause quhilk hes verie great affinitie and coniunctioun with owris heir." The bearer will let you understand more amply of my intention in particular. From Edinburgh, 24th January 1589.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 19.

"A Letter fra ROBERT BRUCE to Monsieur Francisce Aguirre, Espaignell, etc., interceptit in Januarie 1589, writtin in Frenche, and translatit in Scottis."

I have received your letter, dated at Antwerp (Handwerp) on 9th November. Was glad to hear of your arrival and how well you had performed all that I committed to you. Your master sends a good account of you, and promises in his letters to employ you in good occasions. If he send you here again, land near Seton, secretly, and you shall be kept there till I come. "The rest of this missiue being set doun in obscure termes, is to be seene in the originall."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 19.

"A Letter fra ROBERT BRUCE to the Duke of PARME, interceptit in Januarie 1589, Laitly befoir the Raid of the Brig of Die; Cipherit in Frenche, decipherit thairefter and translatit in Scottis."

Mr. Chisholm arrived in this country after a five days' journey, and repaired speedily to Huntly, in his own house at Dunfermline, where he delivered your letters of 13th October, and declared his credit. Some days afterwards he delivered to me 6272 crowns of the sun and 3700 Spanish pistolets. He has acted very wisely, especially when the King sent to take him upon suspicion of his sudden return. In the keeping and distribution of the money last sent, and of what remains of the first sum, I shall act according to your prescription. It is true that I find myself involved in great difficulties. On the one side I am in danger from the heretics and the English faction because of my open pro-

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fession of the Catholic religion, and because the latter suspect my secret practices against them. On the other side, I have much to do to withhold the money from some of the Catholic Lords, who want to have it immediately for " sum pretendit occasiouns, that will neuer fall out as they promeis." Huntly claimed a third part of the money as soon as it was delivered to me, but he shall not touch a " mailze * bot vpon gude takkinis."

In your next letter to the Catholic Lords please remove an error from the three who wrote to you in name of the rest, and who think that, because they were first to offer their service to the Catholic King, all the money that comes here should be immediately divided in three and given to them. This would leave none for your many other supporters, who will not acknowledge themselves as bound to the other three, but only to your Highness. Of these three, the Earl of Morton has hitherto listened to reason; Huntly has never " schawin himselfe subject to money " until induced by the third, to wit, Lord Claud Hamilton, his uncle, " quha is sum quhat couetous of geir." [*In the margin:* " Quhat euer this nobleman hes bein at this time, it is not to be object to him now efter his aith and subscription geuin to the contrair."] Huntly is constrained to remain at Court. He has given up his outward profession of the Catholic religion, partly because he lost hope of your support before the return of Chisholm, partly on the advice of some " politikes," partly to escape from the perils of professed Catholics, partly to keep the King's favour. Nevertheless his heart is with our cause, although he lacks vigour to persevere. To remedy this defect we propose to put a resolute man beside him, since Fintrie is warded in Dundee and I am forbidden to come near him, because to us they attribute Huntly's constancy in the Catholic religion and absence from Court against the King's will. Fintry's warding has somewhat hindered our course. I cannot associate him with myself, as you desired, in dispensing the money. I have chosen instead Father William Crichton, Jesuit, who was detained some years in London, after his capture at sea on the way from France. I shall likewise avail myself of the prudence of Sir James Chisholm, eldest brother of the above John. In the meantime one part of the money is in the principal house of Lord Livingstone, the other safely here in Edinburgh for the needs of the Catholic Lords who will convene here very soon to resist the designs of the English faction. As for the further sum which your Highness is willing to send, it should be sent very soon and secretly, to throw the weight on our side when things are in balance. If there be no need for its distribution, it shall be kept in reserve, or until the arrival of your forces. There are grounds to suspect the good faith of Thomas Tyrie, who brought your letters to our King. He has acted at the disposition of our Chancellor (who is of the English faction) rather than according to your instructions. He made no mention to the King of Colonel Semple's letter, a copy of which I have caused Bothwell to present. [Tyrie has circulated reports of Don Bernardino, the Bishop of Dunblane and Parma, to the prejudice of the Chancellor and the King.] His reports have served to alienate the King, the Chancellor, and many other heretics from Don Bernardino, the Bishop and the Scottish Catholics who have to do with them.

As for me, I would not willingly speak to the disadvantage of Tyrie, whom I recommended to Don Bernardino, but I owe fidelity to the King of Spain and your Highness, to whom I am particularly bound by the obligation of five hundred crowns of fee, and forty for monthly allowance. Your liberality came in time of need, enabling me to augment my ordinary train for the greater

* A French half-penny. (See Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary.*)

1592–3. safety of my person. From the lords of Scotland I have "retyrit" only a part of my expenses incurred in Spain and the Low Countries. The four hundred crowns spent upon the deliverance of Colonel Sempill I have put "in compt" along with the other expenditures from the first sum, as you commanded.

The Earl of Morton [*Margin:* "Quhatever this Nobleman has bein at this tyme it is not to be objectit to him, now efter his aith and subscription geuin to the contrair, gif he remaine constant"] has written to me from prison, commending his service to your Highness. His life is no longer in danger. His enemies cannot prove their charges, and the King is now less alienated from him. If need be, we have the means to liberate him, but the consequences will be better if we await the King's will. When he was offered his liberty in the King's name, if he would subscribe the Confession of the heretics, he resolutely refused, and offered to confound the ministers in public disputation. I shall request his friends to procure his liberty very soon, for he is most useful for our cause. His forces lie near England and the capital of Scotland; and his character is resolute and constant.

Truly it is thanks to God that we Catholics subsist in spite of the heretics. When the English faction triumphed, and Huntly and others wavered in outward constancy, He caused Angus, the chief of the English party, to die, and stirred up dissentions among the heretics at Court; while Father Edmund Hay converted the Earl of Errol, and Father William Crichton the Earl of Crawford. They are both able and wise young lords, and desirous to support your enterprises in this Isle. They will follow the advice of the above Jesuits and myself, and their actions will arouse the less suspicion inasmuch as they have not yet made outward profession of the Catholic religion. The Jesuit Fathers make good fruit in Scotland, and their converts profess the service of the King of Spain and your Highness as "inseparable conioyned" with the advancement of true religion in this country. With your leave, I would give "sum little almous" to these two, and to other four Jesuits, and to four seminary priests from Pont à Mousson (Pontawmoussone), in Lorraine; all of whom do good spiritual work and advance your cause in Scotland.

After the departure of Sempill, the lords sent letters by Crichton and others after the Spanish army to cause it land in this country; but it had set out for Spain a few days before their arrival in the Isles, where it had refreshed itself. The English faction were in marvellous fear, and openly confess that if the army had landed they would have been ruined.

Bothwell, who is Admiral of Scotland, although he professes the new religion, is extremely anxious to assist you against England. He has raised troops (nominally against the Isles), which, along with his ordinary forces, would have co-operated with yours. He lets himself be guided by me, and often says that if a Catholic restoration would not deprive him of his two abbeys, he would become one of us. He intends to send Colonel Halkerstoun to Spain to accompany certain captains and gentlemen and almost four hundred soldiers "all saif from the Naufrage in our Iles." He purposes to supply them with ships, victuals and other things to relieve their necessity and testify his affection to Spain. If we thought good, he would go to offer his service to your Highness in the Low Countries, and his Catholic Majesty in Spain. If we could be sure of him, he would be as profitable to our cause as any man in Scotland. He has offered to support me against all who would attempt against me.

We have chosen a council to convene and deliberate in the name of all the Catholic Lords. Thus we hope to proceed with greater solidity and effect than heretofore. Nevertheless they shall know nothing of our intelligences there

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1592–3. [*i.e.* with Spain], and they shall learn our final resolutions only according to the exigency of the moment, " and that superficially, and without discouering our selfis ouer farre." You will learn further particulars from the letters of the lords. Edinburgh, 24th January 1589. *Signed :* Robert Bruce.

16 *pp. Black letter.*

Feb. 16. **30.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Laird of Fintry was yesterday arraigned, condemned and executed in Edinburgh. I enclose the copies of his depositions and of the indictment. At his arraignment he accused himself of great oversight in his confession, alleging that it was drawn out of him, he could not tell how ; and secretly he told the Justice Clerk that he had seen a vision, and thereby found his own fault, drawing on his death by the confession of such matter as could never have been proved against him except by his own utterance, which he did in hope of grace and pardon. Nevertheless he plainly confessed there all the parts of the indictment, saving only that he said that he did not know what number of Spaniards should have been brought into this realm, acknowledging that 5000 thereof should have been reserved here, and the rest sent into England. In his examinations, arraignment and execution he failed far to show the spirit and wisdom looked for in him, alleging that if his livings had been no greater than others (meaning Mr. George Ker and Ladylands) then his life should have been saved. He professed to die a Catholic, for which profession he was before excommunicated ; and so ended his life with some few prayers in Latin, read in his matins book, and without any prayer for him by any minister or of the people, who, contrary to their accustomed manner in execution of offenders, " nether once vayled capp or uttered one worde of prayer for him." He had offered to courtiers (as has been told me) 50,000*l.* Scots for safeguard of his life.

The King in this has remained resolute, and alone, without the assistance of any of his Council, prosecuted the cause, and now he says that, as alone he has drawn his sword against his rebels, so he will proceed, with the help of God, to prosecute and punish the traitors by all the means in his power, and with the assistance of his barons, burghs and Kirk, whom he finds ready to aid him therein. He was " occasioned " to stay his journey two days beyond his " dyett," for the trial and execution of Fintry, and for some wants which are as yet slenderly supplied. Nevertheless he is ready and determined to enter into his raid to-morrow, wherein he shall be well strengthened with his barons ; but few noblemen will attend upon him. For the government of all things here in his absence he has left the Earl of Morton and twelve councillors.

Great suits have been made for the possessions of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, wherein it is given out that the " factorye " of Huntly's livings is granted to those whom his wife shall name. The " factorye " of Errol is to be given to the Laird of Dunnipace, and of Auchindoun to Sir George Hume. But by act of Council it was this day ordained that all the possessions of the rebels not already disposed shall be saved for the King's use by the Lord Treasurer and Comptroller, and that nothing shall be granted thereof but as out of the King's treasury.

Angus turned into Douglasdale to receive from his chamberlains such sums of money as they had prepared, and now he is gone (as it is thought) to Huntly and Errol, who have been lately at Aberdeen, and pretending to depart for some foreign nations. But it is known that they prepare to abide in this realm and to return into their countries after the King's departure. Measures to

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prevent this are resolved by the King and Council, and some secret and fair overtures are made for their apprehension in case they shall take the seas and shroud themselves in Caithness, Sutherland, or in the isle of Carndeburge.* I am secretly advised that these overtures shall be pursued effectually; but I greatly des[pair] to find wished success therein.

The arraignment of Ladylands is deferred in regard that the cause and evidence against him were not yet ripe and sufficient to prove him guilty of treason. Mr. George Carr shall be removed and kept in ward in Tantallon, Angus's house, now in the King's hands. It is looked that he shall do good service by further discoveries, and the King intends thereon to give him pardon. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 194–6.

First enclosure with the same.

(Laird of Fintry's Depositions.)

At Edinburgh the 13th of February 1592.

David Graham of Fintry, sworn and examined in presence of Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, knight, Justice Clerk, Mr. William Harte of Evisland, Justice Depute, Nicoll Udward (Uddert), Provost of Edinburgh, David Williamson, one of the bailies thereof, declares upon his conscience that the first knowledge he had of this purpose was by Mr. William Crichton's letters which were shown to him by Mr. Robert Abercromby, at Abernethy in April last. [The purpose of Ker's proposed mission to Spain with the blanks is recapitulated.] The chief thing that the Lords had to seek was money. His Majesty's person, estate and rights, here or in England, were not to be prejudiced. Liberty of conscience was to be craved. The landing was to be made on the west coast; but only the Jesuits were privy to the particulars. The letter, signed *Henrye Gilbert*, sent to Mr. Robert Balfour, is his own letter, delivered by him to Charles Murray, servant to Mr. George Carr, in Stirling Castle in November last. George Mackeson, mentioned therein, is Mr. George Carr; and James Gudman is Mr. James Gordon. Thomas Forbes is a gentleman's son in Bouqhan; afterwards declared to be his own name.

Gabriel Grundeston is the Archbishop of Glasgow. Mr. James Balfour is a Mr. James Kyd, a doctor in Toulouse (Aillouse) or Bordeaux.

"Thagreance betwixt William Craige is Mr. William Crighton and Bartle Bailye is Robert Bruce" [*sic*].

In Stirling Castle Abercromby showed him the blanks signed by Huntly, Angus, Errol and Auchendoun. Sir James Chisholm told him that he had dealt with Huntly and Errol.

He knows no more, except the above, who were "privy and uppon the counsel of this purpose."

1*p.* *In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 193–4.

Second enclosure with the same.

(Laird of Fintry's Deposition.)

13th February 1592.

David Graham of Fintry, sworn and examined in presence of the Justice Clerk, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce, and Mr. William Hart, Justice

* Perhaps Cairnburgbeg or Cairnburgmore in the Argyllshire Hebrides. Cf. Carndburg, p. 49.

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Depute, depones that Abercromby was the first who eight or nine months past in Dunfermline dealt with him " in this turne," which he considered a " purpose of highe consequence and dangerous." Abercromby then went to Mr. James Gordon. He met him again in the Castle of Stirling before Ker's departure. He received no letters there from Gordon ; those that he burned in Stirling Castle were private letters. Abercromby informed him of Ker's commission ; but he does not know how many sorts of blanks there were, nor where nor by whom they were obtained.

⅔ *p. Copy. Endorsed.*

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 196.

Third enclosure with the same.

(Deposition by Laird of Fintry.)

14th February 1592.

Fintry declares that Angus assumed the name of William Achinson ; Errol, of Fergus Adam ; Huntly, of George Harwye.

He knows of no other noblemen involved, neither Catholics, malcontents, nor " of the religion."

⅛ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Printed in Calderwood, v. 230 ; *Warrender Papers*, ii. 192–3.

Fourth enclosure with the same.

(Laird of Fintrie's Deposition sent to James VI.)

[Recapitulates that the project was Crichton's ; the emissary Ker ; that no prejudice was meant to his Majesty ; liberty of conscience to be craved ; that he does not remember the names of the noblemen or further particulars.]

½ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed in the same hand :* " Copie of Fyntrie's deposition written and subscrived with his awne hand."

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 197–8.

Fifth enclosure with the same.

(Laird of Fintry's further Deposition.)

14th February 1592.

David Graham of Fintrie, sworn and examined in the presence of the Justice Clerk and Mr. William Hart, Justice Depute, depones that he knows not the number of Spaniards who should have come ; [recapitulates the project of invasion]. He knows of no forts to be built for preservation of their shipping. Their purpose was to have revenged the Queen of Scotland's death and their own " particulers." They should have sent to his Majesty to have procured his consent to the alteration of the established religion or at least to liberty of conscience. He knows not what would have happened had their suit been refused.

Thomas Forbes is himself. Peterson was Mr. Edmund Hay. Abercromby showed him the blanks in Stirling. He received a letter from Angus in Stirling, but nothing to this purpose.

1 *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed in the same hand :* " Copie of Fyntrie's deposition 14° Februarii efternone, 1592."

Sixth enclosure with the same.

(Indictment of the Laird of Fintry.)

" The Laird of Fintreis dittay quhair upon he vas convict of maist haynous treasoun be ane honorabill assys of barrons and gentill men apon his auin grant

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and confessioun contenit in his depositiouns producit in judgment before Maister Villiame Heart, his Majesties general Justice Depute, for the quhilk he vas execute to the death the xv. of Februar 1592."

" David Grahame of Fintrie, ye ar indytit for airt and pairt, reid, counsale and consealing of the treasonabill practesis and conspiracies devisit and apuntit to be put in executioun for the alteratioun of the religioun of Jesus Cryst presentlie professit be oure soverane Lord and his treue and faithfull subjectis, establisit and authorizat be the Actis of Parliament and lauis of the realme, agreabill to the Vord of God, your said treasonabill devysis tending to the dainger and hurt of his hienes estait and persoun and desturbing of the quietnes of the realme and alteratioun of the haill estait thairof: in the quhilk ye haif traffekit this lang tyme be sindrie subtill and craftie vayis, alsueill vithout this realme as vithin the samin, sen your apostacie fra the treu religioun now professit, quhairin ye var brocht up and instructit fra your youth; and namlie of lait sen the moneth of Aprile last, in this instant yeir of God a thousand fyfe hunder fourscoir tuelf yeiris, at all tymes quhen as oportunitie and occasioun could serve, be your counsale and conferens had vith Maister James Gordoun, fader bruder to the Erle of Huntlie, Maister Robert Abircumbie and diveris utheris Jesuitis and seminarie preistis, and speciallie vith the said Maister Robert, in the toun of Abirnethie, and in the moneth foirsaid, efter the resset and sicht of the treasonabill letters send fra Spayne be Maister Villiame Crychttoun and Maister James Tyrie, Jesuitis, directit to the said Maister James Gordoun. [There follows a narrative of the aims and scope of the plot, as drawn from the foregoing depositions. It concludes by finding Fintry guilty of] " ane horribill treasoun aganis God, His treue religioun, his Majestie's maist nobill persone, and hurt of baith the realmes, as your auin confessioun in your depositiouns, subscrivit vith your auin hand and be the hand of the said Maister George Kar, heir present to schaue, beiris; quhilk ye can not deny."

2 *pp.* *Copy.* *Endorsed by Burghley:* " Fyntrey."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 58 *et seq.*

Copy of enclosures.

Feb. 21. **31.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of Lord Burgh's letter, received this day, the King had entered on his journey, lodging yesternight at Dundee and purposing to be at Aberdeen on Friday next at the furthest. The Earl of Morton, Lord Lieutenant, and the Council left here for the King have given order for the entertainment and convoy of Lord Burgh into Scotland and to the King at his pleasure. Yet considering that the King " useth not " to give full answer to any ambassador without the advice of his Council, of whom the greatest number shall not be with him before his return, therefore they wish his lordship to defer his access to the King until he shall come to this town. They have sent a gentleman to the King to bring his own mind in this behalf; wherein the Lord Burgh at his coming hither shall readily determine his course at his pleasure.

Some vain tales have been brought to the King that Bothwell and others intended some enterprise to surprise him in his journey, but he has passed without interruption and has met with his forces, which are not of the strength looked for, but considered sufficient for his safety since the Earls and rebels will not resist him. Advertisement is brought to some of the Council that Huntly, being hidden sundry days, has taken his barque at Fraserburgh

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1592–3. (Faithley Haven), beyond Peterhead, where the barque before lay for him, and it is thought he will pass into Caithness. But some of my intelligencers think that he has not yet departed, but purposely covers himself from Erroll, who has oftentimes sent to seek him, but cannot find him.

The King since his entry on this journey has sent for all the blanks subscribed severally by Angus, Huntly, Erroll and Auchindoun. By order of the Council they are sent to him, subscribed and noted with the hand of Mr. George Young. Mr. Walter Lindsay and the young Laird of Bonington, (excommunicated for Papistry), are charged to appear this day before the King at Dundee. It is looked that they shall disobey and thereon be put to the horn.

I am advertised that Mr. William Crichton, finding the King of Spain slow to provide the forces promised for Scotland, has departed to Rome with great discontentment, intending to solicit the Pope to persuade the King to perform his promises; but this report is raised and so current amongst the Papists that it is holden suspicious. On the 16th instant Sir William Keith was called to be of the King's Council, and the Master of Glamis was omitted from the Councillors established to govern here during the King's absence. This was done, as it was said, because the King looked that the Master should have attended on himself this journey. But the King was moved herein and found him unable to ride; then he "authorised" him with the rest, and yet with some difficulty. I enclose a copy of the declaration of Bothwell's answer to sundry calumnies. I have been earnestly moved to arm a fit barque at Newcastle to lie upon the coast of Caithness for the apprehension of the rebels, but await to confer with Lord Burgh and to understand further of the courses to be taken by the rebels. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley and his clerk.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 64. Copy of the same.

Enclosure with the same.

(Bothwell's answer to calumnies.)

"Ane declaration of th'erle Bothwellis answering to sundry calumnies unjustly objected against him, made the 7th of February 1592."

If men in this age were measured by their sincerity and not by their fortune the golden sentence used amongst ancients—*uniuscujusque conscientia sibi ipsi satis amplum theatrum est*—might well content a mind not ambitious. But seeing the world now-a-days goes far otherwise, in respect few or none judge charitably of their distressed neighbours, but rather are ready, as it is mentioned in the Apostle James, to set the rich, how unworthy soever they be, in a place of dignity, and to command the poor, be he never so virtuous, to stand by or to sit on a footstool, I am forced by iniquity of this time to use such form as many better than I have been constrained unto heretofore, lest by my silence my enemies on the one part should insult, and on the other my friends think I could allege no just defence. For, though I "esteme" that no man should be so impudent as to be his own herald in uttering his own praise, yet I think that none ought to be so base-minded and pusillanimous as not to declare their own innocency when necessity urges them thereto.

In my former declaration, by way of apology, I have at length expressed how partially and "unformally" Chancellor Maitland with his accomplices "caused feade" a process of witchcraft against me, most untruly alleging

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1592–3. that I intended to destroy the King my sovereign. At the first he handled the matter so cunningly that even my dearest friends were put in suspicion of my sincerity; but immediately after, partly by my former declarations, partly by confession of the infamous witnesses at the hour of their execution that they were suborned and corrupted, partly by abusing "Richy" Grame to the hour of his death to testify against me upon hope of his life (as some of his suborners have already confessed), God of His mercy made my innocence so manifest that it were superfluous to make any mention thereof in this place, save only this much, that the said Maitland with his accomplices, for all the craft they could invent to colour their detestable malice, could not make a formal process whereupon to "forfalt" me of witchcraft, but were forced to convict me for the conspiracy of the Brig of Dee, notwithstanding that the same was pardoned to the Earls of Huntly and Erroll. And remission, subscribed by his Majesty, the said Maitland and a great part of the Council, granted to me a long time before. In sign and token that they themselves are ashamed of the iniquity of that process of witchcraft, in my opinion they have destroyed the same, for neither is it extant in the books "adjurnall" nor to be found out in any "scrowlis" [drafts].

Extraordinary proceedings have forced many of the best subjects of this land to extraordinary remedies heretofore, whereof the enterprises at Ruthven, St. Andrews and Stirling may serve for example; and I had no other intention but to offer myself in all humility to justice, and on the other part to implore justice upon my enemies, by whose "sufferable" tyranny his Majesty is no less dishonoured than I "interessed." In the end, these intentions failing, I resolved to retire to a private and quiet life, persuading the most part of my fellowship "to enter and do their obedience," hoping that his Majesty, in receiving them to grace, should not be for ever ungracious to me. Whereunto, no doubt, his Highness of himself was well inclined, if pernicious counsel had not diverted him. But finding my said fellowship received for no good meaning either to them or me, and proclamation from day to day set out declaring that, if I came before his Majesty, I should look for no other grace or favour than the forfeiture already pronounced against me, I was terrified that I durst not present myself before his Highness in peaceable and quiet manner, as both my duty and mind were. Yet still expecting some better time, and hoping that they who had justly expelled Maitland should also comfort those whom he had unjustly persecuted, I resolved to hide myself and the rest of my distressed friends for a season in such form as our small means might attain to, and, without offending or invading any person, patiently to await his Majesty's leisure and better disposition. But my cruel enemies flowing in ever greater abundance and following the insolent inclination of all who are suddenly from base estate promoted to high places, "invyed to hear that I should lyve": and for this cause Carmichael, about the first of February instant, accompanied with a great number of my "unfreindes" came to Liddisdale to have murdered me and my company aforesaid where we lay without suspicion of any such violence. I, being advertised hereof, convened some of my friends to resist this barbarous invasion and to give him occasion to assail me in such form as became a knight, a councillor, a warden, a lieutenant, and not like a brigand and thief, as he was wont to be. I drew myself near Peebles to have "rancountred" him in his way; but he, fearing to attempt honestly the matter he purposed treasonably to have performed, thought it best to make speed unto his Majesty and to allege that I had an enterprise against his Highness, and that I was to attempt somewhat for the relief of the Spanish faction and impeaching the trial presently

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1592–3. in hand against them. This assertion, untruly affirmed by him, was most unadvisedly trusted by others, and published in kirk and at market crosses, and the people " solicit " to take me for a Papist and enemy to my prince and native country, in respect that I had so long abused his Majesty's lenity and sought my relief heretofore at the hands of Papists, chiefly of Angus and Erroll. And to the end I might be yet the more abhorred both at home and afield, the said Carmichael and George Hume dealt with Mr. George Carr to blot me in the late treasons, thinking his testimony should be more able to condemn me in religion than " Richie " Grame was to convict me of witchcraft. Their calumnies are so frivolous that they merit no answer, yet at the request of some friends who are grieved to hear me so unjustly " traducit " I answer in this sort : that since the aforesaid Maitland, the author of my calamity and pest of the name of Stewart, was justly debarred from his Majesty's presence I never meant to attempt anything offensive to the estate or to my enemies in particular, hoping that the occasion of my harm being once removed I should immediately find comfort. So, if the time was " unproper " for my enterprise so long as his Majesty was occupied in trial of the Spanish treason, the fault is to be imputed to Carmichael who perturbed me in my dutiful and peaceable determination and not to me who was forced by his tyranny to stand to my lawful defence ; and, it may be probably affirmed, if he and his accomplices were as zealous to hunt Papists as they are to prosecute me, the trial of their heretical treasons would incontinent come to light. But it is no new thing to Carmichael to prefer his " perticular " to religion.

As for my exploit against his Majesty's person, or for relief of Mr. George Carr, what probability can be that I who dare not show myself at Edinburgh in daylight durst come with twenty horse (for that was my number) to invade his Majesty and that populous town, and by force to break up the Tolbooth and relieve prisoners ? Concerning Mr. George Carr, the unreconcilable evil will betwixt his principal friends and me is notoriously known, whereby all men may judge how unlikely it is that I should communicate matters for my conscience and allegiance to him, much less hazard my life for his deliverance. And for the alleged lenity of his Majesty towards me, I will never think otherwise but that of himself he is so inclined ; yet evil counsel has so abstracted his mind that the space of these two years last I have found no lenity at all, unless men would think the confiscation of my goods, pursuit of my life and honour by all extraordinary means, suborning of infamous witnesses seeking to discredit me both at home and afield and corrupting my " familiers " to cut my throat, with such extreme persecution as heretofore was never used in this land, to be lenity and compassion. Some of those who allege this lenity within ten years were in disgrace and pursued as I am,* though not so bitterly. At that time, if they remember, in Newcastle, Langdicht, Longridge (Lanrig) and sundry other parts, they had another name for that word " lenitie," and if seeking help from Angus and Errol proves me to be a Papist, then they that sought relief from Maxwell and Hume when they returned from England, they who have married their daughters to Hume and Errol, they who have admitted Papists to Council, Session and offices of estate, should be esteemed Papists—which I do believe every man shall think a manifest absurdity. A charitable person, who studies more to speak truth than to please men, should rather judge me " inward " a Protestant, seeing Protestants are my " most familiers," and seeing I refused large conditions from the Catholics notwith-

* A reference to the exiled lords of the Raid of Ruthven. Bothwell elsewhere makes comparison between his lot and theirs. (*Warrender Papers*, ii. p. 205).

1592–3. standing my extremity, and power I had to deal with them by a warrant subscribed by the said Maitland, which, if need be, shall be exhibited. Nothing is spoken of his religion, and yet his brother, Mr. Thomas, died on a journey from him and the rest of the Castilians to the Pope, and Mr. George Carr was his domestic servant. They "that excusit him in his detected hipocrasie" should be ashamed to condemn me upon frivolous objections. The late Bishop of St. Andrews may serve for example to such men not to condemn their "brether" against their own conscience "for pleasure of Courte." "But here I contem." Let Aristippus after his manner, "seking him self" and not the weal of his Prince, "praise and disprase" at his pleasure, since it is long since written of him "*Omnis Aristippum docuit color et locus et res.*" Let him play the "poplix and camilion" and slander me for witchcraft, apostacy and all odious crimes, yet I doubt nothing but that God will some day cause my innocence to burst through all such slanders as visibily as the sun "uses" ordinarily to pierce through the dark clouds.

Last of all, where it is alleged I have arrogantly said that I should never humble myself to any who is descended of the house of Darnley, to this I answer that whosoever will affirm this of me, of what quality soever he be, I will offer myself against him man to man "to feight to the deid" and to prove him an impudent liar; and if any person has so informed his Majesty and will not seek out this challenge at my hands, I believe his Highness will hereafter esteem him but a lying "pultron." Surely if I knew him I would seek him to the end of the world. I protest I shall love and honour my sovereign in all humility, howsoever he use me. Albeit my Lord Duke has been very unkindly both in "bereving" my living and pursuing my life, yet I shall never speak or think presumptuously of him; "hoping with tyme bothe his Majestie and his lordship sall se that the said Mateland, who first erected them against me in maner aforesaide, had nor hes no other intention but to cause every ane of us destroy another, to th'end the chaire might be the sooner voyde to some entrance of his frendship."

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "E. Bothwells declaration."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 64*b*. Copy of the enclosure (incomplete).

Feb. 26. **32.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I received your letter of the 9th instant from Lord Burgh, who has showed me her Majesty's instructions and his own "conceipt" and purpose for the execution of the same. I find him entering into such advised course as promises good results, and concurs fully with my opinion based on experience of present conditions here. He shows such power and sufficiency to carry this burden of service to happy haven that I trust that, in spite of many difficulties, it shall be discharged for her Majesty's good contentment and his honour. He will advertise you of progress and seek direction in the effects requisite to be presented to the King, and chiefly in the bill of Falkland. I have certified the state of that cause in my letters of 27th December last and 6th instant, and have prayed direction therein, which is not expressed in her Majesty's instructions. Have already sent Fintry's confession and indictment. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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1592–3.
Feb. 26.

33. Lord Burgh to Burghley.

I arrived in this town the 24th of this month; found the King absent; could not perform my journey in shorter time, being hindered with the foulness of the season and not served in my passage with ready posts. I have advised with Mr. Bowes how I might best discharge my duty. His opinion is that, because of the uncertainty where to find the King, and his pleasure not first known, it were best his Council should advertise him that I am here; and, his answer received, to address my way accordingly. In the meantime I will not be "idle from learning" the disposition of every condition in this nation, and "applying me in the best reach of my capacitie" to give her Majesty some good account of my travail.

I sent Mr. Lock to the Queen with signification that I was charged to recommend her Majesty's special love to her, and likewise to deliver a letter, which I would not presume to present till the King's return, or till her commandment. The Queen allowed well that I deferred to come, and wished in honour of her Majesty that she could "yelde me content" in my entertainment. Of compliments I think there will be more abundance than of good meaning; yet Lord Hume failed to meet me without the bounds of Berwick, as order was given him. Lord Seton welcomed me twelve miles from Edinburgh and conducted me to his house, offered me a banquet, and thence brought me into the city. The day after, Earl Morton, the King's lieutenant for this time, came to my lodging; whom I saluted in her Majesty's name and resolved him of her favour towards him because of his firmness in these dangerous times. Whereupon he seemed to vaunt of his diligence toward the advancement of the common good and professed the continuance of every requisite office, and showed joy for the gracious opinion of her Majesty. He is more honest (as men hold him) than deep of judgment; but yet I hope will be a good countenance to others who can more circumspectly foresee the danger of these traitorous conspirators.

As Mr. Bowes and I were conferring, one of his agents desired to speak with him; whom he brought to me. "Much he now uttered not," yet matter of no small consequence if things be not soundlier dealt in. He doubts the King's voyage will bring small profit. Huntly flees not, but is concealed amongst his friends, and a surprise of the King, as he says, is intended on his return through Angus's country. He uttered no particulars of this treason but thus much in general terms. What falsehood and dissimulation is among them, even from the highest, God knows; but there are many causes of suspicion, and the less they be trusted the greater is our safety. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

Postscript.—My instructions bade me not to satisfy the King in the point which concerns the bill of Falkland.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 5.

34. Lord Burgh to Burghley.

There is as yet no answer from the King to his Council's letters where I might repair to him. I thereby remain here and cannot avoid this "forslowing" of her Majesty's service, and in my "particuler" suffer much discommodity. What may avail to strengthen me in the execution of my charge I enquire after by all means. Mr. Bowes assists me with his understanding;

1592–3. which is more than I could expect from a stranger, knowing how often one man obscures another's work to give his own greater glory. But I find him very upright; and, since he perceives that your lordship is willing to grace me (having used your letters of recommendation), I think he is thereby more forward to work with me for the success of this negotiation, which otherwise might have purchased his own reputation. We shall, therefore, howsoever induced, concur in the common service.

The King sent letters to this town, received the 3rd of March. The contents, copied out by Mr. Bowes's man, I enclose, though of no great consequence. "More is ther not yet of the King's journey." But even by the sound men of this town, in spiritual and temporal calling, the King stands much suspected, for he is much led by those who are tied in alliances to these traitorous Earls; and if he dispose of the lands (for their persons he cannot come by) according to the mediation of those who are about him in this credit, he "dissembleth" a confiscation, but leaves the rebels in full strength. Upon this point I purpose to insist with him, and I hope that, whatsoever he does, if it answers not with that which may stand with the securing of her Majesty from Spanish footing here, Mr. Bowes and I shall so travail that, if he declare himself, your lordship shall be timely acquainted in order to deliberate upon some expedient course, or we shall undertake a way whereby these things may be better disposed.

I was charged by my instructions to advertise some services done here which Mr. Bowes recommended. I dare not write their names lest by any casualty in my letters the poor men be endangered of their lives. Some of them have been with me: they presume of much they have done and promise many profitable services. The taking of Carr and Ladylands was by one of these means. Others discover the practices of the ill-affected, amongst whom they intrude themselves with peril and with expenses, as some of them have told me. In respect hereof, consider if a thousand French crowns were not well given amongst them. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 5. **35.** PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE EARLS OF HUNTLY, ANGUS, AND ERROL AND OTHERS.

Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. p. 255.

Apud Abirdene quinto die mensis Marcii anno Domini j^m^ v^c^ lxxxxij°.

"Forsamekill as, albeit the tressonabill practizes and conspiraceis of George erll of Huntlie, Williame erll of Angus, Francis erll of Errole, Sir Patrik Gordoun of Auchindoun knycht, Sir James Cheisholme of Dundorne knycht, Maister James Gordoun, Mr. Williame Ogilvy, Maister Robert Abircrumby and utheris, Jesuittis, seminarie preistes and trafficquing Papistis aganis the state of the trew religioun presentlie profest within this realm, his Majesteis persoun, croun and libertie of this thair native cuntrie, is and hes bene planelie discoverit and maid maist manifest be the depositionis and declaratioun of the careare of thair credeit and certane lettres and blankis apprehendit, subscrivit be thame, and be the lyke declaratioun and subscriptioun of umquhile David Grahame of Fintre, that laitlie sufferit for the same, his affirmatioun at the latter hour of his executioun, the not denyall thairof be the erll of Angus the tyme of his warding, vanting proudlie in thir terms, quhat howbeit he had writtin or subscrivit sic lettres and blankis, and lastlie be the contumacie and not comperance of him and of the saidis erllis of Huntlie and Erroll and utheris foirsaidis befoir his Majestie and Counsale to have answerit thairupoun, and accepting thairby of the said tressonabill cryme upoun thame,

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1592–3. sa that few or nane of his Hienes liegis can pretend ignorance heirof, yit his Majestie being informit that sum personis inhabitantis of thir north partis wer movit be the craftie perswasioun of sum of the saidis Erllis and utheris thair freindis and favouraris, assistaris, as appearis, with thame in thair tressonabill practizes, to doubt of the trewth heirof, his Majestie, for removing of the same doubt, and thair resolutioun and satisfactioun, causit the saidis blankis laitlie to be brocht and presentit befoir certane barronis and utheris inhabitantis of thir partis be quhome, at the leist a greit nowmer of thame acquentit with the saidis conspiratouris hand writtis, thair subscriptionis being cognoscit, his Majestie and thay ar movit not a littill to wounder at the unnaturall and unthankfull behaviour of sum of thame maist obleist to his Hienes be mony benefecttis, that thay being sa oft pardonit, and eftir samony solempnit aythis and promeissis, vowis and subscriptionis, sould schaw thame selffis sa tressonabill as to procure the owerthraw of his Hienes and all professing the said trew religioun with him, and the rewyne and conqueist of this auncient kingdome, thair awn native soyle and libertie quhilk the same hes enjoyit samony aiges, that it may be subject heireftir to the slaverie and tyranne of proude and mercyles strangearis, to quhome thay profes thame selffis be thair hand writtis, freindis and factouris, cheiflie to the Spanyeartis, quhais actiounis in all cuntreis quhair thay reparit, quhidder under cullour of ayd and freindschip or utherwayis, tendit evir to a conqueist and utter exterminioun [*sic*] of the native inhabitantis of the same, and of quhais crueltie thair is na end, as the signis and monumentis thairof extendit to all rankis and degreis of personis, man, wyff and childrene, auld and young, in all partis quhair thay repairit, testifeit and is abill to testifie to the posteritie to cum. And thairfoir, that nane of his Majesteis subjectis heirtofoir abusit and dissavit be the craftie illusionis of thir pernitious and wickit spreittis sall remane ony langar doubtfull of the trewth heirof, his Hienes with advise of the Lordis of his secreit Counsall ordanis officearis of armes to pas and mak publicatioun of the premissis be oppin proclamatioun at the marcat croce of this burgh of Abirdene and all utheris places neidfull, and to foirwarne all his Hienes subjectis of thair awin dangeare gif thay sall suffer thame selffis ony langar to be led in errour be sic dissavabill spreittis, to the perrell of thair saullis, bodeis, landis and gudis; and thairfoir to abstene frome ferder harkynning to thair tressonabill perswasionis and fra resset, intercommoning or havinge intelligence with thame under the pane of tressoun, and gif ony sall preis to perswade thame in the contrair heirof or to doubt of the unnaturall behaviour of the saidis conspiratouris or utherwayis to declyne frome the said trew religioun or his Majesteis obedience, to notifie thair names to his Hienes, quhairthrow thay may be persewit and puneist therfoir as tratouris and unnaturall subjectis to God, his Majestie and this thair native cuntre, certifeing thame that failyeis heirin thay salbe alsua persewit and puneist indifferentlie with thame with all rigour and extremitie."

1 *p.* *Broadsheet.* *Endorsed by Burghley.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 67. Copy of the same.

March. 6. **36.** LORD BURGH TO BURGHLEY.

This day the town is filled with desired news of the King's good progress. Mr. Bowes has had particular advertisements thereof, and, as I wrote in my last, is willing that the information thereof "pas my pen." I have hastily directed this letter, especially for some respects which the King (by com-

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mandment to one who wrote to Mr. Bowes) willed should be carefully regarded, and that it might be speedily advertised, to the end that the same might be foreseen.

All the rebel Earls have fled, slenderly accompanied, to Caithness and the Isles. The King has directed commission to "the Erle* Bender" [*sic*], Lord Doun, and certain others to "convocate" the forces of the country and to search out and pursue the rebels with fire and sword. The Earl of Atholl comes to the King with 1200 foot and 300 horse, the rest of his forces having retired through the hardness of his passage. The King purposes to make him his lieutenant and to annex to him a discreet and well-affected council over these unquiet parts to debar the conspirators from any possession in the country. All the ill-disposed shall be sent southward, towards Edinburgh, and great penalties are imposed on those who shall relieve these traitors.

"A private Act that the King shall kepe all the exchets in his owne hands. That which the King gave in chardge."

Two barques are preparing in Caithness to transport the Earls by the west seas. If expedition be used he thinks they may be intercepted. Great store of gold coming out of Spain. These things are discovered by some who have been privy to all these practices. I refer to your consideration what means may be used by her Majesty's ships or pinnaces for this service.

From another part this advertisement following came to Mr. Bowes: "The inhabitants at Kirkowbray daylye looke for the comming of the navye of Spayne, and lately hearing some sayles to lye of Ireland, were fully perswaded that the Spaniards were nere there coasts." All things are so doubtful, and they so mistrustful amongst themselves, that I know not whereupon to to be assured. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

Postscript.—I beseech your lordship forgive this scribbling.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March. 7. **37.** INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 166.

Printed in *Acts of Privy Council of England*, new series, vol. xxiv. pp. 103–7.

Although by your commission [23rd February,† 35 Elizabeth, 1592–3] you are directed in large manner to proceed in the mustering and viewing of the strength of the frontiers towards Scotland, as well for men able to serve as horsemen and footmen as for the strength of the castles and houses of defence, and although her Majesty has by her said commission named twelve persons of sufficient knowledge dwelling out of the counties of the frontiers to assist you in this service and in the other points of your commission for reforming and repairing of the great wants on the frontiers of England, yet because it is likely that you cannot yourself presently repair thither, being now occupied in the sessions at York, and because some of your assistants are also of that Council and therefore cannot be spared speedily to repair to those parts, we advise you to direct letters to the three Wardens of the frontiers to have the said commission diligently executed, commanding them or their deputies forthwith to take views at the appointed places of all the horsemen and footmen serviceable in every barony or seigniory within their wardenries; to admonish those found defective to use some speed for the repair of defects; and after this view and muster, to have books or rolls drawn up of all the said persons, both horsemen and footmen, according to their places of dwelling. You

* A corrupt rendering.

† 24th February in *Acts of Privy Council.*

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1592–3. shall also direct the Wardens [to set down] what houses of strength remain extant, and what houses are decayed since the beginning of her Majesty's reign. They shall also certify you how many horsemen and footmen every barony and seigniory ought to find, and how many of them are now wanting and by what occasion. After you have been certified of these things, you may make choice of three out of the twelve persons named as your assistants to repair to every wardenry to confer further with the Wardens. Things being thus prepared, you shall repair at fit and convenient time to the frontiers to take view of the strength and number of the men and of the state of the castles and houses of strength, and do all things necessary thereanent. We enclose "abstractes" of all the crown lands in Westmorland, Cumberland and Northumberland, whose tenants are bound by their tenures to serve as horsemen or footmen; also a note of the horses and nags that ought to be found by certain tenants. Send copies to the Wardens, and command them to take measures that the tenants shall be equipped as bound by their tenures, under pain of eviction.

Item, before you repair thither in person, you will do well to inform yourself who in late years have been commissioners upon these frontiers and what measures they took for the better defence of the same. When you repair to the West Borders, you should take a view of the frontier where the Graemes inhabit, part whereof was heretofore accounted Debatable Land and divided in King Edward's time between the Scots and the English. Since the Graemes have increased into many families, and great numbers of them live disorderly and idly, spoiling her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of Scotland, and since there is no special officer or keeper of that country, you would do well to confer with the Warden or his deputies and some of the gentlemen of the Borders how the Graemes and other inhabitants of those parts may be governed and reduced to better order. If expedient, you might commit the charge of that country, under the Warden, to two or three of the heads of the chief families.

Finally, we shall be ready to impart to you any further directions required.

6 *pp. Copy.*

March 7. **38.** EARL OF BOTHWELL TO THOMAS MUSGRAVE, CAPTAIN OF BEWCASTLE.

I am sorry that through my default you should be so long a prisoner, but my late learned virtue of patience doth enforce me to content myself, trusting thereby to gain more than otherwise I could. Take comfort and lean "to" her Majesty's accustomed clemency. God willing, she shall find that any courtesy she may show you your faithful service can requite, "yit not the les that I be joynit therein." Fear not to promise as much in my name as in your own; and perhaps her Majesty shall shortly find your promises more effectual than she expects.

Since the "directing" of your servant, John Watson (Vatsune), I have "spokin" Mr. Lok, by whose answers, though more favourable than I am worthy, I suspect some delay. Therefore I must bid you certify that, if matters were well considered, neither her Majesty's estate nor my poor case doth require any such form; but, rather, greater speed, if possible. Deal, therefore, that with all diligence one of my own may be admitted to her Majesty, assuring her that what she has learned either by me "or anay Scotis intelligens" is

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but dregs compared with what she will find from him. I shall say nothing further until I learn from you what I may expect herein.

I shall write nothing to my Lord Chamberlain till matters grow riper and I learn what effect your ambassador's commission shall take. Beseech him always to believe that he has no son of whom he may more frankly dispose than of me. Have me recommended also to my lady, his wife.

I would be sorry to speak anything that might induce her Majesty to take any hard conceit of my master, yet being by divers of his Highness's "calumners" enforced to speak, I say I shall in the end "tray * mor honnest then anay Scots subject ever in my tym hes doune to hir Majestie and hir estet," neither shall it in any point exceed the duty of a true Scotsman, carrying respect to his God, his King and country. What I shall say shall be visibly seen and sufficiently proven at my friend's "doune coumming." [Name of place cut out]. *Signed:* Bothuell.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 13. **39.** THE ACT OF CAUTION.

"At Abirdene the xiii day of Marche, 1592."

Caution found by certain of the principal barons and other inhabitants of the north parts that they and all for whom they are obliged to answer shall behave themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects, observe the King's peace, and attempt nothing in hurt or prejudice of his Majesty, the present estate, realm or lieges, or of the established religion; and that they shall not aid or assist or take part with George Earl of Huntly, William Earl of Angus, Francis Earl of Errol, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, Sir James Chisholm of Dundorn, Mr. James Gordon, Mr. William Ogilvy, Mr. Robert Abercromby, or any other Jesuits, seminary priests, trafficking Papists or other traitors and conspirators, or any persons at the horn for the burning of the place of Donibristle and murder of umquhile James Earl of Moray; and that they shall not reset, supply or intercommune with them in any manner of way; but that they and all that will do for them shall rise, concur and assist his Majesty, his lieutenants, or other authorised persons in pursuit of them to their uttermost power at all times as they shall be required thereunto by proclamations, missive letters, or otherwise; and, lastly, that they shall compear personally before his Majesty and Council upon eight days warning under particular pains besides the ordinary pains prescribed by law and statute. Caution found at the same time by certain barons of the north parts that they and each of them should enter in ward within the burgh of Edinburgh, upon the eleventh day of March, and remain and keep ward therein "ay and quhill" they be lawfully freed by his Majesty, with advice of his Council, under the pains particularly following.

⅔ *p. Copy. Broadsheet. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed:* "1592. The Acte of Causion, the 13 of March."

Copy of the same.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 69.

40. GENERAL BAND OF THE NOBILITY TO THE KING.

[*c.* 13th] March.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 62. Transcript in Harl MS. 4648, p. 87. Printed in Calderwood, v. 233.

We, the noblemen, barons and others undersubscribing, being fully persuaded of the treasonable practices of sundry of his Highness's unnatural subjects against the established religion, the King's majesty and the liberty of the realm, and finding his Majesty's good disposition to resist the same and suppress the chief authors thereof, having concurrence and assistance to this

* tray; try, *i.e.* be proved as the result of trial.

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1592–3. effect, therefore by these presents we promise and oblige ourselves, each and all of us, to concur and take part with his Majesty for the maintenance and defence of the established religion, the crown and country from thraldom of conscience, conquest, and slavery of strangers, and for resisting and suppressing the chief conspirators, especially the Earls of Huntly, Angus and Errol, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, Sir James Chisholm of Dundorne, Mr. James Gordon, Mr. William Ogilvy, Mr. Robert Abercromby and all other Jesuits, seminary priests and other traitors. And to that effect we shall put ourselves in arms and pass forward with his Majesty or his lieutenants at all times when we shall be required, and shall never absent ourselves for any particular cause or quarrel among ourselves. We shall not assist or take part or have intelligence with the above traitors, nor with persons at the horn for the burning of Donibristle and murder of Moray. With our whole forces and to the uttermost of our power we shall assist each other; and, if any variance fall out amongst any of us, we shall submit to the judgment of two or three of the principal subscribers of this band. Moreover, his Majesty, by whose command, with advice of his Council, certain barons and other gentlemen are directed to remain in the south part of the realm, promises that the said barons shall not be licensed to return home again to the said north parts; nor shall any favour be shown to the above conspirators, nor any order now taken be dispensed with without the advice of the lieutenant and commissioner for the time and at least six of the principal subscribers of this band. In witness of the above, we have subscribed these presents with our hands, like as his Majesty has subscribed the same.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy.*

March 19. **41.** LORD BURGH TO BURGHLEY.

The King returned to this town on the 14th [and] gave me audience on the 16th. I declared my commission to him and prayed his answer. He took (" in seming ") the negotiation in good part, vowed much against the Spanish practices, and confessed he had heretofore used too great lenity, but now he both must and would use the sword without favour. He has promised to give me under his hand (to be sent to her Majesty) his resolution how he determines to proceed; wherein he need expedite better than yet he has done; for the Earls yet lurk and are neither driven away nor can be taken. Neither are any more [conspirators] discovered; yet sure it is these have not undertaken alone.

The King says he will draw to himself a trusty and sound council for his better progression, and therewith I hope will grow a strong association. The " occurrents " of his journey I sent your lordship. Now I send them again as they are truly gathered.* The moment is not great. He pretends the power of his enemies, and I suspect under colour thereof he would draw her Majesty into some expense. Your lordship " shall best consider when he hathe delivered his order in writing." † I have not spoken of Bothwell yet, nor of the portion of money expressed in my instructions. I thought best not to fill him with too much at one time, but to await what satisfaction he will give in the principal points. My next repair to him shall end all.

On the 18th of this present I had access to the Queen. I was never more out of countenance. I spoke all, and received but ill grace both of words and looks. I cannot, therefore, write to your lordship what place my speech

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* Cf. No. 43. † *i.e.* his resolution how he determines to proceed.

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1592–3. had. You know the sufficiency of the ambassador resident. He may be left to [perform] her Majesty's other services. I hope you will procure my speedy return. I have declared my message and shall bring contentment (so far as hence it is to be trusted) with me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

1 *p. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[March.] **42.** ABRIDGEMENT OF LORD BURGH'S PROPOSITIONS TO JAMES VI.

"An abridgment of my propositions to the Kinges heighnes accordinge to the instructions given me by the Quenes Majestie my soveraigne mistris."

That her Majesty was informed of sundry practices discovered in this realm for the "receyt" of Spanish forces into this land for the alteration of the estate here and invasion of her kingdom of England, the same being confessed likewise in England by some "examynates" there; that her Majesty wished the King in the dignity of his place to prevent the danger by due justice and example; that she advised him that, if he could not execute justice against their persons, he should confiscate their livings; that he should fortify himself with a wise, sound and well-affected Council, to the end these conspiracies, or the like, might be revealed, and means of remedy applied; that the King's highness would by his handwriting resolve her Majesty in these points, whereby she might assure other princes of the religion what providence is used in both their Majesties' dominions for the resistance of the common enemies' proceedings; that his Highness would depute such ministers upon the Borders as should favour the common tranquillity; that her Majesty would not be deficient to the King in any accomplishment of affection "in her habilytie"; that she had punished those who gave the Earl Bothwell countenance in England, and prayed the King to consider what, for his own benefit, he would determine of him in any course which her Majesty left to his discretion.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. Endorsed by Elizabeth:* "The Lord Bowros answers to his propositions."

March 19. **43.** OCCURRENTS IN SCOTLAND.

At Edinburgh xix° *Marcii* 1592.

In the King's late journey against Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, their possessions were seized into the King's hands, their houses are committed and bestowed as hereafter is specified, but the inheritances are reserved until the owners shall be "forfalted" by act of Parliament; which Parliament shall be adjourned until the 1st of June next. The house and castle of Tantallon (Tomptallen), parcel of Angus's possessions, are given to the keeping of the Laird of Pollard; Bunkle (Bonckle) and Preston to William Hume, brother of Sir George Hume; Douglas and the rest of the Earl's lands are arrested for his debts due to the Provost of Lincluden (Clanclowden). The house and castle of Strathbogy, appertaining to Huntly, are delivered to the custody of Archie Carmichael with sixteen of the King's guard. The Countess of Huntly has obtained Bog-of-Gight (Boggigeithe), being the chief and greatest part of Huntly's possessions, for her jointure: the rest of his lands are appointed to the Earl of Athol. The Earl Marischal, near kinsman to Errol, has bought the escheat of Errol's forfeiture for 1000

James VI.
1592–3. marks Scots, and he has the keeping of the house and castle of Slains. Errol's mother-in-law holds Logie Almond for her jointure, and Athol has gotten the "factorie" of the rest of his lands. The house and barony of Auchindoun are given to Sir George Hume in regard of the jointure of Auchindoun's wife, mother of Sir George's wife: the rest of his lands are committed to Athol. From the disposition of those lands it is thought that the rebels shall severally find favour at the hands of the "committers," and albeit all these possessions are to be united to the Crown by an act of Council ordained before this raid, yet it is said that the King has promised to grant the greatest part thereof to sundry persons.

This day these persons were summoned to be forfeited by Parliament; to-morrow they shall be relaxed from the horn that they may be attainted orderly by the next Parliament. Hitherto they lie hidden and do not attempt the recovery of their houses, as was looked for. Sir James Chisholme, for the treasons discovered, M'Lean, M'Donald "Donelgoran," * for other treasons and murders, are summoned to be forfeited by the next Parliament, and thereon the King has appointed to pass in June next to subdue and bring the west isles of Scotland to obedience. The Lairds of Urie (Eurye) and Newton, Henry Drummond and Thomas Menzies, charged with the hearing of mass and papistries, have put themselves in the King's will. The King purposes to call to the Court the Chancellor and Spynie, yet the present courtiers labour busily to stop their passages. The Chancellor has been lately comforted by messages from the King, but he shall find little safety for himself in Court until he recovers the Queen's favour and is reconciled with the Duke; which effects the King will "expeed"; and nevertheless the Chancellor may think to walk in danger. Spynie, outwardly agreed with the Duke by the King's commandment, has appointed to come hither to-morrow, yet many blocks are laid in his way to stay his coming, which might work great danger in this Court.

Some "instrumentes" are employed to "attone" the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, who stand so firmly by their old friends, occupied with many quarrels amongst themselves, that this "attonement" is thereby hindered, yet likely in the end to take effect; whereupon some new form of council about the King and course in Court are like to be established. Lord Hamilton, in right of Claud, his brother, has appointed to keep court in Linlithgow next week. Since the Duke takes part with Sir James Sandilands, who claims that seigniory and purposes (as it is said), with the assistance of the Duke and other friends, to stay Hamilton's progress herein, troubles are like to arise and the griefs smoking in the hearts of the Duke and Hamilton are like to burst hastily into flame unless speedy remedy be provided. Herein Lord Hamilton is the more pricked forwards by a tale that has lately made him think that his own life was sought when the friend, with whom he was talking in Edinburgh streets, was slain by the King's guard discharging their pieces in their going to the watch.

The King has earnestly deliberated with his Council to find out fit and sure means to be quiet from Bothwell and his troubles; wherein hitherto he has not received answers and advice to his full satisfaction and assurance. It is meant that this service to apprehend or drive away Bothwell shall be cast on the Duke, who, as many think, shall not hastily give the King full contentment therein.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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* *i.e.* Donald Macdonald of Sleat, known as Donald Gorm.

James VI.
1592–3.
March 19.

44. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the receipt of your letter of the 7th Lord Burgh has had access to the King, who has taken his doings in very good part, commending highly the eloquent delivery of his speech, with his courtly and discreet carriage and behaviour. The matters communicated by him are found worthy of grave deliberation; whereunto he intends to add the residue of his instructions with all expedition so that he may receive the King's resolution in the same and "expede" all things.

In conference with sundry councillors here, I perceive that the King will engage himself by all means to prosecute this cause against the conspirators with Spain, and will bind himself to establish a fit and constant council to assist him in all his progress in this cause and in government and reformation of the estate: wherein it is alleged that, in respect of the forces of his open rebels and hidden traitors, and the general distraction amongst the nobility and others, he shall be enforced to levy and keep for some time a strong guard of footmen and horsemen for the guard of his person and execution of the ordinances of the King and Council; and that his power does not suffice to make this provision without her Majesty's assistance. To this Lord Burgh and I have given, and are minded to give, deaf ears, seeking in fair manner and terms to pass it over; but it is like that the King and Council shall much stand thereon and press the advancement of their desires in this necessity by sending an ambassador to her Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 21. **45.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter of the 17th instant, and imparted the contents to his Majesty, who has taken the same in very good part, as also her Majesty's letters to the Wardens for the apprehending or restraining of his rebels in England. This has given sufficient contentment to his Majesty and others in that behalf. Concerning the employment of the Laird of Poury Ogilvy, I have satisfied you therein by my letters of the 18th, whereby you shall take no further regard in that matter, for I shall be answerable that it shall proceed no further.

Yesterday Huntly passed out of the Blackness accompanied by Crawford, Spynie and the Master of Elphinstone. He passed to a house of Crawford's, where he is to remain till he sends for a better convoy. We are now rid of him here, for were the King ever so fain to have him, he dare not come. Besides the great party he has against him there are some gentlemen who have solemnly avowed to "kuf" lives with him, which was very near performed at the coming through St. Johnstone by one Robert Stewart, a brother of Innermeith, who entered his house disguised in highlandman's clothes; but before he could come to his intent was "put to the dore," not being known what he was or what intent he had.

Those who take this quarrel upon them are the Earls of Argyll, Atholl, Mar, Morton, Erroll, Lords Lindsay, Innermeath, and Ochiltree, the Master of Glamis, and the Master of Gray, with the whole surname of Stewarts.

The Chancellor, finding himself greatly slandered for the slaughter of Murray, only upon the familiarity between him and Huntly, thought it most convenient for his own standing to "apend" himself to that deed, and so he has rather chosen to "geve" himself with the best sort than to run a course

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1592–3. against God and good conscience. The ministers and he are well agreed, and " the hole offeseres " and he run one course. Mar is here, thereby satisfied with the Chancellor's proceedings. Here is no danger of any foreign course. Suppose [*i.e.* even if] things have not proceeded so surely against Huntly as they should have done, " men must nott leve the good caues desperattly." God works all for the best; He will punish that deed in due time; and I will assure you that, but for the regret which was made for Bothwell by the town of Edinburgh, the whole Stewarts and many others, Huntly had been more surely handled. The King can in no sort digest the proceedings of Bothwell, neither will he be thoroughly satisfied with the Stewarts till they by some actions " apend " themselves to him; which the Prior of Blantyre has undertaken to be put in execution for this time. Linlithgow. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—The King would fain have you here.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes.*

1593. **46.** LORD BURGH AND ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

March 25. At the hands of this bearer, John Porterfeild, Scottishman and burgess of Edinburgh, we have received by way of exchange 100*l.* sterling, parcel of 300*l.* appointed to our receipt by your letter of the 16th hereof, or within two days next after the same *; and for the further surety of the payment at the day and place limited [*i.e.* appointed] we have given him our bill to be delivered to the party paying this sum of 100*l.* to him. Therefore we pray your good lordship to give order that this money may be thankfully repaid, agreeable to our bill in that behalf. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh, Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 29. **47.** LORD BURGH AND ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At the hands of Thomas Foulis (Fowles) and Robert Jowsye, Scottishmen and burgesses of Edinburgh, we have received by way of exchange 200*l.* sterling in full payment of 300*l.* appointed to our receipt by your lordship's letter of the 16th hereof, and to be repaid to them at London upon the view hereof, or within two days after. And for further surety of the payment at the day and place limited, we have given them our bill to be delivered to the party paying this sum of 200*l.* to them, or any other for them. We therefore beg you to give order [as in the preceding]. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh, Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 30. **48.** LORD BURGH TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday I was with the King to receive answer in writing according to his promise. He has deferred the same till my next repair. The effect I know, and it tends to satisfy her Majesty with all promise on his part; but he " disableth " himself of means [to proceed] against the purposes of the Spanish faction. The particularities I will bring with me, and your lordship shall consider what is requisite. As for any present danger, I hope it is not much to be feared, for the King is already thrust so forward that his honour is engaged, " and wou[ld] crack of that he can not fall of." As for the nobility of this land, they are so interallied that, notwithstanding the religion they profess,

* *sic*; cf. following document.

1593. they tolerate the opposite courses of the adverse parties, and excuse or cloak the faults committed.* The assured party is of the ministers, barons and burghs. With these the King is so bound that he cannot suddenly run another course apparently [*i.e.* openly] but yet by his secret hearkenings (by the mediation of those who are in special credit with him) he is suspected. At my repair home I will say more than I will commit herein. He complained much of Bothwell, and though I have placed before him all such excuses as may free her Majesty from any connivance of his "receyte" in England, yet he argues much against those who have received him, inveighing that, though Thomas Musgrave is imprisoned, his brother openly accompanies him. He further says he will prove that Bothwell holds correspondence with the rebels. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 31. **49.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your letter of the 16th Lord Burgh and myself have "taken upp" by exchange, to be repaid at London, 300*l.* sterling which we have "defrayed" to such persons and in such sort as Burgh at his return will declare. The parties rewarded are well pleased and sundry of them are entering into "newe attemptes." We have taken of Thomas Foulis and Robert Jowcye, burgesses of this town, 200*l.*, and of John Porterfeild 100*l.*, to be repaid at London [as in No. 46 and 47]. Because French crowns "are here currant and valewed at vj's. iiij*d.* sterlinge, and that we have diffrayed the wholl summe of one thousand crownes, which amountethe to cccxvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*, therfor I, Robert, have disbursed the xvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.* over and besydes the 300 *li.* receaved in manner aforesaide."

For redresses to be made in the complaints and bills of the Borders the King has appointed Sir Robert Melvill and the Clerk Register to confer with me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 4. **50.** BOTHWELL TO BURGHLEY.

Since the bearer, Mr. Henry Lok, understands my mind perfectly in all respects and the state of matters here, I abstain from entering into particulars. By him I have also fully "considerit" how you begin to pity my calamity, assisting him at her Majesty's hands to work my comfort and relief; for which undeserved benevolence I can do no more than render humble thanks, with faithful promise of "inalterabill" sincerity both to that estate and your honour in particular as long as I live. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Bothuell.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 7. **51.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the travail of Lord Burgh the King has not only embraced the good advice given by her Majesty through him for the further discovery and punishment of the conspiracies and conspirators here and for the course of the King's government therein and in other matters of state, but also has, in writing, bound and engaged himself and his honour to her Majesty and other Protestant princes to proceed effectually in the same; wherewith Lord Burgh thought it

* *i.e.* the ties of kinship are stronger than religious barriers.

James VI.

1593. meet to return to her Majesty. These [negotiations] he has finished with great honour and praise. He has let me know how graciously her Majesty accepts my poor service. I lament and must needs " discover " the weakness of my aged body worn with miseries, and my broken state. Lord Burgh will commend my case to her Majesty and yourself, and my petition will be " especifyed " by Sheperson. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 7. **52.** OCCURRENTS IN SCOTLAND.

At Edinburgh, 7th April 1593.

" Thoccurrantis in Scotlande fallen before the vijth of Aprill 1593."

Huntly has returned from Sutherland and has been seen near Bog of Gight (Boggygeythe), his own house. He is reset at the house of Torrysall, tenant to Alexander Duff, depending on Huntly. Errol has come near his own house at Slains (Slanys) and has been lodged in old Mackarne's house, tenant to Alexander Hay of Ardmackarne, depending on Errol. It is given out and credited that the Earl Marischal, lieutenant in those parts, is not ignorant of Huntly's and Errol's coming within his rule and office, and that, having received the keys of Slains at the hands of Sir Robert Melvill by the King's appointment, he has delivered them to Alexander Hay before named, so that the house thereby is at Errol's pleasure. The King, hearing of Huntly's and Errol's return and of Marischal's negligent behaviour therein, has by letters stirred Marischal to better diligence and called for his answer, threatening to take the lieutenancy from him upon proof of his default and to give it to Atholl, to be assisted by the Master of Forbes. Angus has been in the " Mernis," and at Dundas: he was seen on Blackburn Moor on 29th March and passed into Douglasdale with four men and two led horses. He has been in divers places near Stirling and conferred (as it is affirmed) with sundry persons of quality, namely [*i.e.* especially] with Sir James Chisholme, who lately is said to have ridden to speak with Bothwell, whereby Bothwell is the more suspected to have intelligence with Angus.

Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Robert Abercromby, Jesuits, have come again to Buchan. The barque still attends for them and others in Moray Firth, near Cromarty. The Earl of Caithness (as it is credibly told) has by letters both advertised the King that all the Jesuits remain still at Caithness, and also offered to surprise and deliver them to the King, if he will give him commission for the same. It is thought that he has secretly sent his commission to Caithness in this behalf, and keeps close Caithness's letter until he shall hear further of his doings and success. Some bait is laid to entrap Abercromby, and very likely to take effect if he performs his promise to come to his friend's house at the time appointed. The two barques ready for Spain lie still before Ayr. Some persons of quality in the north seek passage in one of them, " which is well awaited uppon." It is not thought meet that the Countess of Huntly shall remain in Bog of Gight or any other of the houses of her husband. Some courtiers seek to bring her to the Court, but as yet it is thought better that she be placed at St. Andrews.

Lord Hamilton has been informed that Lennox and Mar have dealt with some of the servants in Dumbarton Castle to deliver that " peece " into their hands; that Mar " is presentlie at Erskin within vj daies at the furthest," and upon the jealousy hereof Hamilton has removed some suspected in the Castle, and seeks to furnish it with better strength.

Sundry ministers have travailed lately and divers times with the Queen

1593. to pacify her wrath against the Chancellor that he might be restored to her good countenance and return to the Court to serve the King, who greatly desires his service, especially in these present and weighty causes, and the rather because the Chancellor has offered to shake off all factions and to join with such Council as the King should call to him, and thereon to procure a general band of association of the best noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers, to like effect as the particular band was framed at Aberdeen [see Nos. 39, 40]. It is advised that the band at Aberdeen be revived and perfected, that thereon the general band may be drawn and put in execution. The King lately has sent quietly divers courtiers and ministers to the Chancellor and "useth" to take his advice in all these present affairs. But he does not like and does not find any safety to come to Court before he shall recover the Queen's favour, and thereon be reconciled with the Duke and the Master of Glamis: in which behalf fit instruments are labouring "to agree" the Chancellor and Master.

The King lately has received some overtures and is put in hope that Huntly and Bothwell shall be surprised (chiefly Bothwell), yet most men doubt the success of the overture. Lord Hamilton, for his assistance to keep the court at Linlithgow against the Duke's will, should have been "partied" by Glencairn, Eglinton, Maxwell, Livingstone and many other noblemen, barons and gentlemen; whereby the King is made to think that Hamilton has made a band with so many that he shall be strengthened with two parts of the realm, and that the same is done by the advice and means of the Chancellor. It was likewise told Hamilton that the Duke had gotten the promises of sundry noblemen and others to join with him against Hamilton. Therefore it is now looked that the strifes betwixt the Duke and Hamilton shall give first occasion of troubles in this realm.

John Leslie, Laird of Bouqhuane, and Patrick Cheyne, Laird of Eslemonth, are committed to the Castle for payment of 10,000 marks Scots upon their band given for the Earl of Huntly to appear and answer for the slaughter of Murray; and the Lairds of Findlater and Grant, being bound in like bands and for the same cause, are called upon for payment; for by these and such like means the guard here is hitherto paid. Bouqhuane pleads that before his coming hither the Duke and Mar had undertaken that he should not be charged with any crime other than the burning of Garnis [? Gardin's] house, which he justified by virtue of commission directed to him for the apprehension of Garne, then at the horn.* Now it is advertised that he shall be charged with the privity of the conspiracies with Spain, in regard that he is noted to have been busy in these matters and of counsel with Huntly in all his secrets. But his friends in Court are thought able to clear him from the hurt likely to fall hereby.

Angus, Huntly and Errol again deny that they have subscribed the blanks taken with Mr. George Carr. It is thought that this renovation of their denial shall bring forth no good fruits; and Sir James Chisholme by his letter delivered lately to the King and Council by his wife likewise denies to be guilty of the crimes laid against him by Fintray and Carr, and prays to try the matter by single combat against Mr. George Carr. Bothwell's meeting with Sir James Chisholme, his intelligence with Angus, his being at Bewcastle (as the King is newly informed, and peradventure without good ground) and all other things of Bothwell, I leave to the report of others.

3¼ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley:* "7 April 1593. Occurrentis of Scotland brought by the Lord Burgh, who came to the Court 14 Aprill."

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* See P.C. iv., p. 389.

James VI.
1593.
April 10.

53. LORD BURGH TO BURGHLEY.

Because I cannot ride so fast as the running posts, and do not know whether Mr. Bowes's letters shall occasion speedy answer, I have conveyed his letters by them [the posts], and will follow as fast as I may to make relation of my service. I hope to wait on her Majesty before, or on, Easter Day. Doncaster. *Signed:* Thomas Burgh.

½ *p. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal.*

April 19. **54.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the departure of Lord Burgh, and after he had sent me a copy of your letter addressed to him on the 4th hereof, I have had access to the King and have not only sought to acquit her Majesty of any dealing with or hearkening to Bothwell otherwise than for the King's benefit and against his present rebels, but also recounted the pitiful complaint of Thomas Musgrave, having lately lost a great part of his living by the death of his wife, and being burdened thereby with greater charges in prison than his power now suffices to sustain; from whence, nevertheless, her Majesty will not deliver him without knowledge of the King's mind therein. Albeit with good patience he heard and credited my report, yet with warm passion he started against Thomas Musgrave, and, doubting of his wife's decease, he affirmed directly that his brother had lately and openly harboured Bothwell in Bewcastle six or seven days together, and that Bothwell likewise had been received and lodged in Carham and in other places in Northumberland whilst Lord Burgh was here. The King added that during the imprisonment of Bothwell's resetters the offenders' friends durst not commit the like offences without good hope of oversight. I rather passed over than granted the late "receyt" of Bothwell in England, in regard that I was not certain therein. The often and open repair and "harborrowe" of Bothwell in England against the protestations of Lord Burgh and myself have stirred and still stir great anger in the King's heart. For this I answered that borderers oftentimes respected more their own commodities and safety than their obedience and duties to their sovereign, which I proved by sundry examples in England and Scotland, letting the King understand that many borderers in England were not only persuaded by Bothwell's words that in time the King would remit his faults, but also were allured by his offers to think that they shall be safe from the violence and attempts of Liddisdale and other Scottishmen daily oppressing them before, that the feuds amongst them should be agreed by Bothwell's means, and that they should lie quietly and possess their goods without trouble; which commodities many of the English borderers have enjoyed by Bothwell, and thereby they have been enticed and drawn to favour him with hazard of their own punishment. The discourse betwixt us was long and sharp. At length the King concluded with request that her Majesty would severely punish the offenders and restrain the receiving of Bothwell. He left the further punishment of Musgrave to her pleasure, refusing to assent to his liberty in regard of these latter faults done by his brother, and Musgrave's evil behaviour to himself.

Sir Robert Melvill, appointed to be sent to her Majesty, has lately conceived some doubts of her good acceptance and success in that journey, in regard that he has been noted to have held a hard course towards England after the death of the King's mother and at the coming of the Spanish fleet into these seas. Herein the King and Sir Robert have sought my

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1593. opinion. I answered them that, albeit I have heard that Sir Robert's course was suspected, since my present employment in Scotland I have found in him such good disposition towards religion and the welfare of both the sovereigns and realms that I have commended him and his good offices to her Majesty, who has returned to him hearty thanks, thereby "approvinge" such good opinion towards him that his distrust appeared to be needless. Understanding that the King had before appointed the Prior of Blantyre (one singularly well affected to all the common causes and free from all particularities and factions) to this office, which he durst not undertake in regard of his health, and that, nevertheless, the King had sent again for him, therefore I left the choice of the person to be employed to the King's own pleasure. I am told that no full commission shall be given before the assembly of the Convention of the estates at Holyrood House on the 27th of this month.

I reminded the King of his answers to Lord Burgh, and he continues constant, protesting deeply to proceed with all his power, agreeable to his promises. In the consideration of his Council, to be especially chosen and established, the King resolved to call to him the Chancellor, who could not (he thought) come conveniently to the Court before the Queen was persuaded to withdraw her heavy countenance. The labours of the ministers employed to appease the Queen's wrath have not hitherto prevailed, and the King says that only the Queen of England's letter to the Queen of Scots shall work the Chancellor's peace, and therefore he wishes her Majesty to write to this effect.

The Convention of the estates to be drawn together at this time is deemed to be "gathered of fewe chosen persons at th'apetytes of the present courtiers" rather than to be general of the whole estates and for the profit of the commonwealth. By this Convention the matters to be offered to the next Parliament, beginning on 1st June, shall be considered, and whether the Parliament shall be adjourned. For the compassing of which adjournment great means are made for the benefit of the Spanish confederates, that they, being released from the horn (to the intent they may be lawfully forfeited or attainted by the Parliament), shall by the delay escape the pains of forfeiture as well as of outlawry or horning. By it full commission shall be given to the ambassador to be sent to the Queen of England. Order is to be taken for the pursuit of the conspirators with Spain and for the accomplishment of the King's promises for the same. Provision is to be taken for the apprehension or "put away" of Bothwell and for reformation of this government and estate. Justice Courts shall be holden in Lothian and on the Borders for punishment of offenders, and chiefly to levy money for payment of the King's guard, for which order is given to take up fifty light horsemen. The Duke, Mar and especially Lord Hume severally desire the leading of them, but the King will be advised therein, purposing as yet to retain Sir John Carmichael to command the whole guard, with two captains under him to lead the horsemen.

The General Assembly of the Church shall begin at Dundee on the 24th hereof. It is lamented that sundry ministers of quality and bound to serve at this Assembly shall be withdrawn from the Convention of the estates, but due care shall be taken to provide that the Assembly shall with such speed frame their articles to be propounded to the Convention that their commissioners shall present them in due season, and thereby the persons qualified and fit to solicit their causes to the Convention shall give their attendance here.

Angus, Huntly and Errol are amongst their friends in secret manner. I have received intelligence that Huntly, in hope to find the more favour in Court, lies off from Angus and Errol and will not openly join longer with them. Although Errol makes proof that Huntly refused to meet him, yet I am in-

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1593. formed that they will not break in sunder nor deny to embrace Bothwell if they can have him without suspicion. I am told that Spott has showed some articles to Errol wherewith it is thought that Bothwell is well acquainted, and that the Catholics well like and allow of the articles, tending to raise a band amongst them not for religion but for the relief of the distressed nobility.

The Catholics have concluded that their cause cannot prosper unless some means be found to kindle a disdain in the King's heart against the Queen and realm of England, for which purpose they intend to entertain fit instruments, chiefly Mandeville,* to work the matter with the King, and therewith to set some libel on the King's chamber door to stir him forwards to the same. I have warned some about the King of this.

The Earl Marischal, receiving letters from the King and from some ministers noting his negligence in the office of lieutenancy, has written to Sir William Keith to be a means for his discharge. He is blamed by many for having given over great oversight to Huntly, and especially to Errol his kinsman. If he will thus willingly leave this office, then it may be laid on Atholl and the Master of Forbes, who have frankly promised to do their best services therein; yet some bruits are lately spread abroad that Huntly and Atholl are agreed, and the same received the greater credit in regard that Atholl has retired to his house at Dunkeld and has not attempted anything against Huntly of late. But he has promised other effects, and the Countess, his wife, is purposed to be in this town within few days.

The King is advertised that the King of Denmark will shortly send to him Henry Beloo, the reut-master in Denmark, and Steven Boele, as ambassadors. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—At the writing hereof I have been sounded for Angus and Errol, who presently would seek relief by her Majesty if they thought that their suits would be accepted with any favour; and for their good dealings and behaviour their eldest sons will be proferred in pledge and hostage with the discovery of all the conspiracies with Spain, and all other good offices. "But these partyes are so fyled with pytch as I darr not touche or come nere them," yet I thought it my duty to acquaint you how far I have been tempted. The Chancellor has advertised the King that he has a matter of great secrecy and importance to be communicated to him, whereupon the King is purposed to ride quietly to him, who will (as I am informed) "discover" [*i.e.* disclose] a foul practice intended for the surprise of the King.

4¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 28. **55.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sundry of the inferior sort have come to this Convention, begun yesterday at Holyroodhouse. But few other than those "ordinarye and resyant" here are looked to be present. Lord Hamilton has ridden to Arbroath, according to his appointment resolved before the summons of this Convention. Montrose refuses to come to Court whilst his enemies have such power. Others make other excuses. Sir Robert Melvill shall be despatched to the Queen of England. The fines of the barons and gentlemen failing to attend personally on the King in his late raid to Aberdeen shall be "cessed" and order given for the levy thereof. Matters of Parliament shall be deliberated, whereupon the assembly of the Church, presently at Dundee, purposes to send their commissioners

* Mandeville: Sir George Hume. Cf. 180.

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1593. to entreat that the Parliament may hold as prescribed on 1st June to proceed against Papists and the conspirators for Spain. The commissioners for the Church provide to be here on Monday next to present their petitions. The King has sent Sir James Melvill and the Laird of Colluthy to the commissioners at the General Assembly to deliver articles from the King, and of which I enclose a copy.

Lord Hume, finding the King unwilling to give to him the leading of the horsemen for the King's guard, departed from the Court with discontentment; but such large offers have since been made on behalf of him and others for the surprise of Bothwell that now fifty horsemen shall be committed to the charge of John Hume of Cromston, servant to Lord Hume, and other fifty horsemen to the government of the Laird of Dunipace and Thomas Erskine. It is "conditioned" (as I hear) with Cromstane, who pretends a particular quarrel against Bothwell, that if he fail to perform his offer within the time limited this company shall be taken from him. The King is allured by many fair overtures to hope for the speedy execution of many good services; but this hope is far from all men other than himself and the present courtiers.

This day the King, ridden a hunting, has left his hounds and will visit the Chancellor at Lethington with purpose to bring him to Court within eight days, and to be satisfied in the practice intended for his surprise. But the Chancellor finding the scars of the Queen's displeasure still appearing and the tide in the Court yet against him, holds it meet to defer his return. He thinks that her Majesty's favourable letter in his behalf to the Queen of Scots will most readily work his good acceptance at Court. I request to be directed what to do therein. As the Chancellor has received intelligence (by the Earl of Montrose as I hear) of the plot for the King's surprise, in the fields at hunting, so he will discover the same to the King, who shall hardly escape the danger within 30 days unless better provision be prepared than is hitherto made by many in Court, where some of the careless sort are suspected to be ready to join privily with the attempters.

Atholl remains constant for the advancement of the common cause against the rebels: he has been deeply tempted with the offer of the marriage of Huntly's eldest son to his daughter, with absolute gift of the inheritance of lands lying commodiously for him, with the assurance of the rest of Huntly's possessions to Huntly's son and Atholl's daughter, with remainder (for lack of issue) to Atholl and his heirs, and with such amends for Murray's slaughter as Atholl and other three Stewarts to be named by him shall award. Nevertheless he will not bite at the bait. In regard whereof I continue my labours to procure the King's grant of Lochaber and other possessions of Huntly for him, agreeable to the desire expressed in his letter which I enclose. He and his wife intend to be here about 15th May to put all their affairs in readiness against the next Parliament.

I am advised that Huntly, lurking long in Sandie Duff's house within half a mile of Strathbogy, his chief house, has now come to Fynhaven in Angus, Crawford's house; that he is disposed to entertain intelligence with Bothwell rather to entrap than join with him; and that he may be drawn to "put out" the others for the sake of his own peace, which he "challendgeth" on the ground of innocency in the blanks, his hand (as he says) being "stollen" from him by Mr. James Gordon. But, notwithstanding, it is thought meet that he shall be put back again into Caithness. If this can be compassed you shall hear of some wonder following. He lately sent Findlater hither to solicit his friends to travail for Errol, without any motion for himself, hoping that Errol's good

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success should readily work his own remission. The Countess of Huntly is expected to be here very shortly. The Earl Marischal is still blamed with great negligence in his lieutenancy, giving manifest oversight to Huntly and Errol and to such of the Gordons as have lately grievously wounded the Master of Forbes's servant in the chase of the Laird of Towie, fleeing to the house of his kinsman, the Master, who will not "sit with" that wrong and shame. Marischal charges Atholl with some disorders. The late broil betwixt the Tweedies and Geddeses "partyed" severally by Lord Fleming, the Lairds of Drumlanrig, Johnstone and others, I leave to the report of the officers on the Borders.

To prevent the bringing in of the Chancellor some courtiers have again commended the service of Captain James Stewart as most necessary and requisite for the King in the present circumstances. For the clearing of his way he is purposed to exhibit his petition to the General Assembly of the Church at Dundee that he may first satisfy them and afterwards "creipe" into the Court; but his course is so espied that his passage is like to be stopped. The King has been advertised, and storms greatly, that Bothwell continuing lately eight or nine days beyond the water of Forth, returned to Bewcastle, and on Monday last, the 23rd, came back into Scotland and gathered sixty men to have attempted some enterprise, which is broken, the forces scattered, and Bothwell ridden again to Bewcastle. Many things are bruited of Bothwell. By the sharpness of my ague I am enforced to omit sundry matters of greater weight than these presents. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Printed in Calderwood, v. 242; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 805.

First enclosure with the same.

(Articles propounded to the General Assembly of the Kirk.)

26th April 1593. "Articles proponed in his Majestis name to the Generall Assemblie presentlie convenit at Dundie."

1. His Majesty declares that, with respect to the privilege of his crown, he must see to the enforcement of the act of his last Parliament anent the convening of the General Assemblies by his appointment; willing them, therefore, before "skailing," to send two or three of their number to learn of him the day and place of their next convening.

2. He desires them to make an act of Assembly prohibiting ministers, under pain of deprivation, from declaiming in pulpit against the King or his Council, inasmuch as he is known to be well-disposed to promote the cause of piety and justice and at all times gives ready access and loving ear to the ministers.

3. He desires them to appoint a leet of five or six of the discreetest ministers, that he may choose two to serve in his house, in respect of the decrepit age of Mr. Craig.

4. Since the welfare of religion and of his Majesty's person are so inseparably joined, he desires that throughout all the presbyteries of the country some may be appointed to keep him informed of what they can learn not only of the practices of the Papists and Spanish factioners, but also of the "receiptes" and practices of Bothwell; and for this effect to enlist the concurrence of "the haile barrons and honest men, maist tenderers of his Majestis wellfare and good estate within ther presbetryes."

5. Fifthly, he desires that at all ports or landing places some of the brethren be appointed to cause the burghs carry out the law to enquire into the case of all who pass in or out of the country hereafter, and to inform his

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1593. Majesty of anything of weight and importance. All this he craves to be faithfully done, and promises, for his part, to assist them in their good resolutions for the furtherance of peace and the established religion.

1⅓ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by the same.*

April 20. Second enclosure with the same.

(Earl of Atholl to Robert Bowes.)

I thank you for your good-will and courtesy, and hope to repay the same when occasion offers. I beg you to continue in your dealing for Lochaber (Loquhaber); for I am informed that Argyll, moved by some that would hinder this common cause, is to suit it to keep a back door open to the sea to our enemies, notwithstanding that I have a right to it by the law of the country, besides his Majesty's promise in Aberdeen. I desire to know what you think "of the issue of this commown caws, off greit mennis affectiouns for owtting of it and of the holding off the Parliament. Giff thingis be not lyk to gang fordvard manfullie with greater respect to the advansment of Goddis cawse nor the veilfair off ill men, I wilbe constrainit far aganst my will and natur rather to thrust myself in the commown lurking of mony nor to wersell alone aganst mony and not sie ane owtgait." Dunkeld. *Signed:* Atholl.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes.*

April 29. **56.** Articles Propounded to the General Assembly of the Kirk and the Assembly's Answer.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 244; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, p. 806.

[Begins with another copy of the articles, which form the first enclosure of the preceding. Followed by "Humble answere of the Generall Assemblie of this Kirk to the articles proponit by his Majesties commissioners to the same the 29 of April, 1593."]

(1) Agreed to, according to the act of Parliament.

(2) It is ordained by the whole Kirk that no minister utter from pulpit rash or unreverend speeches against his Majesty or his Council, but that all their public admonitions proceed upon just and necessary causes and sufficient warrant, in all fear, love, and reverence, under pain of deprivation.

(3) The Kirk agrees that the commissioners should nominate certain ministers, from whom his Majesty may make choice: the brethren so chosen to be placed and admitted by the presbytery where the King shall be resident for the time.

(4 and 5). These are "condescended" to and order taken, as his Majesty shall be particularly informed by the said commissioners. "Extract furthe of the Register of the actis of the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk be Mr. James Richy clarke therof.

"Humble petitions of the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk craved of his Majestie, Counsell and nobilitie presentlie convenit."

First, seeing the increase of Papistry daily within this realm it is craved that all Papists be punished according to the laws of God and of the realm.

Item, that the act of Parliament may apply to "all manner of men, landed and unlanded, constitute in office or otherwaies," as well as "benficit persons."

Item, that a declaration may be made declaring Jesuits, seminary priests and trafficking Papists culpable of treason and *lese majesté*, whereby the resetters of such persons may be punished according to the act of Parliament, and that whereas the said act is extended only against such persons as receive them

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by the space of three days, it may be amended so that the penalty may be inflicted without any such conditions or circumstance of days.

Item, that all such persons as the Kirk shall find and declare publicly to be Papists, although they be not excommunicated, be debarred from "bruking" of any office within the realm, from access to his Majesty, and from enjoying of any benefit of the laws; and also that the pain of horning and other civil pains may follow upon the said declaration, as they do at present upon the sentence of excommunication, and that an act of Council may be published thereupon until the next Parliament establish the same by law.

Item, that his Majesty will consider the great prejudice done to the whole kirks by erecting of the teinds of divers prelacies into temporalities, as of the Abbey of Paisley and sundry others, by which the "planting" of kirks is greatly prejudiced, and that therefore a substantial order may be taken for remedy thereof.

Commission from Dundee, 25 April 1593, to Abbotshall, Wedderburn, Merchiston, John Arnott, William Little, Clement Car, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. James Nicholson, Mr. Walter Balquhanquil, to crave they may be granted to reason and confer upon these articles,* and to report to the next Generall Assembly."

3 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed in a Scottish hand:* "Fra Dundie this Lordis Daye the 29 of Aprill 1593"; *also endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 1. **57.** BAND AGAINST BOTHWELL.

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 72.

Anent the King's proposition in the Convention concerning the present disorders, and especially how his person might be guarded, and Bothwell, his assisters and resetters be repressed and punished, it was answered that these things behoved to be done either [1] by a force of waged men, who may hardly be "intertenit" except by a general taxation which cannot be granted without the consent of all the estates convened [in Parliament], or [2] by a force convened personally in arms by proclamation. Therefore, the noblemen, barons and council present offered themselves ready to assist his Majesty with their true counsel or to pass to such parts as shall be found expedient for searching and apprehending of the avowed and known offenders; and thought meet that others who are suspect should be called before his Highness and his Council or his justice, and that all persons, known or suspected to be offenders against the true religion or in other odious crimes over all parts of the realm, should be tried and punished with all possible expedition. Further, they declared that severe justice was most expedient to be used in time coming to Bothwell's assisters and resetters, since his Highness's former clemency has been so far abused. And, likeas his Majesty has promised that the conclusions set down by common consent in Council for the execution of the above shall not be altered at the suit of any private persons without the knowledge and advice of the Council, so the said noblemen, barons, council and others now present, or that shall subscribe this act hereafter, do promise to his Majesty that none of them shall hereafter solicit him in favour of any persons who may be tried and punished for the crime foresaid; that, moreover, not only will they accompany his Majesty as long, and in such number, as he shall think necessary, but also do their exact diligence in searching, apprehending, trying

* The text appears to be corrupt. It reads: "commission [etc. as above] . . . Ballanquell, these articles to crave, they may be granted to reason and confer thereupon, and to report to the next Generall Assembly."

1593. and punishing of the said Earl and his assisters and resetters, as they would do in their own particular feuds against their own enemies. Finally, they promised performance hereof within their own bounds and jurisdictions.

Signed: James Rex, Lennox, Argyll, Morton, Mar, R. Lord Seton, Thomas Master of Glamys, Newbottle, Lincluden, Melrose, George Hume, Traquhair, Lauder Bass, Alexander Lord Hume, James Lord Lindsay, J. Cockburn, Blantyre, Sir George Hume, Alexander Hume, R. Cockburn, Sir William Keith.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hands of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 2. **58.** MEMORANDUM BY GAVIN JOHNSTON.

2nd May, 1593. At the humble suit of me Gawen Johnson, Scottishman, made to the Lord High Treasurer of England, there were restored to me two letters written to the Queen of England from the King of Scots on my behalf, and dated 26th April and 13th July 1591. *Signed:* Gawen Jhonestoun.

¼ *p. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 8. **59.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Soon after the despatch of my last I received your letter and packet of 23rd April, and was sorry to find that sickness had occasioned you to delay in sending it and to inform yourself of Lord Burgh's late negotiation, wherein he has left here an honourable memory of his actions. And Sir Robert Melville shall (I trust) give further contentment for the accomplishment of the effects promised.

Because I have not heard of any objection made here that the Order of the Garter is not as yet sent to the King of Scots, therefore I forbear to put the same in remembrance until further occasion shall press me therein. [He refers to the extremities of his state. For the space of nearly four years he has lost yearly above 1100*l.* sterling, and suffered many discomfitures in Scotland. After her Majesty's gracious letter and message by Burgh he hoped to repay his debt to her and the garrison at Berwick. But now by Burghley's letters he finds that she is not satisfied therewith and that the continued complaints of the soldiers of Berwick for their pay offend her greatly, and that she charges Burghley because he has not "recovered recompence" out of his lands and goods. Thus he sees that all his service does not suffice to redeem his former fault, done while he served in Scotland with greater care for the advancement of these affairs than due regard for the defray of her Majesty's treasure in his charge, and wasted by untrue servants. He is ready to yield his guilty body for punishment, with request that his guiltless son and his children be not likewise overthrown. He begs that he may be revoked, relieved or punished at her Majesty's pleasure.]

The Convention is dissolved without effecting any matter of weight otherwise than the choice of Sir Robert Melville [as ambassador] and the band for the pursuit of Bothwell, his assisters and receivers. The King is so earnestly bent against Bothwell that he pronounced directly at this Convention that without provision of some order for his apprehension and surety for the execution thereof, he would not proceed in any cause against the Papists, rebels or matters of estate, so that he is wholly occupied with the device for Bothwell's

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1593. surprise, which will not be so hastily performed as he desires and as the Council promises.

The Assembly of the Church at Dundee is broken up. They have answered and satisfied the King in the articles propounded to them,* as will appear by the enclosed copy. Their commissioners to this Convention were so broken by sunder and hindered by the tempest on the water and other accidents that they have not presented their petitions to the Convention, but will exhibit the same to the King and Council, wherein they chiefly entreat the King to "afflict" due punishment on the Papists, conspirators for Spain, and murderers, and that Parliament may hold at the day appointed, to proceed with speed for the forfeitures of Angus, Huntly, Errol, and other rebels.

At my late access to the King I pressed for the hasty despatch of Sir Robert Melvill to the Queen; that the Parliament might begin and proceed at the time limited; that the rebels now haunting near their own houses might either be apprehended or chased out of the realm; with sundry other articles of importance; wherein the King had no leisure to give me audience. He readily agreed to send Sir Robert with speed, but his journey is to be deferred for seven or eight days that he may clear matters here before his departure. The King said that for sundry weighty causes the Parliament must be adjourned for ten or twenty days. When I answered that if it suffered one adjournment it was like to receive longer delay, he replied that Bothwell was relaxed from the horn and must be forfeited by this Parliament, which he would therefore hasten with all the speed he could. The memory of Bothwell put the King into a warm passion, alleging that he had been again and very lately received at Bewcastle and other places in England. I reminded the King that he had lately received many untrue surmises of favours and entertainments given to Bothwell in England, and that these were practised by Papists to stir him to break with her Majesty. I discovered to him that the rebels and Jesuits, finding that they could have no relief without the speedy abatement of the amity betwixt her Majesty and him, ordained sundry instruments to allure him, and also would afterwards set up on his chamber door libels to persuade him. I told him that the instruments employed were presently in Court and likely to attempt their commission in crafty manner. I offered to disprove these deceitful surmises not only by evident proof of testimony but also by the hands and swords of noblemen and gentlemen of quality touched therein; and concluded it was great error either to charge her Majesty's honour with the disloyal behaviour of broken borderers or to press her over far with having entertained Bothwell. We debated these points with no little fervency and so long that the King was "occasioned" to pass to the Convention there assembled. Soon after the Earl of Mar, Sir Robert Melvill, Blantyre, Sir George Hume and others were with me and told me that if the Queen of England would satisfy the King's desire for the restraint of Bothwell in England, and would give some aid in the pursuit of the rebels and Papists, the King would take a sound and round course for the execution thereof. I was required to delay my advertisement some days till I should be better satisfied for her Majesty's best contentment, which now is promised to be given by Sir Robert Melvill.

The King has imparted to me his device to surprise Mr. Robert Abercromby, but the means are weak and not likely to succeed. Two persons more fit and able for it have offered to me that, for reward, this Jesuit and others

* See No. 56, which was sent as an enclosure in this letter but has been excerpted and bound under its own date, as vol. 50, No. 55.

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1593. shall be taken and delivered into this town. I have agreed that the parties shall seek to bring him hither, yet dare not promise any certain reward without direction. Like offer is made to me for the surprise of Huntly, in Caithness. It is advised that by the King's power and authority warily to be used he may be drawn from his present haunts and put again into Caithness, but I do not see such assurance in this as in the other enterprise offered for the Jesuits. Direct me what to do and what rewards to grant. The barque still continues in Moray Firth by Huntly's commandment. Means are made that one "undertakinge" mariner is put into her, to give warning of her preparation for sail and of the company to pass in her, with such other intelligence as shall come to his knowledge.

I have moved that Mr. George Carr may be re-examined of his doings with Mr. David Lawes, who received the packets of the rebels and Jesuits at the Grange, the house of Mr. George's mother. There Mr. George delivered the packets to Mr. David to be carried into Flanders, and helped Mr. Davy to "trusse upp" the same. It is likely that Mr. George will deny this, which will be sufficiently proved, and thereby his pardon shall be void. Mr. David Lawes continues in Antwerp and shall return hither with letters to the Papists very shortly; but it is thought here that he may be well enticed to the water at Antwerp and brought into England to discover all in his knowledge. I commend this to your consideration, and if the execution shall be found necessary, but hard to be performed by Englishmen or others, then it is offered to be attempted by Scottishmen, for reward after the service shall be completed.

Atholl remains constant in his course against Huntly, although he has been deeply tempted, and looks to be further pressed, for agreement with him. Atholl's purpose is to be here before the 20th instant; and a letter to himself from her Majesty, or by direction to me to be showed in writing to him, will much encourage him in his good services.

The King's resolve to bring again the Chancellor has caused Blantyre to deal with the councillors here (namely, [*i.e.* especially] the Duke, Morton, Mar, Lord Hume and the Master of Glamis) for their consent to the same and for reconciliation amongst them. But alleging that they cannot trust him they deny to promise friendship to him. The King therefore threatens to call him and remove the others. The Queen, who continues in her heavy countenance against him by the advice of these councillors,—all which proceedings are fully and secretly revealed to the King—has been moved to apply her mind herein to the King's desire. The Chancellor has written to her in very humble sort, but no atonement can be made, and the King showed himself so resolute herein that the estate is like to suffer troubles thereby; yet the Chancellor "holdethe of," seeking to calm all things in best sort that he can. The Master of Glamis agrees to follow the King's will, saying that it is [as] good to join with the Chancellor in Court as to let him remain at Lethington in such sort. It is given out that, amongst other accusations, the Chancellor is charged to have received the Queen of England's letter granting the yearly payment of 4000*l.* to the King, and that he has returned this letter to her Majesty's hands. This untrue surmise will be soon defaced, yet it is thought that the Master of Gray is sent for to testify his knowledge herein.

The Master of Glamis (as I hear) has been accused of having given intelligence to me and of having condemned the course of the other councillors and courtiers, and has answered that I am sufficiently informed by others and well know the courses of the whole Court, and if any person will stand up and affirm this accusation against him he shall give him answer, and to his discredit. The King has commanded Mackenzie to bring to him M'Lean's

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1593. son, committed by the King to his custody. Suit will be made that Atholl may have the keeping of this young gentleman, and the grant of the same will " enable " him much in his services.

It has been lately bruited and believed by some that Huntly has been six or seven days in these parts, and once or twice in Court, but I cannot find any proof. I have acquainted the King of these bruits by Sir George Hume (one especially suspected to favour Huntly but protesting to me to be free from all evil affairs notwithstanding his affection to him). I am otherwise informed that Huntly was lately at Finhaven and has departed to meet with Angus, Errol and other rebels and Papists. The Countess of Huntly is expected here within six days, yet I have so stood against this, that I know not what shall be done. The King has dealt with Argyll and other friends of Murray to give assurances to such of the Countess's servants attending here on her as are not guilty of Murray's slaughter, but Argyll has departed without grant of the assurance demanded. Captain Carr, Huntly's chief servant, continues here and has good countenance in Court. These " lordes of the blanckes " seek by their friends in Court and otherwise to assure the King that they will not " play," as they term it, as Bothwell does, to attempt any enterprise against his person or estate, but will still stand upon the proof of their own innocency; and they are not without hope to find favour.

It is reported that Huntly has got Bothwell's goodwill, and the King seems to storm greatly thereat, calling Huntly the first traitor in the world, one to whom he will show no favour. He is persuaded that Bothwell sought friendship and agreement with Huntly, who readily agreed and has " bounde upp " with Bothwell. But I have been told that Bothwell, assayed by Huntly, has so delayed his answer that Huntly suspects his meaning, and that both of them " forsee to undermyne " the other. The King has been brought to think (by Captain Carr, for Huntly, as it is thought) that St. Colme, tutor of Murray, his nephew, and Crichton, Laird of Cluny, have reset Bothwell. St. Colme is sent for; and Cluny, who bitterly denies the matter, is committed to the Tolbooth in this town. It is suspected that this is done to draw St. Colme and his friends to composition with Huntly for Murray's slaughter. The like information for the " receytt " of Bothwell is made against the Laird of Ayton and other gentlemen in the Merse against sundry clerks and writers in Edinburgh [*sic.*]. All these the King threatens to punish with severity upon the next opportunity. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

7 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 20. **60.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the receipt of your last letter, of the 7th instant, I have at great length spoken with the King for the accomplishment of his promises to her Majesty and for the removing of the Countess of Huntly, now come to the Court with greater train and busier heads than are fit to be continued here, and to do offices (as it is suspected) full of danger; in which behalf sundry of the Council have been many times with me this last week, occasioning me thereby to defer this letter.

Her Majesty's favourable letter to the Queen of Scots in behalf of the Chancellor has been very thankfully accepted by the King, and is much to the comfort of the Chancellor. The King by many means has sought to understand the particularities of her resentment to the intent he might therein try out the truth, and satisfy her in the trial of the Chancellor's innocency, or upon proof of his guiltiness punish his fault and cast off his service. The Chan-

1593. cellor also by his letter and otherwise makes suit to the Queen of Scots to know the crimes objected against him, and to be tried, and punished if found guilty of any offence against the Queen or her honour. [*In the margin:* The offer of the Chancellor very reasonable.] And because it is thought that his trial shall readily recover the Queen's good "concept" towards him, and that her Majesty's letter to the Queen of Scots shall best "expeid" the same, therefore it is now required that she move the Queen of Scots to try the Chancellor and his actions, that he may be received or rejected, according to his deserts. It is intended that Sir Robert Melvill shall further solicit this suit if the matter be not finished before his access to her Majesty.

The broils betwixt the Tweedies and the Geddeses were renewed upon the old feud and fell out amongst Lord Fleming, Drumlanrig, Johnstone and others, whereupon some slaughter followed, but of no weight to trouble with further report.

As your lordship writes that you are sorry to see such open occasions of offence given to the King by Bothwell's often repair into England, so many wise and well affected here find that the daily report thereof delivered craftily to the King's ears greatly hinders the progress of all good matters and gives such advantage to the rebels and Papists that, without speedy remedy, my power will fail to prevent the inconveniences "looked" to spring thereby. [Refers to payments for the garrison at Berwick.]

Finding this state sliding daily into dangerous confusion, I have earnestly pressed the King and many of the best councillors to take care for the timely redress thereof, chiefly by the seasonable accomplishment of the remedies promised by the King, with whom I have dealt in every article of his promises made to the Queen by Lord Burgh. He has not only answered my allegations that untimely favour was showed towards the rebels and Papists, whereby the due execution of the course promised has not been sufficiently observed, but has also firmly promised to proceed sincerely and effectually in his own person and in all his actions, on condition that her Majesty will honourably deliver him from the dishonour daily offered to him by Bothwell, and from the danger wherein his body, as he says, is continually "sett against" Bothwell's bullets and attempts. He thinks that he shall be little endangered thereby if her Majesty pleases to bar Bothwell's "recept" and entertainment in England. Because some errors have "eschaped" in the timely preparation of matters for Parliament, he is driven of necessity to adjourn the Parliament for some few days, which he assures me will not exceed fifteen days.

The King has made known to me his diligence to find out the practisers and practices with Spain; wherein he has discovered, as he says, that the blanks subscribed by Huntly, Angus, Errol and Auchindoun are done by them, as shall be well proved in Parliament for their attainders, and that he is promised to have within fourteen days a true and perfect note of the names of the other confederates not yet revealed, with which note he will shortly acquaint her Majesty. [*In the margin:* A fair offer, if the effects may follow.] He will speedily make choice of a Council fit for the time, zealous in religion, well devoted to him and sincerely affected to the amity with her Majesty. [*In the margin:* The Duke not a fit councillor.] The King strives to draw the Chancellor into this company and that he may be brought in to serve this Parliament, which by the want of a Chancellor shall be greatly hindered and himself pestered with troubles. He calls earnestly on Sir Robert Melvill to be ready for his journey on the 22nd or 23rd instant, but I cannot learn that his instructions and letters are resolved upon, so that the time of his going is not yet certain.

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1593. Many of the Council and myself have travailed diligently to persuade the King to remove the Countess of Huntly from Court. He appears to yield thereto, yet she is not removed, and remains in good grace with the King and Queen, and under great suspicion in this town. I have been informed that Huntly has solicited many gentlemen to show their goodwill towards him in his distress; that he has grown strong with a great party, whereby he has sought to "repossede" the waters and fishings in variance betwixt him and Murray, and has lately taken towards Atholl one named Pedder, whom he caused to be hanged, and afterwards his head, arms and legs to be cut off in his own presence at Strathbogy and to be set up on poles; that Captain Carr has travailed with the deacons of the crafts in Edinburgh to give their assistance to Huntly; that by Huntly's means division is practised amongst Murray's friends, whereof sundry shall be accused of odious crimes that they may be warded, as is presently showed in [the example of] Crichton of Cluny, prisoner in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh, and St. Colme, put to the horn with loss of the keeping of the castle of Doune, which is committed to Argyll, notwithstanding that Atholl has the wardship of Murray, to whom the custody of that castle belongs; that the Countess of Huntly remains here to procure for her husband the King's and Queen's favour to get a party to assist him in these parts, where it is looked that he and others shall attempt some sudden and violent enterprise against the ministers and this town, notwithstanding that he offers all satisfaction to the Kirk. But the ministers' ears here are deaf, and shall be up against his offers, as also mine have been towards the Laird of Pitlurg, seeking my favour for Huntly and offering more good offices than Huntly will any wise perform.

Angus, Huntly and Errol met lately at Mr. Walter Lindsay's house in Angus, where they heard mass said by an Englishman. [*In the margin:* It were good to know the Englishman's name.] I am told that they have resolved to seek their relief either by practising a breach of the amity or by sudden sedition. The Court nourishes so many friends to these persons that commission is procured for the apprehension of Mr. Walter Lindsay, but it is thought that warning shall be given to defeat the surprise easily enough.

I received this day a little ticket written in these words, viz., "My lord, ther was a band sought to have bene granted and subscribit be ane nobleman of thir feildis to have conjoyned with Herenius [*In the margin:* Duke of Lennox], Huntlay, Angusse, Erroll and others, with proviso of liberty of conscience. The comissioner suter is a courtier; his name wilbe knowne at metinge, with some farder particulers. This was done not lange syne." The intelligencer is of very good credit, yet not void of some dry affection against Herenius [Lennox]. There has been brought to the Duke of Lennox a libel declaring that he should be accused by the Chancellor and Lord Hamilton of having intelligence with Bothwell, and of having suffered the revenues of Bothwell's possessions in his hands to have been turned to Bothwell's use; and it is said that by another libel or letter the Duke was warned that some of his enemies had conspired his death, wherein the writer was entertained [*i.e.* solicited] to have been one of the executioners, but in regard of the love which he bore to the Duke's father, and now bears to himself, he could not be quiet until he had discovered this matter. It is feared that out of these practices great dissension shall follow betwixt the Stewarts and Hamiltons, and in every corner quarrels arise so fast amongst persons of quality that it will be dangerous to draw to this next Parliament great number of the nobility.

I am told that new means are made to bring Captain James Stewart again to Court to "shoulder" the Chancellor and Hamiltons, wherein Duni-

1593. pace is much suspected, but it is thought the execution will be found difficult. Because the rebels and their parties are seen to be banding and awaiting their opportunity it is thought meet to give them no start. Sundry persons of very good quality are ready to employ themselves against them, hoping to find wished success for the benefit of the cause and for the surprise of Chanus [*In the margin:* Huntly], wherein they seek to have some small help at the beginning of the action, and upon the apprehension of Huntly and experience of their good services to be further rewarded. Wherein some good personages have carefully solicited me for the Queen of England's aid. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Notes in the margin in Burghley's hand.*

May 21. **61.** LORD HERRIES TO BURGHLEY.

Please remind her Majesty that I am bound to her service by the remembrance of her good reception of me at my late being in England. I also beg that Lord Scrope, present Warden at the West Marches, may be instructed that the murdering, outlawed thieves of Scotland of whom I complained to her Majesty may no longer have reset or favour, but be used in times coming according to their wicked deserving and the censure [*i.e.* judgment] of the laws. I shall thereby be more and more obliged to her Majesty and your lordship, not as an alien, but as her faithful and trusty servitor. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Herys.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 21. **62.** OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

"The xxjth of May 1593." There was a hunting appointed betwixt the King and Lord Hamilton last week, but broken off by the King. The Duke has complained to the King that Hamilton was to accuse him "on" high treason to his Majesty. The King gave the Duke no other answer, "but said he was a fooll and mockid him." The day of law betwixt the Laird of Drumelzier (Dwmalyour), Drumlanrig (Dwmlainrick), Lord Fleming and the Laird of Johnstone is "continewed" and both the parties commanded to the Castle of Edinburgh. Sir Robert Melville is to come towards England within four days. The ambassador's name is Stewin Beall.* One of his men lost an arm by shooting a great piece at the landing of the King. "Wordis to John a Hewm for" [*some words crossed out*].

Half a sheet of paper endorsed in cipher.

May 28. **63.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I perceive by your lordship's letter of the 15th instant that her Majesty takes compassion on my weak estate. Since she does not like to send hither any new man until she can see some end of these troubles, I shall therefore be ready to abide her pleasure. Sir Robert Melvill, being prepared to depart in the fore part of last week, is stayed by my means, against the advice and desire of many wise and well affected. I sought before to hasten his despatch but I have since followed your lordship's direction. The King and best of the Council so greatly press his speedy departure that it will be hard to delay

* Stephen Belo.

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1593. it longer than the end of this week. The King and Council are this day assembled to expedite the same; but I have "casten" many matters full of difficulties, to be determined before Sir Robert's journey. For, being seasonably warned by you to beware of being deceived in the condition of this Court and state, I have with great diligence travailed to be well informed therein. I see the wise and well affected in all degrees of the people to be wounded with the course in Court, and looking for sudden sedition to be kindled. I have not only entered into earnest and sharp terms with the King for redress thereof, but also daily conferred with sundry councillors and ministers sent by him to me. It is found necessary that the King and a chosen council, gathered this day, shall deliberate and determine on these six articles following: (1) That the Countess of Huntly shall be removed out of Court. Albeit the King has partly agreed to this at my conference with him, yet the same will be hardly performed, in regard of the inward affections burning in the King and Queen of Scots towards this lady. (2) That councillors, courtiers or others who have solicited the King in favour of Angus, Huntly or Errol, contrary to the act of Council, shall be put from the King's presence until the Earls named shall be tried. It is found that the friends and servants of these Earls have very lately solicited all sorts of persons in Scotland to show favour to the Earls and their cause, and it is suspected that the King has not escaped great solicitation. (3) That the King's councillors and domestics shall purge themselves severally by oath for any such solicitation, and that the refusers shall be deemed guilty and put away from the King. By this it is expected that sundry of Huntly's friends in Court shall either be removed or foresworn. Pitlurg and other instruments of Huntly have withdrawn. (4) That if Angus, Huntly, Errol or other proclaimed rebels shall offer to enter into ward and pray to be tried by assize they shall be received into sure and strait ward and that their trials shall be by Parliament only; for Huntly (acknowledging in some manner that he subscribed the blanks, but denying to have known, or to have had any intention that they should have been employed for the purposes discovered by Mr. George Carr) and his friends, sent hither in swarms, have tempted all sorts of persons of credit to be means that he may be tried by lawful assize, whereby, as the case stands at present, he shall be in small danger, and his acquittal will open the way for clearing the rest. (5) That the continuation of the Parliament shall be short, and to hold certainly at the day to be appointed, which shall not exceed fifteen days. It has been discovered that the rebels seek the longest time for the adjournment of this Parliament, and that they threaten that if they be forfeited, then they will seek succour anywhere and revenge their wrongs by all means they can. (6) That the King will determine upon a certain number of resident councillors known to be honest, expert and zealous in his services,—a matter promising the best benefits, but most hard to be accomplished, for three sorts of companies are seen to be impediments therein: the Council and courtiers are resolute (as it is firmly given out) to suffer no change nor to lose possession: others of the nobility press mightily to be embraced and taken into Court; and the Spanish traitors await to take their advantage to support the party most favourable to them. These six articles shall be determined by the King and Council with speed, and the determination thereof shall be brought to her Majesty by Sir Robert Melvill, who also shall bring a renovation of all the King's promises, with power to contract the order for performance thereof, and for the effects of the articles to be enacted by Council, so that the new course to be thereon devised shall be established with her Majesty's advice and good liking.

I have informed the King how much her Majesty is offended against

1593. such as have received Bothwell in England, and what order she has given to stay the like fault hereafter. This the King takes very kindly, and he promises that, if she will continue her favour and goodwill to him herein, he will recompense the same with full accomplishment of all his former promises and with all pleasures that he can yield to her Majesty.

According to her Majesty's answer (as certified by your lordship) touching the apprehension of Mr. Robert Abercromby and Chanus [Huntly], I have referred to the liberality of their own sovereign all the parties offering their services therein for her Majesty's reward. I fear that the success will bring small profit, yet the matter is well "entred" and in good way to be effected if the enterprisers saw the prey that they seek assured. The barque still continues in Moray Firth, but the parties making offer to me for the surprise of the Jesuits are those who put in the mariner there, and since they have been given over in the greater matter they care not to be entertained in the less, so that I dare not promise any fruit thereof. I think I have hereby lost the means of the parties mentioned. The person offering to take Mr. David Lawes is ready to fulfil his offer: he doubts much that before he can be ready to do so Mr. Davy shall have passed into Spain or returned hither.

At Atholl's coming hither I will acquaint him with the clause in your lordship's letter concerning him. But because he and his associates think that the weight of all the services to be done against Huntly will lie most on their shoulders, therefore they expect and wish for greater comfort, and I trust that her Majesty will remember that the Scottish "haggertis" * seldom stoop to empty lures. [Refers to the money for the pay at Berwick.]

Some dryness has lately fallen betwixt the Duke and the Master of Glamis. This Court and all therein are so rent and divided, and so little credit is given to any promises that some of the best affected are resolved to leave it. It was reported here and credited by many that Huntly had been in this town, in Restalrig (Lastarricke) and Seton, and I had perfect advertisement from Aberdeen that at the same time Huntly was not in the north, that he was at Mr. Walter Lindsay's house in Angus on the 14th instant, and from thence passed away secretly with two men, yet I cannot learn that he has been here. He is now in Bog of Gight (Boggygeythe) and has all his forces under warning.

Ladylands was removed from the Tolbooth here to strait ward in Glasgow Castle, where by the Duke's letters (as I am informed) he obtained free ward, and by conference with Mr. Andrew Knox he appeared to be won to subscribe the articles of religion and to discover to me many great practices and practisers not yet revealed; but soon after he escaped to the Isle of Bute.

Steven Beale and Nicholas Craige have come hither in embassage from the King of Denmark; their errand is only to invest the Queen in the abbacy of Dunfermline, according to the King's grant and confirmation of the Parliament. The King knowing that the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill, the Comptroller, and others have purchased sundry parts of these possessions, has answered that many parts thereof are "in proces" and cannot be well recovered into the Queen's hands before the suits in law shall be determined. I have been so occupied this week that I have not yet visited them. I beg you to give order to Mr. John Carey to examine and end the cause long in variance betwixt John Gelstern and John Walker, my clerk and servant, for the office of Comptroller of the customs in Berwick. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—I have been warned that Mandeville has appointed some

* Haggard, a wild (female) hawk caught when in her adult plumage. (*Oxford English Dictionary.*)

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1593. persons to intercept the packets coming to or sent by me, especially those from you. I have written to Mr. John Carey to give order for the safe convoy of the packets to me. "Whereas" the King had written to Mackenzie to bring to him M'Lean's son, now Donald M'Connell, confederated with many of the West Isles, gives himself out to be King of those Isles, and has charged Mackenzie to exhibit M'Lean's son to him, otherwise he threatens to burn and harry Mackenzie and all his; but Mackenzie has sent him defiance.

6 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 31. **64.** JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

After having resolved to send one of our Privy Council in special embassage to the Queen, dangerous practices requiring a speedy remedy have in the meantime made it meet to despatch this bearer, our servant, to solicit the speedy receipt of the annuity in greater measure than at any time heretofore. The present necessity, and the common danger to both the realms should move the Queen to grant such liberal aid as may prevent the imminent perils. We ask your friendly furtherance of this errand, importing so highly to religion and both our estates. As we look for favourable consideration from her Majesty, so on our part we are fully resolved to keep inviolable the amity and firm intelligence betwixt us. Further particulars we leave to the report of the bearer. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

Postcript in the hand of James VI.: I pray you to further the despatch of these bearers, "and lett thame not be long lingerid with for a thing so small as skaircelie uorthie the ressaving. *Nam, bis dat qui cito dat.*"

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley and his clerk.*

June 4. **65.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

According to our promise and your expectation we have directed towards you this gentleman, Sir Robert Melvill of Murdocarny, knight, our Treasurer, amply instructed in all such matters as we have thought convenient to be propounded unto you; and as these are grounded both upon reason and honour, we hope assuredly to receive satisfaction. We have in like manner given him in charge to certify you of the performance of such points as were contained in our answers sent with Lord Burgh, wherewith we expect you shall rest fully satisfied. Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

⅓ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 4. **66.** JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Having directed the bearer, my ambassador and your old acquaintance, to the Queen, I thought good to accompany him with these few lines to desire you that, after you have heard by his own discourse what matters he is to deal in, you will be a furtherer of his good and speedy despatch. "My request is, then, that youre charitie beginn at youre self in extending it so farr furth to youre neerest neichbouris as may procure the safetie of both the realmes and the standing of the trew religion within thame." I am sure you may, if you will, be a good instrument in this "earande," and your will cannot but be kindled by the dutiful respect you owe and have ever borne to your prince and country. *Tum tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.* But here I end. *Sat sapienti.* Holyrood House. *Signed:* James R.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

James VI.
1593. June 8.

67. Queen Anne to Elizabeth.

Cott. MS. Calig., D.ii. fol. 87.

Sending conventional expressions of friendship by the ambassador. Holyrood House.

½ *p. French. Copy. Transcript in Harl Mss.* 4648, *p.* 120.

June.

68. Sir Robert Melvill's Instructions.

Cf. *Warrender Papers*, ii. 209–214.

"The copie of Sir Robert Mellvyllis instructions nowe embassadour from the King of Scottis to the Queenes Majestie of England."

None of the Queen of England's subjects to receive the Earl Bothwell, under pain of losing their offices if they have any, or of being otherwise punished at her Majesty's pleasure, according to ancient leagues and the late agreement betwixt both realms.

10th July next to hold a Parliament at Edinburgh, therein to proceed in all good matters touching the Church and suppressing the rebels and their accomplices whomsoever within Scotland.

All Earls of Scotland are of the Privy Council by birth, but special choice [is] made of men known to be wise and well affected to both realms, as the Duke, Mar, Chancellor, Secretary, Lord Privy Seal, Master of Glamis, Laird of Colluthy, Laird of Carmichael, Sir James [*sic*] Melvill, and the Collector. All others shall sit in general Council causes, but these above mentioned in special affairs. Whatsoever disorder has been committed on either side [*i.e.* on the Borders], recompense to be made or the officers thereof to lose their places. A request that all who were at Falkland raid with Bothwell be delivered into Scotland according to the law of the Borders.

Pay is demanded for 600 soldiers for six months, the one half to be horsemen and the other footmen; pay to begin 1st July next: the money for the whole pay to be delivered either to Sir Robert Melvill or Mr. Robert Bowes. This they account will in the six months suppress all their rebels on the firm land.

Request made for two ships, powder and munition for suppressing the rebels in the West Isles.

The accounts to be "cast" from the beginning of the King's annuity in 1586, to this time, and the arrears to be delivered to his ambassador. And further, "as ther is not done anye thinge prejudice [*sic.*] to his title of succession of the Crowne of England, not to doe any thinge hereafter for disablinge his title."

1 *p. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 10.

69. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Sir Robert Melvill was ready to enter on his journey on the 1st instant, and since then the King pricked him forwards earnestly, but I travailed with the King, sundry of the Council and Sir Robert that before he set out the King would give proof by open action (especially by the "indelate" removal of the Countess of Huntly from Court) that Sir Robert might deliver to her Majesty perfect assurance both of good performance of the King's promises by Lord Burgh, and for reformation of this estate, presently suspected to be near to troublesome and dangerous alteration. It is feared that not only shall this be seen in experience before the next Parliament, but also that the rebels, Papists and Spanish faction shall seek to delay and defeat the Parliament by change in Court, by violence or by other means, whereby the person of the King

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1593. shall not be free from peril. I have persuaded that the King should withdraw to some fit place of strength or be better guarded till the end of the Parliament. Wherein I find less care taken than the danger threatens; the rather seeing that the Earl of Morton, the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvill, Blantyre and Linclouden have departed from Court, that Mar and others will return to their own houses very shortly, and that the Court is presently void of noblemen, other than the Duke, Lord Hume and Spynie, with some courtiers in no good opinion with men well affected. By this occasion Melvill's journey has been delayed till the 8th instant, whereupon at 5 p.m. he rode to Elphinstone, purposing to be with the Chancellor at Lethington yesterday, and there to remain until he shall be assuredly certified that Lady Huntly is removed from Court, which was done yesterday with no little difficulty. Melvill intends to be at Berwick on the 11th.* Because the malicious in this realm have boasted that Sir Robert shall lose his packets and find troubles before he shall arrive at Newcastle (as he and others have informed me), therefore I have required Mr. John Carey and Sir John Foster to provide that he may be well accompanied from Berwick to Alnwick, and from Alnwick to Newcastle, where my son, Ralph Bowes, shall meet and convoy him beyond Durham.

The King told me (1) that the Parliament was of necessity "continewed" from 15th May until 10th July, to the intent he might have time to call to him the fittest noblemen and other commissioners in Parliament, and with their advice prepare all things for the expedition of his own affairs and for the surety of the forfeitures of Angus, Huntly, Errol and other rebels, for it is thought that if they dare appear at the Parliament they shall not be forfeited unless the noblemen be well prepared, and the barons, burghs and Kirk stand constantly to it; (2) that he had made choice of a Council to be resident about him, naming the Duke, the Chancellor,† Mar, the Master of Glamis, Mr. Robert Melvill, Blantyre, the Secretary, the Collector, the Justice Clerk, the Clerk Register, Sir John Carmichael and the Laird of Colluthy, the true catalogue whereof he promised should be delivered to your lordship by Sir Robert [sic] Melvill, directed to take her Majesty's advice in the good liking of the persons chosen and how to have their acts executed without alteration; (3) that he marvelled to find me so earnest for the removing of the Countess of Huntly from Court before Melvill's departure. I replied that the sight of this kind countenance towards her, out of time and order, and her abode in Court, gave overgreat advantage to the Countess, her husband's friends and solicitors, to work a breach in the amity with her Majesty, and to tempt many noblemen, barons, burgesses, kirkmen and others for their favour to be shown in Parliament and otherwise. The King thereon resolved to speak again with Sir Robert, who did not like to depart before this lady was removed. It appeared that the Duke and Mar‡ both wrought her abode at Court, and also persuaded the Queen of Scots to like thereof. She was sent to Leith yesterday after 8 p.m., where she remains. This day the Queen, the Duke, Mar and many courtiers went to Leith to visit her. She proposes to pass northwards to-morrow to Carneburro (Carneborough), a Gordon's house near Strathbogie. I was informed that some courtiers had comforted her with liberal promises of favour—which I did not keep long from the King, and, by Sir James Melvill, received his good answer and promise to be careful for prevention of that and all other dangers. I have certified all these to Sir Robert Melvill; (4) that he had given instructions to Sir Robert Melvill to inform her Majesty of his purposes for the accom-

* *In the margin:* "Melvin goeth by the Chancelour."
† *In the margin:* "The Chancellor to be with the King a counsellor."
‡ *Marginal note in Burghley's hand:* "Parciall, a brother and a brother in law."

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1593. plishment of his promises—promises which he renewed very liberally. He still pressed the restraint of Bothwell in England; whereof now he conceives good hope and waits advertisement from his ambassador.

It seems that Sir Robert will seek not only for payment of the yearly gratuity and "to drawe the somme to be payde to certenty," but also further aid for maintaining a guard for the King's person, for punishment of the rebels, subduing the West Isles, *etc.* As the King now proffers to her Majesty all kindness, upon hope of aid, so likewise many of this nation make many fair overtures to me for her Majesty, but chiefly for their own benefit. Atholl and the Master of Forbes are willing to withstand and pursue Huntly, yet they need, they say, some help to furnish horses and armour.

Mr. Anthony [*l.* Alexander] Dixon—sufficiently known, I think, to your lordship by his troubles in England—has offered to draw to her Majesty's devotion Angus, Huntly and Errol, who will give hostage and all other bonds to bind them to the performance of their promises; and in case her Majesty does not accept them and their offers (wherein I shrink to give any comfort to them), then he offers his own service to discover the practices in this realm, Spain or the Low Countries, and for surety of this good meaning he will bind himself with good caution in this town to repair once yearly to your lordship or another to give account of his doings and to be employed at her Majesty's pleasure. To remove my suspicions of his former profession of Papistry and course against England he has yielded many reasons proving the cause of his present change and of his resolution to change no more. He desires a yearly pension. I think him very able to do especial good offices. I also recommend a recompense for Francis Mowbray, now in company with Sir Robert Melvill.*

This state has slidden so deeply into confusion that the King's power does not suffice to recover it. Few noblemen seek to relieve, but many of them practise to exchange or else overthrow it. The well affected barons, Kirk and burghs, lamenting the ruins, despair of the repair of it or standing of the King without her Majesty's timely aid. Edinburgh was yesterday suddenly in arms and troubled with an uproar stirred by sundry courtiers. James Gray, the King's servant, had before carried away forcibly the sole daughter of the Laird of Carnegie, still living; and having married her against her will, as she says, was by order driven to deliver her to the custody of Robert Jowcye (now on his journey towards London). This young woman should have been affianced within few days to Lord Hamilton's base son. Albeit great personages in Court had earnestly persuaded her to return to Gray, yet she utterly denied; therefore he, resolving to recover her again by force, sent the young Laird of Loggie to her lodging, which was straitly kept; but Loggie entered and, finding the young woman there, gave signs to James Gray, Sir James Sandilands and other courtiers, who, breaking open the doors, surprised the woman and have carried her away.† Whilst this was in execution Lord Hume, with some courtiers, servants, and some of this town, defended the head of the lane and put back such as came to the rescue. At the same time the Duke and Mar were at tennis near the place, yet they did not show themselves in the action, which they utterly "refuse," but they are not free from suspicion. The father will not complain to the King in regard that he looks for no amends that way, yet the King far clears himself from any privity. The town intend to exhibit their complaints to-morrow to the King, and the

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* *Marginal notes in Burghley's hand:* "Francis Mowbray, unknown to my Lord Admyral." "Servyce befor wagis is orderlie."

† *Marginal note in Burghley's hand:* "A miserable state that may cause us to bless ours and our governess."

James VI.
1593. ministers to do the like the next day. This is feared to be the beginning of greater troubles. The fear is increased partly by bruits of sedition, and partly by the late escape of the Laird of Johnstone out of Edinburgh Castle, which many think that he would not have attempted if he did not trust some sudden enterprise of others for his safety. All other occurrences I shall advertise by Roger Aston, who is willed by the King to put himself in readiness to overtake Sir Robert. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$5\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Underlined in parts, and notes in the margin in Burghley's hand.*

June 17. **70.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, I made diligent enquiry whether any Spanish shallops have arrived in Scotland, but cannot learn of any. I have sent to make further search on the east and west seas, and in the Isles, where sundry seditious persons have entered into rebellion. It is advertised that Donald MacConnell Gorme, usurping the title and possession of M'Leod (Macklode) of Lewis, and confederated with M'Leod's tutor Harris (Herys), the Laird of Glengarry, and Mackinnon (Mackennonde) of Skye, has entered the county of Ross with 2000 men, pretending to invade Mackenzie; but it is suspected that they will turn to the party of Huntly and the other rebels. The report is not yet confirmed. I am informed that Donald looks for aid from Ireland. I have learned that there is a baron in Galloway called Kilthill, but have had no time to try whether he is the party named in your lordship's letter.

I have acquainted the King with her Majesty's commandment to her Wardens that no man shall receive or relieve Bothwell or any of his party. Lord Scrope has written to me that in his office her Majesty's commandment shall be obeyed, and lately Sir Robert Melvill by his letter to the King has well confirmed all this. Whereupon the King has promised to proceed effectually in all things with her Majesty, and to give "indelate" order that Liddisdale shall live in peace. The favour of the King of Scots (Arabia Petrea) towards Huntly (Chanus) is not quenched, and the same is greatly nourished by the Duke (Herenius), Mar (Sempronius), Spynie and others; and I am assured that it will kindle and burst out into flame if Sir Robert Melvill (Reder) find no contentment in England (Damascus); that therein Huntly and his party shall obtain great advantage; that the well affected cannot find a better occasion to bind themselves together for defence of the common causes which by Sir Robert Melvill's good success are likely to have prosperous end, the rather that the King of Scots and all his shall be firmly tied to that course, and that for the execution of the same all things shall be rightly employed as the Queen of England shall dispose. Otherwise the well affected may (they think) justly sue for redress in all things and press the accomplishment thereof, a matter worthy of grave consideration.

The Lairds of Ardkinglas and Lorne are bound to "tholl" [*i.e.* stand] an assize on the 19th instant for their trial for their slaughter of the Laird of Caddell, which matter Argyll so earnestly follows, purposing to be at this day of law with great companies of noblemen, barons and gentlemen. It is looked that Ardkinglas shall marry the base daughter of Lord John Hamilton and that Hamilton with great forces will accompany Ardkinglas at this day. Besides, the day of law for the late slaughter betwixt the Lord Fleming and Drumlanrig against Johnstone and Drumallyer is appointed on the 21st instant. By these occasions this town will be filled with great assemblies of noblemen and

1593. others stirred with feuds, whereby it is much feared that sudden uproars and troubles shall ensue both to hazard the surprise of this town and the defeat of the holding of the Parliament. The Lords of Session are purposed to levy 100 men for their guard, and this town will entertain men and keep themselves in arms for this time to prevent the danger, which the King and Council might readily effect by timely order, but the King has few councillors with him at present.

Captain James Stewart, sent for (as it is said) by the Duke, Spynie and Dunipace, has been these five or six days at Craggyhall, near this town, hoping by his friends' means " to recover Courte " and the office of Chancellor, which, if it should take effect, would work sudden and strange alteration in this estate. But now the Queen and the ambassadors of Denmark, by the King's advice, begin to like the Chancellor's offer of the lands in his hands, being parcel of Dunfermline, the Queen's dower. The Chancellor, hoping to be restored to the Queen's favour, trusts to return to the Court and to his office; whereupon it is looked that the reformation intended shall find the better progress, that the Chancellor and Mar shall enter into good friendship, and that therein the Duke and the Chancellor shall be reconciled, and other agreements made for the union of the councillors to serve the King with quietness.

Huntly remains most at Strathbogy and Bog of Gight, where, fearing sudden attempt, he keeps strait watch and ward about him. Angus lies oftentimes at Balfour (Baforde) the house of the Laird of Pitarrow, his wife's brother. Errol abides at his house at Sandende. I am informed that they have lately received great comfort from foreign parts, and possess the favour of many noblemen and others of quality, whereby, it is thought, they shall escape the danger from Parliament unless her Majesty shall agree to give timely counsel to the King for their pursuit.

I have procured two several commissions for the apprehension of the Abbot of New Abbey and three Englishmen. One is directed to Lord Maxwell in respect that he has promised the ministers here to do his endeavour: the other is sent to Mr. Andrew Knox, who will not fail to execute the commission if he can; but the parties are far from him, and I doubt of the success of the other. I enclose a letter addressed to your lordship by Mr. John Skene, late ambassador with Colonel Stewart to the Princes in Germany, and whose good offices to her Majesty have deserved thanks and comfort, which he trusts to receive by your goodness. Skene is a suitor in favour of Mr. William Lumsden (Lumsdane), Scottishman, who, alleging that he was spoiled on the seas by the Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, and that therein George Law, his friend, was slain, prays to have redress. I request you to recommend James Murray, late Master of the King's Wardrobe, to her Majesty, who, before this, has commended him to the King. By renewing this matter to Sir Robert (to be reported by him to the King) she shall greatly comfort this gentleman, continuing his accustomed good service to her Majesty. I refer all other things to the report of the bearer, Roger Aston. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. No address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 20. **71.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Being very credibly advertised not only of the progress of the practice to restore Captain James Stewart, drawn to Craggyhall for that purpose, and entertained lately at Leith by the Duke, Spynie and Sir George Hume, but also that the Captain had obtained the King's protection and licence to have free access to Court, Edinburgh and all other places in Scotland, to prosecute

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1593. his suits in law before all judges, at his pleasure, wherein he intended to tender his suit for the office of Chancellor and thereon should be again authorised to put in practice his former violence and fury against the Church here and the amity between these two realms, and that this course was laid to break the amity, to stay or wrest the Parliament approaching, and to advance the designs of rebels, Papists and Spanish factioners, therefore I "opened" these to the King and travailed to bar the Captain's further passage herein. The King denied having given any late protection, and asserted that, albeit he had given liberty to the Captain about half a year or more past to prosecute his suits in all Courts as a loyal and free subject, yet he did not mean to, nor hereafter will, receive him into the office of Chancellor or the Court, wishing me to certify the same for her Majesty's satisfaction. Because I saw how deeply this matter wounded the hearts of the well affected and because persons of good quality and credit had assured it to me, therefore I desired him to satisfy her Majesty by a letter to herself or to Sir Robert Melvill, or by note in writing to me. He has chosen to write to Sir Robert. Perhaps the letter (which I have sent to him) may be found general and slender, but the matter is now well stayed and the well affected pacified thereby. I moved the King seasonably to call the nobility and Convention to him to put all things in order for the punishment of the rebels by the next Parliament; whereunto he agreed. He has firmly promised that immediate order shall be taken to make Liddisdale live in peace, that Lord Scrope shall find good concurrency with Maxwell, and that justice shall be done in the bills of Sir Cuthbert Collingwood.

It was "rounded" [whispered] in my ear that at this next Parliament the establishment of a second person in succession of this crown should be strongly moved and furthered; whereof I warned the King, who appears very resolute to restrain any such motion, and will not endure to be esteemed to be the "sonne settinge."

The composition to be given to the Queen of Scots by the Chancellor for his lands in Musselburgh, parcel of Dunfermline, and to be assured by this Parliament to the Queen, is drawn to the point of agreement by the King's means and with the liking of the Queen and the ambassadors of Denmark. The King has written to the Chancellor to come hither to finish this cause and to serve himself. It is looked that he will be here in the end of this week. Yesterday the King called the Duke and Mar, letting them know that their "younge yeares" and advice did not suffice to carry the weight of this government in these troublesome storms, and that he had written for the Chancellor and was resolved to use his service. The Duke readily agreed to lay aside his "particulers," and Mar, acknowledging goodwill towards the Chancellor, and that he had nevertheless been suspected for the Duke's sake, has offered to do his endeavour to reconcile the Duke and the Chancellor.

That the rebels may be forfeited by this Parliament, and that Dunfermline may be assured to the Queen, the King has sent to the Chancellor to procure the means of noblemen and others having vote in Parliament. This the Chancellor has promised to do, but he "makethe curtesye" to retain afterwards in sound course some of the noblemen and others willing to advance the King's pleasure in these behalfs. For it is thought that the rebellious lords enjoy such favour amongst the courtiers and possess such friendship in the nobility that it will be hard to banish them from this realm, notwithstanding that they shall be forfeited or attainted by Parliament. I am informed by my wise friend, who received the same in very secret sort by a "familliar" of the Duke of Lennox (Herenius), that the King shall be tempted to shake

1593. off his kindness with her Majesty by fair overtures of great advantage to be obtained by the assistance of Spain, the Leaguers in Germany, and a strong party of Catholics in England, and also by "castinge upp" (as they term it) the indignities done to him by England in the person of his mother, in the negotiations of Mr. Wotton drawing on the raid of Stirling, in Mr. Asheby consenting that he should be declared second person, and in Bothwell maintained to his dishonour and danger, with such other matters likely (as they think) to stir him to embrace their advice. Because "these" have been in communication amongst the Spanish factioners, and peradventure intended by them, I give your lordship timely knowledge thereof, praying that I may be directed how to guide my course.

Lord Hamilton and Argyll, with many noblemen, and exceeding great numbers are in this town to accompany Ardkinglas or Macaulay (Mackall) at this day of law for the slaughter of Calder, pursued by Argyll. The hearing of the cause is deferred, with hope that it shall be brought to a good agreement. The danger feared from this great assembly is much abated; yet the Session is newly incorporated with this town of Edinburgh, and the town still stand on their guard. Atholl's servants sent to distrain in Lord Ogilvy's lands were assaulted and five of them are slain, and some of Ogilvy's people hurt in danger of their lives. Sixty horsemen, armed and "musled," were seen at Newhaven near Leith the other night, at midnight, but they are not discovered as yet. The King has been informed that some courtiers offered "to have put him out." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 22. **72.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday morning the coming of the Chancellor to this town upon the King's letter was "discovered" to the councillors and courtiers, and that after satisfaction given to the Queen for his lands in Musselburgh (which was meant to have been done to-day) he should serve the King in his office. This return in this manner is thought sudden and bold, and nothing honourable or pleasant to the courtiers; and it has kindled warm passions here.

In the afternoon Lord John Hamilton and Argyll, with their companies, met in Canongate, near the cross, where the straitness of the street gave no room for the troops to pass easily, so that the foremost, "romblinge" together, strove for the gate, and pistols on both sides were "bended" and sundry swords drawn in such sudden rage that it was strange that they should so part in sunder. Yet because Hamilton and Argyll were before in kindness (except that Hamilton did presently "partye" Ardkinglas, pursued by Argyll), therefore they both sought to appease the tumult, wherein the Master of Glamis and Blantyre (accompanying Argyll with the followers of the Duke, Mar, Morton and their own friends) are said to have pacified greatly the persons offering the assault. But Hamilton much condemns the Master herein. At length, the gate being evenly parted betwixt them, they passed without blood or hurt. This ruffle gave a great alarm in Court, where the Duke and Mar were with the King, and where Lord Seton, his brethren and Niddrie, coming hastily from the King to Hamilton's party, escaped narrowly "the shott of garde bente uppon them uppon the soddaine crye and sight of ther haste." The King has commanded Hamilton and Argyll to keep their lodgings till this day, that order should be taken betwixt them, and this day warrant is given by the King to Blantyre, Linclouden and Mr. Patrick Galloway to take assurances for the peace. Hamilton, hearing that the courtiers had

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1593. procured a charge to him to depart from this town, sent to the King to certify that he would rather be seen dead in these streets than thus to pass away with shame. The King is pleased to stay the charge, and purposes to "agree" the parties. Yet Hamilton, doubting the worst, has sent for fifty harquebusiers, whereupon it is looked that he shall be indeed charged to depart, and some have advised that, if he will not willingly get him gone, the Earl of Mar shall with3 hot out of the Castle send him away.

Blantyre, Linclouden and the Clerk Register were sent this day to the Chancellor to persuade him in the King's name to retire to his house; but he prays to remain here lest his adversaries cut him off on the way, as was done to Mr. John Graham. Whereupon he is hitherto stayed, but to be returned to his own house without hope of hasty return. For it is said that the Duke and Mar, lately contented with his return upon the King's call, have now plainly affirmed in the King's hearing that he shall never have their goodwill. Nevertheless the King still appears resolute to have the Chancellor with him before the Parliament. Young Cessford, coming this day to the Chancellor with 400 horsemen, was charged to retire, and has returned. Montrose, Fleming and others being here for Hamilton and the Chancellor are commanded to depart out of this town. Lord Hume, coming hither for the courtiers, is discharged.

Yesterday about 4 p.m. Mr. George Carr escaped out of this castle, finding at the port two men with a horse attending for him. He had before by letter to Angus excused his doings against him, promising to make amends, in regard that the terror of torments and death enforced him to accuse Angus and the rest. It is thought here that he has withdrawn to avoid the proof of his confession against the rebels in the next Parliament, where it is feared they shall not be tried guilty.

This day an infamous libel was found on John Carne's door, containing a declaration "givinge th'admonition" of the raid at Falkland, that the Duke and Mar had conspired the King's death, the overthrow of religion with slaughter of the ministers, the sacking of Edinburgh and the spoil thereof, and the poisoning of Lord Hamilton. This has been presented to the King, and is lightly regarded. These novelties and accidents occupy the people with expectation of great effects to stay the Parliament, or at least so to "wreast" it that no hurt shall be done against the rebels and Papists beyond their own contentment; yet the King seems still determined to prosecute things according to his promises. For appeasing these troubles I have sought access to the King, travailed with some parties, and conferred with divers councillors, persuading that fit mediators may be applied for the expedition thereof. This has been liked by the councillors and parties with whom I laboured, but the King has not had leisure to give me audience. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley. Underlinings and note in the margin* [the Chancellor] *in Burghley's hand.*

[June.] **73.** MONEY PAID TO JAMES VI.

"Severall sommes of monie paid to the use of the King of Scottes in the yeares followinge": 1581, 4000*l.* 1582, 6000*l.* 1583, nothing. 1584, 2000*l.* 1585, nothing.* 1586, 4000*l.* (by Roger Aston from Berwick). 1587, nothing. 1588, 5000*l.* (*sic*) (by Mr. Bowes, received of Robert Carrell, 2000*l.*;

* *In the left margin:* Mr. Wotton in Scotland. The Queen's letter to the King of Scots.

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1593. by the Earl of Huntingdon to Mr. Bowes, 3000*l.*). 1589, 3000*l.** (by the Laird of Wemyss). 1590, 6000*l.* (by John Colville, 3000*l.* ; by Sir John Carmichael, 3000*l.* : 6000*l.*). 1591, 3000*l.* (by Hudson). 1592, 2000*l.* (by Hudson). 1593, 2000*l.* (by Ro. Melvill).

"In viii yers hath been paid 25500—which is for every year 3^{m} and i^{m} v^{c} over. If it had been $iiii^{m}$ yearly it should have been $xxxii^{m}$, so there would lack 7^{m}."

½ *p. In the hand of Burghley's clerk. Rough notes in Burghley's hand opposite some of the figures and at the end of the account.*

June 26. **74.** MONEY PAID TO JAMES VI.

Note of money paid to the King of Scots from 1587 *to* 1592. [A fair copy of the items found for these years in the preceding.]

½ *p. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk :* "26 Junii 1593. Paymentes to the King of Scottes."

Copy of the same.

June 27.
July 7. **75.** ANSWER BY THE STATES GENERAL OF THE LOW COUNTRIES TO JAMES VI.'S PROPOSITIONS.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 215–220.

The States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, having examined the proposition made on the part of the King of Scotland by Sir William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, by virtue of his letters of credit, dated the 16th February last, and having maturely deliberated with him thereanent, do in the first place very humbly thank his Majesty for his favourable esteem, declaring that on their part also they will always be very ready to please him according to the ancient treaties, obligations and friendships between Scotland and these countries, being very glad that God Almighty has endowed his Majesty, for the good of the common cause of Christianity, with all the regal qualities necessary for the safeguarding of the true reformed religion, and the common rights and liberties of the lands and peoples professing the same against the violences and evil practices of the Pope of Rome, the King of Spain, and their associates, whose design undoubtedly tends to subjugate under their tyranny, through pretext of the Roman religion, all realms, countries and states. Whereof the examples not only in these Low Countries, but also in England, France, Portugal, Germany, and lastly also in Scotland, are but too evident and notorious, and sufficiently warn the kings, princes, potentates and estates, against whom nothing has yet been actually attempted, to be well assured that they are concerned as much as are those against whom enterprise has already been made. Every one ought with good reason to praise the foresight and resolution of his Majesty, who before the said machinations against his own person and realm had been discovered, foresaw that to resist the Spanish ambition, and its pretended monarchy and tyranny, it was fitting that the Kings of France, England, Scotland, Denmark, and the Protestant Princes of Germany should make common cause. The whole of Christendom will always remain obliged to him in that he made a beginning, and some years ago sent the said Sir [William] Stewart and John Skene his ambassadors. And forasmuch as the said design of the King of Spain and his associates has since become clearer than ever, especially with regard to what has happened

* *In the left margin :* Sent by Clifford.

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1593. and still happens daily in France, and what has also more lately been attempted in Scotland, besides the great preparations and new levies of horse and foot which are being made every day by the King of Spain for service on land and water, the said States in no wise doubt that all the said Christian kings, princes and states will perceive that it is more than time to make a general alliance and counter-league, defensive and offensive, against the said pernicious design.

The States thank his Majesty for the information given to them by the ambassador of the pernicious proceedings practised in his realm by the ministers of the King of Spain with some of his own principal subjects, and which would infallibly have succeeded but for the intervention of God. And as they were distressed by reason of the said dangerous design, so are they rejoiced that the mighty hand of God (Who called his Majesty to the realm) has thus benignly preserved him, for the good of all Christendom and of his own realm. They are quite certain that that is a sure sign that His divine Majesty will guide to a happy end the King's heroic resolution to advance a general alliance and confederation between all Christian kings, queens, princes and states, and thereby to bring to naught the said pernicious and dangerous design of the King of Spain and his adherents.

And since his Majesty has asked their advice, they declare that they could advise no better means than that the said alliance be promptly made between the King of France and Navarre, the Queen of England and Ireland, the Kings of Scotland and Denmark, and other princes, states and republics which shall desire to associate themselves thereto. It should be not only defensive, but also offensive, by land and water, to give the King of Spain so much business in his own country that he may be constrained to leave the realms of others in peace. So far as concerns the Low Countries, they will ever be found very prompt and prepared to hearken to it jointly with the said King of France, Queen of England, Kings of Scotland, Denmark and others. They believe firmly that the said alliance may be best advanced under God by his Majesty, who has very great particular interest therein, was its originator, and has private and fitting commodities. They also feel confident that he will employ himself to set forward his said sound proposition for the good of all Christendom and of his own realm in particular, and will carry it out happily to his great honour and reputation.

Moreover, they thank his Majesty that he maintains good intelligence with them in affairs of common interest in religion and estate; and on their side they desire ever to have a mutual and equally faithful intelligence with him and to please him in all things possible, and especially in that which his Majesty desires touching the transport of powder and arms for five or six thousand soldiers, and the seizure of such of his rebels as may presume to come into these countries.

As far as concerns the particular of the said ambassador, the States do not doubt that he, considering ripely the reasons contained in their answer written to his Majesty on 12th November 1590, will be content and accept one or other of the presentations.

Finally, the States thank the ambassador for undertaking this legation for the public weal of Christendom, and request him to make a favourable report to his Majesty, and to excuse the delay of this reply, for the reasons verbally declared to him. Done in the assembly of the States General at the Hague. 7 July 1593. *Subscribed:* By order of the said Lords States. *Signed:* C. Aerssen.

2½ *pp. Copy. French. Endorsed.*

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76. ANSWER OF THE STATES GENERAL.

"The headis contayned in the aneswer of the Generall States made to the proposytion exhibited by William Steward, Ambassadour of the Kings Majesty of Scotland."

[An abstract in English, of the contents of the preceding.]

½ *p. Copy. Endorsed.*

June 28. **77.** EDWARD ENGLYSHE TO MR. HENRY MAYNARD.

According to your letter, I have made search to satisfy his lordship as to what sums of money have been paid forth of the Receipt to the King of Scots' use before June 1588, so far as by any of the warrants I can gather; for before that time, if any sums were paid to the said King's use, the money was paid to such as Sir Francis Walsingham appointed; whose privy seals from time to time went without prest or account and without showing the cause of the employment of the same,—which were sometimes for French causes and otherwise to us unknown. And in like sort Mr. Secretary Davison received sundry sums of money, and at some times Francis Milles, Thomas Milles, William Stubbes and other their servants received the same by their appointment; so that the warrants being many and for sundry uses, I have thought good to certify only those I find went into the north parts, which is all we are able to declare touching the same. *Signed:* Ed. Englyshe.

(Money paid towards Scotland.)

To Thomas Randolph, esquire, in gold to be carried into Scotland for her Majesty's service by a privy seal, dated 6th January 23 Elizabeth . . . . . 1000*l.*

To Robert Bowes, esquire, Treasurer of Berwick, to be employed in her Majesty's service by a privy seal, dated 18 March 23 Elizabeth . 3000*l.*

To the Earl of Huntingdon, President in the North parts, to be delivered to the Chamberlain and employed as he has direction from her Majesty, by a privy seal, dated 6th January 24 Elizabeth . . 5000*l.*

To Robert Bowes, being in Scotland for her Majesty's service, to be employed as he shall have direction from Sir Francis Walsingham, principal Secretary, according to her Majesty's pleasure, by a privy seal, dated 30th September 24 Elizabeth . . . . 1000*l.*

To Marmaduke, servant assigned by the letters of Sir Francis Walsingham to carry the same in pistolets to Alnwick in Northumberland to Sir John Foster, 20*l.* 2s. for his charges, by a privy seal dated 18th April 26 Elizabeth . . . . . 2000*l.*

To Robert Carvell, gentleman, to be carried to Robert Bowes, esquire, to Berwick, to be employed as he shall be directed from her Majesty or the Privy Council by a privy seal dated 15th June 30 Elizabeth, besides 20*l.* for exchange of the same into gold, and carriage . 2000*l.*

1 *p. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Burghley, with date* 28*th June* 1593.

June 28. **78.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the mediation of four councillors and five ministers appointed by the King, the quarrels betwixt Hamilton and Argyll at their accidental meeting in

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1593. Canongate are fully appeased and the parties reconciled. Sundry false bruits and wicked surmises have been dispersed in Court that Lord Hamilton, the Chancellor and the rest of their companies, pretending to come hither to countenance Ardkinglas at his day of law, intended to have altered the Court with the slaughter of the Duke, Mar, Sir John Carmichael and others, and also by removal of the guard and sundry courtiers from the King. It has been thought that these vain tales have been devised not only to stop the Chancellor's return to Court and to dismiss Hamilton and the other lords with malcontentment, but also " to cast bones to sett them togither by the ears," that by the occasion of their dissension the Parliament might be stayed.

I am so weakened by sickness that I do not look for hasty recovery; nevertheless I " crept downe " to the King to persuade some timely order for prevention of the dangers, *etc.*; wherein I found him well disposed. He prevailed with Hamilton and those with him to retire to their own houses, under promise to return with convenient numbers to the Convention and Parliament; against which time the King promises to labour to " put up " the notes of the discords amongst these noblemen. The Chancellor, coming hither on the King's letter, had no access, and with the King's counsel has withdrawn to Lethington. The King has firmly resolved that he will have his service at the next Convention and Parliament, wherefore he has employed Blantyre, Linclouden and Alexander Hume of North Berwick to take assurances and to reconcile the Duke, Mar, Hume and other courtiers with the Chancellor, and also declared plainly that if they refused reason he would rid himself of them and receive the Chancellor and his service. This reconciliation is working, but is much hindered by Lord Hume's absence, for the rest of the lords in Court will not conclude any agreement without his consent. He has ridden to his sister at Dunottar, but the King has sent to call him back.

The King is so determined to hold the Parliament on 10th July next that he has assured me that he will fight to perform his promises. He has written to Sir Robert Melvill to assure her Majesty of the same. The greatest difficulty in the composition betwixt the Duke and his party and the Chancellor will be the demand that the Chancellor shall bind himself to assist the Duke in all his affairs, and thereby be drawn from Hamilton. I have heard that the Chancellor will agree generally to promise to assist the Duke in all his lawful causes, yet he will not be bound to leave off kindness with Hamilton. The King seems to like well of this course, and wishes good agreement betwixt the Duke and Hamilton. The Duke sent the Laird of Bogie to remove all suspicion of any unkindness towards Hamilton, who answered that he never gave any just cause of offence, and referred it to the Duke's own conscience to think what he had done against him and his right, chiefly in seeking to defraud him of his birthright, in that he endeavoured to have been declared the second person in succession of this crown. The matter is " continewed " in fair terms that all things may be peaceable at this Parliament. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 30. **79.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday, in the rage of my sickness, I was informed that Mr. William Orde, Scottishman, born in the north and noted to be a Papist, had been sent to Spain in favour of the Papists, and that returning lately from Madrid (Madrill) in Spain to Flanders, he embarked in a ship of Dysart and would be

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1593. in Dysart yesternight or this morning. He arrived last night at Dysart, and, upon warning which I procured to be carried to the minister there, was apprehended and this morning sent to the Provost and ministry here, with the writings and letters taken about him at his arrest. Amongst these were found letters of particular persons in Spain and Flanders addressed to merchants of this and other burghs, which hitherto are not read. Some other letters, left by him in the ship, have likewise been got, but are not yet sent hither. With these there is a commission granted by the King [of Scots], and under his great seal, to Mr. William Orde, making him conservator for the merchants there, and giving him power and authority, for the benefit of the Scottish merchants trading in Spain, to make the King's great seal to be so well known in Spain that, if the counterfeit thereof should be showed forth to colour any goods brought in by others than Scottishmen, it might be espied and known.

Orde, in his examination before the Provost and others of this town, acknowledges that the King employed him in this service, which he affirms to have done truly and faithfully, and not to have dealt in any other matter in Spain, adding for proof that the Secretary would " advouche " the same. The Provost opening to the King the manner of Orde's apprehension, his bringing hither, *etc.*, the King said that he did employ Orde in this service and had given him commission under his great seal. Information had been made to him that sundry Englishmen had " coloured " their goods in Spain under pretence that they were Scottishmen, and for testimony showed forth instruments and writings under the King of Scots' great seal, whereby the merchants of Scotland trading [with] Spain were greatly troubled and brought into suspicion and danger. Therefore, for the help of the Scottish merchants and at the petitions of Robert Jowcy and Thomas Fowlis, presently in London, he granted commission to Orde, agreeing with the one found upon him ; and he willed Orde to be delivered upon caution from ward, unless he can be charged with other matters. [*In the margin :* " I heare that James Hudson can give your lordship some light in this matter."] I remember that the Secretary told me that the King had given commission to prevent this inconvenience to his subjects through the counterfeiting of his great seal.

Lord Hume has not yet returned, whereby the resolution between the Chancellor and courtiers has received little progress and the holding of the Parliament is the more doubted. The King having written to the Earl Marishal to come to the Parliament, the Earl excused himself by the greatness of the affairs of his office of lieutenancy. But the Master of Forbes, the messenger, pressed him a second time, and he shows himself ready to do as the King shall direct. The King purposes to write with all speed for the Earl's presence to this Parliament.

The Earls of Huntly and Errol, with the principals at Murray's slaughter, were lately showing themselves openly at Murelins, an alehouse or beggarly inn on this side of Aberdeen, and from thence a gentleman has come hither to travail with the ministers to receive the Earls' submissions. This suit being coldly embraced, " this traveller hathe bosted, sayenge that, since th'offers of th'erls cannot be accepted, therfore they will provyde for themselves by all the means they can, and care little for ther enemyes."

The news brought by Orde is that the Emperor has, with his cost, got an abstinence of war for some years with the Turk ; that the King of Spain has agreed that the Emperor shall have his eldest daughter in marriage, and the Duke of Parma his youngest and third daughter ; that the naval army lately sent by the King of Spain for the rescue of Blois [? Blaye] shall be repaired and

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1593. increased, to be employed against England, or for Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June. **80.** RENTAL OF DUNFERMLINE.

Harl. MSS. 4637c. fol. 134. "The present state of the rent of Dumfermling in Junij 1593, according to the rentale subscrivit be David Seytoun of Parbroth, comptrollar, and delyvrit to the Danishe ambassadouris in May 1590, of quhilk rentale thir are the totale soummes.

"Money	iij *m.* ij *c.* lxxxvj *li.* iiij *s.* iiij *d. ob.*
Quheit	vj *ch.* xiij *b.* ij *pt. half pt.*
Beir	xlviij *ch.* ix *b.* j *qr.* iij *part pt.*
Ait meil	vj *ch.* ij *b.* ij *qr.* j *pt.* 4 *part pt.*
Aitis	lxxiiij *ch.* xij *b.* iij *qr.* iij *pt.* 4 *part pt.*
Salt	x *ch.*
Butter	vij stains.
Cheis	xxx stains."

"Money. This totale summe of money is collectit and maid of the particularis following, viz.:—

"The malis * of Dumfermlingschire	j *m.* j *c.* xxxiiij *li.* ij *d. ob.*
Teynd silvir in that parochin	ij *c.* lxxx *li.* xij *s.* iij *d.*
Malis of Kinneddirschire	lxv *li.* iiij *s.* xj *d. ob.*
Malis of Dolourschire	j *c.* xiiij *li.* xvij *s* x *d.*
Malis of Kinglassyschire	ij *c.* xviij *li.* xj *s.* vj *d.*
Teynd silvir in that parochin	j *c.* xviij *li.* x *s.*
Malis of Kirkcaldy parochin	j *c.* lxxij *li.*
Teynd silvir thairof	liij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
Malis of Stermonth	lxvij *li.* xij *s.* iiij *d.*
Summa of thir particularis	ij *m.* ij *c.* xxiiij *li.* xv *s.* ix *d.*"

"Mair the malis of Newbirneshire	j *c.* lxxij *li.* ix *d.*
Teindsilvir thairoff	lxxij *li.*
The mailis of Westir Kingorne	j *c.* lxx *li.* xj *s.* xj *d.*
The teindsilvir thairoff	v *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
Summa of thir particularis	iiij *c.* xix *li.* xix *s.* vd."

"Kirkis.	Kinross and Urwell	j *c.* xx *li.*
	Inverkething	liij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
	Striveling	lxxx *li.*
	Perth	j *c. li.*
	Strathardill and Mwling [? Moulin]	j *c.* xx *li.*
	Carnbee	iij *c.* xxiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
	Kirk of Kingorne Westir	xij *li.*
	Summa of the kirkis	viij *c.* xviij *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
Summa totalis of money		iij *m.* iiij *c.* lxiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
Quhilk is mair nor the money contenit in the rentall be		j *c.* lxxvij *li.* iiij. *s.* j *d. ob.*"

* *mail*=rent, payment.

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1593. "The occasioun of this augmentatioun of money is: That the kirk of Kinross and Urwell is omittit out of the rentale delyvired be the laird of Parbroth comptrollair j *c.* xx *li.*"

"And that the teynd victuale of Badrig and Leggatisbrig in Dumfermlingschire extending to viij *b.* beir, ij *pt.*, xiiij *b.* iij *qr.* autis. And of Gaitmilk and Mildams in Kinglassyschere extending to iii j*ch.* ix *b.* beir."

"Ar sett in tak be the Erle Huntly to Robert Bruce for xxxvij *li.* x *s.*"

"And the teind victuale of Monlogy in Dumfermlingschere extending to [*blank*] sett in tak be the Erle of Huntly to George Abircromby for iiij *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*"

"And the teind victuale of Saint Margarettis Stane and Randellis Craigis in Dumfermlingschere, extending to j *b.* ij *qr.* quheit, iiij *b.* beir and x *b.* autis sett in tak be the Master of Gray to James Kingorne for vij *li.*"

"And the teynd victuale of Touch and auchten part of Southfoid in Dumfermlingschere to v *b.* beir and xv *b.* iij *qr.* autis sett in tak be the Master of Gray to Williame Walwod for v *li.* xix *s.* ij *d.*"

"And the teind victuale of Bayth Westir; Baith Nethir *alias* Peirsoun; Baith under the Hill *alias* Bonalay; Baith Maistertoun; Baith Trumble; Baith Stevisoun; Baith Cowtis and Mylnhillis, extending to j *ch.* ij *b.* j *qr.* beir, v *ch.* xiij *b.* ij *qr.* autis, sett in tak be Johnne Fentoun, yconimus for the tyme, and sensyne ratifeit be the King and Quenis majestes for xx *li.* Summa of the particularis quhilkis makis the augmentatioun of the totale soum of money j *c.* lxxxxij *li.* ij *s.* vj *d.*"

"Off the quhilk totale soum extending presentlie to iij *m.* iiij *c.* lxiij *li.* viij *s.* vj *d.* necessarlie mon be deducit the ordinar burdenis liand upoun Dumfermling the tyme of the gift maid thairof to the Quenes majeste, specialie the stipendis appointit to be payit to the ministeris of the Word serving at the foure kirkis erectit with the landis, and contenit in the infeftment maid to the erle of Huntlye, 8 Septembris, 1588, viz.:—

"Quhatevir thir ministeris hes resavit mair sensyne is without gude ground or warrand."	To the minister at Dumfermling	ij *c.* lxvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
	To the minister at Kinglassy	j *c.* xxxiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
	To the minister at Newberne	ij *c. li.*
	To the minister at Kirkcaldy	ij *c. li.*
Summa to thir four ministeris		viij *c. li.*"

"Mair deduce the stipendis of the ministeris of the remanent kirkis that belangis to Dumfermling. As to the ministeris at Kinross and Urwell j *c.* xx *li.*"

"Inverkething	liij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
Striveling	lxxx *li.*
Perth	j *c. li.*
Strathardill and Mwling	j *c. li.*
Kingorne Westir	xij *li.*
Summa	iiij *c.* lxv *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*"

"And als deduceand the yeirlie rent of the kirk of Carnbee, being in this charge: quhilk kirk was lang befoir separat fra the body of

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the abbay and providit in a severall benefice to Mr. George Dury iij *c.* xxxiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*"

"And siclik deduceand the contributioun dew to the College of Justice lxx *li.*"

"And in lik maner deduceand the portionis or levingis of sevin levand monkis, viz.: Mr. William Lummisden, Johnne Angus, Johnne Dury, Thomas Jamesoun, Williame Smyth, Alexander Stevin and Andro Gray, every ane of thame gettand lxxj *li.* x *s.* x *d. ob.*, extending in the haill to v *c. li.* xvj *s.* j *d. ob.*"

"And als deduceand the feis of the heretable baillie and uther officeris providit of auld in money, viz.:—

"The baillie fee	l *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
James Kingorne, clerk	iiij *li.*
Johnne Walwod, officiar	vj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
And for his meitt	xxiiij *li.*
Johnne Crainny that dichtis the place	liij *s.* iiij *d.*
Extending in the haill to	lxxxviij *li.*"

"And siclike deduceand certane pensionis in money providit of auld be the abbotis to sum, being ther awin servandis for the tyme, quhilkis pensionis be deceis of the personis now providit unto thame will accresce to the lordship viz.:—

Gaitmilk. To Johnne Tod	xxvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
Inverkething. To Johnne Davidsoun	liij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d*'
[Total]	lxxx *li.*'.

"And in likwyis deduceand the feis, portionis and pensionis underwrittin, quhilk are to continew or to be dischaergit at ther Majesteis plesur, viz.:—

payit be the chamberlan	To Mr. George Zoung	j *c. li.*
Maistirton	To Johnne Gib	xxxvij *li.*
assignit	To the relict and bairnis of William Cleghorne	j *c.* viij *li.*
assignit	To Mr. Alexander McGill	lxxj *li.*
assignit	To Finlay Tailzeowr	lxxxvij *li.*
assignit	To James Lun	lj *li.*
assignit	To William Smyth reidar at Dumfermling	xvj *li.*
nocht assignit	To the plumber	liij *s.* iiij *d.*
	Henry Wardlawis fee	j *c.* xxxiij *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
nocht assignit	To Mr Thomas Craig	lxvj *li.* xiij *s.* iiij *d.*
assignit	To Mr Williame Hart	xvj *li.* vj *s.* viij *d.*
nocht assignit	To the clerkis of chekker	x *li.*
	Extending in the haill to	vj *c.* lxxxxix *li.*"

"Mair to the Lard of Largo be his infeftment of Newbirnshire and patronage of the kirk, attour the soum of ij *c. li.* of befoir deducit to the minister of that kirk xlv *li.* ix *s.*

And deducit be the infeftment maid to Sir Robert Melvill of the baronie of Westir Kingorne and kirk thairof, in money j *c.* lxxv *li.* xviij *s.* vj *d.*

Summa of thir deductionis iij *m.* ij *c.* lvij *li.* xvij *s. ob.*

Sa restis ij *c.* v *li.* xj *s.* v *d. ob.*"

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Dumfermling parochin	j *ch.* ij *b.* iij *qr.* ij *ptes.* 4 *pt. p.*
Kirkcaldy	xij *b.*
Westir Kingorne	j *ch.* ij *b.* ij *qr.*
Newberne	iij *ch.* xj *b.* iij *qr.*
Summa	vj *ch.* xiij *b.* ij *ptes. half pt.*"

"Of the quhilk quheit to deduce to the Lard of Largo be his infeftment of

Newberne	iij *ch.* xj *b.* iij *qr.*
To Sir Robert Melvill be his infeftment of Westir Kingorne	j *ch.* ij *b.* ij *qr.*
Sett in tak for money to James Kingorne the teynd off Randellis Craigis and St. Margarettis Stane	ij *b.* ij *qr.*
To Henrie Wardlaw as a part of the rent of his chaiplanrie	vj *b.*
To Johnne Gib in pensioun	vij *b.* iij *qr.* ij *pts.*
Summa of ther deductionis	v *ch.* xiiij *b.* ij *qr.* ij *pts.*
Swa restis	xiiij *b.* ij *qr. half pts.*"

"Beir. The totale sowm of the beir is collectit and maid of the particulairis following, viz.:—

The ferme beir of Dumferling	j *b.* j *qr.*
Teynd beir thairof	viij *ch.* j *b.* 2 *pt. pt.*
Teynd beir of Kinglassy	xx *ch.* vij *b.* ij *qr.*
Newbirnschere	vj *ch.* xiiij *b.* iij *qr.*
Westir Kingorne	x *ch.* ij *b.*
Kirkcaldy	ij *ch.* xiiij *b.* ij *qr.*
Summa	xlviij *ch.* ix *b.* j *qr.* 2 *pt. pt.*"

"Of the quhilk beir deduce to the Lard of Largo be his infeftment of

Newberne	vj *ch.* j *b.* j *qr.*
To Sir [Robert] Melvill be his infeftment of Westir Kingorne	x *ch.* ij *b.*
Sett in tak for money to Marienn Creichtoun Lady Cluny the teyndis Craigside, Fostertoun, Cluny Miln and Mortoun	vij *b.*
The teind of Pitzeochir	iij *ch.* ij *b.*
The teind of Kynnynmonth	j *ch.* xij *b.*
The teind of Gaitmilk	iiij *ch.*
The teind of Finglassy	ij *ch.*
The teind of Inchdarnie	ij *ch.* viij *b.*
The teind of Over Stentoun	j *ch.* xiiij *b.*
The teind of Fynmouth	viij *b.*
The teind of Mylndams	ix *b.*
The teind of Kinglassy toun	j *ch.* viij *b.*
The teind of the Walkmouth [? Walkmylne]	ij *b.*
The teind of Lachallet [? Lathalland]	iiij *b.*
The teind of Monturpy	viij *b.*
The teindis of Badrig and Leggatisbrig to Robert Bruce	viij *b.* ij *pts.*
The teind of Bayth Westir, Baith Nether *alias* Peirsoun, Baith under the Hill *alias* Bonalay, Baith Maistertoun, Baith Trumble, Baith Stevisoun, Baith Cowttis and Milnhillis	xj *b.* ij *qr.*
The teind of Newlandis	vj *b.*
The teind of Sanctmargaretis Stane and Randellis Craigis	vij *b.*
The teind of Touch and auchten part of Southfoid	v *b.*
The teind of Monlogie	j *b.*
The teind of Windmilnhill	ij *b.*"

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" To Henrie Wardlaw as a part of the rent of his chaiplanrie — j *ch.*
To Johnne Gib in his pensioun — j *ch.* v *b.*
To Alexander Stevin — xij *b.* ij *qr.*
To Mr. William Lummisden — ij *b.* ij *qr.*
Summa — xlj *ch.* j *b.* iij *qr.* ij *pts.*
Sa restis — vij *ch.* vij *b.* j *qr.* j *pt.* 3 *pts. pt.*"

" Meill. The totale soum of the meill is collectit and maid of the particularis following, viz. :—

In Kinglassy parochin — v *ch.* ij *b.* ij *qr. half pt.*
In Kirkcaldy parochin — ij *ch.* viij *b.*
Summa — vij *ch.* x *b.* ij *qr. half pt.*"

" Of the quhilk meill to deduce as a part of the baillee fee — iij *ch.* ij *b.* j *qr.*
To Mr. Thomas Nicolsoun in pensioun — j *ch.* j *b.*
To Johnne Walwod officiar — j *ch.* ij *b.*
To James Coupar, plumber — j *ch.*
To Mr. Williame Hart — iiij *b.* ij *pts.*
To Johnne Lowrie, gardner — vj *b.*
To Thomas Walwod, coilgreif — vj *b.*
Summa — vij *ch.* ix *b.* j *qr.* ij *pts.*
Sa restis — j *b.* ij *pts. half pt.*
Nota, thair is mair meill nor is gevin up in the rentale to the ambassadouris be — vij *b.* iij *qr.* iij *pts.* 4 *pt. pt.*"

" Aittis. The totale soum of the aittis is collectit and maid of the particularis following, viz. :—

Dumfermling — xxxiij *ch.* iij *pts.*
Kinglassy — xij *ch.* xij *b.* iij *qr.* iij *pts.*
Kirkcaldy — x *ch.* vj *b.*
Newbirne — viij *ch.* xj *b.*
Westir Kingorne — ix *ch.* xiiij *b.* iij *qr.* j *pt.*
Summa — lxxiiij *ch.* xij *b.* iij *qr.* iij *pts.* 4 *pt. pt.*"

" Off the quhilk aittis to deduce to the Lard off Largo be his infeftment of Newbirne — viij *ch.* xj *b.*
To Sir Robert Melvill be his infeftment of Wester Kingorn — ix *ch.* xiiij. *b.* iij *q.* iij *pts.*
Sett in tak to Marioun Creichtoun, Lady Cluny — iij *ch.* iiij *b.*
The teind of Fynionmith [? Kynnynmonth] — iij *ch.*
The teindis of Badrig and Leggatisbrig to Robert Bruce — j *ch.* iiij *b.*
The teindis of Baith and utheris to Patrik Syleer [?] — iiij *ch.* j *b.* ij. q.
The teindis of Newlandis — j *ch.*
The teindis of St. Margratis Stone and Randellis Craigis — j *ch.* vj *b.*
The teind of Touch and auchten part of Southfoid — xiiij *b.* iij. *qr.*
The teind of Monlogie — vj *b.*
The teind of Windmilnhill — vj *b.*"

" To Johnne Gib in his pensioun — iij *ch.* xj *b.* ij *qr.*
To James Kingorne, clerk, in his fee — j *ch.* vj *b.*
To David Fergussoun minister in augmentacioun of his stipend — j *ch.*
To Mr. William Lummisden in pensioun — j *ch.*
To Mr. Stevin Wilsoun in pensioun — j *ch.* viij *b.*

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To Johnne Walwod, officiar, in his fee	vj *b.*
To Henrie Wardlaw for his horscorne	viij *b.*
Summa	xliij *ch.* xj *b.* ij *qr.* iij *pts.*
Sa restis	xxxj *ch.* j *b.* j *qr.* 4 *pts. pt.*

Salt butter and cheis extant."

" Restant in

Pecunia	ij *c.* v *li.* xj *s.* v *d. ob.*
Tritico	xiiij *b.* ij *qr. half p.*
Hordeo	vij *ch.* vij *b.* ij *qr.* ij *pts.*
Farina avenatica	vij *b.* iij *qr.* iij *pts.*
Avenis	xxxj *ch.* j *b.* j *qr.*
Salt	xij *ch.* xij. *b.*
Butter	vij *stains.*
Cheis	xxx *stains.*"

6 *pp. Endorsed.*

July 2. **81.** REQUESTS TO BE MADE BY SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

1. Please your honour to remember the help craved of her Majesty for prosecution of his Majesty's rebels. The force required is 600 horsemen and footmen—equal; to be entertained for six months, unless some foreign forces arrive to the support of the rebels.

2. To remember order to be taken with Bothwell, his accomplices and his resetters in England. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand :* " Proclamation is mad."]

3. To remember the gratuity with arrears.

4. To remember a ship or two for the Isles, for " expugning " of some rebels' houses.

5. That redress be made to our Warden for the delivery of those that accompanied Bothwell to Falkland and named in bills from our Warden to the Warden of the West March of England. [*In the margin :* " The particulars to be shewed."]

6. To remember her Majesty's answers " of " letters delivered by the Queen of Scotland, the King of Denmark and one of his subjects. [*In the margin :* " Matters of pyracy."]

7. That his Majesty has given me command to crave pardon of her Majesty for Waldegrave the printer.

8. To remember the poor Scottishmen who have been suiting here so long.

9. What shall be craved by her Majesty of the King's part to be yielded both by procedure and writ. *Signed :* S. Robert Melvill.

The first enlarged 1. The sum monthly for every 100 horsemen will be about 260*l.*; for every 100 footmen, about 100*l.*

One part of these forces to be employed for his Majesty's guard, the other part for prosecuting the rebels, their goods and geir, and to put guards in their houses for possessing of their livings, suppressing and apprehending of them with their " weill willaris." *Signed :* S. Robert Melvill.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Holograph. Marginal notes by Burghley, and endorsed by him :* " 2 July 1593. The Scottish ambassadors petitions abridged." Cf. No. 68.

[July.] **82.** FURTHER REQUESTS BY SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

To desire my Lord Treasurer to procure a warrant or grant his warrant for 34 elm trees for transportation to Scotland for the King's own proper

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1593. use. To desire his answer and a remedy for better ordering of the Scottish salt at Lyme. To request his favour for the poor old man George Padie, of Leith, and to show how there be divers bonds of several men for his affair lying before the lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, and other bonds in the hands of Sir John Voggane in Wales to her Majesty's use. To get his warrant for one trunk to pass by sea, for every one of his company, fifteen in all, paying customs for that which shall be for merchandise.

1 *small sheet of paper. Holograph in Melvill's hand. The last nine words in Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley:* "Ambassador of Scotland's requestes, 1593."

July 3. **83.** MR. EDWARD ENGLISH TO BURGHLEY.

By your lordship's letter, it seems that my note of the sums paid to the use of the King of Scots had not come to you. Since then Mr. Maynard writes that you have now a perfect note, but I certify you again of the same. [The tenor of the letter following is, as in No. 77, the difficulty of determining what sums were paid to the Scottish King.] Westminster. *Signed*: Ed. Englyshe.

(Moneys paid towards Scotland,.)

To Thomas Randolph, esquire, 6th January, 23 Elizabeth [as in No. 77]. 1000*l.* Paid to his own hand by Mr. Killigrew.

To the Earl of Huntingdon, to be employed in her Majesty's service.* 5000*l.* Paid to the hands of Lord Hunsdon by the tellers.

To Robert Bowes, Treasurer of Berwick, 18th March, 23 Eliz. [as in No. 77]. 3000*l.* Paid to the hands of Thomas Apleby his servant by Mr. Killigrew and Mr. Freke.

To Robert Bowes, 30th September, 24 Eliz. [as in No. 77]. 1000*l.* Paid to the hands of Sir George Carey, Anthony Felton and John Allen by Mr. Killigrew.

To Marmaduke, *etc.*, as in No. 77. [But here "20*l.* for conveyinge" the money.] 2000*l.* Paid to him by Mr. Freke.

To Robert Carvell [as in No. 77]. 2000*l.* Paid to him by Mr. Stanley.

1½ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 4. **84.** PAYMENTS OF MONEY.

Anno 23. Jan. 6.	To Thomas Randolph, esquire, in gold	1000*l.*
,, 23. March 18.	To Robert Bowes, esquire [for the army]	3000*l.*
,, 24–23. Jan. 6.	To the Earl of Huntingdon to be delivered to the Lord Chamberlain [for the army]	5000*l.*
,, 24. Sep. 30.	To Robert Bowes, esquire [the army]	1000*l.*
,, 26. Ap. 18.	To Marmaduke, servant, to be carried into Scotland	2000*l.*
,, 28.	To Roger Ashton [upon the Q. m.] [Confessed by the Scottish ambassador.]	4000*l.*
,, 30. June 13.	To Robert Bowes by the hands of Robert Carvell	2000*l.*

* This item is transposed. The date has been omitted but "*anno* 24" in margin. Cf. No. 77.

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1593.	Anno 30. Aug. 13.	To the Earl of Huntingdon for the said King. Sent by Sir Wm. Reade	6000*l.*	
		[More 3000*l.* to the King of Scots.]		
„	31. Ap. 27.	To the said Robt. Bowes's man	3000*l.*	
		[Confessed by Wymes.]		
„	32. Dec. 4.	To Mr. John Colvile for the King of Scots	3000*l.*	[Confessed.]
„	32. June 21.	To Sir John Carmichael	500*l.*	[Confessed.]
„	32. July 2.	To him more for the said King	3000*l.*	[Confessed.]
„	33. May 31.	To James Hudson for the said King	3000*l.*	[Confessed.]
„	34. July 18.	To him more for the said King	2000*l.*	[Confessed.]

[" xviij^{m} for vij * yers is iij^{m} every yere lack one yer."]

1 *p.* *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Notes in square brackets in Burghley's hand.*

July 7. **85.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 99.

Transcript, see p. 693.

. . . of the 27th and 30th of June . . . essed by Sir Robert Melvill to the Lord Secretary here [? the letters] were delivered the day of the receipt, agreeable to their . . . ns. [By] your lordship's last I perceive that her Majesty desires to be certified how two sums paid to my hands for the King of Scots have been [ex]pended : first, in the 23rd year of her Majesty's reign [1581–2] 3000*l.*, and next, in the 24th year following 1000*l.* Albeit I remember well that other sums have come, yet at present I cannot call to perfect memory the certainty of the sums received, the times of delivery and the manner of " diffrage " [of] the same ; and the true account of all the particularities therein I before drew and delivered to my servant, Christopher Sheperson, to be presented to your lordship. I have now directed Sheperson (presently at Berwick assisting Mr. Clopton to make the pay there) to search out and bring to me those accounts, which I shall send by him with all the expedition I can. I remember that I paid at the time mentioned for the maintenance of a guard then [k]ept about the King 1000*l.* or 2000 marks, as by the acquittance in Sheperson's hands will appear. The rest I must refer to the view of the account mentioned, the double whereof I have not in this place.

The bruit of great assemblies of noblemen in tumultuous sort (as appears to have come to your lordship's hearing), has hitherto [? not] been known further than I have certified to your lordship of the assembly of Lord Hamilton and Argyll for the day of law for [Ardkinglass] and of . . . accident fallen out betwixt their companies meeting [at the] Canongate, which is appeased, as before [I] have advertised. The common voice spread that Captain James Stewart [sha]ll become Chancellor has been grounded upon the plot of [som]e courtiers. Some would have made me think that I [sho]uld see Captain James in the streets this day and received at Court, [whic]h has failed, and, as I hear, the course for this Captain is to be [tu]rned into an accusation in Parliament against the Chancellor, which [ma]ny suppose to be given out rather with practice to stay the [Chan]cellor's return than with hope of good [succe]ss against him in Parliament. Thus much in answer to your lordship's two [letters] . . . and sudden as . . . by my letters are changed

* *Altered from* x yers.

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1593. before my. . . . It was ordained and "looked" that sundry noble[men] . . . have given their presence at this Convention . . . of the affairs to be treated in the next Parliament. . . . [? Few] have come hither, other than the Earl of Atholl, . . . and Forbes, and now few other noblemen are [? looked for] before Monday next, the 9th instant. By which . . . for the Parliament, beginning on Tuesday next, are . . . reconciliations betwixt the Duke, with other courtiers [? and the Chancellor have] been still delayed, chiefly by the absence of Lord H[ume] . . . from the north to the Court, and newly departed from . . . House, and now of the Earl of Mar and Master of Glami[s] . . ., but without any certainty of the time of their coming. . . . Courtiers, as I hear, confidently affirm tha[t ? Parliament will be] prorogued, which will agree best with their desires, and [? many] wise and of good experience think that it cannot [? hold] . . . at the day limited, being now within three or . . . The King plainly assures me that it shall proceed . . . and with good effect. For the furtherance whereof [the ministry] travail earnestly with the King and the noblemen and have . . . fast in this town.

I am informed that the determination in Parliament [in] the progress of the attainders and forfeitures of Angus [and] other rebels depends wholly on the condition of the [? progress of] Robert Melvill's affairs in England, and that . . . the prorogation of this Parliament for the benefit of th . . . tooth and nail to allure the King to cast away . . . prosperous journey for the King's satisfaction. All which [? I refer to your] wise deliberation and counsel. The Chancellor, by the King's advice, has consented to . . . for the assurance of his lands in Musselburgh to. . . . Thereon the King hastes to draw the Chancellor to [be] present at this Parliament. But many blocks [in the] passage are not yet removed.

I have heard that very lately the Stewarts have . . . band to be made amongst them, and that thereby th . . . the Chancellor's entry. I have been warned that* . . . to join in this association, wherein I have not sp . . . to him to beware to enter into and bind himself to . . . the Stewarts, having such interest in Atholl . . . dare not give assurance of his resolution . . . [a] mity betwixt these two realms . . . power for the maintenance of religion and welfare of the . . . try, without affection to Huntly, his brother-in-law, or any other . . . cted. He has renewed this motion, showing great earnestness. . . . Therefore I thought it my duty to present this to her Majesty's knowledge and pray direction by letter, that may be showed if necessary.

The special solicitors of Angus, Huntly and Errol are presently [h]ere, intending to labour to the Kirk to accept their submission, that their suits to the King and Parliament may receive the more favour, and Huntly has sent to Patrick Murray certain articles to be solicited to the King and Parliament. I enclose a copy of these articles, got secretly and brought to me. I have been advertised that a rabble of thieves of Kintyre, Argyle and the Isle of Arran, to the number of 500 men, are gathered together purposing to invade the Isle of Man. Whereof, for the present, I have given notice to Lord Scrope that he may warn the Captain of the Isle of Man.

Besides the King's commission to Mr. William Orde and his letter to the King of Spain for the advancement of Orde's errand, there were found on him five letters addressed to one of the Session, not named, and to four merchants of this town. The contents of the letters "rested" most in com-

* A reference to Atholl; followed by a reference to Lennox. The passage is now made clear by the transcript (p. 694).

1593. pliments, always referring credit to the bearer, who by the King's order has given caution to answer to all charges against him, and passes without strait examination. The others [which were] taken in the ship with his clothes, were papers for his own [re]membrance and are of small importance. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.— . . Act of Council resolved this day, the [Parlia]ment shall begin on the 10th instant [not]withstanding that the appearance thereat will be [very] small. In regard whereof it is intended to . . . nd five or six days in the lightest matters, and by . . . e variances falling betwixt the ambassadors for [Den]mark and the Chancellor in the manner of the assurances made to the Queen, the Chancellor is not likely [to be] present on the first day of the Parliament. For it is [thought tha]t troubles shall arise at this assembly gathered in this disorder. . . . Chancellor seeks to be clear in the eyes of the world, or a . . . himself in safety.

3 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Addressed. Edges damaged by fire.*

July 10. **86.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig,. D.ii. fol. 101. Transcript, see p. 695.

This day I received a packet of . . . by Sir Robert Melvill to me, and signed and warranted by your lordship . . . convoy by post. In it there was one letter to the [Secr]etary, one to young Sir Robert Melvill, two to Andrew Melvill and . . . to myself. By these it is understood that Sir Robert has had . . . able audience of her Majesty and conference with some of her Privy Council, and that he attends for answer; which (as he writes) he hopes shall be for the King's good contentment, a matter no less "looked" than heartily prayed for here for the common benefit of the common causes; the regard whereof (chiefly in view of the present confusion in this estate and deemed remediable only by his good success in England), I wholly refer to wise advice and consideration; and for my own part I must turn me shortly to defend my services now condemned and noted to be cast down like good milk with the foot of an unruly cow.

The King, with few noblemen and many commissioners for barons and burghs, was at the Tolbooth this Tuesday, the 10th instant, first, to begin the Parliament at the day prescribed, and next, to fence and put it over until Saturday. In the meantime the King and this assembly intend to make choice of the Lords of the Articles and to prepare all things to be presented to this Parliament, especially for the attainders and forfeitures of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, and of such as were present at Murray's death. I am informed that Mr. David Macgill, the King's chief Advocate, has [ca]sten in some doubt, affirming that the summons (meaning the [pro]bation of the crimes objected) against Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun is not sufficiently proved and apparent for the Parliament to proceed to forfeiture. Some suspect Mr. David to be entangled with hope of good deeds at the hands of these lords. But Mr. John Skene, the other Advocate, maintains the summons to be very sufficient, [and] some others learned are of his opinion. The King seems to be greatly perplexed, purposing to [c]all to-morrow others of the Session to decide the question, [sa]ying that in his own person he has omitted nothing, and that he trusts that the lords and commissioners will concur and proceed with him agreeable [to] duty and justice. On this point the success of this Parliament will depend, and I have heard that th . . . comfort therein, yet the King shows him[self] . . . forward for the allowance of the sufficiency of [the] summons, a[nd the well] affected are not void of hope that the same [? may be done in] this Parliament. Wherein your lordship

James VI.

1593. shall shortly ha[ve advertisement ?]. For the preservation of the peace amongst the noblemen come hither the King had granted commission to S . . . to take general assurance in writing of the Lo . . . to the draft of the assurance devised. The Coun[cil] . . ., Duke, Atholl and some others for their assent and subscr[iption] found dilatory answers. Whereupon the King called fo . . . Tolbooth the several promises of all the noblemen assemble[d] openly there to keep the peace during this Parliament . . . their followers so far as they can, and the tow[n has] taken very good order herein. So that there is bett[er ? hope] Parliament shall be quiet, unless it shall be troubled [with] accidents not now expected, or be altered by the practice and craft of the . . . awaiting to take advantage of anything. The King in his oration in the Tolbooth checked as . . . and councillors licensed to depart and who returned not . . . appointed, as also others departing without his privity . . . tarried beyond due times, leaving him slenderly . . . he could not provide for the good progress of matters [and] concluded (as is reported to me) with request to them . . . with good diligence in everyone for the expedition of [matters] in Parliament, especially for the trials and forfeitures. It is told me that the friends and solicitors of the partie[s charged with] treasons have set up all their sails, purposing to . . . insufficiency of the probation of their summons . . . given for the default of the appearance of the pers . . . tender large offers for their acquittal. Wher . . . friendship, especially amongst the assembly of the . . . part of the commissioners for the barons and burg . . . against them.

[? It is told] me that the Master of Elphinstone, the laird [? of Balquhan], Findlater and Pitlurg are here soliciting the cause of the three Earls; that for the managing of the secret [af]fairs Balquhan (Buchan) and Findlater are chiefly employed, who had laid . . . posts for the speedy convoy of letters and messages betwixt the Earls and them; that for the expedition of intelligence Huntly has lately come into Fife; that he had sent hither Troupe with letters [and] blanks, and Troupe having lately returned [w]ith letters and report Huntly departed northwards and passed the water of Spey; that Huntly still standing on his innocency (and saying that he is not "in case of" Angus and Errol), offers to endure imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and that for the surety thereof Pitlurg shall presently enter into and remain in ward until he comes and relieves him, and if he make default that then both Pitlurg's head shall be stricken off and also Huntly shall be declared traitor and lose life, lands and all he possesses; that Huntly will obey and follow from henceforth the King's pleasure, upon pain of death and all forfeitures; that he will with all submission and sincerity satisfy the Church, and thereon remove all Jesuits and Papists from him and exhibit the bodies of the Jesuits in the north; that for these open offices Pitlurg has commission; and some having interest in him made me think that he would have dealt with me this day in the name of the three Earls, offering to her Majesty very large overtures with hostages or any other assurances. But, his coming being delayed, I [th]ink his mind is changed, peradventure upon fresh suspicion conceived this day that Sir Robert Melvill shall not bring hasty contentment to the King or this estate.

After many chops and changes in the assurances to be made to the Queen by the Chancellor, he has offered to the King (as I am informed) to give his simple blank to assure to the Queen all such possessions, and in such manner as the Queen and ambassadors for Denmark will call for. The portion and quality [of] the parcels demanded of him were almost accorded, but the ambassadors stand to have the assurances conveyed in form used in Denmark

1593. only. These impediments are removed by the Chancellor's last offer, and [there]by the King has resolved both to give contentment to the Queen and the ambassadors and also to hasten Blantyre, Linclouden and North Berwick to [accompl]ish the agreement betwixt the Chancellor and the Duke, Mar, Hume and the Master [of Glami]s, that the Chancellor may be here on Friday or Saturday [at] the farthest. Lord Hume has submitted himself and his cause to the King's censure [*i.e.* judgment]. Mar and the . . . "standethe out." * Whereupon the King has said he . . . as will not conform themselves to his will in this od . . . in open Session has advised with the Lords for the . . . Chancellor's return and presence at this Parliament . . . received their opinions proving the same to be necessary. Albeit the King . . . to draw the Chancellor to him, yet his coming with . . . with the parties interested will endanger him as it . . .

The "raskall sorte" of Argyle, Kintyre, and Isle of Arr[an] . . . gathered had prepared sundry "lowefaggs" † or barques purp . . . the Isle of Man, as before I have certified. But [? advertisement] being given by my means to some friends there the . . . joined with the others, found their purpose discovered, and . . . and the others entered into "lowe fagges" "tooke a pray on" . . . retired, as I am informed, to their dwelling places . . .

It has confidently been given out, with what crafty . . . not, that Colonel Sempill, lately carried in John S . . . from Spain to Newhaven, in France, embarked a . . . arrived in the water of Clyde, in the west, with gr . . . and with assurance that 6000 Spaniards should be sent to . . . with all expedition. I have made enquiry thereupon . . . parts and am certified credibly that Sempill has not . . . thereabouts. So that this general bruit will soon be . . . Upon like enquiry on the west coasts and isles of S[cotland, I am ?] given to think that no Spanish vessels or companies h[ave been in these ?] seas of late, as by your lordship's former letters to me it app[ears you] had been informed.

It is ordained by act of Council that Captain [James] Stewart shall not "kythe" [show] himself or be . . . the end of the Parliament. The King has assigned a council to the Queen, na[mely] Pluscardine, now President of the Session, Blantyre, . . ., Mr. James Elphinstone and Mr. Thomas Hamilton, . . . being before established for a councillor to the . . ., so that it is thought that these councillors are appointed . . . in perfecting of the assurances for her jointure. But I . . . is wholly now carried with the advice of this new co . . . the coming of the Chancellor to this Parliament, and do othe . . . importance, and chiefly to scan curiously of the . . . given to Sir Robert Melvill in England. Whereby . . . affected here both very doubtful of happy . . . t the progress in Parliament shall . . . e resolute and pro . . . shall be known here how Sir Robert . . . prospers in [Engla]nd. [Albeit] that proclamation is published against the casting forth [of] any infamous libels, yet lately one libel with one letter directed [to] the King and closely sealed has been cast out, charging the noblemen in Court with most horrible practices against religion, the King and ministers. These are suppressed, agreeable to the proclamation, and not worthy to be specified. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Noblemen presently [at C]ourt and in Edinburgh: The Duke, Lord Hamilton, Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Mar. Lords Hume, Ochiltree, Lindsay, Sinclair, Spynie. Master of Glamis. Please to "remember" her Majesty to

* *In the margin:* is this day returned to his own house.
† Cf. Gaelic naomhag = coble, *and* luath-bhata = a cutter or sloop.

James VI.
1593. commend Mr. James Murray to Sir Robert Melvill [t]hat he and his cause may be recommended to [the] King's good consideration, agreeable [to he]r Majesty's former motions. I have been driven to stay the despatch of these presents after they were ready [? that there]with I might send the King's letter to Sir Robert Melvill.

5 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Addressed. Edges injured by fire.*

July 14. **87.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 97. Transcript, see p. 697.

. . . the Parliament to . . . is fenced and put over till Monday next, the . . . [ass]embly of the nobility here gathered are very small, and . . . ted to be doubtfully disposed in the forfeitures or attainders [of] Angus, Huntly and Errol; wherein Hamilton, Atholl, [Lind]say and Forbes plainly declare their readiness to attaint them, and Hamilton hearing of the coldness in the Council refused to come to it, notwithstanding that [he] was twice sent for. None of the noblemen last sent for by the [King's] earnest letter have obeyed the same. It is meant that the assurances to the Queen for her dower shall be the first matter executed by this Parliament, for the expedition whereof [the] ambassadors for Denmark delivered yesterday the King's letters to the lords here [f]or the confirmation of the assurances. The forfeitures of these Earls shall be next brought in question.

Because it is generally conceived that the King and lords are so far carried with the King's Advocate's opinion that the summons and libel against the Earls was not by law sufficiently proved, and that thereby they could not lawfully be forfeited by this Parliament, it was deliberated what should be done therein and whether this [Par]liament should be continued or not. In which behalf the Master of Glamis, Blantyre and Linclouden were sent to confer with the ministers for their advice, and chiefly to give them satisfaction in the course to be [r]esolved. Therefore I repaired to the King, moving him earnestly to give commission to four or more fit persons, learned, well affected [and] free from suspicion, to call on the Advocate for a view of the summons [li]bel and process laid against these persons and their parties, that [there]on it might be known what errors or insufficiencies could be found in form or matter, to the intent that all defaults might be orderly and in season reformed, that [the]reon the Parliament might lawfully proceed to forfeit the offenders, and I might in best time advertise her Majesty of the King's own mind and resolution herein.

The King answered that he had already provided that all the defaults in form or substance [of] this cause should be examined, and that the whole process in form is . . . without any error. But the Advocate thinks that the probation of the [summo]ns and libel declaring the treasons cannot be sufficiently proved by . . . evidence or matter known to him, whereby the lords (as appears to him), . . . e persuaded to consent to the forfeitures upon such insufficient . . . I did not . . . against the Advocate and the authority of . . . pronounce the law by their censures only . . . fault in prejudicing the King and Parliament directly . . . and haply it may be that the Advocate shall be . . . the whole Parliament, as already I have put it into S . . . that he deserves to be so dealt with.

The King reasoned much of the order and power of the Parli[ament] [? alleging] it always to be ruled in trial of facts by the s . . . proof of the matters alleged [? and that] the evidence in this case should be found very slender to . . . forfeit the parties. [*In the margin in Burghley's hand:* "The King diminisheth his authorite in favor of rebells."] He also defended

1593. the Advocate . . . and further he said that if it might be proved good . . . ought to be considered whether it were convenient fo . . . the forfeitures ; wherein he had been earnestly ad[? vised by] his Council to beware to embark himself in the . . . which he could not pass, and thereon he entered into l . . ., namely, in two causes. [*In the margin in Burghley's hand :* " A new dout ether for feare or for favor to the rebells."] The first that without her M[ajesty, his] power does not suffice to execute the forfeitures and to punish the rebels, agreeable to the act of Parlia[ment]. [*In the margin in Burghley's hand :* " Sir Robert Melvyn's report."] In this he said that by Sir Robert M . . . finds very favourable entertainment given to him . . . of good success in his request either for this suppor[t] . . . this use or yet for the banishing of Bothwell forth . . . added that the noblemen and his Council conceiving . . . wished him to try what he might trust to before . . . great troubles, and lose such friends as he might retai[n] . . . of the advice given to stay these forfeitures by Parliament . . . former promises to her Majesty and his realm ; the inconveniences . . . the occasions justly moving her Majesty to receive assurance . . . the sincerity of his will to prosecute these great causes . . . any party, and the evil and subtle minds of councill[ors] . . . the amity betwixt these crowns, wherein he should . . . in case the forfeitures should be stayed. I have ben . . . hath been counselled earnestly to attend and behold . . . King would take with the Catholics, and with what succ[ess] . . . return before he should " pricke " his noblemen over fa . . . help of friends for uncertainties, and that this . . . bent against England so far as I dare discover th . . . recommend to wise and timely consideration.

[*In the margin in Burghley's hand :* " The King's passion for Bothwelles ressett in England."] Secondly, in very warm passion he recounted h . . . to bar the receipt and entertainment of Bothwell in . . . and for otherwise than he has done to her Majesty . . . past, yet Bothwell is kept in Northumberland o . . . t forth to hunt for his life. He recited many particular . . . Bothwell's receipt in England by the allowance of her Majesty or Council . . . e and Mr. John Colville had lately received gold, setting down the portion . . . whose hands and by whose commandment ; that therewith Bothwell had [fu]rnished himself with horses for his hurt ; and he seemed to have very [in]ward intelligence in these things ; and that one Scottish man, purposely sent to Bothwell to sound him and discover his estate, had [re]vealed these things as from the Earl Bothwell's mouth, and upon sight [of] his estate persuaded him to seek the King's favour and for some time to expend his time in foreign parts. Whereunto Bothwell answered that whilst he lived thus without the King's favour his pains were greater than if he were " rosted and sokinge by fyre," yet he might not leave her Majesty's liberality for uncertainties. I omit to write all things spoken, and my power does not suffice to satisfy him. Therefore I leave all these things to her Majesty's wise consideration.

After long reasoning and debate I departed from the King with distrust of good progress in the attainders of these Earls by Parliament. For repair whereof I dealt with some noblemen, lawyers and others well affected ; and afterwards the ministers, doing the like, came to and moved the King so far that yesternight very late it was enacted by Council that on Monday next the Parliament shall begin and proceed certainly, and that the noblemen [and] others summoned for these conspiracies with Spain shall be forfeited. Nevertheless the doom shall be suspended and left to be [pro]nounced at the King's pleasure.

James VI.
1593.

That you may see seasonably the condition of this estate and [u]pon what ground the doom and judgment of the attainders is suspended, therefore I have written and sent with greater expedition, praying [th]at I may be [t]imely directed what to do farther for the advancement of her Majesty's service [he]re. My estate and case have long since failed to perform the duties requisite, and for which I have been careful and ready, howsoever I and my silly services [hav]e been construed; and now my body and health do not suffice to carry . . . r this burden.

The Chancellor hearing of the disposition of this assembly and Court, and doubting that little shall be done in this Parliament, does not haste to Court lest the ill issue of matters [be], without cause, laid on his shoulders. But if he shall find hope of success and be . . . the King, then his peril shall not stay his access to his sovereign and . . . who finds himself not so regarded with th . . . in regard that the Duke thinks that for h . . . "Glencarnes" and others of greater value than th . . . Patrick Herring (Heringe), a soldier, has returned hither . . . informed that he brought some letters from Mr. W . . . hitherto I cannot learn any certainty thereof. Angus, Huntly, Errol and their friends have been . . . and many rumours have run in this country of . . . Sempill, and of the . . . a Spanish fleet for Scotland. Hitherto I find . . . matters of truth that I suspect coming pract . . . both realms, and as these will be more easy to be . . . intelligence to your lordship than I can espy the same, so . . . advertisement only so far as I can learn, to your lordship g . . . trial. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Rober[t Bowes.]

3½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. No flyleaf or address. Underlined in parts by Burghley, and marginal notes in Burghley's hand. Edges injured by fire.*

July 16. **88.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 95.
Transcript, see p. 700.

[Since] the despatch of my others [I have] received your last letter, of the 9th of this month . . . first part of your letter, I have partly certified . . . knowledge by my last before these, letting your lordship understand [that] albeit here have been great rumours of Spanish ships on the west coast of this realm, yet so far as I could learn no fleet or ships of Spain have been or are [on] the west seas or near the West Isles, and this [is] confirmed by such as have lately come hither from Kintyre and Argyle.

. . . Huntly ([C]hanus) and the rest triumph, as by the following will appear. . . . They have fallen from the pursuit of [t]heir former offers to me, trusting now wholly in the King of Scotland (Arabia), drawn . . . mislike and "in manner to caste upp" with England (Damascus). The parties [o]ffering the motion to me have been lately with me, seeming to be [w]illing to proceed effectually in the matter, yet I find no trust [k]ept with me, for the chief persons concredited with the managing [of] these matters have not come to me, as was promised, [a]nd presently they do nothing without the advice and privity of such as [im]part the same to the King of Scots (Petrea). I hereby find my dealings [with] them to be full of danger, knowing that whatsoever I shall [con]clude with them shall be speedily and wholly revealed, and that the [sam]e will deeply wound and discourage the well affected, who are not [ne]gligent to provide some timely remedy in these [per]ilous diseases, and therefore I sail so betwixt these two tides [that] I may recover such port and haven as shall be found best and [dir]ected to me; wherein I desire further order and direction.

James VI.

1593. [It] is not known here as yet that Sir Robert Melvill has had [th]e second audience of her Majesty, as your lordship writes. In Court it [is] verily looked that he shall return with small success [in] his errand, especially for Bothwell and her Majesty's support against the rebels; upon which matters the occasion of this sudden sliding from her Majesty [is] chiefly grounded and maintained, and the well affected have [la]tely wished that she had given better contentment that . . . King left without excuse, and good . . . freely for the redress. The recovery of . . . condition of the case as now it stands, and . . . to wise advice and consideration.

The last part of your Lordship's letter touching the disp . . . is over much expected and desired in Court . . . with hope, and much depends on that change. T . . . the contents in your lordship's letter specified. The King and the noblemen here assembled and prepa . . . day to the Tolbooth to begin the Parliament, w . . . in the order for carriage of the honours before the King . . . pressed by the King to carry the crown, which Angus . . . to answer for his treasons challenged by his tenu . . . office, in regard (as it is thought) that Hamilton th . . . service some blemish in his estate and case had . . . denied, and presently showed himself unwilling to . . . the Duke accounts his state, nothing inferior to . . . courtesy to obey the King in this appointment. I . . . using to carry the sceptre, Argyll was appoint[ed] notwithstanding that he was accustomed to bear th . . . Chief Justice in Scotland, and therefore the s . . . to Atholl, who refused it directly, alleging th . . . much that day honour his enemy the Earl of Huntly . . . Argyll. Wherein he was so resolute that the King . . . and thereon Atholl retired to and kept himself in his . . . likewise came not to the Court by the occasion of p . . ., but awaited the King's coming at the Tolbooth.

These matters mightily wrought in the King and Court . . . to the Tolbooth from the hour of ten appointed . . . until near three in the afternoon. In which time th[ey] were once purposed to have adjourned the Parliament . . . have satisfied therein the ambassadors of Denmark . . . execution and confirmation of the assurances for the . . . then being quietly passed into the city to see th . . ., and the King (as I have heard) said that he would not l . . . and Denmark together. Therefore it was resolved that . . . to confirm the assurances to the Queen; and albeit that was both enacted by Council and also promised by the . . . and Errol should be forfeited by this Parliament, and . . . doom should be suspended and pronounced at the . . . precede this Parliament against these . . ., and that the Parliament shall be running and be continued . . . [n]ext. Which resolution is likely to take effect, giving me thereby [occasio]n to write in this haste and to pray speedy advertisement what [cours]e I shall now take in this untimely alteration and appearance . . . breach of the amity "grown on the groundes best touched."

[Th]at I may give your lordship more large and perfect certificates what effects [pro]ceed on this sudden welter, therefore I retain for some [f]ew days Christopher Sheperson, purposing to send him with full report in all these things. [A]t length it was accorded at Court that the Duke should carry the [c]rown, Argyll the sceptre, and Morton the sword. In which [m]anner the King thus accompanied by the Duke, Argyll, Morton and [M]ar, the Lords Hume, Lindsay, Sinclair, Ochiltree, Forbes, Urquhart (being Mr. Alexander Seton, now lately chosen President of the Session), and Spynie, came to the Tolbooth, where the Lord President supplied the place of the Chancellor, still absent. The Duke and Lord Hamilton did not agree for the superiority of

James VI.
1593. their place, and thereon the Duke was placed on the bench on the King's right hand, betwixt the King and the lords spiritual, and Hamilton took his place on the left hand, on the bench above the lords temporal. After the King's oration declaring the causes of the Parliament they made choice of the Lords of Articles, appointing the number to be the Duke, Hamilton, [t]wo earls and four lords for the nobility, four bishops, . . . abbots for the Church, eight for the barons, and eight for the burgesses, and so returned [to] the city. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—[It is] told me by an honest and credible person that . . . [Er]rol have been lately at Dalkeith, and are now . . . aine in this town or Canongate . . . s in Court are, as I hear, very . . . [En]gland, which, they say, will take all hard . . . y cast up with Scotland, and that . . . ely imprinted in the courtiers. Whereupon it is meant that offers shall be made . . . think England will not withstand . . . sers this burgh, and some others are deeply charged to seek the destruction . . .

3 *pp. Addressed. Edges injured by fire.*

July 19. **89.** SIR ROBERT MELVILL TO BURGHLEY.

I have received her Majesty's answer, not agreeable to expectation nor to the effectual aid looked for. I therefore send these few lines to beg your lordship to present my letter and insist with her Majesty that my errand may take some better consideration in respect of this present necessity and according to the recent league, whereby a greater sum was promised as a yearly annuity (as I have proved before you both by writ and otherwise), besides mention made of mutual help when occasion presented. I doubt not but that you will travail herein that the sum which was yearly paid be not lessened, when I had commission to have craved a greater; and that the merchants may either in money be helped or their creditors at London relieved, seeing the sum of the said annuity was appointed to them every year for his Highness's privy affairs. I request to have direct answer by writ to every head of my instructions, whereof you received a memorial conform to your desire (according as Lord Burgh obtained of the King, my sovereign, subscribed with his hand) seeing that I have no answer to the substantial heads I proponed, except touching the Queen's letter and the poor Scottish suiters, which I moved of myself as ambassador for his Majesty. Staines. *Signed:* Sir Robert Melvill.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley.*

July 19. **90.** REQUESTS BY SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

(1) Please your honour to remember the help craved for prosecution of his Majesty's rebels: (2) that order be taken with Bothwell [as in No. 81]; especially that Musgrave and "Cuddye" Armour be delivered according to the treaty: (3) The gratuity [as in No. 81]: (4) The bill of Falkland [as in No. 81]: (5) Remember a ship or two for the Isles for "expugning" the houses of those who, reset or assist the rebels: (6) Answer to the Queen's letter for Denmark.

[*Notes in Burghley's hand*]: "Tho. Fowells oweth 1000*l.* Robert Jowsey, 1000*l.* Mr. Hyck, 1200*l.* Anton, 400*l.* Mr. Brook . . .*

½ *p. In Melvill's hand. Endorsed by Burghley:* "19 July 1593. Ambassador of Scotlandes requests."

* Torn off.

1593. [July.] * **91.** ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

By your letters of 26th May, and by others written in December last, by order of the King of Denmark, but not presented to us before the end of June last, we perceive that one Andrew Maart or Mote has complained to the said King of the spoils made of his goods on the seas, first seven years ago, in 1586, and then in 1590, alleging the first spoil to have been committed by a captain named Beare, of Ratcliffe near London, with a ship of Hull called *The Black Lion*; for search whereof we caused inquisition to be made both by the Judge of the Admiralty and by other officers of our marine causes, who upon diligent search have advertised us that there was one named Beare, who heretofore dwelt at Ratcliffe, but he died two years since leaving no wealth behind him, and that *The Black Lion*, of Hull, was taken five years past by the King of Spain's subjects of Dunkirk. So we do not see how proof can be made for the fact of a person dead or for a ship possessed by the enemy; and for the latter spoil, [in] 1590, the complainant names neither person, ship nor place, so that until more particularity be shewn there can be no further answer.

1 *p. Draft in Burghley's hand. Endorsed:* "Draught of the lettre to the Queene of Scotes."

July 19. **92.** ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Perceiving by your letters to our Treasurer that by reason of your late sickness you are not able so well to attend our service in that charge as your goodwill is ready, and therefore that it is necessary that you be assisted by some person of understanding, we have made special choice of Sir William Bowes, knight, your nephew, one whom for his loyalty and discretion we judge meet for our service, and for the natural duty of kindred that is between you, more apt than any other to assist and comfort you in your weakness; and therefore we have appointed him to reside there with you until you shall have recovered your strength, or until we shall signify our further pleasure to you; and in the meantime that, according to such direction as he shall receive from you or by letter from us or our Treasurer, he shall for your ease repair to the King from time to time to treat and negotiate for our service, and to do such things as belong to your charge, not doubting but that the King will accept him with such credit as appertains to the place he is sent to bear.

1 *p. Draft. Endorsed:* "1593, 19 July. Minute to Mr. Robert Bowes signifying the repaire of Sir William Bowes to assist him."

July 19. **93.** ELIZABETH TO SIR WILLIAM BOWES.

Whereas we perceive that your uncle, Robert Bowes, esquire, our ambassador with the King of Scots, has by bad sickness become very weak, therefore we have made special choice of you, being his brother's son, and one whom we know to be faithful and wise, to repair and reside with him for some reasonable time until he may recover his strength, and during your being there to assist your uncle in repairing to the King for treating and negotiating about any affairs which our ambassador shall direct you to treat in; and hereafter, when the present great matters now stirred up in Scotland shall be appeased,

* The draft is undated, but it was probably inspired by Melvill's negotiation. It has been bound in the volume at the end of the correspondence dated in September (No. 29), but no explanation is given for this placing.

James VI.
1593. we will have regard to ease your uncle in licensing him to be discharged of that service as he has desired.

1 *p. Draft in Burghley's hand. Endorsed :* " 1593, 19 July. Minute from hir Majesty to Sir W. Bowes for his repaire into Scotlande."

July 20. **94.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By this Parliament, begun the 16th instant, the assurances for the Queen's dower are provided for by the repeal of a former act made in favour of the " possessioners " of several parcels thereof, and confirmed by the Lords of the Articles and this Parliament. The Queen has this day ridden to Musselburgh that the court may be there kept in her right and for the confirmation of her possession therein. It was meant (as I have heard) that this Parliament should have ended to-day, and been continued as a running Parliament until the end of October or beginning of November. It is " looked " that it shall break up to-morrow.

The ministers here have made earnest petition that the libel and probation for the summons against Angus, Huntly and Errol (which probation is publicly declared by Mr. David Macgill, the King's Advocate, to be insufficient) may be better examined, and that Mr. John Skene, the King's other Advocate, Mr. Thomas Craig (Cragge), Mr. John Sharpe and Mr. William Oliphant may confer with Mr. David Macgill herein ; for these four (as I am told) think the libel and summons good. It was promised that this conference should be granted by the King's commanding, but not by commission of Parliament. Nevertheless it is deferred and now " looked to be laide in the decke,"* as all other matters are. The ministers also with great lamentation showed that, contrary to the acts of Parliament, many Papists were chosen to be Lords of the Articles, namely [*i.e.* especially] Lord Hume, coming in by indirect means ; for the vote standing even in the election of Hume (presently under process for Papistry) and Lindsay, generally known to be most zealous in religion, the King quietly called Mr. William Leslie (late Abbot of New Abbey, which he has wholly sold to Mr. Gilbert Browne, a notorious traitor and Papist), and willed him to vote for Hume, whereby Hume was thus preferred and the suit of the ministers for reformation all in vain ; for the assembly of this Parliament and the Lord of the Articles have been so " picked and billed " beforehand that no motion or request can prevail to alter the determination set down for benefit of the three Earls and Papists. Lastly, the ministers prayed that some laws may be provided to banish the Jesuits, seminary priests and Papists, and for the punishment of murders and bloodshed. In these they are like to get no more than fair promises.

It is resolved that, in regard of the insufficiency of the proof of the libel and summons, the three Earls shall not be forfeited by this Parliament. In this I am told that the King has declared, in Parliament, that he looked for support in the punishment of these Earls, but finding his expectation frustrated, it was not found convenient for him to enter into the action which he could not carry out. Many wise and well affected greatly fear that, when by practice the amity with England shall be dissolved, the like necessity shall be pleaded to persuade the estate to call for the aid of the Spaniards to supply the weakness of this nation against the forces of England ; which forces (as I am informed) are so lightly esteemed in this Court that it is thought easy for them to pass to Newcastle and to burn all the houses in Northumberland wherein Bothwell

* *deck*: *heap or pile.* (See Halliwell's *Dictionary.*)

1593. has been harboured. These and other "braveryes" against England fly abroad. They add that although I am warm of nature and would be doing, yet her Majesty and wise counsellors will be more cold and advised. I walk under great boasts, and am warned that a great personage has said that "he lookethe for newes and to be shortelye ridd of me and myne encombrance."

Yesterday the solicitors for Angus and the rest presented to the King and Parliament their offers as by the copy enclosed will appear. It may be noted that they will be at liberty to work all the evils against England that they can, but they have made greater offers to me than I look they shall perform. Albeit their solicitors have lately broken tryst with me, yet the parties dealing with me pretend to be able to draw them again to the things offered. But for many respects I dare not "knitt" with them.

The King and Parliament delivered these offers to the ministers, who returned answer that former offers before the discovery of their faults were larger than these; that the Kirk could not receive the offers of offenders without confession of their fault and signs of repentance; that these petitioners cannot be received into the Kirk before the civil magistrate shall be satisfied; that there is no sufficient security tendered for performance of things offered; that these persons remain under process for odious treasons; and that this Parliament cannot acquit them at this session in regard that they have already denied to proceed in trial of them. What these answers shall work is not yet known. Most think that small effects shall grow thereon, and the ministry seeing the present disposition of this Parliament thought it meet to give dilatory answers.

Lord Hamilton, having the King's promise that the erection of the abbacy of Arbroath should be passed to him this Parliament, pressed earnestly the progress thereof; but the same being denied (as others were), he departed out of the house in some passion. Thereon the King was advised to send for him lest he departed. It is said that it was intended he should have been killed, and that the King hearing of the matter caused 500 of this town to put themselves immediately into arms to prevent it, which they did. The Duke, Argyll and Atholl resorted to the house thereon, and, first, the Clerk Register's servant was sent to call Hamilton, and afterwards, upon his refusal, the "mercer" [? macer], or serjeant, was sent to him with a charge, which he obeyed and returned to the house, which was filled with the companies of his adversaries; yet in the end the King departed, and Hamilton retired to his lodging in good strength and without hurt; wherein some hot heads among his adversaries said (as is told me) that they were shamed, for they should never get again so fair a day. Hamilton, by advice, has taken his leave of the King and [is] dismissed with fair terms. This alleged practice against him is now utterly denied, and it is said that the King prevented the evil thereof.

I am informed that the King has been advertised by two persons of quality that Bothwell was purposed to put on a false beard, and in the street to cast himself at the King's feet, coming to the Parliament, and that the Stewarts were ready to defend and rescue him in case the King would not accept his submission; that the King, opening this to Hume, willed him to provide that Bothwell should be shot with pistols whilst he was on his knees; and that Hume undertook the matter and gave order to some of his servants for the execution. But it is believed that Bothwell was not here nor intended thus to submit himself, and that nevertheless this commandment to the town to arm thus suddenly was to take Bothwell; yet this bruit is thought to be given out to cloke the practice against Hamilton.

I am informed that the King seeks earnestly to draw in Mr. John Colville

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1593. from Bothwell to the intent he might be left to his own course without the counsel and help of Mr. John, whom the King thinks to be sworn English and alone to have "caried unto" and advanced Bothwell in England; [and] that hitherto no fit instrument can be found to work with Mr. Colville.

This day in the Parliament House, near to the King, the Lairds of Tullibardine and Duntreath (Dunkreith), being Lords of the Articles, discorded so far that Tullibardine struck the other with the hilt of his sword, breaking his face foully. It is noted that as this Parliament began without prayers and proceeded against order, so it shall end with strife and blood, first among themselves and afterwards in the realm. It is again concluded that it shall end to-morrow and that the King will remove speedily to Falkland. I am purposed to speak with and, peradventure, anger him before his departure. I enclose a note concerning the "diffray" of 3000*l.* "comed to my receipt" *anno* 23 Elizabeth, and 1000*l.* received the year following. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[Before 21] July. **95.** JAMES VI. TO SIR ROBERT MELVILL.

Notwithstanding the proclamation inhibiting the reset of Bothwell in England, and certified by you, we are credibly informed that of late he has shown himself more openly than at any time before, specially at a public assembly "to" a horse race at Carter Moor, and lying frequently at "Mr. Finix house" and others in Northumberland, besides his vaunting that he wants not of the Queen's own treasures. This we find so strange that we desire you to inform the Queen what just cause we have to complain of our evil usage, being presently occupied in holding of a Parliament * for the forfeiture of our rebels culpable of conspiracy against both our states while our most contemptuous rebel is openly reset in that realm. According to your directions, you shall therefore crave "indelayed" order to be taken in this point, to the end the world may see we have found such correspondence as our kindly behaviour and good desert do merit. We doubt nothing but this so manifest favour granted to so monstrous a rebel is altogether without her privity or knowledge, shown only by such of her lewd subjects as by impunity either contemn or are careless of violating strait commandments, deserving in that respect a more severe punishment, not omitting Musgrave and "Cuddye" Armour.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Sir Robert Melville. Endorsed:* "July 1593. Copie of the King of Scottes lettre to Sir Robert Melvin."

July 21. **96.** LIST OF ACTS PASSED IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

"Actes past in the present Parliament, 21 July 1593." [The list is divided under the heads (1) Kirk—12 Acts. (2) King—28 Acts; (3) Acts in favour of the burghs—9; (4) Acts in favour of particular persons—10.

2 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Printed in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., under date.

* This reference dates the letter between 10th and 21st July. It was probably written before the variance of noblemen in the assembling of Parliament. Cf. No. 88.

1593. July 23.

97. Money paid to the Use of James VI.

June, 30 Elizabeth [1588]. To Robert Carvell, gentleman, to be carried to Berwick to Robert Bowes [etc., as in No. 77] 2000*l.*

To Sir William Reade, knight, to be carried to the Earl of Huntingdon, to be employed as he shall receive direction from the Lord Treasurer, by a privy seal dated 13th August [1588], and paid to hand of said Sir William by his acquittance dated 14th August 6000*l.*

To Robert Bowes, esquire, to be employed as he shall have direction from Treasurer, by privy seal dated 27th April 31 Eliz., besides 30*l.* allowed for portage thereof. Acquittance dated 29th April 1589 3000*l.*

To John Colville, gentleman, sent from the King of Scots, to the use of the same King, by privy seal dated 9th December 32 Eliz.; and 1000*l.*

To Alderman Martyn for plate, silks and other things sent to the said King. Acquittance of Colville dated 9th December, and the Alderman's dated 12th December 1589 2000*l.*

To Sir John Carmichael, knight, ambassador from said King, by a privy seal dated 21st June 32 Eliz.; acquittance dated 21st June 4500*l.*

To James Hudson, gentleman, to be conveyed to the said King as of her Majesty's gift, by a privy seal dated 31st May 33 Eliz.; acquittance dated 11th June 1591 3000*l.*

To the said James Hudson to the use of the said King and paid here by his direction to Robert Fowsy [*sic.*] and Thomas Fowlis, by a privy seal dated 18th July 34 Eliz.; Hudson's acquittance dated 20th July 1592 2000*l.*

To Sir Robert Melville, knight, ambassador from the said King, as well to discharge certain of the said King's debts as to be conveyed to the said King, by two privy seals dated 18th and 20th July 35 Elizabeth, by two acquittances of said Sir Robert Melville dated 23rd July 1593 4000*l.*

Total 27500*l.*

2¼ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 24.

98. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Being ready to repair to the Court this morning for audience, I received your letter of the 18th instant, and soon after fell out a strange alteration. The Duke, Atholl, Mar, Spynie and other Stewarts, resorting early to the Court, presented to the King the Earl Bothwell, the Laird of Spott, Mr. John Colville and two of Bothwell's servants, with earnest petition that the King would receive them to his mercy, and with offer that Bothwell should abide trial and assize for the treason " by " witchcraft. [*In the margin:* Bothwell is brought in by the Countess of Atholl.] The King has accepted and embraced all these persons, and he and they, with the Duke and others, remain together at Holyrood House quietly as yet. This town suddenly ran to arms, and continues " in them " ; but it is " like " that this tumult shall be soon appeased. Alexander Hume of North Berwick has called to Bothwell and others about the King, letting them know that the King should not long be thus " captyvate." Bothwell willed him " to be packinge." The Duke and Atholl advised him to leave off this course, and the King told him out of the window that he is, and shall be, well, if promises be kept; and he is not like hastily to get

James VI.
1593. any company to join with him in this behalf. It is thought that upon this sudden motion and change (yet before devised by many and hastened for the Chancellor's stay from Court) all the nobility, with Angus, Huntly and Erroll, shall be drawn into unity together. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Bothwell and Ochiltree "pretended" to fight for the slaughter of Sir William [? Alexander] Stewart, but the King stayed them. [*In Bowes's hand:* Sir John Carmichael is committed to ward.]

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 24. **99.** SIR ROBERT MELVILL TO BURGHLEY.

Since coming to London I have received two of your letters, the first mentioning that you had moved her Majesty to augment two thousand pounds more for relief of the merchants creditors, containing also the answers of the heads of my instructions, with the suits of the poor Scotsmen. Besides, I received a chain of gold of your lordship, given by her Majesty. For this I give you thanks; and, albeit the sum is less than the King expected, I shall do the duty of an "affectioned" minister to make my negotiation agreeable. As for Mr. Musgrave's being at table in a hostelry at Court with some Scotsmen, they were ignorant of his Majesty's displeasure towards him or of his coming there.

By your other letter you mention advertisement from Scotland that there was impediment made by variance of noblemen in passing to Parliament, and like not to proceed, but "to continew ane running Parliament." The truth is, I have no letter except one from the ambassador [Mr. Bowes] to the same effect. My long delay has been a hindrance. If I receive letters by the way, your lordship shall be participant of the true estate there. I have stayed upon delivery of the money, which is not all received, my acquittance being craved upon the discharge thereof. Hoping this day to depart, I put you in memory to despatch the poor Scotsmen according to your answer, specially James Rannald, who has his action proven already, and has it to show to your lordship; and that William Scott may have his letters renewed for delivery of his ship; and George Padye "accordinglie." London. *Signed:* Sir Robert Melvill.

Postscript.—Please give a warrant to his Majesty's merchants for transporting such stuffs as appertain to his furniture, "quhilk is in effect four tronks and four pakkis—for this hes bene a custome to thame thir yeires past."

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 25. **100.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, p. 255.

I received your letter of the 19th instant this day. I forbore to repair this day to the King in regard that the ambassadors for Denmark were appointed to have audience, and that I "rested" to try whether Bothwell or Mr. John Colville would seek to have any intelligence with me, but hitherto they have not offered either speech or message; yet Bothwell supped yesternight in the next house to my lodging in Edinburgh, and did not visit the ambassador of Denmark, then at supper with me. Atholl and Forbes have spoken with me herein. Bothwell and the rest possess the King's Court in quietness. The King satisfies himself hitherto with the hope of performance of their promises to obey his pleasure, yet it is deemed that their manner of submission sticks in his heart. The King has sent an especial person to

1593. Bothwell to let him know that his good behaviour hereafter shall give cause to think him worthy of grace, notwithstanding that the same was much against the King's honour.

It is thought that this sudden change in Court shall impeach the course laid before at the Parliament in favour of Angus, Huntly and Errol; but most think that Angus and Errol shall "creipe" from the forfeitures and that the pain falling on Huntly shall lie only on his person, so that his inheritance shall come to his wife and children. Some wise and good men have deliberated to find some remedy against the feared progress of the Spanish course, and now they think advantage may be taken of this new alteration.

The King at the first presentation of Bothwell showed himself resolute rather to endure death or other calamities than to suffer the dishonour following his acceptance and pardoning of Bothwell in this manner. Thereupon the Earl offered his head to be stricken off by his own sword, and Ochiltree showed himself ready to execute the same if the King, after such humble submission and fair promises, would command him. I am told the King said that these sweet words and offers so pierced his heart that he received Bothwell to his grace. The Duke, Mar, Spynie and Carmichael deny being privy to this enterprise, yet many think that the King in heart distrusts them, and that Carmichael's peace was made before with Bothwell by means of Angus, and Carmichael is now at liberty, but he shall be charged to depart from the Court.

The King first gently checked Ochiltree for the motion to draw in Captain James Stewart, and afterwards sent one to Bothwell to know if he would so begin to offend the Queen of England, the Kirk and burghs of Scotland by bringing in Captain James, whom they could not brook; but Bothwell answered that he would not proceed further therein. The King pressed the Duke, lying in bed with him this last night (as is told me), to agree with the Chancellor at his request, as he has agreed to receive Bothwell at their petitions, adding that he had before sought to bring in the Chancellor, and that Bothwell was thus hastily brought to stop it, and being pleased thus to receive Bothwell he shall sustain double dishonour if the Chancellor shall be barred. This matter is referred to Bothwell. It is said that Mar told the King that they would readily agree with the Chancellor if he would leave Lord Hamilton, wherewith the King was grieved, saying that he was King to Hamilton, in whom he found no fault, as well as to the Duke and the rest. The matter remains on Bothwell's answer. But the Chancellor doubting the worst removed quietly from Lethington yesterday to a place not yet known. This day were present at Council the Duke, Atholl, Bothwell, Ochiltree, Spynie, the Prior of Blantyre, and Mr. John Colville, who supplied the place of the Secretary and keeps the enactments so closely that I cannot get any copy or knowledge thereof. The King this day gave audience to the ambassadors of Denmark in the garden. The ambassadors intended to depart very shortly, but now they purpose to remain some time to see what proceeds in this alteration. They appear to be well devoted to the Queen of England and do not like this change. I intend to crave audience to-morrow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 25. **101.** ROBERT BOWES TO LORD HUNSDON.

Yesterday morning Bothwell and Mr. John Colville were brought to the King in his chamber by Atholl, Ochiltree, Mackintosh, Angus Williamson and others, for whom Lady Atholl helped well to get the back gate opened by her repair from the Court to her mother's house, adjoining to Holyrood House.

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1593. It is said that the Duke, Mar and Spynie were privy to it, yet they all, especially Mar, deny it. Bothwell submitted himself with all humility, and the rest entreated earnestly for him. The King at first showed himself resolute not to receive him in that manner. Bothwell therefore offered his head to be stricken off, [*etc.*, as in the preceding]. The King upon conditions was contented to take him and Mr. John Colville to mercy and grace, which was soon published by proclamation in Edinburgh, and they were relaxed from the horn. Now the Duke, Atholl, Bothwell and others remain about the King and keep the house at Holyrood House in quietness. Bothwell came into this town the same day and was received with exceeding great joy by the people. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p.* *Addressed:* "To the right honnerable the Lord of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain of her Majestis Household." *Endorsed.*

July 28. **101a.** PROTECTION BY JAMES VI. FOR THE EARL OF BOTHWELL.

Proclamation that: "Forasmuch as Frances Erle Bothwell the xxiiijth of July instant came to our Palace of Halyrood House and there in all humilitie prostrait him self at our feete imploring our grace and favour, protesting he had no meanynge to alter our estait nor to troble any member therof extraordinaryly heretofore, with protestations, craving with teares pardon for his undewtyfull and extraordinar attemptis at sundry tymes heretofore, adding with protestacions that his intencions were as sincere and upright as the forme was suspitious and discommendabell, and therwithall craving exact tryall for the odious cryme of wytchcrafte objected against him, he faithfully promist to seperate frome him all his clientell and dependance (Mr. John Colvile only excepted), and to remaine our captyve and prisoner unto the tyme we should permyt him depart for preparing him self to his tryall forsaid, with promise also to remayne or voyd him self our realme, as best might lyke us, how soone he should be tryed in the odious cryme forsaid, fynally, with great attestacions, contesting [*sic*] to agree unto and fulfill whatsoever we should think most for our honour and declaracion of his obedience to the worlde. For this cause wee, movyt with particuler compassion, beholding the pitifull behavioure of the said Francys and the manyfest sighnes of repentance, have taken and by these our lettres takes the said Francys, his wiffe and children, servantis, dependers and associatis under our speciall protection" and defence. To the effect the said Francis and his foresaids may rest and remain in peace under our obedience and quietly enjoy our favour and grace, we charge our messengers and sheriffs to pass incontinent to the market cross of Edinburgh and other places needful, there to make manifestation and publication of these our letters of protection, commanding obedience under the highest pains. Holyrood House.

1 *p.* *Broadsheet.* *Endorsed.*

July 29. **102.** BURGHLEY TO MR. MILLS.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 157. Transcript in Harl. MS., 4648, p. 191.

I am very desirous to understand something to the light whereof I cannot so conveniently come as by the search of Mr. Randolph's writings, late postmaster and sometime ambassador in Scotland. The reason is that the ambassador now come from the King of Scots avouches confidently that Mr. Randolph, being sent to Scotland about 1586, promised on her Majesty's behalf and by virtue of her commission, both a sum of money and a yearly pension of 5000*l.*, whereof he brings Mr. Roger Aston as witness, and alleges

1593. further that Mr. Randolph then delivered to Roger Aston 4000*l.* and did assure the payment of the other 1000*l.** This manner of dealing seems strange to her Majesty and Council, who remember no such commission. Therefore I pray you to repair to Mr. Randolph's house or to such places and persons where you know his letters are, and make diligent search for all his writings concerning his negotiation at that time, and send the same to me with all speed. The Court at Oatland. *Signed:* W[illiam Burghley].

Postscript.—If you can, come yourself and bring the writings with you.

1 *p.* *Corrections in Burghley's hand. Top and edges of the paper destroyed.*

July 30. **103.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 113.

Transcript, see p. 702.

. . . 9th of this month, and given adver . . . same. Since, I have both rece . . . vocation, and your lordship's other two, of the 20th and . . . audience of the King in parts of those letters, and . . . him; and because I understand that, during . . . and my expectation of further resolution for the course of government upon . . . this late change, some of this nation and of England (most privy to the affairs in Court) have largely and lately certified the state and "occurrantis" here to her Majesty with more certainty than I can give, in regard that the stream is now drawn from me and serves these others, and that the King will write to her Majesty with his own hand very speedily (wherewith he has not acquainted me). Therefore I have not hasted these presents nor enlarged the report of matters, but refer the full declaration of all things to Christopher Sheperson, my servant.

At my audience I recounted many things unpleasant to him, as well in the memory of his late promises to her Majesty and other things past with danger to the amity and hurt to myself, as also in the slow performance of his promises and the strange course seen in this last Parliament. Because I did not know perfectly how he had "disgested" the sudden coming and submission of Bothwell, therefore I forbore to stir him further with this prick, which, methought, moved him, as Sheperson will "open" more at length.

After opening to him what sums of money her Majesty had delivered to Sir Robert [Mel]vill for him, with the great favours in all his errands and particular entertainment to his ambassador, I assured [him] of the continuance of her Majesty's kind disposition to him and that at this time he should have experience of her especial love, if he pleased to call for and use the same. This . . . nd laid, I sought to understand sincerely how he accepted this manner [of a]ccess and humiliation of Bothwell, . . . and what he desired to be done by her Majesty [for his] best contentment in the same. Wherein I spared not to promise secrecy . . . her Majesty's speedy support.

. . . on allowing, as appeared to me, . . ., as your lordship has noted, and that thereby . . . ble in those parts touching aid in men to . . . s, and that Englishmen offending in Scot[land] . . . otherwise, then by the rules of the treaties and Marches . . . declared at great length the manner of Bothwell's . . . submission to him, with all things spoken and done by h . . . betwixt him and Bothwell. [The text here is much destroyed through fire. A fuller version is given in No. 114.]

The four articles promised by Bothwell were these. First, that . . . and remain from the King's presence until he shall be called to . . . performed, having already departed from Court with purpose . . . haply

* This is the reading given in the Harl. transcript. Corrections have been made here. The original and part of the reading is destroyed by the decay of the paper.

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1593. further into England. Secondly, that he shall abide . . . the 10th of August next for witchcraft laid against him . . . written for many noblemen to furnish the number of eight er . . . trial. But the King being loth to call together so great ass[embly], being pleased that any indifferent person shall pass and . . . It is likely therefore that some inferior barons shall be received to comp[ear], that no officer or servant presently serving the King shall be d . . . to be placed before all the promises shall be fully accomplished . . . Change of officers and servants shall be deferred for some seas[on] . . . Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume shall be first removed. . . . are to follow. Fourthly, that the Earl of Bothwell after h . . . by assize shall depart to and remain in such realms . . . prescribe to him, which is thought shall be done with all fav . . . the King in all these articles. In this the King seems [better to like] Bothwell than the doings of his bringers in. Whereupon . . . laid open how far occasion . . . mation, by gathering and knitting tog . . ., as me thought, savoured nothing well . . . honourable for him to make change of . . . and before the promises were fully performed to. . . . After I had finished with the King he stayed me to spe . . . who confirmed the King's declaration for the manner of B . . . se submission and actions, together with the King's grace given to him in sort as the King had showed. He appears resolute to perform the promises to the King, protesting therewithal devotion and services to her Majesty, whom he purposes to see, thank and serve, as by himself will be (I think) shortly witnessed. I offered to him the former advice presented to the King for the union of fit persons to serve in the reformation of the government and for strengthening the company presently about the King. But he did not seem to embrace it as I meant it, notwithstanding that I let him know that the manner thereof might be formed and exhibited by fit persons for the King's honour and his standing. The rest of this fellowship (desiring hitherto the advancement and rule of the Stewarts) likewise mislike my motion, which has not proceeded only from my own brain but is allowed by wise and well affected, who think verily that by this sudden change good occasion is offered to prevent extreme inconveniences and to draw on the reformation desired. But they and I as yet tremble to behold this present course in Court "opponed" by strong adversaries, as time will manifest, and not so timely and strongly fortified as necessity requires.

Mr. John Colville has renewed the ancient friendship betwixt him and me, with frank offer of all thankful offices to her Majesty. I find the burden of these businesses lying on his shoulders and himself ready and careful to labour under the same for the benefit of the cause. Wherein, as I showed myself not able to give him the aid requisite, so I wished her Majesty to supply his pains by some fit person in my place, whom this company and he had found to be best acquainted with their minds and apt to advance their designs.

The ambassadors for Denmark (understanding how I had proceeded with the King on this alteration, and being ready to return with the next wind) desired to be satisfied by the King and Council in writing whether the King was privy to Bothwell's coming to him; whether the King had pardoned his faults; and upon what conditions; and whether the King thought himself detained anything against his will and pleasure. For the satisfaction of the ambassadors the King, in the Tolbooth, openly before his Council declared to them that he knew nothing of Bothwell's coming to him before he saw him in his chamber, [and] that he pardoned him with condition that he shall perform the articles promised. The King has acquainted them with the articles, and pronounces plainly that he was not [deta]ined in any sort against his will,

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1593. as by his presence in that place and many other . . . to declare likewise their kn . . . wherein the lords and council . . . these put in writing and delivered to th . . . King, Queen and Council of Denmark, there . . . his letter for the more credit and content. . . . Sundry in this company strive greatly to draw . . . against the Kirk, and many burghs set thems . . . of James is feared to hazard great troubles . . . divers of his kin, and many press it mightily.

The most of the old Council have left the Court . . . Hume, Master of Glamis, Blantyre, Seton, Co . . ., Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume. Gla . . . he should be charged to leave this town, departed to P . . . It is looked that some of their places shall be filled and . . . if they do not return in time. Crawford shall be called to Court, and some think . . . in Edinburgh shall be got out of Mar's hands for Crawford . . . the King was pleased at the last vacation that Crawfo[rd] . . . had it before Mar, who will not willingly leave. . . .

I am credibly informed that Angus has made . . . peace to some new courtiers, and that he shall be received . . . satisfy the Kirk, which he is now willing to do [? and Errol] is like to be received in like manner. It is thought that . . . towards Huntly is not yet abated. Some have told . . . was at Aberdour (Aberdore) before the Parliament, where William Tr . . . Court to him, and that these three Earls were kept so . . . castle during the Parliament. Wherein I can give none. . . .

These present lords and courtiers have levied and entertained . . . 100 footmen and 50 horsemen at their pay and charge . . . having once denied to suffer any guard about him . . . the charge thereof. The King is purposed to pass to and recreate hims[elf] some time at Falkland. It is thought that many things shall be . . . ment of this Court and company, or else attempted a . . .

Upon the offers of Angus and the rest to satisfy the King . . . be called on to give assurance for preservation of the . . . two realms. Which course if her Majesty shall like . . . press the same.

. . . had not th . . . [B]othwell's submission. Yet I h . . . " vj. iiij. Chanus " (Huntly) and their partners. . . . Wherein I shall win and retain . . ., praying your lordship's speedy direction, . . . the same upon the sight of the presen . . . good consideration of all matters. Your lordship will think it needless to be troubled with my answers to the parts of your letters touching Bothwell and all his causes, which now by entry and receipt into Court are now here . . . ally buried. In all the residue of the contents of your lordship's two last letters which I have not touched by these presents, I shall give satisfaction by Sheperson, whom I shall hasten with the speed I can. He has been delayed beyond due time by accidents to myself. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Addressed. Edges injured by fire.*

Aug. 4. **104.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King was in readiness to pass over the water to Falkland three days ago, but stayed for the full despatch of the ambassadors of Denmark, with whom the King and Queen should have dined this day. He has taken his boat at 4 o'clock this morning to land at Kinghorn (Kyncorne) and ride to Falkland. The Duke and Lord Ochiltree attended upon him to Leith, where Ochiltree left him, and the Duke alone, with few Stewarts, embarked with him. [*In the margin :* Ochiltree has gone with the Duke to attend on the King, and Crawford

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1593. will also be with them this day, so that they think all shall be well with them.] The Duke's guard of 100 footmen passed over before to await on the King. Because he intended to have been at Falkland before this time, and it was bruited in Court that the Earl of Morton, the Master of Glamis and others prepared with forces to surprise him at Falkland, or by the way, therefore the Laird of Spynie (as I am informed) was sent over three days since by the Duke and the rest about the King to provide sufficient power to withstand the attempt of Morton, Glamis and others. I am advertised by letter delivered very late yesternight that the Papist lords have sent to the King an especial person with offers for their peace and also to come to the King with their forces immediately, to deliver him from the company presently about him. I am told for certain that Lord Hume is in this town, and the Master of Glamis at Leith to await the King's passage to Falkland, and that thereon they and others will adventure to take the King from the company of the Duke's guard and whole party very shortly. It is verily thought that the provision made to withstand it shall be found slender, and that little resistance will be showed unless the King shall take fast part with the Duke, Ochiltree and the Stewarts and expressly forbid the other party to proceed further.

Some in company about the King, namely [*i.e.* especially] Ochiltree, have pressed the King (as I hear) to receive into Court Captain James Stewart, presently in this town, and I have been dealt with in the same. This I have " put over " with fair terms, as his incoming will offend and endanger the Kirk and sundry well affected. The King willed Ochiltree to forbear to urge it further. It is said that he is greatly displeased with this late slaughter done by the highlandmen under Argyll, wherein above sixty of Huntly's followers are slain and a very great booty of cattle is taken in Huntly's bounds and sent to Argyll's folks. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Of Bothwell's return into England and to what places there, your lordship will be advertised by others.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed to Burghley.*

Aug. 4. **105.** BOTHWELL TO ELIZABETH.

Printed by Tytler, in *History of Scotland*, ix. p. 97.

The gracious usage of so clement a princess towards me in my greatest extremity should most justly accuse me of ingratitude if, being in a place where I might do a little more than before, I should not perform the offices which I then promised. I have directed the bearer to impart the same unto your Majesty with more certainty than before ; to whom I moved my associates in all points to ratify my speeches and confirm them by their oaths in his presence. The bearer will impart my full mind in all things. [ ] *Signed :* Bothwell.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley :* " 4 August 1593. Earl Bothwell to the Queen's Majesty by Lock."

[Aug. 5.] **106.** BOTHWELL TO BURGHLEY.

I cannot of duty but render you most hearty thanks for due respect had to my pitiful estate and for your grave and fatherly advices, assuring your honour that I shall endeavour to satisfy you to the uttermost in all things. The bearer will offer performance of whatsoever in my adversity I did offer, with further assurance than before. Please to interpose your former favour

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1593. towards me for present aid to the better advancement of her Highness's service here. *Signed:* Bothuell.

½ *p. Holograph. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seals with yellow silk fastenings.*

[Aug. 5.] **107.** BOTHWELL TO [HENRY LOCKE].

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 116. Transcript, see p. 705.

". . . Majeste most humill than . . . my prince's displeasour a . . . . acknawlegment of my faythf . . . sment of quhatsumever heirtofore I ha . . . evysed for the mentenance of the established religion . . . [str]enthening of the present amitie . . . that effection lett hir Majeste knaw the trewth of my proseid . . . the concurrence of suche nobill men offred by me and . . . thame conferming it by othe and hand, gevin to your . . . redy to follow furth ony suche cours as I shall in . . . [e]nter into with hir Majeste, whiche being by thame with M . . . owed cheiflie to hir Highnes good and service, bot above all wnto . . . good and service. I craif hir Highnes opinion of the . . . tharof and spedy direction for the use; and if our intentions be tharin dewly accepted and regardet, lett hir Highnes knaw that we all are not only suche as to whom sche ma[y] . . . geve a gracius ear wnto in respect of our present actions . . . doingis, whiche shalbe authoresed by our soverane for his good, bot a . . . nether in power is any in Scotland in hir vyis jugment to . . . ed befor ws or for loyalty to be hoped for to be frend equall su . . . ves, being most of ws of the religion, and in faction opposed aganis the grand enemeis of religion and estate, to wit (H[untly], . . . vell [Maxwell] and Home) ar also redy by wrettin hand, (if sche . . . e commission to resave it), and by my son's plege as be . . . ed to confirm the same.

"[In] respect quhairof, if sche pleis to lyik of our proceding heirin, we cra . . . the better settling of our cours to send sum testemony spede[ly] . . . hir hand, with whom and how scho will pleis to dei[l] [? how] far sche will for our present inhabeling of ws be dra . . . pect of hir princely liberalite, which, thoght in respect . . . bounte to our soverane will seme hard to for . . . mes, considdering the los in bestowing th' one, or . . . ming of hir enemeis, and the schort tyme . . . to rid hir Majeste of perpetuall cair and mist . . . paring, yow ar . . . s . . . this our proceding secre . . . ing reveled to our adversa . . .

"You may assuir our constant purpos, God villing, ha . . . presentlie and constant amitie hencefort according . . . nocht only a thre monethis space so to chas . . . nycht party as ether Scotland shall nocht conte . . . or thair wingis be so clipped as thai shall not . . . to prevaill in any thing, bot also the fronteouris . . . lookit wnto that we will wndertak as good [? service] and spedy justice in thos partis as in any othe . . . [? others of] the realms. That thair shall not hens forthe neid any feir . . . forces or practeses since our instrumentis shall . . . partes habill from tyme to tyme to inform ws o . . . purposes, and we be habill to withstand any . . . army, thoght all Scottis catholiques concurre . . . wnto her Highnes wer sufficiently provydet for . . . Forder, yow may mak knawin how far had M . . . procedit in for the Spanis cours in what . . . by whom, according as Quatuor (Chisholm) informed . . . landis (the Chancellor's) part will appeir, as yow know.

"Yow must crave that if for satisfaction of . . . and to the Kingis content, the churche being . . . tefeid therwith we be to be compelled to resave . . . and to use Ja. Stewart, limiting his cours as we assuir

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1593. we will, that her . . . tak it in evill part, bot rether by her . . . allouance tharof, since yow knaw . . . her Majestes service.

" . . . spedely with a p . . . ularis and such fordor . . . wnto. Holding my form . . . faythe by this our intendit co . . . particularis, quhairof yow can largly inform . . . er . . . ing Quatuor (Chisholm) remember that he may be dispeschit with . . . ition and a letter writtin wnto me, whiche I may schaw . . . ministry, to intreit for him be reson yow luik [for g]reit and good service at his handis . . . tokin from Ung (the Queen's) fellow promised salbe send with the . . . whiche Simplex (Colville) hes takin [in] hand. Prosequut therfor . . . matter as if you had resaved it out of thair . . . and.

" [Remem]ber to move hir Highnes conserning schipping for the aylis [and] procuir a meins for a message to hir Majestie quiche I . . . liche my self . . . thingis to be douin at the Parliament, quhilkis I viss at her . . . secret or not intendit. Bothuell."

2¾ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand, except the last five lines. Partly in cipher, deciphered by Burghley. Underlined in parts. Edges injured by fire. The date is taken from the Calendar of Cottonian Manuscripts.*

Aug. 8. **108.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Before the receipt of your letter of 30th July I had sought to understand the proceedings in the late access of Bothwell, and in my former letters have advertised you thereof. I retain the other part of your letter—wherein her Majesty's honour is " interressed " by this sudden restitution of Bothwell by other means than hers and without giving her premonition—that it may be duly " disposed " [*i.e.* shown] to the King and others to whom this matter ought to be " broken " for testimony of her Majesty's honourable meaning.

I am glad that her Majesty has countermanded [*sic*] the coming of Sir William Bowes to me, trusting that she will revoke me for such reasons as the bearer, Christopher Sheperson, shall deliver to you, especially because the company now in peaceable possession of this Court require a new instrument more agreeable to their appetites. I thank you for the French occurrents certified in your letter, for this estate has been carried away with many untrue rumours. Assuredly the servant in this place gets great help in her Majesty's service by the frequent receipt of foreign intelligence.

The daily report of the great forces amassed by Huntly has " occasioned," first, Atholl to send to inform the King thereof; next, Mr. John Colville to persuade him to provide seasonable remedy, and sundry of the ministers to pray him to prevent the danger. I have concurred with these. So the King has sent a gentleman to Huntly with commandment to " cashe " and dissolve his forces and not to convocate any more nor invade the bounds of any person. He has been solicited to take substantial order for prevention of the danger of tumults notwithstanding that Huntly has already retired. The late bruits that Argyll, Morton, Mar, and the Master of Glamis were convened at the Newhouse, Morton's house near Falkland, have occupied the heads of many. It is meant that satisfaction shall be given to all these except the Master of Glamis, who is noted in this Court to have run strange courses. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—I beseech your lordship to grant to John Moyser one of the vacant pensions in Berwick.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

109. Declaration by Christopher Sheperson to Burghley.

Aug.
[*c.* Aug. 8.] "From Edenbrough 8° Augusti; at Wyndsor 14° *ejusdem*, 1593." The Chancellor doubting that his house at Lethington shall be seized for the King (who still stands very fast to him, but his affection is seen to prevail little) has required Atholl to take his house into his hands if need be, which Atholl has promised to do. Since Huntly "cashed" his forces and retired at the King's commandment, the King charged Atholl likewise to keep the peace, and also sent to Argyll, Morton and that company, persuading them to keep peace and forbear to gather any great assemblies, so that the estate is more peaceable now than very lately was looked for. Mr. John Colville, after conference with my master for the best course of reformation, has spoken at length with the ministers and found them ready to employ their means and powers therein. The company now about the King have full and peaceable possession of the Court, and are in good way to keep it, therefore it is now best time to plant such minister for her Majesty as shall be fittest for her service and pleasing to them. The King, intending to have dealt severely with some of the chief ministers (as it was said), was drawn to think that my master stirred them and some barons and burgesses to evil "conceytes" towards him. Therefore the ministry, some of the Council and others have feared to frequent my master's company as before they were wont. The King has seen how far my master has discovered and opened [i.e. exposed] the course devised for the impunity of Angus and others summoned to the Parliament, and he is now brought to think that he was privy to all the actions of Bothwell in England and to his "bryngynge in" to offer his submission; therefore the King has many ways showed signs of alteration, and has uttered hard speeches proving that he thought my master "doubled" with him and studied to stir sedition. Bothwell is suspicious of my master and all his name. Before and after this change, he has entered into a course with England, which he will be loth, as is thought, to have altered.

Albeit my master has recovered health, yet he remains weak and feeble with age and cares; and "the lerned" (besides his own experience) assure him that if he continues there, without exercise, the disease will within few months fall again upon him, in which case he does not expect to escape death. His estate in the time of his service has been so impoverished by great losses that his early death would greatly shake the house of Bowes by their bonds for him and work the ruin of himself with shame, and of his son and his children without recovery, so that without relief by her Majesty's bounty he can neither serve nor live in comfort nor escape miserable end. Lastly, his case at home and in Scotland is such that he is greatly disabled to serve profitably, and the principal courtiers mislike his service, having chosen and used the means of other instruments better pleasing them, and they assure themselves of better success in their desires by these instruments than by my master's means. He, therefore, prays that he may see her Majesty's face before his end, that he may make account of his services and how he leaves them, and that he may acquaint her with the true condition of his weakness and case, and may cast himself down at her feet.

1 *p. In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Burghley:* "xv Aug. 1593. Sheperson's second declaration."

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1593. **110.** DECLARATION BY CHRISTOPHER SHEPERSON, BOWES'S SERVANT.

[*c.* Aug. 8.] "Notes of sondry thyngis commended to my report touchynge th'affayres in Scotland." *

In the former course the King's Council and courtiers appeared especially affected to the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol, etc., so that no forfeitures could proceed against them, or against Jesuits discovered.

The Advocate declared in Parliament that, by misnaming in the letters, no proofs could be taken against the Jesuits, and he concealed the confessions of Fintry and George Ker (Car). It is thought he was bribed by Sir George Hume to take this labour upon him. By his assertions that the libels and summonses against the Earls and Jesuits were not sufficiently proved, the forfeitures were stayed and referred to the next Parliament, to begin 1st November. In the meantime the offenders trust to procure their relief. Also, the proceedings of the King and lords in Parliament were noted to be partial and "disordered" in the choice of the assembly, whereof a great part was picked out "and knowen favourers of the partyes summoned." Lord Hume (a manifest Papist) and the Laird of Findlater (a solicitor for the three Earls) were admitted to be Lords of the Articles and Lindsay (known to be well affected in religion and peace) was rejected. When the solicitors for the Earls espied that the Parliament should be carried in their favour, they were not so forward as before in their offers for satisfaction of the King and Kirk, but said "there tourne was done," and slid from the motions before made to my master for her Majesty.

It was resolved by sundry good men, upon discovery of the purposes of the "favourites" to the conspirators, to take in hand the defence of the religion and realms against them, but the alteration has, for the present, stayed the execution.

The King bears great affection to Huntly for sundry causes, as is supposed, and it was nourished by courtiers with hope that the King's revenge should be executed by Huntly against Bothwell. The King was provoked to rage against Bothwell and for his cause to pick quarrels against her Majesty: this was to preserve the confederates and deserve well of the King of Spain. Sundry noblemen allied to the Earls seek to deliver their friends, pretending the same to be to strengthen the King, revenge his wrongs and govern with surety.

The Stewarts possess the King, who yields commonly to those about him. If they join with good men and of strength they may continue. Argyll, Morton, Mar and Glamis met lately at Newhouse, in Fife, and resolved to speak with the King: they will not see Angus and Erroll perish. Huntly had called Donald Gorme and Mackay (Mackquey), and levied great forces to invade Atholl's bounds. The Stewarts travailed with the King to disperse these forces, which was afterwards done upon his commandment.

It is not doubted but that Bothwell shall be cleared, for little evidence can be produced against him other than the testimony of Graham, executed for witchcraft, who had promise to have been saved if he would reveal the truth; so his execution proves that he did not tell the truth, and so that is no proof against the Earl. After his clearing it is looked that Captain James Stewart shall be taken in and made Chancellor. The present Chancellor and the Master of Glamis shall be first "put at." Sundry officers and servants in favour with the King shall be removed, and others "placed," the Hamiltons

* From the endorsement it appears that these notes were delivered on 13th August, but they refer to events earlier than the acquittal of Bothwell. Calendared as vol. 51, No. 8.

1593. "nypped," and the ministry bridled; and if these things fall out thus, then troubles will suddenly ensue.

The Chancellor's accusation is said to be penned and grounded partly upon his practice with Spain, his privity to Murray's death, etc. The King cannot reconcile the Duke and the Chancellor. Hamilton prepares for the worst. It is said means are made for friendship between him and Morton, and for reconciliation with Mar, who, it is thought, will not join with the Stewarts unless he be specially commanded by the King. To strengthen the Stewarts labour is made to reconcile Bothwell and Hume and Bothwell and Maxwell, to draw Mar to Court, to "compound" and relieve Angus and Erroll, with other secret compositions. If the Stewarts stand upon their own strength and advance Captain James Stewart, their government will be troublesome and short, and their fall by violence will bring danger to the King's person, to the amity, religion and peace.

"Answeres to some partes of my lordes lettres."

Where my Lord Treasurer writes that the matter of the Earls is dissembled, if he means their punishment, it is well proved to be so by the proceedings in Parliament, etc. But, for their treasons, it is not dissembled, as is proved by the execution of Fintry, the grants of escheats, etc. Enquiry has been made to search and apprehend Holt and Owen, "shipped" in the Low Countries. Three Scottish ships arrived, one at Anstruther, 28th July, one at Weymes, one at the mouth of Leven, in Fife, but no passengers saving one poor Scot lamed in the wars. It is said others have come from the Low Countries for Aberdeen, etc., in the north parts, therefore an especial person is sent to enquire. It is thought they will resort to a place heretofore used, and then they shall be "looked unto."

Touching Huntly (Chanus), "the partyes are slipped" in respect their turn is done, as appeared by the Parliament, and some of them hope to find favour in the new Court, which will not be granted to Angus and Erroll without like to be showed to the "beloved." They are labouring in Court, and the courtiers will not suffer them to bind with any other but such as they like. "So they may not looke at my master." Besides, my master cannot deal but it will be known to the King's courtiers Kirk, etc., and thought strange to all that he, having holden so hard a hand over them for their discovery, trial and punishment, should now take them by the hand to draw them to her Majesty. Nevertheless the "motioners" are entertained and especial instruments sent to travail herein. The success is doubtful, therefore the managing of this matter is rather to be "drawen to" others than to my master.

2⅔ *pp. In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Burghley*: "13 Aug. 1593. Sheparson from Mr. Bowes."

Aug. 11. **111.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King was entreated (with some difficulty) by Mr. John Colville to return hither from Falkland on the 9th instant, agreeable to his promise, for the trial of Bothwell, who yesterday was tried and cleared by assise of the noblemen and barons named in the schedule enclosed. The evidence against him was wholly grounded on the tales of "Richy" Graham (executed for witchcraft), who before renounced the benefit of his baptism to serve the

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1593. devil, and who was found "variant in himself," and was disproved before the assise by the oaths and testimonies of honest persons [to the effect] that he was entised to accuse the Earl, with hope of his life. By these and many other circumstances the assise was satisfied, and acquitted the Earl.

This morning Bothwell sent timely to speak with me, but, being ready, he was suddenly "occasioned" to hasten to the King both to stay his immediate return to Falkland and to do other business broached this morning in Court, whereof I make slender report at this time as these affairs are presently in handling betwixt the King and the lords with some ministers continuing still in Court, yet closely kept,* and as others will give better advertisement of all things executed this day, or "executorye" in the plot devised, I trust that you will be sufficiently satisfied therein by Mr. Lock, of whose errand from hence to the Court in England I am ignorant.

To stay the King's repair to Falkland without provision for reformation of the great confusion in this estate Bothwell and others have recounted to the King the known boldness in the Papists, the effusion of innocent blood by murder committed in every corner without punishment (especially of the Earl of Murray), the great oppressions of the poor, the danger of breach of the amity with England, and the bareness of his estate; for which they prayed him to take order before his departure; wherein the King and these lords have not well accorded at the first, notwithstanding that the ministers have with all humility moved the King to have due regard to these great causes. I hear that the King's journey to Falkland is now stayed, and that matters shall be further debated on Monday next. I am told that these lords have informed the King that Thomas Erskine, James Erskine, his brother, Mr. William Leslie and Mr. Gilbert Ogilvy, his servants, have been very evil instruments and have committed great faults. Therefore Thomas Erskine is committed to the custody of Cluny, and Mr. William Leslie to a chamber in Holyroodhouse; the other two are commanded to "avoyde from" the King's presence and to give caution for their appearance. It is said that these, with others, sought to draw the King from the company of the lords about him to Lochleven "by the speid of his horses prepared and redye at the parkis syde at Fawkland for the same," and that one letter is intercepted from some of these four to Lord Hume certifying that the King would adventure to come to him and leave these lords, notwithstanding that it should be done with the hazard of his life. These things I write with speed before I am assured of their certainty, to the intent you may know the variance betwixt the King and these lords, and that I may receive directions with all expedition.

It is newly advertised from the north that Huntly has very lately entered into Moray with great forces when most of the inhabitants were absent. He has "runn a longe forrey" above twelve miles, killing some men, women and children, and has burnt and destroyed the houses therein, chiefly in the lands of the Earl of Murray and of the young Laird of Calder. He has burnt Collord, the Mains of Mackintosh, and the house of Angus Williamson, presently in this town with Atholl. Your lordship will hear that revenge shall very shortly be taken for this outrage. Angus remains openly at his house at Douglas; Erroll abides at his house, and Huntly is occupied in sort mentioned. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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* *i.e.* apparently the negotiations are kept a close secret.

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1593. Enclosure with the same.

(Trial of the Earl of Bothwell.)

" Names of th'erles, lordis and barrons enpanelled on th'assyse for the tryall of th'erle Bothwell. At Edenburgh x^{o} Augustii, 1593."

Earls : Atholl, Montrose.
Lords : Seton, Livingstone, Forbes, Innermeath, Sinclair, the Master of Gray, Master of Somerville.
Barons : Lauder of the Bass, Sinclair of Roslin.
Buchanan (Boughenan) of that Ilk,
Ker (Carr) of Ferniherst,
Murray of Polmais (Pomayes),
Otterburn of Reidhall,
Towers of Inverleith,
Caldwell.

¾ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 12. **112.** MR. JOHN CAREY TO BURGHLEY.

Printed in *Border Papers*, ii. No. 878.

I send you the manner of Bothwell's trial, word for word as I received it out of Scotland. His day of trial began on Friday last, 10th August, at 1 p.m. and continued till 10 p.m. ; where he was by his peers acquitted of the facts of witchcraft, whereof he was accused.

12 *p. In a modern hand. Endorsed.*

Aug. 16. **113.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 14th, I received your letter of the 8th instant, requiring enlargement of sundry particularities omitted in my last letter, and containing divers necessary directions. I shall give you satisfaction [of details] shortly by my next. By my former of the 11th, I advertised that the King was entreated by Mr. John Colville to return here from Falkland, and that on Friday, the 10th, Bothwell was tried and cleared by assise.

The King had determined to remain at Falkland until he should remove to Stirling, trusting to have rid himself at Falkland from the company about him, and at Stirling to have gathered others for his better contentment. For this purpose he was resolved to come back [from Edinburgh] to Falkland on Saturday, the 11th, and the Duke (having the rule of the guard, being only 500 footmen) promised that he should return as he desired. [*In the margin :* " Duk had rule of 100 foot."]

On Saturday the King was ready early in the morning, calling on the Duke to perform his promise. The Duke, seeming willing to do it as far as lay in his power, alleged (as I hear) that Bothwell and the rest would not like well of it. Whereupon Bothwell was called to the King to persuade his stay and do other business. [*In the margin :* " Bothwell came to the King."]

He entered into recount of many causes casting this estate into dangerous confusion, requisite to be redressed before the King's departure.

I am also informed that in the treaty of these matters the King pressed the Earl and the rest to withdraw from his company, alleging that it was their promise so to do immediately after Bothwell's trial, and that albeit he had fully kept all things promised on his part, yet they had " broken with him " by the removal from him of the three brethren of the Erskines, Mr.

James VI.
1593. Gilbert Ogilvy and Mr. William Leslie, his servants, and that their faults would be the greater if they should now deny either to let him return that day to Falkland or not to depart from him after this trial. Bothwell answered for the rest, affirming that they had duly performed all promises; that they had "discovered" these five persons to have sought to draw the King from them against his promise and to work thereby their destruction with the overthrow of the commonwealth, and that Thomas Erskine had been the means to send a letter with the King's ring and message to Lord Hume for their hurt and to have discomfited their friends. Secondly, these noblemen with the King "challenge" the like benefits as were given to the lords * lately coming to him in like manner at Stirling; which benefits granted to the "incomers" at Stirling included relaxation from the horn, repossession of their lands and goods, "rehabillitation" to enjoy their former possessions, remission of all faults, restitution to their offices, lands, goods and rights, the establishment of a council of some chosen "indifferent" persons to reside about the King until the settlement should be fully confirmed by Parliament, "rendringe" [*i.e.* restoration] of castles and raising and keeping of guards for their security.

It fell out (as I am informed) that Bothwell earnestly pressed the speedy punishment of the murderers of Murray and also the persons subscribing the warrant for the same, with which subscription he "namely" [*i.e.* especially] charged the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill and Sir George Hume; and that upon naming of Sir Robert the King said that a man more honest than Bothwell would answer for Sir Robert. Whereunto Bothwell replied that the party answering must be the King himself or else he should be found not so honest as he. These words betwixt the King and the Earl have been so reported that it has been bruited that the King had acknowledged the grant of the warrant for the slaughter of Murray. But the same bruit coming to the King's ears has greatly offended him and is flatly denied by him. For the appeasing and reconciliation of these discords some of the ministers were sent for, whose labours profited little that day, and thereon the assembly was ordered to meet again on the morrow, being Sunday, at 3 p.m. I was prayed to travail with the King the next day, before the meeting. I obtained access and declared how strange it was to the Queen of England that Bothwell had come to and been accepted by the King. I recounted to the King all the contents of your lordship's letter of 30th July touching these proceedings, as also her Majesty's care for the safety of the King's person and for preservation of the country from rebellion or invasion. The King answered that he was no wise privy to the practice for bringing in Bothwell, and that at my former audience he had "opened" sufficiently the form of this enterprise, affirming that he would keep promise with the lords if they shall perform the like to him.

Then I descended into the variances betwixt him and the lords, noting the hard condition of his present case and wishing that he would wisely provide, first, for his honour and safety in person, which were now to be got by giving some reasonable contentment to the lords upon their departure from him; and, next, for reformation of the estate in matters of religion, justice and peace: which causes I alleged to have been prejudiced and endangered by his own defaults in slow administration of justice and requisite remedies, and also by his Council preferring more their own particularities than the redress of the diseases in the state. I persuaded that some discreet persons well chosen might entreat him to give honourable satisfaction to the lords and

* *i.e.* the return of the exiled lords of the Ruthven administration, 1585.

1593. exhort them with humility to accept his offers of grace. In reply, the King justified much his own government and actions, adding that the contempt in his subjects proceeded from their own errors and by his misfortune. Secondly, he showed that, at the request of Mr. John Colville and for the expedition of Bothwell's trial, he returned from Falkland to Holyrood House against his intention, and now they stayed his return to Falkland and still remain about him against his will and their promise. Thirdly, they have removed five of his servants from him and thereby have broken the conditions on their part, and, besides, had required his letters to summon the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvill and Sir George Hume for treason; and being demanded for what cause, it was answered, that they might be hanged. Fourthly, that they challenged the like benefits to be granted to them as to the lords at Stirling; and he concluded with a resolution not only to suffer his hand to be cut from his arm rather than hereafter subscribe any letter or missive at their appetites, but also to endure death rather than to live in this dishonour. After I had "recomforted" him with the offer of her Majesty's aid and persuaded him to try the mediation of fit persons for appeasing these discords, he agreed to try what should ensue by the conference that day, and, if no good effects should proceed thereon, that some more apt mediators should be joined to these and meet again on the morrow. But nothing was accorded that day, further than that some of the Session, some more of the ministry and some of this burgh should be called and with these convene there the next day.

The next day, Monday, the assembly came together, travailing diligently to pacify these discords, wherein the repetition of matters rather increased the offences than appeased the variances. I stayed my letters to your lordship because I awaited "good frute," and also at Bothwell's motion. On Tuesday, the 14th instant, the King, the lords and these mediators assembled again, and after long debate "they drewe neare the overture of agrement nowe concluded and especifyed by the note inclosed"; yet the lords disagreed amongst themselves in some points, and demanded sundry things denied by the King, especially that Bothwell might be general-lieutenant in the south, with large conditions and authority, and with power to choose and establish all the officers on the Borders; that Atholl should be general-lieutenant in the north, with power to prosecute Huntly, the Papists and all other offenders, and that her Majesty, by me, might give caution or be witness in the accords. To help to loose these knots I was sent for, and thereon travailed with the King and advised Atholl and Bothwell rather to qualify their demands than to stop the course of agreement; and so, in the end, all things were accorded that night and recorded by writing subscribed by the King, the lords and mediators aforesaid.

Whilst matters found hard progress and passed with sharp terms, the King "opened" to the ministers that he was resolved to be either free and delivered from the company of the lords or else to declare himself to be "captyvate" by them; and thereon he charged the ministers to publish the same to the people and also to exhort them to procure his delivery by force. This wrought mightily with all the assembly, so that thereon the accords proceeded, and the King was pleased to give his good countenance with firm promises to the lords to the good contentation of the just; for all were not fully satisfied with this order enacted as by virtue and authority of a council. Because of this, and because it was thought that her Majesty could not conveniently subscribe as of the number of the Council of Scotland, therefore my subscription as her cautioner or witness in this behalf was omitted. Further,

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1593. it was not found convenient that the office of lieutenancy should be committed to Bothwell before he should be fully restored by Parliament; and it is intended that the King shall be again moved at Falkland for the disposition of those two offices to these two Earls.

Yesterday, the 15th instant, the King passed to Leith, where Bothwell banquetted him, and afterwards he returned to Falkland with the Duke, Ochiltree and Spynie, and this day the Queen will follow the King, who now is wholly bent to take his pastimes, purposing, at present, to ride to Inchmurrin (Inchmeryn) to hunt fallow deer, and not to return hither before October. I am advertised that great forces had been shown in the fields for the King's rescue within these three days, and that the Duke (Herenius) would have joined with them and left the other lords if this agreement had not been concluded. But now the great blasts of these storms are calmed, yet it is very uncertain what shall ensue. I hear that the King has sent for Sir John Carmichael and some other councillors; that Argyll, Crawford, Rothes and Mar will shortly be with him; that Ochiltree will leave the Court; and that Atholl and his wife will retire to their own houses. I am advertised from the north that Huntly as also Mackintosh and his friends have massed together great forces and are in the fields very likely to fight. The ministers, before the King's departure yesterday, moved him earnestly to give "indelate" order for the prevention of these inconveniences, yet I do not hear of any provision made for the same. It is generally believed here that the Queen is with child, yet she will not acknowledge the same. Nevertheless many signs are seen proving this report. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley. Notes in the margin and underlinings in Burghley's hand.*

Partly printed in Calderwood, v. 257-8.

Enclosure with the same.

(Remission by James VI. to Bothwell.)

The King's Majesty grants to Earl Bothwell, his "partakers" and aiders remission of all bygone offences in assisting and furthering of his attempts against his Highness's person and authority preceding the date hereof, and promises that they shall never be "quarrellit" therefor in time to come, and that they shall have restitution, present repossessing and all other sureties for their lands, lives, goods and houses; and his Highness shall cause the same be ratified by Parliament, to be convened and holden on 20th November next to come, according to the act of Remission made in the Parliament holden at Linlithgow; and this present act to serve for a sufficient security in the meantime. Till the end of the said Parliament or Convention of the estates these persons following shall be commanded nowise to repair to his Highness's presence, and shall be resisted in case they presume "in the contrair." "They are to saye," Alexander Lord Hume, John Lord Thirlestane Chancellor, Thomas Master of Glamis Treasurer, and Sir George Hume of Primroknowe (Pryroknowe), knight. His Majesty wills all men in the meantime to retire to their dwellings or otherwise where they shall think good, as peaceable and obedient subjects, and he will call such of his Council to attend on his service and to "administrate" the affairs of the common weal as he shall think most expedient. This his Majesty faithfully promises on the word of a King, and the lords and others of his Privy Council and Session, the ministers of God's Word present, together with the Provost and bailies of Edinburgh, in name of the whole Council, by his Highness's command and consent, swear and promise

1593. " to halde hand " to the true observation hereof, and to " oppone " themselves by word and deed against all who would presume to infringe and violate the same. Holyroodhouse, 14th August 1593. Signed by his Majesty, the Duke of Lennox, Atholl, Ochiltree, Gray, Innermeath, St. Colme, Dunkeld, the President and lords of Session, Mr. Robert Bruce and the Presbytery convened for the time, the Provost, bailies and council of Edinburgh.

The names of the subscribers are : James Rex. Noblemen : Duke of Lennox, Atholl, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, Spynie, John Lord Forbes, Master of Gray. Session : Seyton [Lord] Urquhart, Sir Robert Melvill, Mr. James Elphinstone, Clerk of Register, Maircarnye.* Kirk : Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce. Mr. Walter Balcanquell, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. William Watson, Mr. Patrick Galloway.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Aug. 18. **114.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to your directions, I have laboured to enlarge and certify sundry particularities omitted in my letter of 30th July, and to return notes to every clause or section in your letter of the 8th. [See the preceding.]

First, " the negligence in the posteman in London leavinge my packett in the bagg—by th'oversight (I thincke) of his boy—might ether have withdrawne at lengthe the lettre, or ells prolonged the deliverye beyond due season, if Mr. Carye had not given occasion by his lettre to call for my packett." The diligence of this postman is such in all his services that small warning will suffice for him. But let all the rest of the keepers of the posts be sharply warned that none of your packets be opened before the delivery, as sometimes I have found done.

Secondly, I was informed that Mr. John Colville (being present with Bothwell and hearing and seeing all things in that action) had written and certified the particularities thereof to persons ready to impart the same to your lordship ; that Mr. Locke was to be sent soon after with full report ; that the King would write to her Majesty ; and that others had advertised these occurrences. The consideration hereof moved me to write that others serve to give intelligence more readily and more certainly than I, and thereon I left the report to others, and the full declaration to the instructions and credit of Sheperson.

Thirdly, it is no little comfort to me that her Majesty likes my dealings with the King in laying before him the neglect of his former promises, " and th'opposinge him, howe he disgeisted the soddaine cominge of Bothwell."

The King in conference assured me that he neither knew nor yet suspected anything of Bothwell's coming to him, and that he presented himself to the King having his clothes not fastened about him ; that before Bothwell's entry into his chamber the Duke and Spynie were with the King ; and that Atholl, Ochiltree and the Stewarts were with Bothwell and Mr. John Colville at the King's coming forth to the presence chamber. Bothwell and Mr. John submitted themselves with great humility, letting the King know that they were driven of necessity to attempt this manner of access to him for the safety of their lives, which now they offered to his pleasure : they prayed remission for their attempts at Holyrood House and Falkland, and Bothwell offered to be tried by assize for witchcraft. The King told them that this sudden and violent repair to him was strange and very dishonourable to him, not so much in Bothwell and Colville (who sought it for their lives) as in the others who had

* Andrew Wemyss of Myrecairnie, father of young Logie. Cf. p. 163.

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1593. brought them in. Bothwell uttered many humble speeches to which the King gave neither credit nor respect. He declared to them that he was their sovereign and had accomplished tne age of twenty-seven years, so that the shame and dishonour of his surprise and detention in this manner ought to be more grievous to him than the pains of death, declaring that he thought they had come for his death and that he was presently in their hands, and ready to endure death patiently that thereby he might rather die with honour than thus live in captivity with shame, and he wished them speedily to execute their intended violence against him. Bothwell, casting himself at the King's feet, protested deeply that it never entered into his heart to do the King any personal hurt, and that he came to offer his life and service and to give testimony of his loyalty and love, and so fell from his knees flat to the ground, offering his own sword to the King that he might, if he listed, strike off his head, which he thrust under the King's foot, and put forth his neck to the King's stroke. The Duke, Atholl and the rest thereon in very humble sort prayed the King to have compassion on him and rather to accept his submission than take his life. The King, moved with the sight of Bothwell's submission and sorrow, which he noted to be imprinted in his eyes and face, was contented to show his grace to them, and thereon Bothwell offered to withdraw from the King's company until his trial for witchcraft should be past; that he should return to his trial on the 10th instant; that in the meantime none of the King's officers or servants should be removed from him; and that Bothwell after his trial should depart to and abide in such place, and so long, as the King should appoint. The King was pleased with these conditions and promised, upon performance thereof, to pardon all the offences of Bothwell and his followers, and to restore them to their honours, offices, lands and possessions. Furthermore, he would assuredly keep his promise to them if they should likewise well accomplish the conditions promised by them, and thereby he did not think himself captivate or detained against his will.

Fourthly, it appears from the King's account that the conditions were agreed betwixt him and Bothwell in manner rehearsed, and also that he more condemned the bringers-in of Bothwell than he blamed Bothwell.

Fifthly, I am not able truly to inform her Majesty of the diversity of the minds of the King's councillors, as they are very changeable. Many are changed since this change in Court, and many are likely to be changed hereafter, partly by the King's course to be shortly manifested, and partly through Bothwell and his friends offering friendship to them; and as the number of the Council is very great, so their affections are very diverse and seldom so constant but that they may be altered between the writing and delivery of my letter. The Duke, with the surname of Stewarts, Argyll, Crawford, Montrose and Caithness, Seton, Livingstone, Forbes, Innermeath, Sinclair, Ross and many other lords, with many good barons, are glad of Bothwell's restitution and welfare. The ministry and burgesses of Edinburgh wish him well, and the people generally fawn on him and favour him. He has been advised and supported (as it is said) by the Stewarts in this enterprise, and it is thought that Morton, Mar, the Master of Glamis and the residue of the Council lately about the King, together with sundry of the King's minions, were little delighted with his incoming, in regard that they were endangered thereby to lose grace in Court. In these causes Mr. Locke and others can give clearer light.

Sixthly, the friends of the northern lords have discovered themselves in the Council before, and in the progress of, the Parliament. My advice to the King to gather a wise Council was given purposely to allure him to put from him such councillors and courtiers as were poisoning his nature and offensive

1593. to the people, and also to call to him wise and well affected persons. The choice and naming of the persons to be removed or called ought to have been determined by a choice number of especial persons, elected and employed therein. It is not known now who should have been embraced or put away, because this choice is not resolved.

Seventhly, as her Majesty well likes my course for the " uphold " of the Hamiltons, so it is requisite to direct me what to do in case the King shall draw the Hamiltons to be party against Bothwell, for it is looked that he shall shortly be at Hamilton. Albeit presently Hamilton and Bothwell remain in good friendship, yet, if the King shall turn his favour from Bothwell, it may then be doubted whether he will deal with Hamilton therein, and what Hamilton will do at the King's allurement.

Eighthly, according to her Majesty's pleasure, I have of late given, and shall continue to give, comfort to Mr. John Colville, whose service might be found very profitable, and I recommend that in his worn estate he be relieved with her Majesty's bounty.

Ninthly, sundry of the Council (named in my former letter) have departed from Court. Albeit Mar chanced to come into the King's chamber with Atholl and Bothwell on 24th July, yet now it appears he was neither privy to nor allowed the enterprise. There is no unkindness betwixt Bothwell and Mar, but it is not known what friendship shall be continued betwixt them until they or their friends have met to remove all jealousies. Your lordship's opinion " for " Crawford is good.

Tenthly, there was an intention to have levied a guard of 100 footmen and 50 horsemen under the Duke and paid by the lords then about the King;—namely, the Duke, Atholl, Bothwell, Ochiltree and Spynie. This guard should have attended on the King's person and for the lords' sureties. The trumpet and drum were sounded for the whole levy thereof, and the companies were prepared, but in the end 100 footmen were raised and entertained hitherto, and are like to be discharged within few days.

Eleventhly, I have given order (according to her Majesty's pleasure) that Huntly and his partners should be stirred to renew and proceed in their former offers to me. I perceive that Bothwell (Argonartes) is fully bent to shoot at Huntly's overthrow; wherein he will not be stayed unless otherwise advised by the Duke (America), whose counsel he will follow. I shall strive much to stop his course herein till I be directed further what to persuade, for his purpose will best please the well affected. I am told that the other partners are here presently in secret manner to make means to join with Bothwell, who will be willing to show favour for all old kindnesses amongst them, yet he does not like to associate himself with them. As Archibald Douglas (Diogenes) is a dealer for them, I have employed Douglas's near kinsman to travail with these partners, who, I perceive, are more desirous to have their " turnes " done by Archibald Douglas or others than by me, noted to be the author of all their troubles.

Lastly, the chief adversary (or enemy, as your lordship writes) to the Chancellor (Menelaus) is the Queen of Scots (Tripolis), who, upon " conceipt " that he has far forgotten himself by rash words to the King of Scots (Petrea) narrowly touching her, remains still offended, and for her sake the Duke of Lennox (Herenius), Bothwell, Mar (Sempronius) and Lord Hume (Mandovill) fiercely prosecute him. On the other side Lord John Hamilton (Scipio), Atholl (Alexander) in some sort, Maxwell (Octavius) and Cessford (Seneca), with many others, of good quality and calling, are ready to stand with him. The Chancellor has frequent intelligence with Papists, as you rightly noted. But since

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1593.

my late service here he has acquainted me with his dealing with some of them and also with some matters passed among them.

Mr. James Murray, who has done many good offices for her Majesty, has been removed from the office of the King's Wardrobe without cause, as he is ready to "approve." This office is now vacant by the absence of Sir George Hume, to whom the King granted it, and Murray trusted that her Majesty would commend his cause to the King through Sir Robert Melville [see No. 70; p. 100]. I request that she will now recommend his suit to Sir Robert.

It is advertised that Huntly and Mackintosh have met and skirmished. Huntly's horse was shot and slain and Huntly hurt. Twenty-four of Huntly's men are slain and four of Mackintosh's, and Mackintosh pursues Huntly. The report is uncertain, and of no great credit.

The King's mind is so altered towards Atholl and Bothwell that little or nothing is done as yet in granting them the lieutenancies of the north and south. They show great devotion to her Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Hearing that the King would appoint a Convention, I stayed this letter one night that I might write certainly thereof. I am informed this day that there shall be a Convention at Stirling on 7th September. It is supposed that this is done to draw the Chancellor, Hume, the Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume to the King with more speed, because they were barred by the late accord to come to his presence before the next Parliament or Convention. It is expected that some novelty and alteration shall follow. I am informed that Lord Hume has agreed with the Chancellor and Sir Robert Carr, whereby it is thought that a strong party shall be made against Bothwell.

6¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 21. **115.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King removed yesterday from Falkland to Stirling, forbearing to dine at Morton's house, called Newhouse, where Angus and Errol had come, hoping to have obtained his presence. I am told that Morton was with the King at Falkland, and that the King satisfied him in his cause; but what the cause was, is not yet known. The King intended to ride to Dumbarton on the 23rd, and on the 27th to enter into Inchmurrin (Inchmeringe), to hunt fallow-deer three or four days, and from thence to pass to Hamilton for two or three days, and afterwards return to Stirling and tarry there the end of this Convention, beginning on 7th September. It is pretended that the Convention shall be occupied in pacifying the quarrels amongst the nobility and in preparing matters for the next Parliament. It is thought that the King will there declare his determined intention to perform his promises to Bothwell and the rest. This place is holden suspicious, and it is doubted that some noblemen, not yet openly called by letters, shall be present there and persuade dangerous courses.

It is true that the Chancellor and Hume are agreed. I am advised that the King by his letter willed the Master of Glamis to persuade Hume to agree with the Chancellor for the King's service, and that thereby the Master sent the Comptroller quietly with his letters to reconcile these parties. The Chancellor and the Master of Glamis are likewise agreed. Because it is thought that the King will not return hither before the beginning of November and that my abode here in the meantime shall yield little profit, I petition her Majesty to grant my full revocation, or at least access to her presence during the King's absence. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

James VI.
1593.
Aug. 21.

116. Mr. John Colville to Sir Robert Cecil.

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, p. 101.

Since the capitulation of the 14th nothing has occurred but quietness, and by all appearance his Majesty meant "no othervayis," albeit Lord Hume, Maitland, Cessford and some others who have long been mortal enemies are finally accorded, which gave some suspicion. But their meaning shall be foreseen and prevented, if it tend to our hurt. The 7th of September is appointed for a Convention of indifferent noblemen to declare his Majesty's good liking of Bothwell's last humiliation, and to "treit" a general concord among all his nobles, which I take to be specially meant for Huntly. The well affected here implore that before that time her Majesty either by messenger or by letter will instruct her ambassador to receive information from us to "propone" such matters to his Majesty and the Estates as be for the benefit of the common peace, of religion and of your friends here, and yet cannot pertinently be moved by us. This day I am both sent from the nobles here to his Majesty, at Stirling, to solicit a commission to pursue the detainers of the houses of Coldingham and Spott which are detained and fortified by Hume and Sir George, and at that same time warned by his Majesty's letter to repair thither. As I find matter there I shall advertise your honour. May Mr. Henry Locke be hastened hither, because we have committed to him matters that we have "opinned" to none other. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—The Convention holds at Stirling, which in our old prophesies is esteemed an "ominus place"; for we say "Stirling *ab initio nequam.*" Even at the closing up of this letter I received your honour's, wherein I find you would have me to set down in particular what good course we are to follow, by what means and with what liking of our sovereign. That matter being partly committed to Mr. Lock, and by reason of the constant inconstancy of our estate (as your honour rightly terms it) to be with good advice set down, I am compelled to postpone it for this time. In my next I shall be more special in that point.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal.*

Aug. 21.

117. Mr. John Colville to Henry Locke.

Printed in *Letters of John Colville*, p. 103.

[Refers to the calling of the Convention, as in the preceding.] "Your douncuming wer werey necessar, for thir men ar sumwhat impatient, and thair uprychtnes wald be mett with a prompt and spedy benevolence and not with delayis, which be dethe to us." I perceive by your letter you are on your way, which I pray you to haste. I commit all other particulars to your discretion, wherein, if you hope "to speid," insist; but if there be no present care, let me be "tymuslie" informed thereof. My unfeigned affection to serve her Majesty shall never fail, howsoever I may lack the means. Being supplied by her bounty, I hope in this realm to do her more necessary service than those in greater rank. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 22.

118. Suspension by James VI. of an Act made against the Earl of Huntly.

Forasmuch as at our last being in Aberdeen, in March last bypast, there was an act of Council and caution "tane uppon" George Erle of Huntly, his kin, friends and "partakers," upon great sums of money, and also the "bodelye

James VI.
1593. aithis," of the persons named in the act or acts that they nor any of them would reset, supply or intercommune with George Earl of Huntly, under pains contained within the said act or acts: Understanding presently your great incursions by fire-raising, murder of women and bairns and innocent people " be herrishipps of geare and goodis," not only upon the Earl of Huntly's proper lands, but also upon other faithful subjects, by the Clan Chattan and such other broken men, their adherents, therefore we of our princely authority have thought good to dispense, and by these presents " suspense," any penalty that may incur by the speaking, resetting or intercommuning with the said George Earl of Huntly or his accomplices, or any danger that may be incurred by those who advise, assist, and defend with him and his complices in defence of his lands and heritage against the malefactors foresaid; but also that he and they may follow them " after ther geir " and pursue them in all " hostiale " manner for defence thereof. Edinburgh.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley and his clerk.*

[Aug. 23.] **119.** ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Henry Locke brought hither letters from the King dated 1st August, by which he pretends to inform us of the truth of the late accident fallen out there, which might seem, as he writes, to import a further alteration than has ensued. He delivers the matter in this sort: that on 24th July, Bothwell conveyed himself secretly into his palace with four or five disguised in simple array, and thereby had access to his person, and prostrate at his feet offered himself to be tried for witchcraft and demanded mercy for his two several invasions into the King's palace; and so, upon certain conditions (but those not expressed), the King granted to him his grace; and this he has thought meet to make known to us for two special causes,—the one lest the matter might be misreported to us, the second, lest we should doubt that by this change of Bothwell's estate some other alteration might happen, whereby we might, perhaps, alter our accustomed former dealing with him. But no such occasion being ministered, he looks we will keep no other course with him than before. For answer we mean to write to him with our own hand; and yet we will have you inform him that we look to be better satisfied for our honour, which in some sort is touched in that the King so peremptorily refused our request for Bothwell, though it was not for Bothwell's sake, but to bring quietness to the King. To content him we banished Bothwell by public proclamation, yet at the same instant that proclamations were so made in all countries northward the King has received him [into] favour; which does not displease us for any evil will we bear to the Earl, but in that we may justly be taxed with lack of consideration or of the King's neglecting of us by this so hasty proceeding. You may also say to the King from us that we, being a prince absolute as he is, cannot but be grieved to see so secret and sudden access to the person of a King before his favour was obtained, for so may the greatest princes in the world be surprised and overruled to their peril or dishonour. We do not allege this as conceiving any evil intention in the Earl, for whom we would not have made intercession but upon opinion of his sorrowfulness for his faults and his ability to make amends; and now we consider that the King's letter was procured by Bothwell, and that he also has sent us a letter by Locke [see No. 105] to impart certain things, the substance whereof Locke has delivered by writing in certain articles signed, as we think, by Bothwell. Amongst which articles you shall understand

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1593. those that are material, and thereupon, according to our direction, you shall deal with Bothwell and with such others as he shall assure you to be joined with him. He has willed Locke to let us know what noblemen have by oath and their hands given to Locke assurance to follow such course as the Earl shall intend with us, for our service and the King's. He requires to know whether we will accept, and to have speedy direction for the use thereof. And Locke, being "enquired" who they were who gave their oaths and their hands, has named the Duke, Atholl, Mar, Ochiltree and Spynie. Secondly and thirdly, the Earl affirms that their present actions shall be authorised by their King, and that none in Scotland ought to be preferred for power before them, most of them being of the religion and faction opposed against the enemies of religion and estate, whom he names Huntly, Maxwell and Hume, adding that his associates are ready [to offer themselves] by writing, if we shall give commission to receive it, and by the Earl's son as pledge to confirm it. Fourthly, it is required that if we shall like their proceeding therein we would send some testimony speedily under our hand with whom and how we will have them deal, how far we will impart our princely liberality, which they will forbear to demand in any great sums, considering our late bounty to their sovereign, adding that there was loss in the bestowing of that, or rather thereby an arming of our enemies; and they think in a short time to rid us of all foreign practices, meaning with our help to maintain some small forces for a few months, without naming of any proportion, but by their conference Locke understands it to be about 4000 crowns. Fifthly, Locke is commanded to keep their proceeding secret from the King, lest the same be revealed to their adversaries. Sixthly, they promise constancy, and with our aid in three months' time so to chastise the Spanish party that Scotland shall not contain it, or that it shall not be able to prevail in anything; and also to have the frontiers strictly looked to. Further, we are required that, if for satisfaction of some of their party and to the King's content, and with satisfaction of the Church, they shall be compelled to receive in Court and to use James Stewart, we will not take it in ill part, but rather by our letters show our allowance thereof.

These are the principal instructions delivered to Locke. Our answer to all of them you shall impart to the Earl; and, if necessary, impart some points thereof to the rest of his associates. But first you shall use some round speech in our name to Bothwell, saying that we are much perplexed how to "putt up" this matter with silence. [This "round speech" is in substance the same as that used to the King.] Though we are glad that the Earl has received favour, yet we cannot dissemble our mislike of the manner even for example sake that may be dangerous to be followed. Thereafter you will let him know our answer to his instructions, as follows:

First, we allow his concurrency with the noblemen named by Locke, and especially seeing their intentions are alleged to be not only to our good, but above all to their prince's good and safety, both the same being very acceptable to us, and warrantable by the law of God and man.

Secondly, we do both like and think it necessary that their actions be authorised by the King, and the more to be liked also, for that it seems by the Earl that most of them be of the religion and "opposite" against the enemies of that state, as they name Huntly, Maxwell and Hume to be.

We like their offer to ratify this by their handwriting, and give you commission to receive it from them in secret sort without pressing the Earl to have his son as pledge, though if there were such cause he should be well used by us.

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To the fourth, you may say that we cannot at first enter into particular directions until we be more particularly informed how their actions shall be authorised by the King and in what manner they will join themselves with other well-affected noblemen. By contrary proceeding division may follow in the realm amongst the nobility who are dutiful and loyal, as of late years we have seen pitifully experimented. We do not mention this for any mistrust of the Earl or of those who are named with him, but not knowing who may be further associated with them and how all their actions may surely be bent to the honour and safety of the King, to the maintenance of religion, and extirpation of the Spanish faction, we require the Earl to be contented that we do not make particular answer to the points mentioned until we may have more particular information from him, and upon knowledge thereof we shall be better provided how to answer their demands.

Fifthly, we think it meet that their determinations be kept secret until proceedings be fully resolved, and then be opened to the King, so that the friends of the enemies be not made participant thereof until the time that the execution may be taken in hand.

As to James Stewart, you shall say that, considering he has been in disgrace both of the King and of his Council a long time and has been heretofore charged with sundry evil actions, we may not conveniently allow of the "receipt" of him into office or into the Court unless we may perceive certainly the King's own judgment and disposition and what good the same may work to the quietness of the realm and concord with the King's good servants.

Finally, you shall require the Earl to show you his opinion how the King is bent to prosecute the attainder of the Earls; for, whilst we are moved by divers there to stir up the King to deal more openly against them, we are otherwise informed that they make account to obtain his favour by their submission, whereof we shall be most glad, if it may prove to be good for the King and to the continuance of God's religion and to free the realm of Spanish and Popish factions. You may tell Bothwell that we heard that Melvill had reported to him that we are well content that the said Earls should be received to the King's favour, but Melvill therein misreports our speeches, for we said that if the King should determine to receive them to grace, it were much better that our intercession might be used therein than that of any of the King's subjects, who should thereby claim an authority to be banded with them in any other evil action; and of this latter point you shall also speak with Sir Robert Melvill, and will him not to misstate us nor to misreport our speeches to him.

8 *pp. Draft. Many corrections in Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk :* "Copie of her Majesties lettre to Mr. Bowes."

Aug. 23. **120.** ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Your late letters and certain articles pretending an accord betwixt the King and Bothwell have moved us both to compassion for the King and offence against such as have been parties to the dangerous and dishonourable proceedings. By reason of your short recitals we are not satisfied with the declaration of your doings and the King's answers and resolutions, and therefore being not well certified how you have delivered to the King our opinion concerning his late actions nor what manner of answers he has made directly thereto, we have thought good at this time to direct you what you shall say on our part to him, and to observe very well his answers, and to report the same to us accordingly.

1593. You shall first require him to call to his remembrance what promise and assurance he gave to Lord Burgh to prosecute the notable traitors, especially the three Earls of the north: and now, notwithstanding, we perceive all his actions to tend rather to the contrary, as the sufferance of his rebels to continue in their countries with full liberty without apprehension, and the wilful escape of such as had directly proved their treasons without effort to recover them. Afterwards, perceiving a colourable Parliament prepared with a show to attaint the rebels, we have found it strange that his own learned Advocate has been suffered most audaciously to devise colourable cavillations to stay the process, so that they were not punished in Parliament as had been convenient for [the sake of] example; and we have found it strange that in the appointing of the Lords of the Articles for their attainder, the special friends of the said three Earls have been chosen to be of that number, and so, in the end, a number of particular causes were expedited without proceeding to the attainder of the said Earls, so that they have rather cause of encouragement to continue in their treasons than any fear to be corrected for the same. Therefore you shall say to the King that his proceedings move us to doubt that he himself is notably seduced and, to speak plainly, blinded in his reason and judgment by evil counsellors and by the rebels' friends and practisers about his person, to suffer himself not only to be generally contemned, but also to be overruled and in a sort brought into subjection of his lewd subjects, if not also into danger of his life; and by thus disregarding his own safety a great error has followed in that certain other lords of the realm, perceiving this great negligence in his government and danger of his own estate and of that realm, have of late taken some colour, for the establishing of his realm in quietness, and for recovery of obedience to him, to make a party against the said rebels, and therewith have attempted to press the King by their petitions to assent to the prosecution of the rebels and to root out the Spanish papistical faction and to remove from him such bad instruments as secretly favour his rebels. Wherein we have misliked the manner of their proceedings in presuming to force him, instead of dutifully advising him thereto. The access to him of the Earl Bothwell has manifestly tended to the dishonour of his kingly estate, yet he has himself so variously and uncertainly proceeded that no good has hereof followed, but a general amazing of his people and an entry to division amongst his nobility, without any resolution how to settle his realm in quietness and root out the notable traitors,—which are the things by him heretofore promised as most necessary for his estate. Therefore, to conclude, you shall require him to give us direct answer, what councillors of knowledge, authority and loyalty he means to call to him to assist him for the execution of his actions against the said rebels and their partners; and likewise you shall require him to open his mind to you, what he mislikes in his estate, in whom he reposes his trust, and of whom he has cause to doubt. That * we may not still by variety of bruits, by contrariety in his actions and his sudden changes of favour to his servants remain uncertain whom to favour or like, and ignorant whom he will use and trust or put from him, we require you to let him know that, as things stand, we will not credit anything until he has by his hand assured us of his disposition to embrace or reject, and his resolution to prosecute or oversee. This he ought no more to deny us than he did to the ambassadors of Denmark for their satisfaction in particular, that by his writing they might satisfy all such as should desire to know the truth of those actions. And for the matter of Bothwell's sudden reception

* A page has here been inserted in the hand of Elizabeth in emendation of the draft concerning the King's purposes and the matter of Bothwell.

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1593. into his favour, as we could not at first but most inwardly abhor that insolent and abominable fact, so have we also found it strange that now without once acquainting us, who had governed ourself towards him even by the rule of his own desires, and had even acquainted him with all the secrets of Bothwell's overtures to us, he has not only remitted him, but also has forborne to make it appear to the world by any chastisement how he misliked in any of his favourers their abusing of his person and dignity. When we consider the articles of the late accord, we require you to reiterate to him that without direct knowledge from him we cannot judge how he means in his heart hereafter to proceed, and therefore our only desire and purpose are that, without any respect to Bothwell or to any other, saving notorious conspirators, he may be assisted with such councillors, and himself take and follow such resolutions, as may make him honoured and loved of his good subjects and duly feared of the ill, and that he cause justice to be ministered to all persons of every degree without partiality, and betwixt parties and parties, so that we may see his prosperity thereby.

6½ *pp. Draft in the hand of Burghley's clerk. Many corrections and additions in Elizabeth's and Burghley's hands. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "23 August 1593. Copie of her Majesties lettres to Mr. Bowes by Mr. Lock."

Aug. 23. **121.** ELIZABETH TO MR. HENRY LOCK: INSTRUCTIONS FOR BOTHWELL.

Cott. MS., Calig., D., fol. 109. "Certain things to be delivered by Mr. Henry Lock to the Earle of Bothwell to shew him what we have misliked or liked in him for his late actions." *

First, he ought not to think that we can [allow, or did ever allow, of his] assaulting of the King's houses at two sev[erall times, whatsoever pretence] may be made to colour the same; for it [is to be held as a] general rule that the persons of kings are sacred, representing the Majesty of God here on earth, against which no violence may be permitted.

Secondly, we have not liked of this late sudden access to the King,—being in his own chamber solitary—without either leave given by the King, or knowledge given by the Earl or his friends of such a sudden attempt, bringing also weapons in his hands, whereby the Earl did this third time manifestly offend almighty God by putting the King in great fear, and ought thereof to require remission both of God and the King.

Thirdly, we have not liked (if it be as we hear it reported) that the very next day after he was acquitted he came alone to the King's house at an unseasonable time, and without notice or licence of the King took away five of the King's servants and committed them as prisoners, not using such dutiful manner as would become him or any of the greatest noblemen or counsellors. He should first, either by himself or jointly with some other good counsellors, have informed the King of such offences as the parties might have been charged withal, and required their further examination and trial (whereunto we think also the King would have done well to consent); and thereby both the King's honour would have been saved and the Earl's duty commendably performed.

[We have also, for our own part, great cause to mislike of his usage] in our realm. First, in his wander[ing up and down in such open sort as was] needless for him, and provoked the King to challenge us with breach of the treaties. But most of all [his misusage has been not]able in that he has, since

* This heading and the words in square brackets are taken from the copy in Harl. 4648. p. 146, which also has the note: "N.B. the date is in Burghley's hand, and this paper is signed by him and the L. Hunsdon." Only the latter signature now remains.

1593. the King has recei[ved him, come into our] realm and wandered through all our borders, and [come to our towns of Berwick] and Carlisle and other frontier places [in such sort as no subject] of our own ought to do without our commission. [And, besides], he has come to our towns of Newcastle and Dur-[ham . . .] the north, as freely as any officer of our own might [do. Of which] doings both the King and the world may have cause [to think unfavourably] of our friendship for the King; and others badly [affected in his] country may by the example take such course as is [unfit to be suffered] in those doubtful times, and may give cause to our subjects [to be less curious in their duties] when in this they are not blamed.

As we mislike these things in the Earl, so we cannot deny that we have also had [cause to like him for other things, and "namely" for his many offers fr[om the time he] escaped out of the Castle of Edinburgh, for his submission [to the King, for] the services he intends to do against the Papist traitors, and [also for] his offers to clear himself of the imputed witchcraft and to go into prison and be tried by his peers or any other lawful subjects of the realm. [As is well] known, we gave knowledge [to the King] by messengers, letters and otherwise of these offers, showing also our liking [thereof for the] weal of the King and his realm. But contra[riwise when the King] showed himself so offended with the Earl [that he seemed] not content with our motions,—which we meant only for his good—we [desisted from] the further entreaty of the King [though not without hope of his princely good disposition to such as seek his mercy. Moreover, we also proceeded very sharply to expel him out of our realm where he] came only for a refuge to save his life. But if the King would remit [all his former offences] upon trial of his fidelity, we are of opinion that he shall reap [more good to him]self by showing his grace to him, repenting of his faults, than by severe dealing against him.

And where by him we have received overtures from divers other noble personages to concur with our liking to provide for the King's safety and to suppress the Spanish conspirators, since we have only received such declarations in general and the messenger let us know that they offered by their hands to express it, we have thought good to require that he and they will speedily consult and assure us from themselves jointly with him of their intended course, whereby we, knowing it and by such assurance having cause to trust unto it, may advise of holding like correspondence and become a means to the King to trust them and use them as good patriots. In the meantime we remain thankful to them for their so freely offered good will; and whereas we understand that they would have sent it under their hands if the messenger would have brought it, we have blamed him for refusing the same, because it is an occasion of spending more time in sending to and fro than were convenient in a case so perilous to be delayed. *Signed:* Hounsdon.

3*pp.* *Top and edges damaged by fire.*

[*c.* 23] Aug. **122.** NAMES OF LORDS WHO HAVE OFFERED TO SUBSCRIBE AND CONCUR IN THE CAUSE IN HAND.

"The names offered to subscrib and concur in the caws in hand."* The Duke. Earls of Atholl, Bothwell, Mar, Argyll, Morton, Crawford, Montrose, Menteith, Rothes, Glencairn, Orkney, Caithness. Lords Ochiltree, Innermeath, Spynie, Livingston, Sempill, Lindsay, Borthwick. Barons: all

* Apparently the "cause" committed to the negotiation of Locke.

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1593. Stewarts, Farniherst and his Kers (Cars), Johnstone with all the Scotts, all the Lindsays, and " many others to me unknown."

1 *p.* *Endorsed by Burghley*: " Scotland, Aug. 1593."

Aug. 30. **123.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King has passed forwards " on huntinge " to Inchmurrin, accompanied only with the Duke and a small company. He purposes to be at Hamilton to-morrow, the 31st, and to return to Stirling on 4th September to begin the Convention on the 7th. Many are warned by the King's letters to come to this Convention. Some of the ministers present at the mediation between the King and Bothwell are called to the intent they may record the causes, manner and effects of the accords as the same may be ratified by this Convention. It is looked that Mar, the Master of Glamis (now sick), Sir Robert Melvill, the Collector, the Comptroller, Blantyre, the Secretary, Sir John Carmichael, Sir George Hume, Sir William Keith, the Clerk Register, and other councillors and officers, lately scattered by the change in Court, shall be gathered again about the King. Albeit the King presses to draw in the Chancellor, yet he will find little surety in Court until the Queen's displeasure against him shall be appeased, whereof hitherto there is no appearance, for it is said that she is not only offended with Hume for his agreement with him without her privity and against his promise to her, but also that she shows her resolution against the Chancellor.

I am told that the causes of Angus, Huntly and Erroll shall be deliberated by this Convention, and that by the assembling of the old Council about the King they shall escape the punishment before threatened. I am credibly informed that Angus, being lately and openly with Morton at Newhouse, in Fife, has by means of the Countess of Morton (lately with the King at Stirling for that purpose) obtained the King's grant that Tantallon (Tanptallon) shall be delivered to Morton; that his tithes and possessions shall be sequestered and put into the hands of his friends; and that his body shall not be troubled with arrest by any officer. He has returned to his house at Douglas. I am told that the King will order the ministers to confer with him for his conversion. He may subscribe to the religion, as he has done before, but I am advised by credible persons that Angus, Huntly, Erroll and Hume will neither leave the band of their association nor change their Catholic Roman religion professed. Whilst Angus was at Newhouse he was put in memory of his offers to the Queen of England (America), which he acknowledged and before Morton promised to perform. Little suit will suffice for Erroll to receive the revenues of his lands and livings, for it is said that he and his own friends for his use are in possession thereof, and albeit the sharpest arrows are shot at Huntly, yet his " curate [cuirass] of prooffe and armour " in Court are like to defend him from harm and hurt his invaders. It is feared that these effects will be seen in practice within short time, therefore I desire access to her Majesty or speech with your lordship before the Parliament that I may be the better enabled to prevent this and other inconveniences. The news from France comforts the Papists with hope shortly to be restored to their kingdom, with revenge for the wrongs (as they term it) done to them and to Scotland by England " and this realm " [Scotland].

The King has again addressed William Shaw, master of his works, with letters written with his own hand and with especial tokens, to Lord Hume and to Sir George Hume for delivery of the houses and possessions of Coldingham to Bothwell, and of Spott to James Douglas. This messenger has power,

1593. and is ready (as it is thought) to charge them to deliver the houses upon pain of treason. In these the King's commandment is disobeyed, and it is verily thought that no restitution shall be made hereof to Bothwell or Spott before the end of the approaching Convention. I have been told that if these houses shall be kept from Bothwell and Spott, contrary to the accord, then Bothwell will seek the King's leave to recover them as he can, the attempt of which would be the beginning of many troubles.

Huntly has invaded Mackintosh, in Moray, and other adversaries with great forces: he has slain above 100 men, women and children, and burnt many houses, greatly spoiling Mackintosh and his friends, who did not find such aid as they expected from the forces of Argyll, which were stayed, and many deem this to be done by Mar's means. No great relief was given him at this time by Atholl, so that he was constrained to take assurance and abstinence with Huntly until Michaelmas next. He has certified Atholl that this assurance is "determinable" at Atholl's pleasure; but it is quietly whispered to me that it is taken by the King's means. If this be so, your lordship can look farther into it than I. Huntly still gathers all the forces that he can draw together, and it is advertised that he purposed to come to Falkland to take the King. I am told for truth that Mackintosh, by his letter delivered yesterday to Bothwell (Argonartes), has opened the causes constraining him to take the assurances and offering frankly to adventure his life against Huntly, if he may be assisted in the enterprise; and that they have promised to support him with 500 horsemen.

Atholl, Ochiltree and other Stewarts, lately in Court here, have retired to their own houses, attending the performance of the King's promises in the late accord. Some would persuade me that privy means are made to draw them to agreement with Huntly, but at their departure they appeared far otherwise "amynded." Their minds and advice therein are before this (I trust) presented to you by others better acquainted therewith than I am; for, finding them to seek support at her Majesty's charge, I dare not intrude to enter further into these matters, except to commend them to your consideration, as also the case of Mr. John Colville.

Some "inwarde" with Bothwell have required my advice what should be done in case no restitution be made to Bothwell and Spott: how the King might be entreated personally to do execution for the restitution of the houses; what shall be done if the possessors shall retain them after the end of the Convention or Parliament; what remedy if the King will not perform at the Parliament the accords granted to Bothwell and the rest; and lastly, if general pacification amongst the whole nobility shall be ordained by this next Convention, then, how far Bothwell may either assent to agree with Huntly and his partners, or else refuse or "advyse" to compound with them. Having no warrant to resolve in these questions, I "put these over" in fair terms, thinking it my duty to acquaint your lordship therewith.

I hear that whilst Spynie was with the King he repented with tears his part in bringing Bothwell to the King's presence. Nevertheless he is like to drink of the bitter cup. I am told that the King spares to "put at" the rest of the inbringers of Bothwell in regard that he cannot honourably punish them and let the Duke escape; that he seeks to pull from Bothwell all the feathers that may be gotten from him; and that the Chancellor, Hume and Glamis have been dealt with and tempted to refuse to compound with Bothwell.

The Earl of Menteith, about twenty years of age, is very desirous to see her Majesty and her Court and also the Earl of Oxford, to whom he claims

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1593. to be near in blood. He purposes to remain some time in England and to return to Scotland without travel in any other nation. He appears to be specially devoted to her Majesty and is ready to enter on his journey within eight or ten days: but I have persuaded him to wait for her safe-conduct before his departure.

Albeit I find my advice not so acceptable to the King as before, in regard that Bothwell's late access is deemed to have been furthered by the favour given him in England and that I was privy to his entry (whereof I am condemned without cause), yet I intend to be at Stirling to see the progress of this Convention. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

Aug. 31. **124.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as her Majesty has found some lack in my letter of the 16th instant, and your lordship has directed me to send larger and more certain information in parts noted to be defective therein, I therefore recite the matters and questions expressed in your last letter, brought to me on the 27th. (Question 1). First, you certified that her Majesty, reading my letter of the 16th twice over, finds lack in the short recital of the King's speeches to me and to the lords, and therefore you wish me to recall not only the substance of the King's speeches, but also the form and phrases thereof, and you add that her Majesty likes very well my speeches to the King when I was required to speak with him before the assembly. And where I mention that I recounted to him the contents of my letter of 30th July, her Majesty would have had me to repeat my very words; and where I induced the King to hear mediators, she conceives that some others of the nobility were not called, such as Argyll, Morton and Mar. (Answer 1.) By my letter of the 16th I wrote that I spoke with the King on Sunday the 12th and then opened to him the contents of your lordship's letter of the 8th. I let the King know that I had advertised her Majesty of Bothwell's sudden access, of his submission, and of the King's acceptance thereof, and that by your letter I understood that her Majesty found these things very strange and also thought her own honour to be touched thereby, in regard that after she had made means to the King for Bothwell, solely for the King's benefit, Bothwell was thus suddenly restored by others, and without premonition to her Majesty, and that these proceedings gave her more just cause of offence in that she had commanded her Wardens to make proclamation against Bothwell and his resetters, while it seems that practice was made for Bothwell's restitution at the time when Sir Robert Melvill, the King's ambassador, had solicited these proclamations. These matters I "offred" to the King that he might assure himself that her Majesty had performed all such things as he required to be done against Bothwell. All which the King passed over with thanks to her Majesty for her goodwill, and without other particular answer.

Next, I showed that her Majesty took especial care for the safety of the King's person and for the preservation of his country from rebellion and invasion; and thereon I required that the King would satisfy her Majesty with the form of these proceedings, and also sought to know how he was "brought to it," and how he means to continue. The King shortly answered that he was not privy to the practice for the bringing in of Bothwell; that at my former audience he had opened sufficiently the form of the enterprise, and how he was brought to it; and that he would continue in the same mind

and course as he offered to Bothwell, and would keep promise with Bothwell and the rest if they shall accomplish the like to him. Her Majesty conceives rightly that Argyll, Morton and Mar were not called to this conference and mediation, for none of them were present there. Thus, the full substance and form of the King's speech to me, and the sum and manner of my report to the King of the contents of your letter of 30th July, together with the rest of my answer, are now and in my letter of the 18th so recorded as (I trust) to satisfy her Majesty and your lordship.

(Question 2.) You note that amongst many strange accidents there is nothing more strange than that Bothwell banqueted the King at Leith on the 15th, and that he was contented to have Ochiltree and Spynie with him without any other of his Council but the Duke. Her Majesty would enquire of the circumstances of that banquet and how the same passed with the liking of the King or of Bothwell. Besides, it is required to know who they were who had gathered the great forces for the King's rescue. You say that you have been informed that the Duke (Herenius) joined with those forces, "which by us is thought nothinge lykelye."

(Answer 2.) In this place "small provisions of dillicattis havinge spyce meate and wynes" are called banquets, and Bothwell entertained the King in Leith with such, of no great matter or value, whilst the King made himself ready for his vessel to be carried over the water to Kinghorn. The Earl before had given to the King some English geldings and hounds and afterwards expended some time at this banquet whilst the King's boat was made ready. "Which banckett or breakfast the King and Bothwell passed with good lykinge and favourable countenancis." At Leith, after the banquet, the King dismissed Ochiltree and took with him only the Duke and Spynie, for he thinks that they too will follow his appetite. Besides, the friends of the lords and courtiers (especially of Hume) lately removed from the Court, and who were near this town, should have been gathered, as I was credibly informed, for the King's rescue, and an especial person told me that the Duke was privy to it and content to have joined with the other forces in case the King should have been longer kept from Falkland, and should have declared himself detained against his will. This obtained credit in me in that the King of Scots (Petrea) told me before that the Duke had promised to take part with him and do whatsoever he would have him do.

(Question 3.) [You write that] it does not appear by the accord what Bothwell is to do or how to behave himself betwixt this and the Parliament, and whether it be in the meaning of the accords that he may come to the King or not, for the King alleged it was promised he should not be about him after he was acquitted.

(Answer 3.) Bothwell is to keep the former conditions specified in the third article of my letter of the 18th. The King will not have him come to Court before the Parliament, which he will obey, and in the meantime behave himself in quiet manner, unless Lord Hume shall deny to restore the possession of Coldingham to him. The King will allege it to be within the meaning of the accords that Bothwell shall not come to the Court before the Parliament, notwithstanding that it is not expressly so set down.

(Question 4.) You pray to be informed what is the cause of the quarrel betwixt Mackintosh and Huntly, in what part of the Highlands Mackintosh has his dwelling and power, and whether he depends on the Earl of Argyll or Atholl.

(Answer 4.) Upon variance betwixt Huntly and Mackintosh's father, Huntly struck off the head of Mackintosh's father, and as composition gave

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1593. to Mackintosh and his heirs one barony of land in Lochaber, to be holden of him and his heirs; whereby Mackintosh followed and depended much on Huntly before Huntly killed the Earl of Murray, for Mackintosh holds the rest of his lands "on" Murray and depended upon him. Atholl having the wardship of young Murray, Mackintosh has therefore joined with him and is bound with Atholl, Bothwell and the Stewarts for the revenge of Murray's murder against Huntly. The house of Paty [Petty] and the most part of Mackintosh's lands are in Moray, near Inverness (Enderness), the King's house, whereof Huntly had the keeping, but Atholl has lately got possession thereof and will not deliver it to Huntly.

(Direction 5.) You wished me tell Sir Robert Melvill that her Majesty never was advertised how the King accepted the money bestowed upon him, which Bothwell (Argonartes) and his company said was for a great part bestowed upon their enemies. It may be that Sir Robert has been in awe of some there since his return, but good manners would have moved him to procure some few lines from the King, for, indeed, for anything yet heard from the King, it does not appear that he had the money.

(Answer 5.) I have this day acquainted Sir Robert Melvill that it appertains to him to procure some lines from the King testifying his receipt of the money and his thankful acceptance. He told me that the King right thankfully accepted the sum granted and the whole success of his late negotiation, as the King would shortly declare by his own letter, which he could not send before he had gathered some of his Council; and that this would be done at Stirling, where he and I have appointed to meet.

(Question 6.) [You write] you would gladly understand by whose means the Master of Gray was called to the assembly and placed amongst the lords of Parliament, considering his father is alive, and whether he and Lord Forbes were brought into Bothwell's favour. Amongst the Lords of Session there is named Seton Urquhart, but what the word joined to Seton means you know not, and how he is in degree to the Lord Seton. You would also know who he is that is called "Marcarney," of the "Sessions," and whether Alexander Hay is not Clerk of the Register. In the paper of the accord which I sent, in one place, it is written that it was signed by the King, the Duke, Atholl, Ochiltree, Gray, Innermeath, St. Colme, Dunkeld, the President and Lords of Session, Mr. Robert Bruce and the Presbytery, the Provost, Bailies and Council of Edinburgh; but beneath, in the lower part of the paper, Innermeath, St. Colme, Dunkeld or the President of the Session are not named. In signing of their names some might be omitted; but you desire to be more particularly informed thereof.

(Answer 6.) The Master of Gray was not here at the Parliament, but he came to Bothwell's trial and was on that assise. Bothwell and he had before "partly discorded." But Atholl and his wife, to whom the Master of Gray is allied in blood, have pacified that dryness, and called the Master to this assise. The Master and Lord Forbes were present amongst the mediators at the conclusion of the accords, therefore they subscribed with the rest. Forbes, a Gordon by his mother, "dothe partye" Atholl against Huntly and is very well affected to religion, the amity and all good causes, and by Atholl he is brought to "wyne" with Bothwell and the Stewarts. Seton Urquhart "is subscrybed" by Mr. Alexander Seton, brother of Lord Seton: he is Prior of Pluscardine and Lord President of the Session, and has obtained the fee farm of the barony of Urquhart, parcel of the possessions of the Priory of Pluscardine, whereupon he takes the title of Urquhart, and for a distinction subscribes by the name of Seton Urquhart. "Mackarny" is called Laird of Loggy,

1593. now one of the Session, and Mr. Alexander Hay is still Clerk Register. The copy of the accord which I sent was, for expedition, taken out of the original signed by the King, the Duke and others, and before all the subscribers had put their hand to it. It is therefore imperfect in the order of the subscription only; which I shall correct and send with speed.

(Direction 7.) You pray me not to mislike your lordship because you move so many doubts, for her Majesty desires to have the circumstances more particularly.

(Answer 7.) It is my duty and comfort to do your lordship all service without grudge and with all readiness, and these gentle lessons will teach me to write more particularly.

[Your lordship writes that] Sheperson has passed the indenture of covenants for the manner of payment of my debt, and that you send a box to my son by post, with some commission of *dedimus potestatem* to take his acknowledging. I thank you humbly, and will give order that all things shall be executed by my son as appertains.

[You write that] I must be content that, although her Majesty had given some hope to license me to be revoked, yet she will not do so in this busy time, for she acknowledges that no man of sufficient experience can be found to serve her there.

Her Majesty's pleasure shall be ever a law to me, and I will never weary nor refuse to do her service as long as life and power last. But my stay here until this state shall be better settled will hold me here during my life, for the end of one trouble is here the beginning of another, and I have already received warning in my body that my days shall not be long, especially if I shall abide here until my old sickness shall again seize me. For God's sake present my most humble suit to her Majesty that in this vacation betwixt the end of this Convention and the next Parliament I may see her Majesty's cheerful face, that I may yield account of all my service, inform her of the present condition of this state, *etc.*

Finally, I wish you truly knew what credit I have got and what help I have found in her Majesty's service by the certificate of foreign "occurrantes" added with your own hand to your letter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[1593.] [c. Aug.] **125.** STATE OF SCOTLAND.

"A trew discourse of the late and present evill guided state of Scotland."

This long time the Earl of Bothwell, for all the King's proclamation, has "layne out and abroade" (like as in the old time we have heard of Robin Hood), so that the King with his nobles, notwithstanding sundry journeys with great forces, [is not able] to take him. He passes up and down, [is] seen and known, none seeming to disturb him, but [is] generally liked and well spoken of by all sorts of people; so that for all his forces the King returns with shame and dishonour and cannot "come by" him, "the more sorte" wishing Bothwell's prosperity and standing. Public speeches amongst them [go] that they had neither luck nor grace since the King was first born, nor better to be looked for so long as he lives. Bothwell had amongst his company two great undertakers for any desperate exploit, Captain Halkerston (Haggerstonne), and the Laird of Niddry (Netherey). Captain Halkerston was be-

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1593. trayed * and taken by one who was rewarded for the same by the King with 100 crowns. This party afterwards went to the King craving a guard, fearing lest Halkerston's friends would be revenged on him. The King answered that he had rewarded him with 100 crowns, saying he could not "make securetie for hime selfe, and therefore willed hime to looke for hime selfe." After this taking of Captain Halkerston Bothwell with his company took Lord Lindsay's eldest son, intending to keep him [and] by that means to redeem Halkerston. But he has since sent Lord Lindsay's son to the King, and Halkerston as yet "lieth by yt." Niddry and most of the principal people who were with Bothwell "have wrought and come in" to the King, as also the Earl's wife. The King for a time used them with good shows, but now Lady Bothwell and all of them by the King's command must not come within ten miles of the Court, saving Halkerston and Niddry. When I demanded the Master of Rowles's [? Rothes] opinion what would become of Bothwell, it was that this drawing of Niddry and other notable undertaking men from him was devised to weaken him, leaving him to himself. So, unless England works some means for him, he must be forced to leave Scotland, for the King's indignation is such that there will be no "brooking" of Scotland for Bothwell. Further, I demanded his opinion touching the Chancellor, who is Prior Maitland,† brother of the late Secretary Lethington, "who was somtimes greate with your lorde." Albeit the worthiest of his place, yet Bothwell is not so well spoken of and liked as the Chancellor evil spoken of and disliked of all men. Now, this term time, he is to be at Edinburgh, yet, for all the King's favour towards him, if he did "come to the tearme" it would not be in the King's power to save him from mischief. In his absence the King comes twice a day to the Tolbooth and there supplies his room himself.

But now most specially to be noted [are] the monstrous cruelties of the Earl of Huntly about a year or more past, when the Chancellor was "quyet" in Court (both of them "allyed" to the Hamiltons). At that time Huntly wrought so with the Chancellor that he procured the King's commission to bring in the Earl of Murray, a Stewart by name, and near kin to the King. Huntly, exceeding the King's commission, slew the Earl and Sheriff [of] Murray, and burnt the house.‡ Since then Huntly has been at Court and nothing said to him, and for the space of this year and a half the Earl and Sheriff lay in Leith Church unburied, "so as" certain noblemen, his friends, will not suffer him to be buried till revenge be got of Huntly. After this, Huntly invited one Macintosh, a "Scotishe Irishe" lord of mighty forces, to dinner, and bade him friendly welcome. The Earl going aside into another chamber from him, one of his servants secretly warned Macintosh "to horse and awaie," or else he would be murdered. Whereupon, having but lately alighted, he "oute of the house" and for haste took one of his men's horses and rode away. The Earl with all speed made after, but he "came shorte." Macintosh rode to the Earl of Atholl, a Stewart, and friend to Murray. Atholl and Macintosh joined forces and sent their cooks a day's journey before them to make ready their meat. This being known to Huntly, [he] made towards the house where the cooks were and burnt them both, sending the Earls word he had left two roasts for them. Whereupon Atholl and Macintosh went forward with both their forces against Huntly. Thereupon, for revenge of Murray's death, considering the King does no justice, they went against Huntly and slew 158

* 5th September 1592 (Moysie's *Memoirs*, 96).
† titular Prior of Coldingham.
‡ 21st February, 1591–2. This gives a clue to the date of the present document, written "the space of this year and a half" later. Bound as vol. 54, No. 118, under 1594.

1593. persons, men, women and children. Hereupon the King sent Angus as lieutenant of the north * with commission to command Huntly to ward in Aberdeen, Atholl at St. Johnstone, and Macintosh to be brought to the King, if he could be got. All this hitherto " is for moste truthe," as I was myself credibly informed at Edinburgh.

Word is here that Atholl was " in to " Moray with 1200 men to encounter Huntly, but Huntly was so strong that he retired, and as he retired Argyll met him with more than 2000 men and both of them encountered Huntly. My letter reports the Earl of Huntly himself and sundry Gordons of his surname, with many others, to be slain. So it is written, but to assure it I neither can nor will. Further, we hear of one Verdigo, a Spaniard, to be landed in Orkney with great store of gold, and in his company three score persons, and there is descried " 1 saile " which came with him mightily furnished with men and warlike munition. This is here reported, but no truth as I suppose.

1¾ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

[1593.] [Before Sept. 6.] **126.** SERVICES FROM SCOTLAND.

The King is to be in Stirling the 6th of this month, and the Convention to hold on the 7th. It is supposed that the following are to be at the Convention—the Duke, Lord Hamilton, Mar, Morton, Montrose, Crawford, Rothes, Glencairn, Sir Robert Melville, the Justice Clerk, the Secretary, the Clerk Register, Lord Livingstone, Lord Seton, with sundry other lords, barons and burgesses. What shall proceed thereof is uncertain, but it is thought that the King will have Maitland and Sir George Hume to have their former offices, and that a general reconciliation shall be made among the nobility.

The three ships which I certified to be in readiness at Leith to go into Spain " contynewe " and hold on their intended voyage. As concerning the departure of the Spaniards out of France and Brittany and whither they intend to bend their course (as formerly I signified unto your lordship, the same being now again confirmed by others), I think it were very expedient " that good foresight were had of there retire out of Fraunce."

It is given out that Lord Hume with his friends and Maitland had an intention to have taken the King; but by the counsel of Maitland (who thought it a point of treason to be exercised hereafter) it was stayed. The Queen of Scots is reported to be with child, whereby it is thought that the division between Lord Hamilton and the Duke will cease.

I am secretly advertised out of Scotland † by one who hath it from a Papist and a great enemy of England that " in the ryver of Burdeux " there will be found great preparations of the King of Spain's ships both by land and sea, and that they will cause the Scottish ships to fight against the English ships " by extremytie." The same party certified that the Governor of Bloy Castle hath sent to Spain for a new supply of powder, and eight hundredweight great ships are to come to him out of Spain before the last of October and to lie before the Castle of Bloye in the river of Burdeux, and some other ships are come there already.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Endorsed.*

* Commission dated 9th November 1592 (P.C. v. 19). See Moysie's *Memoirs*, 98; Calderwood, v. 186.

† *sic, but* ? France.

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Sept. 6.

127. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

I received your letter of 26th August on the 2nd instant. Your other letter, of 24th August (committed to the carriage of Henry Locke), was sent to me by Locke's servant on the 3rd instant, and Mr. Locke, retaining her Majesty's letter for safety, delivered it to me yesterday, together with her letter to the King of Scots. For the delivery of which letter to the King and to negotiate with him all the contents of her Majesty's letter to me and of your two letters, I am ready to journey to-morrow to Stirling, whither the King was on his way yesterday, accompanied with Lord Hamilton. At Inchmurrin the King was troubled with a "flix" from lying on the ground and in a waste and moist house not inhabited. He is well recovered, purposing, as I hear to "propone" to the Convention such matters as he will commit to their deliberation, wherein I find sundry commissioners disposed rather to hear the things to be propounded by the King than to offer their advice in any cause before they shall see his disposition. All men's eyes are bent to behold the issue of the Convention, which hitherto is uncertain.

The party employed to sound how Huntly (Chanus) and his co-partners stand affected to perform their offers made for her Majesty (America) has spoken with them, and they will go forwards agreeable to the motions offered; for which this party has promised to go forwards in his course with diligence, that all things may be effected with best expedition and secrecy. I understand that Huntly will impart to the King of Scots (Petrea) and also communicate to his partners whatsoever shall be "concredited" to his trust and secrecy. I believe that his partners, binding up with Bothwell (Argonartes), will acquaint Huntly therewith. Further, this cannot be kept from the ears of the Kirk here, who will greatly start and wonder thereat. May this be well considered and may I have timely directions how to proceed. In the meantime I will execute the directions already given. I have noted that the courses directed to be solicited with the state, and to be taken with the parties, do not very fully agree, especially in that I am commanded expressly to prosecute the papistical rebels, which thereby I may not leave undone, and which will be deemed either offensive or fraudulent. Huntly (Chanus) is desirous to put away his uncle by sea with safety, that he should not be troubled by England (Damascus). In this I have called for condition that there shall be no fraud in transporting any person or matter other than the thing desired. But by the following advertisements it seems that little trust can be given herein.

I am lately advertised that Angus, dealing to have band with Bothwell, will needs have an exception for Huntly, and has said that if Bothwell shall prosecute Huntly he must needs "party" Huntly against Bothwell; and that Angus, Huntly, Erroll and Hume will not break in sunder; further, that Mr. Robert Abercromby, Jesuit, is prepared to pass into Flanders to call hither Mr. William Crichton and to persuade him of the necessity of his presence in this realm. Bothwell has received by Captain Halkerston (Haggerston) the King's letter full of sweet words and promises of full performance of all things in the accord, and with further grace and favour if he will follow the King's advice. Captain Halkerston has therewith brought commission that the house of Spott may be taken with force from Sir George Hume, who (as I am credibly informed) has been lately and secretly with the King, notwithstanding the accord. I have heard that Angus and Erroll have kept their courts openly and provided great sums of money to be levied on their tenants; that it is openly published by an officer at arms in Aberdeen that such persons

1593. as were at Murray's slaughter shall not be restrained for that action from coming into the town, but be received with favour, and that all men within the lieutenancy of the north are commanded to attend on Huntly in the pursuit of the broken highlandmen. Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume were yesterday with Morton at Newhouse to resolve (as it is said) what they shall do for keeping possession of Coldingham and Spott and for like causes touching their own particularities. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[Sept. 10.*] 128. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 104.

. . . been approved, were chosen to be Lo[rds of] the Articles, and some . . . as drawn in by indirect means, as by . . . ote of such abbot . . . ad no interest in the benefit and sold his who . . . and title therein . . . that the King's Advocate has liberally offered to jus[tifi]e all his doings . . . Parliament, for the examination whereof four learned advocates were . . . amed and ready to have disputed the matters with him. But nothing . . . proceeded therein either against the King's Advocate or the rebels.

That himself and Council were curious to provide that the best affected and . . . called to this Parliament might be chosen for Lords of Articles, wherein no better . . . could be made, as it is evident by the consideration of the rest of the nobility who are more affected to these three Earls than the persons chosen for the Lords of the Articles were, and that the Advocate has given many reasons to maintain his doings and assertions, and is ready still to defend the same against the four advocates appointed and all others learned in the laws and customs of Scotland, like as he will further prove in print.

Why no order is taken † for the due chastisement or submission of the rebels, whereby they have rather cause of comfort to continue in their treasons than of any fear of punishment, as well appears in that at this present they offer no such liberal satisfaction to the King and Kirk as before they have done. He will shortly understand what they will do in these behalfs. Whether he will any further and directly prosecute the rebels and their partners by force or law, and what councillors he will choose to assist him in the execution of the same. These wants and changes in his proceedings may move her Majesty to doubt that he himself is notably seduced, or blinded by evil counsellors and courtiers [as in No. 120]. He said that to all these he had answered before.

. . . against the rebels, but also attempted to . . . erent and undutiful manner, and in dishonour of . . . the prosecution of the rebels, to root out the . . . and to remove bad instruments favouring the rebels . . . proceeding hitherto holden, the people are generally . . . likely to be divided. No resolution taken for the sta . . . order against traitors.

[*In the margin:* "The 8 article."] That therefore he would signify his mind, what he mislikes in his estate [as in No. 120]. . . . for her Majesty will give no credit to any [until he] have by his hand assured her of his disposition. [*In the margin:* The verbal report upon both.] His unprincely regard to the safety of his ow . . . another great error, [as in No. 120].

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* The date, which is not now legible, is taken from the Calendar of Cotton MSS.

† He is reporting an interview with the King, see No. 132, of which these detached pages form part, but have been bound out of order.

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1593. Albeit he may think her Majesty's desire, to know . . . particularities expressed in this article, to be . . . consideration and causes of the same are both decl . . . and also added in the last conclusions of all these a . . . [*In the margin:* "The King's answer to both."] That he does not remember that any such petition . . . to him by Bothwell or any other noblemen . . . some of the lords coming about him with Bothwell . . . feuds with Huntly, and by his own letter he will . . . in the residue of this article.

[*In the margin:* "The 9 article."] Thirdly, because the late approach of Bothwell . . . King's person appears to be done in such manner that no p . . . thereof without detestation. [Complains of the manner of the pardon of Bothwell as in No. 120.]

In this he said that he and this Convention had determined what course to take with Bothwell and his accomplices; wherein, upon Bothwell's determinate answer by commissioners sent for that purpose, he would perfectly acquaint her Majesty with his doings and mind therein; and therewith he promised to give her good satisfaction in these behalfs, as he has done to the ambassadors of Denmark.

Lastly, she wishes him to make good choice of his Council and cause justice to be ministered without partiality [as in No. 120: and concludes with expressions of her love and care for him.]

. . . . . .

. . . [a]ssuring her that he shall . . . ages desired to be certified to her o . . . her good counsel to him. [Edinburgh.] * *Signed:* Rober[t Bowes.]

3¼ *pp. Notes in the margin. Edges injured by fire.*

Sept. 10. **129.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit I delivered her Majesty's letter to the King yesterday at Stirling, and "opened" the full particulars in her letter to me, yet the time served so hardly and the King found the matters propounded so many and weighty that he prayed me to put them all into articles in writing, promising to write to her and also to set down his full mind and resolution. Therefore I have thought meet to defer my report to her Majesty till I receive the King's answers. On Friday (appointed for the first meeting of this Convention), the King took his pastime hunting, in regard that the assembly was then but little. It is now well increased, for the Duke, Lord Hamilton, Morton, Glencairn, Montrose and Mar, Livingston and Lindsay with sundry commissioners for the burghs and the Church are here. This Council was occupied on Saturday in taking order for the apprehension of some highlandmen and of John Muir (Mowre), Alan and George, his brethren, who on the 2nd instant killed Mr. David Blithe, minister of Kirkcudbright, and Mr. David Akeman, minister at Buttell, as they returned together from their sermons at Buttell. These three offenders pretended their quarrel to be against Mr. David Blithe in respect that he would not give them a tack or lease of a little tithe lately in their possession and appointed to Blithe's stipend. But it is suspected that this evil is done by the procurement of Papists in regard that these two persons slain most earnestly prosecuted them, and that they were known to have intelligence with me. Two of these [murderers] were of the King's guard under Sir John Carmichael.

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* Taken from the Calendar of Cottonian MSS.

1593. This day the King and Council have taken order that Bothwell shall submit himself to the King's mercy, and thereon have full remission for himself and all such persons as he shall name. This remission shall be perfected by the next Parliament, upon the end whereof Bothwell shall within certain time depart out of this isle into foreign parts not to return without the King's licence ; for the execution whereof the Master of Caithness is sent to Bothwell to draw him within five miles of Stirling, that Sir Robert Melvill, Blantyre and two ministers may deal with him and receive his resolute answer. It is doubtful what Bothwell will do herein in regard that this order abridges much the benefit of the late accord, and that he will not only be driven out of this isle but also either leave his partners to the danger of the law and at the King's will, or else name them plainly in the remission, which to many of them (chiefly such as be of good quality) will be dangerous and prejudicial.

It is looked that some order shall be taken by this Convention touching Angus, Huntly and Erroll ; but I cannot think that anything shall pass against them, for I am informed that Mr. George Leslie, soliciting here Erroll's causes, has written to Erroll that he has promise that nothing shall be done against any of these Earls, and that the way shall be prepared shortly for their incoming. The Duke and Lord Hamilton agreed so well at the Duke's being with the King at Hamilton that since that time they have been very familiar. It is thought that Hamilton is no enemy to Bothwell, and now Hamilton keeps guard for the King and is in special favour.

Argyll has apprehended and warded Glenorchy (Glenurquhie) and two sons of the Laird of Lawers upon information given by Ardkinglas that one of these brethren by the means of Glenorchy and Huntly's commandment killed the Laird of Calder (Caldell), to which murder Ardkinglas has at length confessed himself privy. He affirms further that Glenorchy had practised to " bewray " and deliver Argyll to Huntly ; all which Ardkinglas has offered to prove by witnesses.

I am told that this Convention shall break up very shortly if Bothwell shall accept the conditions offered, and, if not, the King will remain the longer and afterwards draw an assembly to Linlithgow and there call to him the Chancellor, Hume, the Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume. All things here are uncertain and in such confusion that the end of one trouble engenders another. I beg licence to see her Majesty to open to her the matters which I have gathered. Stirling. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 13. **130.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letters of the 4th and 6th instant. This forenoon I am to have audience of the King, who is ready " to put his foote in stirrup " to depart to Falkland. I intend to return to Linlithgow this day and to-morrow to Edinburgh. Yesternight Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume came to this Court and were joyfully received by the King, in whose presence Lord Hume entered into very boasting terms against Bothwell, saying that the Earl, all the Stewarts and their " pertakers " durst not take one silly bee out of the moss of his bounds against his will, giving to the Earl and to all the name of the Stewarts (as I am told) very proud defiance, wherewith the Stewarts are deeply offended. Upon the access of these three persons Hamilton and Glencairn departed very late in the night, and this day these persons are prepared to attend on the King to Falkland and to remain in Court, which will abide at Falkland until the 18th instant, when the King purposes to come to

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1593. Linlithgow, forbearing to return to Edinburgh, in regard (as it is thought) of some offence that he conceived against Edinburgh.

Bothwell was appointed to meet at Tillicoultry (Tullicowtrie) the four commissioners to confer for the restitution of himself and his accomplices under the form expressed in the act of Convention, a copy of which I enclose. But, being warned by his servant, Patrick Orme, that Sir George Hume with sixty horsemen had stayed Orme against his will, carrying him six miles out of his way, and also lay in wait for Bothwell, he gave advertisement thereof to the King, offering to meet the commissioners this day at Linlithgow. The King has been grieved herewith, suspecting that Bothwell has alleged this only for an excuse. Nevertheless the commissioners are ready, and I am advertised that Bothwell will meet them this day, but will take some time for his resolute answer. It is enacted by the King and Convention that the houses of Coldingham and Spott shall be restored to Bothwell and James Douglas, and express order is given for the execution of the same. In this Convention nothing is done touching Angus, Huntly and Errol, who are thought to be in small danger of punishment. The King and Queen have (as I hear) sent for the Countess of Huntly, who, albeit she was once stayed in regard of the danger that might come to her being with child, is on her journey towards the Court. Stirling. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same. [See also No. 254, p. 318.]

(Restitution of Bothwell.)

"Memorandum communicate to th'erle Bothwell."

For the satisfaction of our honour, in that the late form subscribed at Holyrood House, on 14th August last, was not to our contentation, but such that we may lawfully free ourself of, if we please,—yet, for the quietness of our realm and estate, and at the humble suit of our Estates presently assembled, we, now being at our full liberty and ripely advised, will, at the suit of the Earl Bothwell renouncing the benefit of all former condition, grant to him and his accomplices, whom he will specify by names and surnames, remission of their bygone offences at Holyroodhouse, Falkland, again at Holyroodhouse, and others abortive, also [grant them] restitution to their livings and goods; and we shall cause the same to be ratified in our next Parliament, before 20th November next to come, the said Earl finding surety that, within such space as we please after the said Parliament, he shall depart forth of our realm to the parts beyond sea, there to remain during our pleasure, and till his departure shall remain in such places as we shall appoint; his accomplices, specially named in his remission, shall remain at their dwelling houses and no wise resort to our presence without our licence. 11th September 1593.

⅔ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Sept. 15. **131.** ROBERT BOWES TO ELIZABETH.

After the receipt of your Majesty's letter of 24th August on the 5th instant, I delivered your letters to the King at Stirling on the 10th and, albeit he read them, yet speaking nothing of the contents, he declared that lately he had received evident testimonies of your Majesty's good disposition by the money delivered to Sir Robert Melvill (at the time when you were heavily burdened with "diffray" of other great sums, whereby your kindness was double towards him), and also by the favourable entertainment given to Sir Robert,

1593. and by many signs and pledges of your especial goodwill, the particularities of all which Sir Robert Melvill had well imparted to him, and that the greatness of the benefits bestowed on him should be a straight obligation binding him to be thankful and careful to requite the same as by his own letter he will make known to your Majesty. I showed myself very glad to find in him this thankful acceptance and consideration and such loving mind, chiefly at this time when a report had come to my ears that he had been tempted to think that Bothwell's late access was furthered by the favour received under your Majesty in England. To this he answered that his heart is utterly void of any suspicion that your Majesty was privy to Bothwell's action, yet that he could not acquit so clearly some of your councillors, and he concluded, saying that he would run his course faithfully and friendly in all things with you, and with your good advice.

When the King had thus cleared himself from all jealous apprehension touching your Majesty, I opened to him the matters specified in your letter to me, observing therein (as narrowly as my memory served) the substance, words and phrases of that letter; but because of the length of my report and the straitness of time the King deferred his answer, desiring me to put the sum of my discourse into articles in writing. I compounded and delivered the articles to the King, accompanying the same with a new verbal recount of such parts as were particularised in your Majesty's letter to me and not contained in the articles. Upon reading of the articles the King answered sundry parts thereof by words which I certify by the note enclosed. He promised further that with the first opportunity he would with his own hand write to your Majesty, whereof he commanded the Secretary to put him in due remembrance. I have framed this certificate or note addressed with these presents,* containing not only a true copy of the articles given to the King, with his verbal answers to parts thereof, but all such other circumstances as I recited by word to the King upon the perusing and reading of the articles,—and which circumstances, though comprehended in your letter to me, are not expressly set down in the articles.

The present condition of this variable and falling state, together with the occurrents therein, I have certified to the Lord Treasurer. I beg to be revoked or to have licence to have access to your Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Red wax seal partly remaining, with pink silk cord. Endorsed by Burghley,* " 15 7ber, 1593. Robert Bowes to the Queen's Majesty from Edenburgh; answer to the lettres 24 Aug."

[*c.* Sept. 15.]† **132.** REPORT OF ROBERT BOWES.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. p. 106. Transcript in Harl. MSS., 4648, p. 141.

" Articles gathered out of the Report made at large to the King by Mr. Robert Bowes, ambassador of England, wherein the King's own mind and declaration are especially required, and that he will give due regard to the advices specifyed therein."

[*In the margin:* The copy of the articles in writing as they are expressed and delivered to the King.] First, that the King would let her Majesty understand by his letter and advertisement the true reasons defeating the

* The enclosure has become detached, and it is now preserved among the Cottonian MSS. See following document.

† Probably enclosed originally with the preceding, though now preserved in a different collection.

James VI.
1593. accomplishment of the promises made to Lord Burgh and others for the prosecution of his traitors.

[*In the margin:* The verbal report of sundry circumstances besides the articles made to the King by me.]

The dangerous and variable proceedings of the King in his government, and the sight of certain articles pretending an accord with Bothwell have moved her Majesty to compassion of the King and to offence against the parties to these actions. She is not so fully satisfied in the truth of these things that she may make sure account of the King's full intentions. Therefore she requires to be satisfied now by him as further in the article is contained.

[*In the margin:* The King's answer to the articles in writing and to the verbal report before mentioned.]

To this he said that he had showed me before that the rebels were referred to the judgment of Parliament, which for the insufficiency of the probation of the summons could not proceed to forfeit them for the crimes not proved and which they constantly deny, offering not only to be tried by Parliament or assise, but also to give satisfaction to the King, the Church and England. He assures her Majesty that he will not conclude with them without her privity, advice and contentment, and with the satisfaction of the Kirk. He acknowledges that he is greatly solicited for favour to the three Earls, nevertheless he will not absolutely grant their peace without the privity of her Majesty and the Kirk. In all which he will give her more full satisfaction by letter.

[First Article.]* Why the rebels have been suffered to continue in the country and at liberty, contrary to promise?

[The verbal report.] His actions tend quite contrary to the performance of his promises. Oversight is given to the three Earls and they are received openly with his allowance into the houses of noblemen who are open solicitors to himself for them. And it is given out that proclamation is made of remission to Huntly for the murder of Moray and warrant to concur with him against the broken and highland men, *etc.* [as in No. 118].

[The King's answer.] That the rebels were put to the horn, prosecuted *etc.*, and afterwards relaxed that they might be lawfully tried and forfeited by Parliament according to the laws of this realm; that he has not granted any remission to Huntly for the slaughter of Murray.

[3*d* Article [*sic*].] How the party [Ker] proving the treason before the Parliament has by wilful escape gotten liberty, without means made for his escape?

[Verbal Report.] That Angus and Ker were suffered "wilfully" to escape out of Edinburgh Castle to stay all further examinations for discovery of the conspiracy.

[The King's Answer.] This escape was not "wilfull" but against the will of the Captain of the Castle and his ministers; and because it has not hitherto been known where George Carr is, therefore little pursuit has been made for him.

[4 Article.] How it fell out that at the Parliament, pretended outwardly to be prepared for the forfeitures of the rebels, special friends of them were chosen to be Lords of the Articles; that the King's own learned Advocate was suffered to devise audaciously coloured cavillations to stay the process and that his fault passes without exemplary punishment; and that, albeit many particular causes were expedited, yet nothing proceeded against the rebels in this Parliament.

* This article is entirely destroyed by the burning of the top of the page. Supplied from the Harl. transcript.

[The verbal report.] Some noblemen and others known to be Papists and inwardly affected to the parties summoned to this Parliament were chosen to be Lords of the Articles, and some of them were drawn in by indirect means as by the vote of such abbot as had no interest in the "benifitt" [benefice] and sold his whole right and title therein; and the King's Advocate liberally offered to justify all his doings in Parliament, for examination whereof four learned advocates were named and ready to dispute the matters with him. But nothing proceeded therein either against the King's Advocate or the rebels.

[The King's answer.] That himself and Council were curious to provide that the best affected might be chosen for Lords of the Articles, wherein no better could be made, as is evident by the consideration of the rest of the nobility who are more affected to these three Earls than were the persons chosen; and that the Advocate has given many reasons to maintain his doings and affections, and is ready still to defend the same against the four advocates appointed and all others learned in the laws and customs of Scotland, as he will by work to be put in print further prove.

[The 5 Article.] Why no order is taken for the due chastisement of the rebels, or for their enforcement to submit themselves to the King's mercy, and to give over their practices with Spaniards and Papists? [Verbal report.] By this sufferance and oversight they have rather cause of comfort than fear of correction, as well appears since at this present they offer no such liberal satisfaction as before.

[The King's answer.] He will shortly understand what they will do in these behalfs.

[The 6 Article.] Whether he will any further and directly prosecute the rebels and their partners by force or law, and what counsellors of knowledge, authority and loyalty he will choose to assist him in the same? Wherein it is required that he will well consider and prevent the dangerous effects grown by evil counsellors who are friends and practisers for the rebels.

[Verbal report.] That these wants and changes in his proceedings may move her Majesty to doubt that he himself is notably seduced by evil counsellors *etc.* [as in No. 120.]

[The King's answer.] He said that to all these he had answered before.

[The 7 Article.] Others of the nobility (perceiving the looseness in the government) have not only offered to make a party against the rebels, but also attempted to press him by their petitions, and in most irreverent and undutiful manner and in dishonour of his kingly estate, to assent to the prosecution of the rebels, to root out the Spanish faction and remove bad instruments. And by his variable proceedings, the people are generally amazed, the nobility likely to be divided, no resolution taken for the establishment of quietness nor any order against the traitors.

[The 8 Article.] That therefore he would signify his mind and course intended herein, what he mislikes in his estate, in whom he reposes his trust and whom he hath cause to doubt, so that her Majesty may remain neither uncertain whom she may favour on his behalf, nor ignorant whom he will use or trust or put from him.

[The verbal reports upon both.] That his unprincely regard to the safety of his own person has produced another great error, which her Majesty utterly mislikes both in the principal actors and the assisters. Albeit he may think her Majesty's desire to know his mind in the particularities expressed in this article to be familiar, yet the consideration and causes of the same are both declared in this article and also added in the last conclusions of all these articles.

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1593.

[The King's answer to both.] That he remembers not that any such petition were made to him by Bothwell or any nobleman. Some of the lords coming about him with Bothwell offered to compound feuds with Huntly. By his own letter he will satisfy her Majesty in the residue of this article.

[The 9 Article.] The late approach of Bothwell with others to the King's person appears to be done in such manner that no prince can think thereof without detestation, and nevertheless he has received the Earl without acquainting her Majesty *etc.* Albeit he seemed not to do this with his good will, yet by the articles accorded he has yielded to forgive him, *etc.*, so that without direct knowledge from him she cannot judge how he meaneth in his heart hereafter to proceed therein.

[10 Article.] That therefore he will not deny to let her understand perfectly his full resolution in these behalfs, in like manner as he granted to the ambassadors of Denmark for their satisfaction in particular *etc.*, [as in No. 120].

[The verbal report to both.] That in the determination of his resolution to approve or " disprove " the accords betwixt him and Bothwell, he would have good regard to his own future safety and for the best means of quietness in this realm.

[The King's answer to both.] He said that he and this Convention had determined what course to take with Bothwell and his complices, wherein he would perfectly acquaint her Majesty with his doings and mind, and give her good satisfaction in these behalfs as he had done to the ambassadors of Denmark.

[11 Article.] She wishes him to make good choice of his Council, and to take and follow such resolutions as shall make him to be honoured and loved of his good subjects and feared of the evil.

[12 Article.] That he will cause justice to be administered to all persons of every degree without partiality *etc.* [as in No. 120].

[13 Article.] Therefore she wishes to understand him disposed and fully determined to take this course in hand, that she may be as well pleased with his prosperity as if he were her own natural son.

[The verbal report to these 3 Articles.] That her Majesty's kind affection and good advice for his welfare are with great love and plainness witnessed in her care for his good government and course; therefore it shall much advance his honour and happiness if he effectually follow her advices and seasonably prevent the storms appearing.

[The King's answer to the three.] He acknowledges himself greatly beholden to her Majesty for her favour and good-will, assuring her that he shall acquaint her with his course *etc.*, and likewise embrace and follow her good counsel. *Signed:* Rober[t Bowes].

5⅛ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. In the Cott. volume the detached pages of the letter have been bound in wrong sequence. Read ff. in order*, 106, 104, 105.

Sept. 15. **133.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letters of the 4th and 6th instant. I enclose a letter to the Queen, together with a copy of the articles drawn up by me from her Majesty's letter and delivered to the King, the verbal report that I made to the King, and his answer to the articles and verbal report.* I write thus

* See Nos. 131 and 132.

1593. to her Majesty because she has directed me to open to the King the matters contained in her letter, to observe well his answers, and to certify the same to her.

At the King's last passing over the water to Falkland, Bothwell had prepared a banquet for him in Leith of wines and "small meates," which the King received about 3 p.m.; but he did not sup at Leith with Bothwell. The Countess of Atholl having given my wife a roebuck, and desiring to eat some venison dressed after the manner of England, therefore my wife invited the Earl and Countess of Atholl to dinner, and Bothwell and his wife, lodging at the next house to mine, accompanied Atholl and his wife at the dinner, a matter noted by some Papists, and upon hearing of this I took occasion to break it to the King and readily satisfied him.

Upon your direction to further Bothwell's causes with the King so far as the same should advance the common causes, and after I had communicated to the King such parts as I thought meet of your letter concerning Bothwell, Bothwell has resorted sometimes to me, opening such things as he desires to be "preferred" for him and his partners by my solicitation to the King, which I have done, agreeable only to your direction.

The Chancellor and Hume have agreed by the means of the Master of Glamis, stirred by the King to draw Hume to that agreement, and the Chancellor and Glamis have (as I hear) entered into gentle terms, notwithstanding that they are contented to forbear the open show thereof. But now it is doubted whether the kindness shall be nourished, in regard that Hume, the Master of Glamis, and Sir George Hume only carry the sway in Court at present, and it is thought they will be without the Chancellor's company if they can win the King to the same. But the King is purposed to call the Chancellor to him soon after coming to Linlithgow, and for the preparation of his return to Court with the Queen's favour he has sent the Prior of Pluscardine to persuade the Queen to the same, whereto it is said that she now inclines, and that thereon some resolution may, peradventure, follow betwixt Bothwell and the Chancellor—a matter yet green and not to be openly seen lest it hurt both parties, and chiefly the Chancellor. All the noblemen of the surname of Stewart are friends to Bothwell. Montrose and Caithness love him. Hamilton does not hate him. The ministers (now blamed by the present courtiers for their favour towards Bothwell) wish and persuade reformation in his manners, that he may be a good servant to the King and a profitable member for the commonwealth.

The Chancellor, Bothwell, Hume and the Master of Glamis have not been commanded to keep their houses (as it has been reported to you) neither have Angus and Erroll been at the Court as yet. Angus presently soars about the Court at Falkland seeking to have access to the King's presence, which hitherto is denied. He and Erroll have been openly with Morton in the Newhouse, for which Morton has been "partlie" checked by the King and covertly rebuked in pulpits, chiefly in that he has accompanied excommunicates; and being told that no Christian can without error keep company with persons excommunicated, he answered "What saie you to the Frenche King"—(whose actions and example are here so marked and taken by many that the well affected greatly fear that very evil and dangerous effects shall follow thereon in this realm). Huntly has not been looked for to come to Stirling, but rather to Falkland at the King's return hither: his wife is presently at Falkland and ready to come hither to the Queen, and I am told that Huntly has been quietly with the King at Falkland; and that he has been seen at Mr. Walter Lindsay's house with three men only and left his forces. He is still suspected "to

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1593. enter " into some enterprise for the possession of the Court and the King's person. I have this day received credible advertisement from the Court that his friends there have pressed the King to give him access, and that the King hitherto will not grant it. Huntly is now in that comfort (as I am informed) that he will not be entertained without pension or reward in gold as the King of Spain has given. None of the acts of the last Parliament are printed, neither is there any expectation that they shall be put in print.

I find sundry young noblemen here—as Cassillis, Menteith and Gowrie—disposed to repair into England to see her Majesty, the Court and the Universities there for their instruction. Whilst Sir Francis Walsingham lived I was advised to encourage young noblemen and gentlemen to bestow their " young yeares " rather in England than other foreign countries to the intent their good affections might the better be trained and devoted to our sovereign and realm ; and understanding that Menteith was thus desirous to expend his money and some time in England, I wrote for his safe-conduct boldly and with great speed ; wherein I will now at your direction make excuse until it may be found meet that he be licensed. The Parliament is appointed to begin on the 14th or at the farthest on 20th November next. At the meeting at Linlithgow on the 13th instant betwixt Bothwell and the King's four commissoners, Bothwell, after he had read the act of Convention and the King's instruction to his commissioners, prayed that his answer might be respited until the next day, which was granted, and on the next day he delivered to Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. Robert Bruce his answer in writing to be presented to the King. These two commissioners have departed with speed to the King at Falkland and have not as yet returned, so that it is not known how the King accepts Bothwell's answer, but it is generally expected that his adversaries ruling now in Court shall draw the King to reject it. I enclose copies of the note delivered by the King to the four commissioners and of the answer made by Bothwell.

As the King assured me at our last conference that he will not " rownde " anything with Angus, Huntly or Erroll without her Majesty's privity, so Sir Robert Melvill has told me that the King has given him his hand and promise to perform the same.

The Papists have lately conceived great hope to obtain their desires, and Errol did not forbear to tell Morton that " they had suche a head with them " that he would be glad to come to them, whereunto Morton answered that he lied, for he should never see that day.

It is intended that the Duke and Mar shall absent themselves at the time of the Chancellor's coming to Court, which is desired by the King speedily ; but now it is looked that the other courtiers shall stay it for some time, so that the King may at leisure " agree " the Duke and Mar with the Chancellor. I am advertised that it is commonly reported in the north that her Majesty has commanded me to entreat the King to grant his peace to Angus, Huntly and Errol. This bruit troubles sundry well affected, who think that her Majesty will not intercede for such persons. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The clerk procuring for me the copy of the act of this Convention touching Bothwell was so " straytned " to get the same before the departure of the Clerk of the Council, and I was then so occupied with the King, that he delivered to me the copy of the King's instructions for the commissioners to Bothwell instead of the act of Convention. I therefore enclose a copy of the act and also of the instructions to the commissioners.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Restitution of Bothwell.)

Another copy of the enclosure with No. 130. *Endorsed by Burghley :* " 16 7^{ber}."

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. In a Scottish hand.*

Second enclosure with the same.

" Act maid be the Kingis Majestie with avise of his estaitis at Striveling the xij day of September the yer of God j^{m} v^{c} lxxxxiij yeris."

It is declared by his Majesty, with advice of his Estates, that his Highness, as a free prince, may at his own pleasure call such of his nobility, council, officers and other good subjects to his service and presence as he shall best like of; that the Earl Bothwell and none of his company or accomplices shall repair to, or come within ten miles of, his Majesty's presence without special licence; that his Majesty will have the said Earl, his son and accomplices effectually and without delay restored to the place and living of Coldingham, and James Douglas of Spot to the house and living of Spot, and others to their livings whatsoever.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Burghley :* " 17 7^{ber} 1593."

Third enclosure with the same.

(Answer by Bothwell.)

" Th'answere given be th'erle Bothwell to the heades communicated with his Majestis Comissioners." I offer my most humble obedience to the ordinance enacted at Stirling on the 13th instant, and shall be ready at all times to do the duty of a loyal subject towards my sovereign prince, to whom I am so many ways " oblist."

I crave that the said ordinance (for avoiding of all obscurities) by command of his Majesty to the Clerk Register may be made clear in the second and last articles, to wit, that it be declared how long I and my accomplices shall be debarred from his Majesty's presence. Likewise I crave this only for my security, that his Majesty grant to me, my partakers and aiders the like remission, restitution and re-possession as was agreed at Holyrood House.

As to the particular articles contained in the memorandum not passed by act of Council, I answer as follows. First, for satisfying of his Majesty, I for myself and my accomplices am content to pass from the first security and to receive the same anew, of his Majesty's clemency, in substance as it was granted before, provided the first security stands effectual " in the awne strengthe " till the other security be renewed.

As to remissions, I for myself and my accomplices crave that the like security be granted by the late act of the Estates as was granted before by the act of Council; and it will seem better and more honourable for his Highness to proceed by way of oblivion and abolition than by particular remissions, " quhilkes ever importis the parties greived to be satisfied, and caution to be given therefore."

As to the expressing of particular names and surnames, it shall be sufficient to give in an inventory of certain persons in special, with the general clause " of all others my ayders assisters and partakers, *etc.*," as was done to Lord Maxwell.

Last, as to the finding of caution that I shall pass forth of the country, it is

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1593. altogether impossible presently, before I be finally restored again to my living, seeing no man will be caution for me, I having neither lands nor goods for my cautioners' relief. When I be restored with my whole accomplices and fully re-possessed, I am content to find caution, reasonable time being given for making provision to depart forth of this realm, and the time of my absence prescribed.

It is likewise craved for the part of Mr. John Colville that he may be paid presently the sums of money justly owing to him, according to his account and allowance lately seen and perused by the President and Clerk Register, and present direction sent to the said Clerk of Register to inform his Majesty what way, in his opinion, he may be best satisfied, to the end he may pretend no excuse for his departure with me.

Item, I humbly crave licence for so many of my friends and assisters as are desirous to depart with me.

1⅛ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley:* " xij 7^{ber}. 1593. The answer of the Erle Bothwell to the commissioners sent to him from the King after the Convention held at Sterlyng."

Sept. 21. **134.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to your lordship's direction of the 13th instant, I will give to Huntly (Chanus) and his partners no ground whereby they may inform the King of Scots (Petrea) of my dealings in that cause, and also entertain the instruments working for them with me, and always keep myself " free to them," that no advantage shall therein be got against me. If I shall find the King disposed to favour Angus, Huntly and Errol, I will forbear to hinder it, trusting that he will use her Majesty's advice, agreeable to his promise.

Albeit it has been constantly reported, and was confirmed to me by a person of good quality, that a proclamation was made in Aberdeen by Alexander Chamber, officer-at-arms (upon the apprehension of Norman Leslie, at Aberdeen, for the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, and whereat the Provost of Aberdeen knew Leslie to have been present and one of the first that put fire to the house at Donibristle), wherein it was declared that such persons as were at the slaughter of Murray shall not for that action be restrained from coming into the town, yet the King has directly denied to me that he has given any warrant to dispense with the act of caution made at Aberdeen in March last. [See No. 39.] The King pretended that this bruit has been raised by occasion of the publication of his warrant acknowledged.* I will travail to learn further herein.

I am credibly informed that the Jesuits have advised Mr. James Gordon and Mr Robert Abercromby not to depart out of this realm before the return hither of Mr. William Crichton, notwithstanding that the King shall direct Huntly to send them away. The Countess of Morton is the daughter of the late Earl of Rothes, father to the present Earl. The Earl of Errol married one of her daughters, and Lord Hume married another. She is deemed to have been so affectionate to these two noblemen and to the Earl of Angus and to have allured her husband to help them so far beyond his profession in religion that her husband and herself have covertly been noted and checked in pulpits for the same. I perceive this day by Mr. George Young, Clerk of the Council, that the Parliament is appointed to begin on 20th November. I received yesternight this enclosed letter addressed to her Majesty by the

* *i.e.* of 22nd August, see No. 118.

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1593. King. Sir Robert Melvill, Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. Robert Bruce returned to the King at Falkland with Bothwell's answer. The King misliking (as I am informed) this manner of dealing, stormed something at first against the ministers, and declared that if Bothwell would not accept the terms and conditions offered, then he would proceed against him without delay. But Mr. Bruce put him in mind that at his command they had laboured therein for his service and the quietness of his realm. The King continued resolute that Bothwell and all his accomplices should have remission by their especial names, to the intent that the head of Bothwell's faction might be broken thereby; and, albeit it was alleged that it was impossible to exhibit the names of all persons offending in these actions, yet he answered that every offender knew himself to be foul and might call for and have remission or otherwise stand to his peril. In some parts the King was pleased to qualify the former order, and declared that the place to be appointed for Bothwell's residence in foreign realms should be expressed in his licence for departure; that he should have liberty to remain in any place within this realm until he shall be restored by Parliament and the time fixed for his departure, provided that in this meantime he or his accomplices shall not come within ten miles of the King or his Court; that his cautioners shall not be charged before he be in actual possession of his lands; and that he and his accomplices shall not be charged to give satisfaction for the taking of any goods or gear at Holyroodhouse or Falkland, notwithstanding that they should be chargeable to pay very great sums for spoils made in those raids. The commissioners and Captain Halkerston (Haggerston) were dismissed with these and other like orders to be reported to Bothwell, whereupon the Earl sent the Captain again to the King with acceptance of the offers and to sue for restitution and delivery of the houses of Coldingham and Spott. But the King's resolution therein is deferred until his coming to Linlithgow, appointed to be this day. He seemed disposed in Lord Hume's favour to commit the possession of Coldingham to the determination of the laws of the realm; therefore Bothwell the more seeks delivery thereof, as others will advertise with better certainty.

Proclamation was made yesterday in Edinburgh commanding Bothwell and all his accomplices to forbear to come within ten miles of the King and Court; whereupon the Earl is purposed to repair to and remain at his house at Crichton with sufficient number to defend himself. The King has written for the Chancellor, and it is looked that he will attend on the King this day at the Queen's Ferry or Linlithgow with strong companies. The Queen (as I hear) is pleased that he shall return to the King's presence, yet she cannot hitherto well brook his wife. I am told that Mar has committed to the King the agreement betwixt the Chancellor and him, whereupon also it is looked that the King will reconcile the Duke and the Chancellor. Mar has returned to his country to hunt red deer: the Duke has gone with him, and with small contentment. Before his departure he sent advice to Bothwell to obey the King, for otherwise his adversaries should get advantage to entrap him.

Angus, Huntly and Erroll have soared a while near Falkland, seeking access to the King's presence, which is not openly granted, yet I am informed that Huntly, in the night of the 14th, came to the King in his chamber and there drank three "scoles" of the wine brought for the King's collation, and that he was kept by Sir George Hume in the Wardrobe two days. The King has renewed his promise and firmly assured Mr. Robert Bruce with hand in hand that he will not receive or deal with Angus, Huntly or Erroll before they shall first satisfy the Kirk and England.

For the King's guard fifty horsemen shall be levied and entertained under

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1593. Sir John Carmichael, and fifty horsemen under Lord Hume; which horsemen shall be led for Hume by John of Cromston, servant to Lord Hume, who presently rules the Court.

The King has written to the Presbytery here to give longer time to Lord Hume in the process against him for his religion, and by which he stands now to be excommunicated. The Church has before given sundry days upon the King's messages, and at the request of Hume's friends, promising to deal with him for his conversion, wherein as yet they have little prevailed. He is advised by a rash minister of his name (as I hear) to subscribe to the religion as others have done. For this evil advice the minister is blamed and to be corrected, and the Presbytery here have appointed to meet for their resolution in this cause.

The Queen met the Countess of Huntly coming to her, and entertains her with great favour. She is lodged in the Court, and there are sundry opinions of the cause of her coming, for albeit the Queen wrote for her, yet it is said that she so did to please the King. It is said that the King lately showing his offence towards Edinburgh, Lord Hume undertook to revenge the King's quarrel against them, and offered with 200 horsemen to keep the inhabitants within their ports. This bruit works no good effects in this place. Archie Stewart with his two brethren, Michael and John, and John Barr, have killed Logan, the Laird of Rase; and two of the Stewarts and Barr, being taken in the bounds of Claud Hamilton and condemned, execution is done on them, wherewith some Stewarts are offended. Sir Robert Melvill has moved the King in favour of James Murray, and upon your lordship's letters in that behalf the King will consider the matter. Sir Robert is purposed therein and in other things to write shortly to you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 25 and 27.

135. Act of the Provincial Synod of Fife.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 263.

The Provincial Assembly of Fife, convened at St. Andrews, on 25 September 1593, consider that the very great dangers of the Kirk within their province crave timeous "remeid" in respect of the conventions of the enemies, of their boldness in blaspheming God's Word at noblemen's tables, and of the reports made by faithful brethren of the notorious behaviour of Errol, Angus and Hume in the Newhouse about the time of the Convention at Stirling, and of Angus "and his" at Balmannow,* and of Huntly's convening with them at Dunblane and at the Rocking Stone of Balvaird after the Convention. For "remeid" of which dangers the Synod has advised and determined as follows:

First, that a general fast be proclaimed for these special causes—

1. Impunity of idolatry and murder in the person of Huntly and his accomplices.

2. Impunity of the treason of the Spanish conspirators.

3. Boldness of the enemies and their brags to make us "cum to ther maist cursed idolatrie before thei bow to the trewth."

4. The land defiled in various places with the mass.

5. God's judgements in north and south, with threat to the mid parts of this land.

6. The King's slowness in repressing papistry, and planting the true religion.

* Not in Calderwood.

7. The defection of many through Spanish baits, and the multitude of atheists and worldly outward "professoris."

8. Cruel slaughter of ministers.

9. Pitiful state of the Kirk and brethren in France.

10. The tyranny of Bishops in England.

Secondly, that a commission of gentlemen, burghs and ministers be directed from this assembly to inform his Majesty what all his true subjects think of his countenancing of traitors, and negligence in preserving the kingdom of Christ, and that they would give their lives rather than suffer the land again to be polluted with idolatry. The commissioners nominated are Mr. Andrew Melvill, Rector of the University of St. Andrews, David Ferguson, Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Mr. Andrew Lamb, Mr. Nicol Dalgleish, and Mr. James Melvill, minister at Kilrennie (Kyllannie), and commissioners of gentlemen and barons from the convention at Cupar, on 2nd October. To this effect this assembly sends to the Convention Mr. Andrew Melvill, Mr. Robert Wilkie, Mr. James Martin, Mr. Andrew Moncreif, Mr. William Scott, with the whole of the Presbytery of Cupar. To obtain the commissioners of the burghs the ministers shall have letters and commission from this assembly. That the gentlemen and barons may convene in large numbers, Mr. Andrew Moncreif and Mr. David Merins shall 'speik" the Lairds of Cambo (Cannow) and Balcomie, commissioners ordinary of the barons, and the ministers of parishes shall deal with their own gentlemen.

Thirdly, the brethren directed to the barons and burghs shall crave them to send their commissioners to the King in Edinburgh, on 17th * October, there to concur with the above commissioners from this assembly and others sent from other provinces. They shall exhort the barons and burghs to execute the acts against Papists and Jesuits, and to take order for their own defence.

Fourthly, David Ferguson, Mr. John Davidson and Mr. John Cowden shall rebuke the Earl of Morton and his lady for receiving the aforenamed enemies, and shall crave them to do their duty according to their profession. Mr. Andrew Melvill, Mr. James Melvill and Mr. Adam Mitchell (Michel) shall confer with the Earl of Rothes, and with Crawford if he be within this province. Mr. Andrew Moncreif and Mr. James Melvill shall confer with Lord Lindsay.

Lastly, the Synod, having considered what they ought to do to these enemies have concluded—

1. That the principal enemies, namely, Huntly, Angus, Errol, Hume, Auchendoun and Sir James Chisholm have shown themselves worthy of excommunication from Christ's Kirk.

2. It was found that Angus, Errol and Hume as students at the University of St. Andrews had communion with the Kirk, and, marrying within the province of Fife, professed with the kirks wherein they were married, and subscribed the articles of religion; Huntly and Auchendoun should be excommunicated by the ministers of Fife for the cruel murder [of Moray] committed within their province, and Sir James Chisholm as being one of the principal accomplices in their plots. Wherefore the Synod did cut the said persons from their communion and ordained due information to be made thereof with interdiction of all who should receive them.

Finally, to communicate the above proceedings and to take advice with the brethren, the Synod has directed Mr. Andrew Lamb to Lothian, Mr. Thomas Douglas to Angus, Mr. James Stewart to Stirling and Mr. William Paton to Duns.

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* 19th, in Calderwood.

James VI.
1593.

"The just copie of the letter directed fra the Synod of Fyf be Mr. Andro Lamb to the Synod of Lowthian and Tueddaill." *

We have thought good to direct over unto you our brother, Mr. Andrew Lamb, to let you understand what sight God has given us of the danger wherein the Kirk stands and what we have thought meet to be done for preventing thereof. Wherein, if you consent and be resolute with us, we desire your commissioners of the ministry, barons and burghs to be in readiness in Edinburgh on 17th October next to come, or any other day and place that you advise us of, to meet with you for the discharging of this duty, as we have likewise required our brethren of Angus, Stratherne and Stirling. St. Andrews, 27th September 1593. *Signed*: Mr. James Melville, Moderator of the Synod.

"The copie of the answer of the Assemble of the provinces of Lowthian and Tueddaill."

Anent the desire of the assembly of the province of Fife, presented by Mr. Andrew Lamb to this assembly of the provinces of Lothian and Tweeddale convened in Edinburgh, 2nd October 1593, craving commissioners to meet with them [as above]; also approbation of the excommunication of Angus, Huntly, Erroll, Hume, Auchendoun and Sir James Chisholm, with intimation of the sentence in all the kirks of this province,—it is concluded that their commissioners be in readiness to meet at Edinburgh on 17th October, as desired, and that for a certain time silence shall be kept [anent the] excommunication of the said persons, "and that na intimatioun be made out of pulpettis of the sam to the xxviij of this instant, and then as thei salbe advertesit be the presbytere of Edinburgh to do."

6 *pp. Copy in a Scottish hand. Endorsed.*

Sept. 26. **136.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit I was informed that Huntly had access to the King on Friday, 14th instant, by means of Lord Hume and Sir George Hume, yet I am advertised by an honest courtier that he was indeed at Falkland, and that the King denied him his presence and dismissed him with some malcontentment. I can give no perfect assurance of this. I am told that Huntly himself gave it out that he was with the King and that he went to the Duke and Mar.

The King continues in hard course against Bothwell, now at his house at Creichton, and shortly to remove to Jedburgh for his better safety until the beginning of Parliament. It is whispered that the courtiers intend some great enterprise before the last of the month, or else to be laid aside. Bothwell and this town think this a good warning to them.

The King daily calls on the ministers to suspend the excommunication against Lord Hume for Papistry until Bothwell shall have departed out of the country, for Hume being made Captain of the King's guard it is alleged that he cannot spare his service. The Kirk deferred their sentence from the 23rd till the 25th instant, and at that time the King again willed the Presbytery to stay the excommunication and to send to him four ministers with report of their resolution.

Therefore Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Robert Rollock and Mr. Patrick Galloway are appointed this day to make petition to the King that Hume's submission may be plainly and openly made before the 30th

* Not in Calderwood.

James VI.
1593. instant; otherwise the excommunication shall be directly pronounced against him. Hume offers (as Huntly and others do) to give caution that he shall not hereafter practise the alteration or hurt of religion, but he will not promise to subscribe to the religion; which the ministers deem to tend only to a toleration.

The King writing to the Chancellor to come speedily to him looked to have met him on the way to Linlithgow at the Queen's Ferry, but he stayed his journey. He has been daily looked for at Linlithgow. It was reported here by courtiers returned from Court that they saw him in Linlithgow; wherein they were deceived. I am told that he would be at Court yesterday or this day. Some think that the Chancellor has purposely delayed his coming until he might see Hume delivered from the process of the Church. Others say that he doubts that the Queen will not well like his repair to Court.

Lord Hamilton (as I hear) by the King's two several letters has been written to come to Court, and still excuses himself. Some parts of the King's letter to her Majesty have come to the understanding of some who are much troubled therewith and deny plainly that Bothwell or any for him sought or offered to agree with Huntly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Sept. 26. **137.** ACT IN RESPECT TO THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF LORD HUME.

"*Apud* Lithgow xxvj *die Septembris anno* 1593." The King's majesty, after conference had with "some speciall" of the ministry anent Lord Hume's excommunication, with the advice of the Lords of his Secret Council "statute and ordeyned" that on the 28th of October next to come, if the said lord do not satisfy the Kirk by subscription to the articles of religion presently professed within this realm, His Majesty and they shall concur to his immediate excommunication. And likewise his Majesty promises that thereafter he shall be removed from his presence, and be compelled to depart the country. "Atour" his Majesty and Council promise that they shall never intercede for any further continuation of the said lord's excommunication, but "hold hand" that the laws and acts made anent excommunicated persons shall be prosecuted against him with all rigour and extremity. Copies of signatures of James VI, Alexander Lord Hume, J. Thirlstane Chancellor, Sir George Hume, Carmichael, Thomas Master of Glamis, Lincluden, J. Cockburn, Sir R. Cockburn.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Oct. 1. **138.** JAMES SINCLAIR, MASTER OF CAITHNESS, AND JAMES DOUGLAS, LAIRD OF SPOTT, TO BOTHWELL.

Whereas we understand of the gracious ear yielded by the Queen of England to the motions made by you in our behalf to concur in such affairs as shall seem necessary to her for our sovereign's safety from "the practises of Spanische legurs" or disturbers of the settled religion and amity: and whereas her Majesty requireth to have our hands and assurances thereto, so that she may use us as shall seem expedient: since distance will not suffer our several repairs to sign any contract to this effect, neither may Mr. Lok (whom she hath herein, according to our desires, trusted) safely repair to us all without suspicion, we have therefore thought good to crave of your lordship in our names to subscribe such a contract as you shall draw up to this effect and send to her Majesty, for our faithful and sincere performance.

James VI.
1593. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Sinclair, Mr. of Cathnes; James Douglas of Spott.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Oct. 4. **139.** ANDREW LORD OCHILTREE TO BOTHWELL.

[*To the same effect, and in nearly the same words as the preceding.*] Creichton. *Signed:* Andro Lord Uchiltre.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Oct. 4. **140.** HENRY STEWART, ABBOT OF ST. COLME, TO BOTHWELL.

[*To the same effect as the preceding.*] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Hary Steuart, Tutor.*

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 4. **141.** INSTRUCTIONS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

"Instructions to George Nicholson, imployed and sent to the Lord Treasurer in hir Majesties services."

First, because the conditions here require perfect advertisement for provision of seasonable remedies (which service of information I trusted to have performed personally, but my access to her Majesty is now deferred until she shall see things better established—a matter not looked for here these many years), and because my letters have lately been found defective and short in many parts,—therefore I have thought it more profitable for her Majesty's service at this time to send you, George Nicolson, to the Lord Treasurer with these instructions than to commit to my lame letters the matters requisite to be made known and considered, that therewith you may supply my insufficiency, and that directions may be returned to me with expedition and in season for the benefit of her Majesty's services here.

For his lordship's satisfaction in the contents of his letter of 25th September you shall give the several answers ensuing.

Albeit my late letter of 15th September has well contented her Majesty, yet she thinks my report of the King's answers to be short. For my excuse therefore therein, assure his lordship that I have truly and fully, so far as my memory served, reported the King's answers given to me at that time.

According to direction, I have in my packet of 26th September sent to his lordship the King's letters addressed to her Majesty,† and by the same he has, I trust, renewed his promise not to conclude anything with Huntly and his partners without her consent, and if he has not performed this as he promised me, then, upon knowledge thereof, I shall timely procure his confirmation to be testified with his own hand.

Very credible information has been given that Huntly has been with the King at Stirling and Falkland; and although the King resolutely denies having spoken with him in either of these places, and some of good intelligence (who were once firmly persuaded that Huntly "had gotten" the King's presence in the night at Falkland) assure me that the King would not speak with him, yet most men think that Huntly at his being in parts so near the Court obtained the King's presence. But it is confidently told me that Angus and Erroll were denied access, notwithstanding that the King was very

* to the young Earl of Moray.
† See *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. L.

1593. earnestly pressed for the same; and it is certain that Erroll was not seen openly with the King, as it has been reported to his lordship.

By Bothwell (Argonartes) I understand that Sir Robert Melvill has reported to the Countess of Morton that her Majesty shewed herself contented th[at] Angus, Huntly and Erroll should be received into the King's favour. I[n] this I have sent to speak with Sir Robert. Finding him not yet returned to his house at Burntisland, I trust to speak with him shortly, and thereon I shall advertise his lordship.

I have acquainted Bothwell of the true sense of her Majesty's speech to Sir Robert Melvill touching Huntly and the rest, as I have been directed. The Earl is now satisfied therewith, but I find others greatly stirred with this matter and with other reports that some instruments for her Majesty are dealing with Angus, Huntly and Erroll to restore them to the King's favour. I hear that the bruit of this not only much troubles Atholl (chiefly at this time when he is pressed by the King to give assurance to Huntly), but also occupies with great jealousies many barons, ministers and others well affected. In this, entreat his lordship that I may be so speedily and sufficiently directed that I may stay the well affected from sliding from their wonted devotion to her Majesty and the amity.

At my conference with Bothwell I moved him to use all the good means he could, with "doulcenes" * in his answers and petitions to the King, to stay the sentence for his departure out of this isle; "and I lett him knowe hir Majestis redines to work his stay in this realme with the Kingis favour, as any other shalbe earnest with the King to reconcyle Huntlay." Her Majesty's goodness towards him he acknowledged with great thanks, with profession of service. He thought it meet first to give contentment to the King in all his demands, that the King might be pleased, and his enemies might not allege that he either broke with the King in any manner or yet delayed to give all reasonable satisfaction. Therefore, whereas the King demanded caution and bond of him in great sums to depart the realm, agreeable to the act of Council at Stirling, he offered the names and bonds of ten or eleven noblemen and barons. But the King, alleging that most of them were *socii criminis*, saving Lord Seton (who might not be alone reasonably charged with the whole sum and bond), has been pleased to accept the Earl's own bond, which he has framed and sent to the King, yet in such form that, with the advice of the present courtiers, it is not likely to be received. Nevertheless his purpose is to content the King that he may be restored to his estate and possessions; which being accomplished, he thinks it then good time to move the King for his stay in this realm or in England. I humbly crave that the directions to be given to myself in his behalf may be sent with speed, that I may take the best time for the advancement of the same to her Majesty's good contentment and his benefit.

[*In the margin:* "Myne owne case."] It is necessary that you both inform his lordship perfectly and also pray him to present the same to her Majesty's knowledge, (1) that, trusting to have received licence to come from hence, I have put, and still retain, all things here in order for the advancement of her Majesty's service, either by any new servant or by myself if returned; (2) that at my access to her Majesty's presence I might inform her of many things in this estate requisite for the instructions of a new servant, or else to refurnish and "enable" myself in many wants for the profit of her service. I see such storms arising that thereby her Majesty's service here shall be deeply endangered

* *doulcenes:* sweetness.

James VI.

1593. unless her servant here shall be far better furnished than I am, or can be, without new orders and instructions. Make humble petition that this warning and foreknowledge may justly excuse me from blame of all future inconvenience, which cannot be eschewed by me in the plight wherein I stand ; (3) that I have some further secrets to be presented to her Majesty's ear, which I hope shall more please and profit her than my absence for a small time can work any hindrance or peril ; (4) that forasmuch as I not only feel the sting of death by the stroke of her Majesty's indignation renewed against me upon the exhibiting of the just complaint of the captains in Berwick " for remayne of ther payes," but also that my abode in this place and in this case shall, in spite of my heart and all that I can do, dangerously prejudice her Majesty's service and shortly finish my days, with shame to myself, hurt of my house, and utter ruin to my son and his wife and children, therefore I ought to choose and suffer rather any punishment and pain to avoid the mischiefs recited than thus to live here abiding the hasty fall of all these miseries hanging over me ; (5) that touching myself I shall never enjoy hearty and worldly comforts before I shall behold her Majesty's gracious face ; (6) that at my coming to his lordship I shall make such an overture for the full payment of the " remaynes " at Berwick that with his help her Majesty shall be well pleased, the garrison satisfied, and myself relieved in conscience and state ; (7) that I had appointed to have agreed with sundry persons chargeable to pay yearly great sums towards the payment of 1000*l.* yearly for my debts to her Majesty for seven years, agreeable to the assurance given to her Majesty for the same ; and without some order to be taken with those persons I shall not only be unable to perform this payment to her Majesty in due time, but also I shall lose 2000 marks by year, as for the space of four years now past at Michaelmas last and by the occasion of my abode and service in this place I have suffered to my utter undoing ; and wherein make humble suit that it may please her Majesty not to suffer this burden thus to oppress me ; that for these causes and considerations it may please her to give order either for my timely revocation or else for my licence to come to her presence for my refurnishing and enablement to serve with profit for her service and some comfort to myself.

Remember to give thanks to his lordship for the foreign " occurrantis " in his letter to me, and lay before him the commodity growing to her Majesty's service here by the frequent advertisement of such novelties wherewith I have been furnished by some clerk to the Secretary appointed to send the same to me, whose pains I shall recompense with yearly pension during my service here.

Albeit some causes and persons in Parliament shall be called on 1st November next, yet they shall be put over until the 20th ; at which day the Parliament shall begin, yet many think that it shall be adjourned for two months or more. So if her Majesty shall give me leave to come before the Parliament, I shall gladly perform all things before " remembred " and intended for her service, and at her good pleasure retire from or return to her service before the beginning of the Parliament at any day whatsoever. Therefore petition for my leave, and advertise me with all expedition of her Majesty's resolution therein.

[*In the margin :* Directions to be required in some particularities.] If her Majesty please to call me up, then I may receive directions in all things upon the information given by myself. Otherwise pray that I may be directed in these behalfs following.

What course shall be entered with the King for the confederated Earls, that they may be reconciled to his favour or depart out of this realm.

James VI.
1593.

Whether any open or secret favour or means shall be showed in her Majesty's behalf and name by me to these Earls or to any of them, and upon what conditions, and whether the course with and for them shall be "caried" betwixt their agents and myself, or betwixt themselves, their agents or [*sic*; ? and] such other especial person as shall be found fit for the purpose.

Whether I shall openly deal with the King in favour of Bothwell, as well to stay his departure out of this realm, as is already directed to me, as also in and for any other matter in which he will require her Majesty's mediation.

Since Mr. John Colville remains ready for her Majesty's service, with expectation of some relief in his distressed estate, therefore pray that I may know what comfort to give him and how to deal with him, so that upon her Majesty's gratuity he may be employed in necessary offices.

Since sundry of Lord Hume's servants (and it is thought with his privity and commandment) have sought to intercept my letters and packets and have assaulted and hurt some of the scout watchmen at Berwick, whether I shall still pass over the matter in silence, as hitherto I have done, or call on the King for redress.

Because the Chancellor did not find her Majesty's mediation for him in his distress so ready as he expected, therefore it may be that in the company with which he now runs his course he shall bear himself "the more outwarde" from her, that I may, therefore, be directed [how] by fair terms or assurance from her Majesty I may now win and entertain him.

Lord Hamilton, desiring to have obtained by her Majesty's goodness some small portion of powder for safety of the "peice" * in his charge, has (as I am informed) conceived an apprehension that she overlooks him; therefore pray that I may be directed what contentment or means I shall give to him for his satisfaction.

Remember to let it be known that the King expects her Majesty's advice in the contents of his last letter to her, especially touching Angus, Huntly and Erroll. For "it is informed me" that the King intends "once" to bring in these Earls with the consent of her Majesty, the estates and Kirk here, and soon after to make them courtiers.

6 *pp.* *In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 149.

Copy of the same.

Oct. 4.

142. An Account of News from Scotland by Robert Bowes.†

Cott. Calig., D.ii., fol. 111. Transcript in Harl. Mss. 4648, p. 149.

[Bothwell] has been credibly [advised often by] persons of good quality that his life [is sought and that he shall be] assailed by all means open and secret. [He is warned to beware] to lie in Edinburgh, chiefly if Alexander Hu[me shall be Provost] as now he is appointed by the King. It is added [that advice] was given and allowed amongst some of the [principal] courtiers that the root of the reversion of him should be pulled up, meaning his sons to be cut off. Now he is departed from Edinburgh and purposed to provide for the safety of his sons in the best sort he can. All his proceedings with the King, his message sent to entice Lord Hume to send the cartel for single combat with him, and the course he intends to take will be at large and with certainty reported by others.

The King has greatly pressed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to suspend the

* piece: building, fortress; *i.e.*, Dumbarton Castle.

† The heading and the words in square brackets are supplied from the copy in Harl. 4648, p. 149.

James VI.
1593. excommunication against Lord Hume. It has been required that the sentence should be deferred until Bothwell should be departed out of the realm, to the intent Hume might abide in Court for the guard of the King's person. The ministers being sundry times called to Court for this matter, it was at length ordered by the King and Council and accorded by the commissioners for this Presbytery to such effect as appears by the copy of the act delivered to you. But whilst this was being treated in Court the synodal assembly of Fife in St. Andrews excommunicated Angus, Huntly and Errol, Hume, Auchendoun and Sir James Chisholm. It is now alleged that this assembly had no power to excommunicate them, in regard that they had no residence or participation within this kirk nor within the limits of its jurisdiction; and because the excommunication cannot be made void or suspended by any authority other than the General Assembly of the whole Church, therefore it is intended (as I hear) that the King shall very shortly call together the General Assembly to rescind this sentence. In the meantime (and until the 28th of this month) Hume shall be suffered to be in Court, as presently he is. It is uncertain what shall ensue hereon, but some troubles are looked thereby, the rather because the barons of Fife stand stifly to the excommunication of the synodal assembly, purposing to send their commissioners to the King for the same.

[The King] with advice of his Council [has sought at this time of the change] of officers in the burghs to plant [strangers to be provosts in] sundry principal burghs in this realm. [Edinburgh laboured to have the] election of their Provost by the choice of the burge[sses and claimed] to have [this] privilege. And albeit the Coun[cil were very earnest] against them, offering to impose Alexander Hume [of North Berwick to be] their provost for this year, yet the King and Chancellor [quietly told Mr. Robert] Bruce, that it should suffice and content the King if [they would chose for their] provost, either John Arnott, Clement Corr, or John [Robertson, burgesses] of Edinburgh. And by this secret assent of the King [the "list"* of the provost] was chosen to be of Nicholas Udward, now Provost, [and John] Robertson. But before the election of the provost [the King has so] earnestly written to this town appointing Alexander [Hume to be provost] here, that in obedience of his charge the town have [not yet chosen any], looking that Alexander Hume shall be sworn to the statutes [of this town] and so stand as of the King's imposing for this time, and having [taken instruments] for the preservation of their liberties, that at the King's char[ge they do at] this present forbear their choice of their provost, as by their p[rivileges they ought]. Alexander Hume presently refuses to accept the office, [but it is thought the] King will command him to take it upon him. By th[ese beginnings it] is looked that this estate and government shall be brought to the [course and order] taken and kept by Captain James Stewart.

The councillors present at the act made for Hume's subs[cription to] the articles of religion before the 28th Oct. are the Chancellor, Hume, Master of Glamis, [Lincluden, the Secretary], Justice Clerk, Sir John Carmichael and Sir Ge[orge Hume]. [Hume] rules all with the advice of Glamis and privy [means of Sir] George. The Chancellor hitherto joins with and [follows them], carrying as yet no such countenance as before.

"You maye here shew the peice of cuninge use[d by Hume] makinge the ministers at Court to thinck th[at he had] subscribed th'acte of Counsell in ther sight, a[nd yet wrote] not one letter with the penn in his hand."

The King has earnestly sought to reconcile Atholl [and Huntly, and] to

* *i.e.* the leet.

1593. draw assurance betwixt them, for so[me time. This] assurance was almost accorded, yet by means [known to you] it was stayed. This reconciliation and assurance [was greatly] advanced by the bruit that her Majesty had instruments [dealing with] Huntly. But "that gapp" is stopped. Some [trifling jewel or] token to the Countess of Atholl, (the daughter of [the Earl of Gowrie, well] devoted to her Majesty), would work good effects [in the north and] might be accompanied with good words to Atholl [and Lord Forbes] against whom Huntly is in great rage.

Lord Hamilton, after receipt of divers of the King's letters, came hither, and after tarrying two or three days departed to [Kinneill. He] shews himself forward for maintenance [of religion, offering to oppose] all his power against the Papists.

[The] Countess of Huntly, having finished [her business to her contentment, prete]nds to be ready to return to her husband at Strathbogy. She] confidently affirms that Mr. James Gordon has departed out of this realm. But I am informed that he has very lately been with the rest of the Jesuits at the house of Mr. Alexander Leslie, and that he has presumed to preach publicly. But his audience said that his mass saying became him better than his preaching. Huntly, in his return from Falkland, rode to Brechin (Brigeyne) to visit his sister-in-law, the Countess of Mar. Angus is in hope to recover the King's presence and favour. Erroll (as I hear) trusts to be advanced, and to get the keeping of Edinburgh Castle with consent of Mar, presently keeper. If this take effect (as it is not like), then the Papists have obtained their old desire—to get into their hands the person of the King and the principal strengths and towns in this realm; and thereon they will soon show themselves in their own colours.

I hear that the Duke had intended to lodge in the house of the Countess of Gowrie, his mother-in-law, and adjoining the Palace of Holyroodhouse. But this house shall be taken from her against her will, and Hume shall be placed therein to hold out the Duke, the Countess and all others suspected.

The King has directed the ministers to devise some convenient course to be taken against the three Earls and all other Papists, for he still pretends that he will not receive these Earls without the privity and satisfaction of the Kirk. It is informed that the barons and Kirk are purposed to present to the King an earnest supplication for reformation of the government, chiefly touching Papists and confederates with Spain; and it is feared that they shall be so fervent therein that great troubles may arise thereby. The barons of Fife have already sent their commissioners to Edinburgh, praying that they of Lothian, Merse and Angus will approve the excommunication pronounced against the six persons before-named and that they will make intimation thereof; next, that they will meet with the commissioners at Edinburgh on the 17th, to confer upon the supplication to be exhibited to the King. This Presbytery will not allow and make intimation of the excommunication, as is required; and, albeit the time appointed for the meeting to confer for the supplication be very short, yet they will keep this appointment, and draw hither as many commissioners from other places as they can.

[Last]ly you must enlarge the above points with your own report, agreeable to the information I have given you by word. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.*

Postscript.—[Remember] to inform that this present estate and [strange government ought to be rather] terrified than comforted, for very proud [words

* This paragraph does not appear in the Harleian copy.

James VI.
1593. and taunts here passed] in Court. Therefore move that some letter m[ay be addressed to Mr.] John Carey and Mr. Vernon, that it is thought meet to send [to Berwick 4000 foot] and 1000 horsemen, and that they shall certify how [the said forces may] be provided and sustained there ; and that these letters [may be published].

3½ *pp. No fly-leaf, address or endorsement.*

Oct. 5. **143.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Being advertised that the King, accompanied with Lord Hamilton, the Chancellor, [and] the rest of the present Council and courtiers, suddenly armed and departed yesterday from Linlithgow in great haste to Stirling, charging very straitly all the inhabitants in the country adjoining to attend on him at Stirling with their armour and weapons, and that his purpose was to surprise Atholl at Doune (Down) of Monteith, near Stirling, while keeping court there as tutor to the Earl of Murray, therefore I stayed some time to understand the issue of this hasty journey. I am informed that the King, hearing that Atholl would keep this court as tutor to Murray and that the Laird of St. Colme, uncle of the young Earl, claimed the castle and lands of Doune of Monteith during the Earl's minority (which matter is already committed to the order of Bothwell and Ochiltree) without any complaint made by St. Colme sent William Stewart to Atholl to will him to forbear to keep this court. Atholl had entered into his journey before Stewart's coming to him, and the King, hearing this before Stewart's return, sent a charge commanding Atholl and all depending on him to retire from Doune of Monteith and Stirling. The King with his forces intended to come upon him before he and his company could depart. I have now heard summarily that Atholl, being warned of the King's intention and approach, escaped in safety with his company, being very small ; that Montrose, accompanying Atholl and thinking it best to abide the King's coming, is taken and stayed ; and that James Stewart, servant and solicitor to Atholl, is hurt. Hitherto I cannot learn of any further matter fallen out in this raid, wherein the Stewarts, as I hear, mark the King's warm passions and wrath against them, and his many promises and pretence of favour turned into this manner of proceeding against Atholl and Bothwell. It was suspected that the King and his forces should have environed Bothwell in Crichton, whereof Bothwell was advised last night in great haste, and some tale thereof was brought to me, but I soon discovered it to be mistaken. Bothwell has arrived at Edinburgh to see his servant, Patrick Abercromby, stricken in the body yesterday with a pistol. He intends to return in the morning to Crichton, and from thence to Jedburgh and Kelso.

The King has dismissed Mr. Robert Hepburn with little contentment in his suits for Bothwell, and albeit Mr. Robert " opened " to the King that Bothwell had lately received sundry advices that the King intended to enclose his house and forcibly to take and kill him, praying that the King would give him protection until the end of the next Parliament, or licence to abide in England for that time, yet the King would not grant protection or licence, saying that he was " under commoning " with him, and that it is foul treason to kill any " under commoninge " : " next that Bothwell would be received and intertained in Ingland with all favour."

Mr. George Carr, lately escaped out of Edinburgh Castle, showed himself yesterday with a troop of 80 horsemen, well furnished at Melvill, near Dalkeith, and parcel of the possessions of the Lord Ross. There he warned the tenants

1593. to plough or till the ground no more, threatening that he should burn their houses and their corn, if they do anything for the profit of Lord Ross, who, he said, was one of the principal persons in his late apprehension and troubles. It is noted much, and in pulpit, that at this time he should thus boldly show himself. It is likewise marked how highly Angus, Huntly and Erroll now carry themselves, and how generally it is looked that they shall very shortly be great courtiers: against which the Church and well affected barons with all their power "oppone" themselves, so that it is verily thought that great storms shall shortly arise. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 6. **144.** THE LAIRD OF FERNIHERST TO BOTHWELL.

[*To the same effect as No.* 138.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Fernhurst.

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 6. **145.** MAITLAND AND OTHERS TO SIR JOHN FOSTER.

Calig., D.ii. fol. 155*b*. Transcript in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 188. Cf. *Border Papers*, i., No. 906, under date Oct. 17.

By your letters and the report of your son, Nicholas Foster, we are amply informed of the late heinous attempt committed in Tynedale, and we let you know that according to his Majesty's good disposition towards the amity, he is most willing and careful that mutual and undelayed redress be made on either side; for the better effectuating whereof it is convenient that all complaints made heretofore be heard and redressed, and to that effect the principals complained of by the Scots and the chief committers of the late incursion in England be delivered to be kept as pledges till full redress be made and the enormities repaired. His Majesty has likewise given order for the meeting of the opposite Wardens with you, and has directed them to omit nothing tending to the increase of the amity and inflicting of due punishment to the offenders. Jedburgh. *Signed:*

Jo. Matelane	Cobbourn
R. Lord Setoun	Kokburn
Linclowdon	Carmichel
	Newbattle.

½ *p. Copy. Top of the page burnt away.*

Oct. 8. **146.** THE LAIRDS OF CLUNY, BURLEIGH, MUGDRUM, AIRDRIE, FERNIHERST, HUNTHILL, CULLERNY AND DAIRSIE TO BOTHWELL.

Since we cannot without suspicion haunt where you are, we grant you herewith full power in our name to "subscryve and agre ether at hame or a field with any partie that may profeit our caus," requiring your lordship to use diligence and secrecy, for the enemies of religion and of the two estates increase marvellously. But specially we would wish you to seek the protection of the Queen of England, the "protectrix" of religion and of our sovereign, letting her Highness understand that with her aid in small measure we are more than "bastand" [*i.e.* sufficient] for all her and our enemies within this realm, if matters be "tymuslie" resisted, which by delay may be in danger. Let this be sent up [to England] or used as you please. *Signed:* Cluni, Burlie, Mugdrum, Ardrie, Ferniherst, Hwnthill, Culernay, Darsy.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed.*

James VI.
1593.
Oct. 8.

147. Earl of Atholl to Bothwell.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, 258-9.

Since the number and credit of the Spanish factioners increase both about his Majesty and throughout the realm, it is high time remedy were provided. I have resisted them to this hour without help of any man, but now they are like to make the King "our partie" [*i.e.* opponent], to the imminent peril of religion, his Majesty's estate, and amity with England. Therefore I beseech you by means of Mr. Henry Lok to deal with her Highness for preventing of these inconveniences in such form as best likes her. And whatsoever band, promise or contract you shall conclude with her Highness I promise upon my faith and honour to hold fast unto to my uttermost power, not only for myself, but for the Earls of Gowrie and Murray, the Masters of Montrose and Gray, the Lords of Innermeath (Innermey) and Forbes, for whom, as for myself, your lordship shall send up this letter for testimony and record, to be inviolably kept in manner foresaid. Dunkeld. *Signed:* Atholl.

1 *p.* *In Mr. John Colville's hand.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed.*

Oct. 9.

148. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

In the King's late raid against Atholl the success has been much agreeable to my former advertisement: for Atholl coming to keep the court at Down Monteith was accompanied with Montrose and Gowrie, and they all for their better lodging came to Stirling; which being made known to the King, he sent a charge to command them to depart, and immediately followed with Lord Hamilton, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis and sundry of the Council, having with them 200 or 300 horsemen, whom the inhabitants of the country adjoining followed, according to the strait commandment given them. Atholl and his company, hearing the proclamation for their departure, agreed to obey, and thereon departed from Stirling to the castle of Doun Monteith, then in Atholl's custody in right of the young Earl of Murray. The King rode to the castle in great haste. Atholl and the rest with him, accompanied with 500 horsemen and informed of the King's earnest pursuit, resolved to give place to him, and thereon Atholl retired towards his house at Dunkeld with all his own servants and dependers, leaving Montrose and Gowrie with their followers to wait upon the King; who, seeing them coming towards him, sent the guard and others with commandment (as it is said) to charge them sharply, and with slaughter. But Montrose, to avoid the fury of the guard, putting a "stronge mosse" betwixt him and it, drew downwards towards the King in quiet order. Nevertheless Captain Gray and others came fiercely upon them, with their swords drawn, and in this ruffled Montrose roughly, yet he and his company, standing still for the King's own coming and drawing no sword for their own defence, alleged that they were the King's faithful subjects and ready to obey him. Thereupon Montrose and Gowrie were stayed and brought to the King, who commanded Montrose to be warded. Whereat one Graham, his servant, offered to draw his sword, and the King suddenly (as it is reported) laid his hand on his weapon; but Lord Hamilton pacified the matter and saved Montrose without hurt. Lord Hume, seeing James Stewart (servant and solicitor to Atholl and one well esteemed by the King) striving to rescue his servant's horse from some "towards" Hume, hastily struck Stewart with his dagger in two places, yet without hurt, and soon after they were reconciled. Atholl passed away without pursuit. Montrose, for convocation of the people, is commanded to keep his house, and Gowrie is dismissed. Thus this sudden raid is suddenly

1593. ended without blood, yet all things be not so clean quenched but that some fire is like to be kindled therein.

Many believe that the King, intending to have taken the lives from Atholl, Carntully [? Grantully], Cluny, and other friends of Bothwell known to have been present at his late access to the King, gave commandment to kill them, and that upon this slaughter Angus, Huntly and Errol should have come to the Court. But of this no certainty hitherto appears, and, having spoken with some of the Council, I find that it will be flatly denied.

Soon after the King's return to Linlithgow the Chancellor and young Cessford returned to his house at Lauder (Lawther) to make preparation for the King who is purposed to ride this week to Kelso and other parts of the Borders to establish some order and quietness. Some give out that the King intended to have surprised Bothwell at Crichton, Jedburgh or Kelso, but for this also I have little warrant, and presently Bothwell is not in those parts, for, hearing of this raid against Atholl, he has ridden to visit him, and I am told that the Duke, Atholl and others will meet at St. Johnstone to-morrow. Some think that Mar will come to Atholl, whereof I see no likelihood. Others look that Argyll shall "partye" Atholl, a matter very likely if Mar shall not hinder it. The King had called Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. Robert Rollock, ministers, to Linlithgow to advise for some order against Papists. These have plainly told him that by want of punishment the Papists swarm in Scotland, that their present pride and boasts are intolerable, and that the people think the King to be disposed to favour them. They see him guarded with Papists, and look that Angus, Huntly and Errol shall be received and embraced very shortly. The King, much displeased with this plain information, said that the ministers took Bothwell for their patron, adding that if they so did, then he might as well take the King of Spain for his. But it was answered that they neither took Bothwell nor Hume for any patron,* and that they had thus truly reported to him the state of the country and minds of the people, that he might be seasonably warned and their duties discharged. But the King replied that this boast could prevail no more with him than with the King of Spain. It was required that, as they had dutifully uttered the truth to him, so he would be plain with them. Whereupon the King entered [*i.e.* began] indeed to reveal himself and his meaning, but the Master of Glamis soon stayed him. So this matter broke off with resolution that sundry well affected and especial noblemen, barons, burgesses, and of the Kirk shall convene here on 24th instant to resolve for the order and course to be taken for Angus, Huntly, Errol and other Papists. All which matters are now referred to this Convention.

Forasmuch as these three Earls, denying their subscriptions to the Blanks, greatly desire to be tried by assize—which is verily looked shall be such as will clearly acquit them—therefore it is feared that this Convention is appointed to draw hither noblemen and others for the expedition of the trial, agreeable to their desire. I find that this "conceytt" occupies many. Nevertheless the King protests to proceed sincerely and according to the advice of the state and Church; wherein also I am informed that he continues in purpose to receive none of those Earls without her Majesty's privity and consent, denying still that hitherto he has given preference to any of them, nothwithstanding that he has been right earnestly pressed to the same. I am told that Patrick Murray (Huntly's minion and agent in Court) has openly and boldly affirmed that her Majesty will be pleased that these Earls be received into the

* *Patron* has also the meaning "pattern."

James VI.
1593. King's favour. This and some other like bruits greatly trouble the well affected here, whom I have sought to satisfy, and wherein sundry are satisfied, with the report of her Majesty's mind and disposition, as uttered to Sir Robert Melvill. Her pleasure and advice touching these three Earls is wished and daily looked for here.

I have spoken with Sir Robert Melvill and let him know that it has come to her Majesty's hearing that he has reported here that she was contented—if the King so would—with the receiving of Huntly and the other Earls into favour. Wherein I moved him to call to memory that her Majesty's speech to him, when he said that he thought the King would receive them, was that it would be against his honour to receive them without the mediation of some great person, and she knew none more meet than herself, and so she would allow thereof upon condition that the Earls should renounce all the Spanish and Popish faction and bear their faithful duty to the King in maintenance of the common quietness of the realm. I let him also understand that it has been given out that he has made further report herein to some lady and others (meaning the Countess of Morton) than can be warranted by the true sense of her Majesty's words to him. He answered that he has not opened this matter to any person other than to the King alone, and that to him he has delivered it as he received it, and for his full answer herein he will truly report to her Majesty and your lordship his whole words and proceedings herein.

Dunipace, sent to bring Mar to the Court, has returned with excuse for this time. He has told the King that the barons in Angus and sundry other provinces have ratified the excommunication against Hume and the proceedings of the barons in Fife, Angus and other places. So it is looked that before the end of this month some new and strange effects will be seen here, and that some courtiers, now ruling in Court, must either change their course or else abate their countenance there.

Being secretly and credibly advertised that Mr. George Ker would ride into the west parts with some borderers, with Mr. James Maitland, son and heir to the Laird of Lethington, deceased, to kill Mr. Andrew Knox for apprehending him, I have therefore timely warned Mr. Knox, who is able in these places rather to hunt Ker than Ker to hurt him. Ker has also threatened Mr. James Carmichael, minister at Haddington, whereof I have sent him warning.

Angus, Huntly and Errol have appointed (as I hear) to meet to resolve on their offers to the King, the state and Kirk. They will offer to confess all things known and done by them, and seek "indelate" trial by assize. Further, being tried clean, they will give satisfaction to the King, the estates and the Kirk within time to be limited by the King, or else depart out of the realm. Many well affected wish them to be put out of the realm, thinking that then they shall not be able to do here any great hurt, and that the residue of the Papists lacking their help and strength shall easily be driven to follow them. I am told that some of these Papists think it meet to allure some great personage to pass with them, but neither my informer nor myself can hitherto get any sure ground to write with certainty therein. I have promised a good reward to the informer if he can perfectly discover this mystery and let me know from time to time how it proceeds, and when and how the parties will embark.

I am told that Adam Wauchope (Vaughop), lately in Spain, has arrived at Stonehaven (Stanehyve), near the Earl Marischal's house, with Spanish pistolets for the Spanish faction here. Because I doubt hereof, I have employed a Catholic brother to discover the truth. Lord Hume and young Cessford are

1593. agreed and "familliar" in hatred of Bothwell, who cannot lie at Jedburgh or Kelso, as he had determined, without great peril.

The King returned yesternight to the Queen at Holyrood House. It is looked that some ladies about the Queen shall be removed, unless they shall be stayed by the mediation of the Queen, who presently shows herself little pleased with this estate and with the condition of the present courtiers. It is now generally thought that the Queen is with child. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 11. **149.** ANGUS, HUNTLY AND ERROL TO ELIZABETH.

Not only by the gentleman who dealt with your Majesty in our name, but also by the effect that has followed thereon, we understand how favourably you have accepted our reasonable and humble suit, we being heavily troubled, without just ground, and persecuted. For this we render all humble thanks, in "nakit and bair" words, until time shall produce some fit occasion to do you service. In the mean season we request that, as your Majesty has begun this good work for our relief, so you will continue until you have perfected your own work both with the King and the ministry, and reduced our estate to that rest and quietness that we may live as peaceable subjects, and ready to do you all humble service. We shall not only eschew whatsoever slander or suspicion may be conceived of us for our religion, and perform the offers made to your Majesty in our name, but if it shall please you to employ us, we shall at all times be ready to accomplish any matter that may lie in us to perform to the weal of your Majesty and your estate, not being hurtful to our allegiance to our sovereign and native country. Of our good will and upright intention you will more particularly understand by the gentleman who first dealt with your Highness in our cause. Scotland. *Signed:* Anguss, Huntlye, Erroll.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Oct. 11. **150.** WARRANT BY JAMES VI. FOR THE ARREST OF A SHIP.

Warrant by King James to messengers and sheriffs, conjunctly and severally, to seize and arrest a ship of London at Preston and other ships of England wherever they can be apprehended, to remain under arrestment at the instance of William Stewart until he be redressed [rehearsing the narrative in the following]. Given under our signet at Holyroodhouse.

"Ex dilliberationem [*sic*] dominorum Secreti Consilli."

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 11. **151.** PETITION TO JAMES VI. BY WILLIAM STEWART.

"Unto your Majestie and Lords of Secret Counsell humblye meines and schawes I your servetur William Stewarte, skipper and burgesse of Dundye" that in the month of August last I was returning homewards through the Straits with a ship called the *Bruce*, 60 tons burden, laden with Spanish wine, "lipning" [*i.e.* looking] for no trouble or stop especially of Englishmen in respect of the league and amity, yet nevertheless a ship of London, called the *Gillion* (Mr. Clarke of London being owner and master), accompanied

James VI.
1593. with two other warships, boarded my said ship, struck and cruelly pursued me, my servants and "akkipage," and spoiled and away took 25 tuns of wine, 100 "frares" of raisins and figs and the whole "remnant" goods and gear to the value of 8000*l.* or thereby, and thereafter took me violently with my said ship to the town of Portsmouth to make my said ship and goods a lawful prize. Whereof they being disappointed and I making my complaint in judgment to the Admiral of that town and the rest of the judges, one, Captain Barisbrigge, captain of the ship *Fortunatus*, in presence of the Judge and Admiral pulled forth a sword, of intention to strike off my head therewith, and, missing the same, struck me most cruelly in the arm "and stroke off the knopp of my elbow" whereof I am altogether made impotent; likewise they made distribution of my wines, goods and gear amongst the said three ships to my utter wrack and undoing. And seeing there is lying here at Preston a ship of London of the same "byrth" as mine, and that no other redress can be had, I humbly beseech that I may have letters to fence and arrest the said ship of London with the goods and gear therein and also all other ships of England wherever I can apprehend them within this realm, till I be redressed of my ship, goods and gear aforesaid. "Apud Haliroodhouse xi° Octobris *anno* 1593. *Fiat ut petitur.* James Rex."

1 *p.* *Broadsheet.* *Copy.* *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 154. Copy of the Council's warrant to arrest the ship of England.

Oct. 11. **152.** HUNTLY AND ERROL TO MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

At the beginning of this trouble we, deliberating the chief causes and origin of the same, and how they could best be taken away, considered that to remove the evil opinion of the Queen of England and by all good offices and services to obtain her favour would be a "cleir ouittqueatt"* to our cause and an assured quietness to us to live peaceably in our native country in all time coming under her favourable protection, to which we would gladly retire in so far as may stand with our duty to our sovereign. In this cause the Earl of Angus took the burden on him to inform your lordship of this our intention, and to desire you in all our names to make such offers as we were and are not only willing to perform, but also, if it please her Majesty, we shall perchance be found more able to do her more thankful service than others she has esteemed more of in this country. We request you to continue to let her Majesty understand our good intention, and to desire that, as she has already abstained from moving our master to rigour against us, it may likewise please her to cause such order be taken with the ministry in this country, that by her assistance and our master's they have not such place as they pretend to in troubling of the common weal and quiet estate of both the countries by compelling men to swear all the particular heads of their religion before we be persuaded thereto. We crave no liberty in public use of any other religion than is professed in this realm, but only that no compulsion be used to men's conscience, and that by her Majesty's assistance a public law be made of this for our greater surety. If any man by his traffick trouble the present estate of both the realms, let him be punished. The taking away of the cause that may move men to seek remedies, which compel them to be "mensworne" or to be exiled and lose their livings, shall make them content, being free in conscience, to live quietly in their native

* *ouittqueatt*: *discharge.*

1593. country. This being "perfytit" by her Majesty, we shall not fail to perform our offers and give proof of our obligation and affectionate hearts; and shall be much "addebted" to your lordship. Scotland. *Signed:* Huntlye. Erroll.

1 *p. Addressed:* "To the rycht honorable Master Archbald Dowglas, ane of his Majestie ordinare Counsell and Sessioun presentlie at Loundoun." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Oct. 12. **153.** WARRANT BY THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

Warrant by the Duke of Lennox, Lord Great Admiral of Scotland, to Daniel Leyne * to seize a ship of London, lying at Preston and pertaining to James Keeler, and to keep it under arrestment till sufficient caution be found enacted in the books of Admiralty at Leith. Given under seal of office of the Admiralty and subscription of the audit (?) clerk thereof. Edinburgh.

1¼ *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hands of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 12. **154.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By your letter of the 3rd instant, and by letters of Sheperson, I understand that he has acquainted your lordship with my intention to seek access to her Majesty's presence. Now, nevertheless, finding her determined to stay me here, I shall with all humility obey her Majesty's will to the uttermost of my power. I pray that the disability in my estate may be considered and that the miseries of my case may find some compassion.

The King returned hither on the 8th instant, giving me audience yesterday, late in the afternoon. I sought redress in Border matters and in other causes "motioned." I shewed that her Majesty, "intertayned" with weighty affairs, had thereby deferred her letter to the King. I let him know that I had heard many general reports greatly to his dishonour and peril, and which I could not credit nor yet certify before receiving some satisfaction by him; for I have been credibly advertised that he had spoken with Angus, Huntly, Errol and Sir James Chisholme on Sunday last, the 7th instant; that these Earls were appointed to come to him at Linlithgow on the 5th, for which purpose the King hasted his return from Doune of Monteith; and that although that meeting was deferred, nevertheless the Earls were attending hereabouts to have his presence and favour,—which the people believed generally he would grant and soon after call them to Court and give toleration in religion. In this I have laid before the King the dangers falling on him and his honour by obscure dealing with these Earls, and without her Majesty's privity and advice. I concluded with a short exhortation to grant to Bothwell the benefit accorded by the Convention at Stirling, and not to impose impossibilities, adding that Bothwell had solemnly protested to me to submit himself wholly to the King's will, his life only being saved. The King answered that sundry ways he understood that such slanderous reports had been spread abroad, but that they were all false, for he had not seen any of the Earls nor would he speak with any of them. He said that all this time he might be thought far changed, and very evil advised either to change his religion or to confederate with Spain, for he had often argued with Papists, and of the most learned

* Blank in MS.

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1593.

sort, and ever convicted them with the authority of the Scriptures, so that he had no reason to be vanquished with the arguments which he had confuted. In his mother's time and soon after her death he was tempted with many fair offers to run a course with Spain, wherein the King of Spain's daughter was offered in marriage to him, her picture was sent to him, and liberal benefits were promised. At the coming of the Spanish fleet, and sundry other times, he had been greatly allured by some of his own subjects and by strangers to join with Spain, wherein the French King, deceased, the Duke of Guise and his kinsmen of that house have much solicited him, yet he would not hearken to any of their offers, but always bent his course with her Majesty, who lately showed great goodwill towards him. He protested deeply that he would continue his amity and kindness with her Majesty, and that he would not deal anywise with Angus, Huntly or Erroll nor receive them without the order of the next Convention at St. Johnstone, consent of the Kirk, and her Majesty's privity and advice. Touching his dealings with those three Earls he gave all assurances that by words and protestation could be uttered. Next, he alleged that he had tendered to Bothwell all the benefits offered by the Convention, and that Bothwell trifled with him and had broken the conditions, "wherin he would no longer be dallyed withall." I found the King so resolute against Bothwell that it was fruitless to proceed further in any matter for him. Lastly, the King prayed that if her Majesty's letter to him should be brought to my hands before he returned home that I would keep it, giving only timely knowledge of the receipt thereof, to send or bring or retain it, as he should direct.

Although I thought to have left the course to be taken with these Earls and their accomplices to the resolution of the next Convention and Kirk and to her Majesty's advice, yet I learned the next morning that some for Huntly had called on the clerk to deliver a precept for an assize for the trial of those Earls at St. Johnstone, and that the clerk, demanding warrant, was told that he should have warrant subscribed with the King's own hand. Hereupon I acquainted the Master of Glamis (then ready to wait on the King on his journey this day to the Chancellor's house at Lauder) as well with the King's promises and protestations given yesternight to me, as also with this strange manner of proceeding and prejudging and defeating plainly the order of the Convention (appointed purposely at Perth for this cause only), and her Majesty's advice. [I said] that this grant of assize was directly contrary to the King's solemn promise to me, and proved an intention to clear the Earls. This is now confirmed by the roll of the names of the persons to be summoned for the assize, whereof the most part, and very near all the noblemen, are thought to be favourable to the Earls, and empanelled at the denomination of the parties to be tried. I enclose a copy of this roll. Moreover, I let the Master know that I was credibly informed that the King's raid to establish the peace and good order of the Borders was secretly intended to apprehend and punish the borderers lately following Bothwell. I added that this pursuit of so many borderers is practised not only to embark the King in so many troubles that he shall be forced to fortify himself with the aid of these three Earls, but also to draw on dangerous rebellion. The Master answered that he did not know any such resolution to try the Earls by assize, nor that the clerk had been solicited to give the precept for the summons of the assize or had warrant for the same. He promised to communicate the matter to the King, but departed with the King without further answer.

Touching Bothwell the Master of Glamis alleged that the Earl had "broken and dallyed" with the King, who would no longer "capitulate" with him.

1593. The practice to clear the three Earls by assize, the dark dealings with them, and the "imposinge" of Alexander Hume to be Provost in Edinburgh (in which office he is now invested) give occasion to many to look for great changes and troubles.

I am credibly told that the barons in many counties are joining to present their supplication to the King against Papists. It is looked that all conventions for this purpose shall be prohibited. But it is thought that out of these beginnings some great effects shall proceed, and it is given out here, without any ground, that her Majesty, for quietness of her Borders, has given order to draw forces to the Borders, which many wish to be done with expedition in hope that the sight or sure expectation thereof should make the Papists draw in their horns. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Assize for the trial of Angus, Huntly and Erroll.)

"Noblemen and barrons appointed to be of th'assysse for the tryall of th'erles of Anguss, Huntley and Erroll, with the Lard of Auchendown and Sir James Chesholme."

Earls: My Lord Hamilton; Crawford; Montrose; Rothes; Marischal.

Lords: Fleming; Hume; Maxwell; Seton; Yester; Ogilvy; Gray; Drummond; Sinclair; Semple; Herries; Abbot of Inchaffray; Master of Elphinston.

Barons: Laird of Lochinvar; Sheriff of Ayr; Lairds of Tullibardine, Balwearie, Balquhane, Phillorthe; Sir John Carnegie of Kinnaird; Lairds of Kinnaird in the Carse, Findlater, Bass, Waughton (Vauchton), Corstorphin, Keir, Creich, Kers (Keirse), Tulliallan, Blaquhan [? Blairquhan], Barganny, Abbott's Hall, Wemyss (Venis) of that Ilk, Dundas, Craigmillar, Edzell (Edyall), Pourie Ogilvy; the Constable of Dundee.

1 *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* "Octob. 1593. The names of the noblemen for the lords triall."

Oct. 12. **155.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

After I had prepared my last letter, the Master of Glamis and the Abbot of Lindores were sent by the King, to let me know that Angus, Huntly, Errol and Sir James Chisholme, accompanied with only 24 horsemen, had put themselves in the King's way near to Fala (Fallye), and that the King, advertised thereof, sent Captain Carr (servant to Huntly) and others to command them to depart; that, nevertheless, these four persons suddenly and unawares to the King presented themselves on their knees before him, craving grace and to be tried by assize; and that the King would not speak to them, but dismissed them, and resolved that they should be worse handled for their boldness. Because this matter and the strange handling thereof far "dissented" from the King's mind and promises given to me within 26 hours preceding, therefore I prayed them to put in writing what had been said in words. But the Master denied, saying that they had no further commission other than to report by words. Then I required that, for my own memory and to avoid all questions, I might in their presence write their report and message agreeable to their own words and meaning and then read it to them,

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1593. that they might consent to the form and matters put in writing by me. To this they agreed, and gave me their report and message, as in the note enclosed. After I had written their report and showed the same to them they consented to it, yet they would not subscribe it, affirming that they would ever confess the same to be their true report to me. Therefore, I enclose the "double" thereof subscribed by me, that your lordship may know the full sum of the King's requests to her Majesty herein, and of their report, and may compare the same with "th'effects passed in th'actions of the King, th'erles and others at this soddaine encounter and metinge."

I have heard many things not reported by these messengers, but omit to certify them until I may gather better certainty from some present at this meeting.

Some hours before their coming to me, I was advertised by Sir John Foster of the late and great outrage done in Tynedale, which I suspect to be drawn on by the Papists, agreeable to their old "ployte," and was also warned that my letters would be intercepted whilst the King was on this raid, therefore I more roundly reproved the foul practices used here, "which I could (I said) make manifeste, and would not refuse in dewe order to adventure myne olde bodye to approve the same." Some note, I hear, is taken thereof, which hereafter may be "revyved" to me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Report of the Master of Glamis and the Abbot of Lindores.)

Friday the 12th of October 1593. The King's Majesty departed from Holyrood House to pass to Lauder (Lawther). At Fala (Fawley) the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol with Sir James Chisholme presented themselves suddenly to the King's presence, falling prostrate before him and craving to have a lawful and just trial. This was done without the foreknowledge and pleasure of the King, as his Majesty willed these two messengers, viz., the Master of Glamis and the Laird of Lindores, to affirm and assure to me Robert Bowes. His Majesty's answer was that they might have done that by supplication which now they craved by their presence, and that they should find themselves to be worse handled by this boldness to present themselves to his Majesty.

The King's request to her Majesty is, first, that she would suspend her judgment until his actions at the Convention at Perth on the 24th of this month shall declare his meaning. This is delivered by the Master of Glamis; and the Laird of Lindores brings another request to me, Robert Bowes,—that I will trust no reports, but his Majesty will keep all the things he promised yesternight. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 18. **156.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since my last letter to your lordship I have received one letter directed by her Majesty to the King of Scots, together with a copy thereof, and one letter from you to myself of the 7th instant and one of the 9th. According to the King's order [p. 199], I have sent an especial messenger to give him knowledge of the receipt of her Majesty's letter, and to receive his pleasure whether

1593. I should send it or retain it until his return. This messenger has not yet returned. By your letter of the 7th I am glad to learn her Majesty's right judgment touching the inconvenience following the escape of the excommunicated Earls from condemnation or recognition of their faults, and also your approbation of the same. If I had been thus fully "furnished" before, I could have profited much more and better satisfied many well affected. By your last letter and by report of Nicolson on his return, I have experience of your great favour shewed to me in your solicitation for my license to go thither, *etc.* [Expresses his resignation to her Majesty's will that he should remain in Scotland.]

Because I have not received any perfect advertisement of the King's proceedings, I refer all those things to the report of others near the Borders. Angus, Huntly, Errol and Sir James Chisholme after their departure from the King on the 12th resorted to Dalkeith and lodged that night in the town, having lodged the night before at Ormiston, the house of the Justice Clerk, who married Sir George Hume's sister. At Dalkeith they sent six score several missives (as I am credibly informed) to sundry gentlemen to accompany them with their best forces to the Convention at Perth on the 24th instant. In these they have written to Maxwell, Herries and Lochinvar (Lowghenvar), who are looked to bring with them a great number well furnished; so that their forces there will be very strong, and they are to be fortified with the companies of sundry noblemen of their party going thither to the Convention and assize. On the 13th day they returned to Calendar, Lord Livingston's house, and there Huntly, parting with them, narrowly escaped meeting with Bothwell, having with him but four men.

The Master of Glamis, pretending to mislike the coming in of Huntly (yet most men think that he secretly and greatly favours Huntly), told me that he would retire and live at home; but he was met the next day riding towards Stirling, and Bothwell was informed that the Master had been directed to surprise him in his lodging or by the way; but Bothwell had departed and did not meet with the Master.

The Duke has departed to St. Andrews for the winter, and if he cannot recover the King's better countenance he purposes to pass (as I hear) to France. Mar has passed into Argyle "and will be no soddaine courtiers" [*sic*]. It is certified that these three Earls, hearing that Mr. James [*l* Adam] Ballantine had earnestly spoken against them in the pulpit at Falkirk, had determined to kill him in or near the church, but the Lord Livingston stayed them. I am informed that some of the Earls at their late access to the King [at Fala] confessed that they had sought to revenge the death of his mother against the Queen of England, using many evil terms in the same. This report is first given out by Huntly's secretary to an honest person who revealed it to me. Sundry other matters approving the King's untimely favour to these Earls have been told me, but I suspect that many of these tales are not true.

Yesterday, at the meeting of the commissioners of the Kirk, the barons and burghs convened here, and I enclose a copy of their resolutions. Six commissioners are appointed to present their proceedings to the King, who it is thought shall be greatly stirred thereby, and great preparations are made for the advancement of the course resolved, and to stop the giving of trial to these Earls, whose friends, as I am told, have mustered in readiness to come to Perth. They have already provided that the Watergate or Water-street in St. Johnston's (called Perth) shall be reserved for the Earls and their companies. But Atholl, Gowrie and many of that town are rather disposed to keep them out. The access of people is looked to be so great that bloody troubles shall

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1593. arise; yet many think that the King will restrain this confluence. I think that this Convention and the trial shall be "put over" for this time. I request instructions how to proceed in these present "stirrs"; and in the particularities wherein I requested direction by George Nicolson, Sheperson will deliver to your lordship the same instructions which I gave in writing to Nicolson, and which I perceive he has not showed you.

That you may know in what sort the King of Scots has granted warrant for reprisal at the suit of William Stewart, pilot of George Bruce's ship of Culross (Cowross), I enclose all the instruments executed on James Keler, Englishman, presently here for salt.

The King's course taken herein with the advice of his Council is thought exceeding strange in regard that the owners of the ship and goods have complained * to me for the wrong done them on the seas by Englishmen, and were well pleased to sue to the Lords of her Majesty's Council for redress by them or any ordinary judge. Sundry merchants of Edinburgh have also been with me, offering to petition the King to "surcease" this manner of proceeding. On the King's arrival I will receive his further order and certify you thereof with speed.

By many credible means I am advertised that the Papist Earls and their confederates seek a toleration in religion; that "they doubt nothing to be suffred to revenge the deathe of the Kingis mother"; that therewith I shall be "put at" (as they term it), and that after me no other for her Majesty shall be received here. Lord Hamilton was willed by the King to come to me with the message brought by the Master of Glamis and the Abbot of Lindores, but he refused it and would not speak with the Earls. He has renewed to me the memory of his good devotion to her Majesty, and remains ready to do all acceptable offices. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

4 *pp.* *No fly-leaf or address.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Proposed Trial of excommunicated Lords.)

"At Edenburgh the xvijth daye of October 1593."

The commissioners of the Kirk, barons and burghs being convened from divers parts of this realm, foreseeing the present danger wherein the Kirk of God within this realm, the King's estate and person, and the whole commonweal stand, thought good to give their advice to his Majesty in manner following.

In primis, because the commissioners are informed that the excommunicated Lords, viz., Angus, Huntly, Erroll, and their accomplices, are to be put to the trial of an assize, they humbly crave that the trial may be delayed unto the time that all the professors of the Gospel be ripely advised what is meet to be done in that matter, because the whole professors of the Gospell are "myndit to be ther partye and accusers in ther foull treasons," and also because they are already convicted, partly through breaking of ward for crimes of treason and partly being fugitives from the laws, first in St. Andrews, whereto they were summoned, "and specially fra the supreme seate of Parliament."

Item, we crave that, according to the laws and lovable custom of the country, these excommunicated and treasonable apostates, seeing they are accused of the highest treason, may be committed to sure ward, viz., in the

* The text reads: "th'owner of the shipp and goodis have complained to me."

1593. towns of Edinburgh, Dundee, Stirling, *etc.*, or as it shall be thought meet, till order be taken with all the Papists of Scotland, and till the Estates advise further what manner of trial shall be used against them.

Item, we crave that when the Estates after mature deliberation shall put the said traitors to an assize, the "assyssers" be not nominated at the option of the parties to be accused, but by "the partye accustantis," to wit, the whole professors of the Gospel, and that according to the lovable custom of this realm.

Item, it is craved of his Majesty that, seeing the aforesaid traitors are excommunicated by the just sentence of the Kirk, they be not admitted "to have anye person in judgment" nor benefit of the law till they be reconciled to the Kirk,—and that according to the laws of the country and his Majesty's own promise.

Item, in case his Majesty will not alter the day, then we crave that, as he professes religion with us, and they [profess] the contrary, we may be his Majesty's guard and admitted "in the moste fensible and warlyke manner" to defend his person from their violence and to accuse them to the uttermost, as we are minded to do, even if it should be with the "losse of all our lyves in ane daye." We are determined that the country shall not "bruik us and them baith" so long as they are God's professed enemies.

These foresaid petitions and conclusions being read and considered by the commissioners present, they agreed to the same and promised to stand by them, and for this purpose have directed in commission their brethren, the Laird of Merkinston, younger, the Laird of Calderwood, the commissioners of Edinburgh and Dundee, Mr. Patrick Galloway and Mr. James Melvill, to present their humble petitions to the King's majesty and to return his answer with all diligence.

The commissioners present ordain a letter to be directed to the noblemen, gentlemen, barons and burghs who are well affected towards religion, for their concurrency in this work, and that the said letter be subscribed by Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. John Craig, Mr. Walter Balcanquhal, Mr. William Watson, or any four of them. It is ordained that the moderator of every presbytery advertise every particular brother in the ministry in his bounds to give advertisement to the noblemen, gentlemen, barons and burghs within their bounds to be in readiness in Perth "in maist fensible and warrlyke manner" against the 24th of this instant, unless they be stayed by particular letter directed from the commissioners appointed by this convention to stay till the King's answer comes back.

The commissioners appoint Mr. James Melvill and David Ferguson for Fife; Mr. John Ramsay and Mr. James Nicholson for Angus; Mr. John Erskine for Mearns; Mr. John Hudson for the West; Patrick MacQueen (Macquhen) for Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham; Mr. Henry Livingston for Stirling; Mr. James Deas (Dais) for the Merse and Teviotdale; Mr. David Nairn for Peebles; Mr. John Spottiswood for Linlithgow, and Mr. Andrew Moncreif for Perth, to remain in this town till the answer from the King be returned.

They ordain a public fast in all the kirks of this convention the next Sabbath, the cause being the present danger of religion and the hazard of the King's person: ordain a letter to be written to the burgh of Perth desiring that their town be open, that the professors of the Gospel may be "resett" there, and the Papist lords be not "resett": ordain the excommunication of Huntly, Angus, Erroll, Auchindoun and Sir James Chisholm to be intimated in all the kirks of Lothian the next Sabbath. It is ordained that the King's ministers receive no subscription of articles of religion by Alexander, Lord

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1593. Hume, in case he offer the same, but that the presbyterial estate end the process that they have begun against him.

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "17 October, 1593. Certein peticions and conclusions considered uppon by the commissioners for the Kirke, barons and burghers of Edenbrough."

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol .154, v. Copy of the same.

Oct. 20. **157.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The messengers sent to the King by the commissioners convened here on the 17th instant had audience of the King and Council at Jedburgh on the 18th and returned hither yesternight and this day made report of all their proceedings and success.

Upon consideration of their report the commissioners have resolved to proceed in the course against the Papists and have taken order that all the proceedings at Jedburgh and also the resolution this day concluded by the commissioners should be put into writing, a copy whereof I enclose.

The King would not accept these messengers as sent with sufficient commission to him, neither would he receive of them nor deliver to them any matter in writing, leaving all things in suspense. It is generally feared here that the Convention and trial shall be transferred from Perth to Linlithgow and executed with great expedition there in regard that the King, and chiefly the Earls to be tried, shall be in greatest strength by the forces of Hamilton, the Chancellor and Lord Livingston near thereto, and also of Maxwell, Seton, Herries and others looked to assemble there for the Earls; and it is looked that, because the King will not alter the "assyssers" before impanelled, the parties shall be easily acquitted.

It is known that the King and Council, before the arrival of these messengers at Jedburgh, had concluded to have "continewed" the Convention and the trial to further day and place. It is reported that they had thus determined upon intelligence given that Atholl, Montrose and Gowrie and sundry barons of Angus and Fife would possess themselves of the town of St. Johnstone with the consent of the town, and hold out the forces of Angus, Huntly and that rabble with all their known friends. Thus the Kirk, barons and burghs expect strange and dangerous events at Linlithgow. I am told that these matters have wrought much with Lennox and Mar, [who are] now disposed to regard the cause of religion; that Morton, hearing of the danger of religion, is moved to subdue his strong affections towards Angus and Erroll, and to tender the safety of the religion; and that Glencairn and other noblemen, looking into the old bands made for erection of the Gospel, are willing to maintain the Gospel received here.

The King had determined to rase the houses of Ferniherst, Hunthill and Whithaugh, but old Whithaugh submitted and saved his life; and the Carrs and gentlemen of Teviotdale and Jedburgh made humble suit for the sparing of the houses of Ferniherst and Hunthill, offering either to draw the owners to the King's obedience, within thirty days, or else to cast down their houses: whereupon the King was pleased to accept their petition.

It is advertised that Lord Hume, seeking the possession of Ferniherst's livings, departed malcontented; and being called again by the King he uttered his malcontentment by warm terms, which stirred the King "in his sorte" [*i.e.* in corresponding degree]. Whereupon the King told him that if he [Hume] kept promise with him (a matter thought touching Bothwell's life) he would

1593. perform all things with him. The King asking him whether he would subscribe the articles of religion, as the King had promised he should do, Hume answered that he would be advised. The King replied that for him he had entered into great hatred and hard course. They thus departed not pleased. But it is surely deemed that Sir George Hume will readily remedy this dryness. My servant has brought word that the King will be here on Monday next, and I trust to have access "on the morrowe." Cesford is made deputy keeper of Liddisdale, and "Watt" Carr, of Littledon, is provost of Jedburgh. These are the fruits of the King's action on this journey. I am advertised by my old "familliar" that the Papists will offer to the King for toleration in religion to provide that 10,000 Scottishmen shall be maintained on the Borders for three years without any charge to him, to serve as he shall direct; that 10,000 French crowns shall be yearly paid to himself; that sundry persons of quality and in high authority under the King shall be tempted with present sums and yearly pensions to draw the King to accept this offer, or at least to be a means that the rigour of the laws against Catholics shall not be extended, and that for this purpose two religious persons shall be sent hither with speed, and "shall walke in habit of courtiers."

I have this day discovered that two Scottish gentlemen, one named Patrick Drummond and the other Mr. Robert Crichton, embarked at Dieppe on the 3rd instant in a small French vessel, which brought them to Yarmouth, where they found passage to Leith. These came in company with Captain Boswell, who esteemed them to be honest gentlemen in regard that both their fathers are well affected in religion, and the skipper judged them to be of Captain Boswell's company. But drawing near the port they revealed themselves to be Papists and told before they landed that strange news would be heard in Scotland. Being asked what the news was, they said there shall be a toleration in religion. I am informed that these two young men have been in Rome and that they have brought letters from the bishops of Glasgow and Ross; yet I am "borne in hand" that these two are not the religious persons expected to come hither and walk as courtiers. I receive daily warnings and threatenings that all things shall be attempted which may dissolve the amity betwixt these two realms. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Because Mr. Clopton, by your lordship's order, has made payment to the garrison at Berwick for the first half year past, and the time approaches for payment for the latter half year, which cannot be done by myself, therefore I request you to give order to the receivers to deliver to Mr. Clopton the several sums allotted and payable by them to the garrison for this latter half year, and therewith please return Sheperson to prepare the books and reckonings for the next pay.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Answers by the King to the Commissioners from the assembly of the Kirk, Barons and Burghs.)

As to the first, his Majesty, after hearing of our propositions, answered generally he would not acknowledge the convention gathered without his advice, neither satisfy us as commissioners from that convention. It was replied presently we were ready to produce sufficient warrants proving our Assemblies to be with his Majesty's advice "uttered bayth be prent and proclamation." Nevertheless he yielded "for satisfying us as subjectis of

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1593. sundry rankis, resorting to him in every particuler, as followeth." First, as concerning Lord Hume, a professed Papist, and his followers "hanting" about his Majesty, counted very dangerous, because it was a part of the Spanish plot that Papists should possess his person, he answered that with advice of the Kirk a day was appointed when Hume should either satisfy or depart from his Majesty's company; "to the quhilk" he should open his doubts, confer and seek resolution. This his Majesty yet stands by; but he was sure of his resolution before that day, because he had "openit his doubtis to him, confers with his Majestie and John Dunkanson his Majestis minister receaved resolution and wald subscrive betwixt and the daye" [*sic*]. Therefore his Majesty said that what was done by advice of the Kirk "sould nocht be quarrelled be the Kirk." To that it was replied that he had passed his bounds and done evil, and was the special instrument to bring the excommunicated Earls and Mr. James Chisholme to his Majesty's presence.

As to the second, the bringing of the excommunicated Earls to his presence, contrary to his promise, and "resseting" evil affected men about him, he answered that he knew not of their coming nor was under any privy "pattrowin" or condition with them; and, when upon their knees they had craved trial, he could not deny the same if it had been to the simplest of the land. He dismissed them without any promise. As touching those about him who were instruments to bring them in, he knew them not, and willed us to name them in particular and to accuse them and let them give their answer.

As to the third, the hope and expectation the excommunicated Earls had to be cleansed of their odious treasons, by reason of the place, the time, the "persons assyssours" and the grant of liberty to convene with their forces for their trial, [he] answered that he granted the time not without advice of the ministers, the place with advice of his Council; the "persons assyssours" he thought most indifferent in the land; and, as for their forces, he should take order that he should be master, and that there should be present a number well affected to religion whom he should make choice of. It was replied that the time and place were not meet; the time "should not hald so short, but efter four or five dayes the Convention should hald, and tyll then it should stay." As to the place, he was not certain whether it would be St. Johnstone or not. As to the "persons assyssours," when it was replied that, seeing the occasion was so weighty, and he had said it passed the reach of his power to pardon it, and that it touched "every estate in particuler," therefore he ought to do nothing therein without advice, [he] answered that he should convene in Edinburgh with his Council, certain barons and burgesses and ministers, according to whose advice he should proceed in that matter.

Last of all, where the assembly presently convened offered to be present with his Majesty at Perth and to guard his person against all assaults, he answered that such as he charged should be welcome and such as came undesired should not be welcome, and he should take order that they should not come with such number as might trouble the day of law, and such as should come with them should be men of religion.

"In end," his Majesty with solemn oaths affirmed that he should proceed in this matter as he would answer to God and the estates of his kingdom, and that he meant nothing in that matter but sincerity of religion and security of good men, and that such substantial order should be taken with these excommunicated Earls that religion might be in security, that none should be suffered afterward to trouble religion and profess Papistry, and that his good intention and our petitions should go together.

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At Edinburgh the 20th of October 1593.

Anent the commission given the 17th instant by the commissioners of the Kirk, barons and burghs, to the Laird of Merchiston (Marchinston), younger, the Laird of Calderwood, the commissioners of Edinburgh and Dundee, Mr. Patrick Galloway, and Mr. James Melvill to present their humble petitions to the King and to crave his answer with all diligence; according hereunto the commissioners of the Kirk, barons and burghs being convened this day, and the said commissioners reporting his Majesty's answer to their petitions—in effect finding the day appointed for the trial of the excommunicated Earls was "contenewit" and no certain time and place appointed (but they caused Mr. Patrick Galloway to remain with his Majesty that he might send information)—"conclude" that the noblemen, gentlemen, barons and burghs, to whom they had written before, be charged to stay from coming forward to St. Johnstone and to be in readiness against the next advertisement. And lest the good cause should be "tint" [lost] if the commissioners should depart, it is concluded that Mr. Nicol Dalgleish for the province of Fife, Patrick MacQueen for the province of Kyle, Carrick and Cunningham, Mr. George Gladstanes for the provinces of Angus and Mearns, Mr. Alexander Oswell for the provinces of Merse and Teviotdale, together with the province of Edinburgh, remain in Edinburgh, and as they shall get knowledge give information to the rest of the parts of this realm; and that every provincial assembly direct one of their number to remain with the aforesaid commissioners in Edinburgh till the cause in hand be put to some end.

2½ *pp. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley:* "October 1593," *and by Burghley's clerk:* "The King of Scottes awnswere to the Commissioners for the Church and nobillity of Scotland."

Copy of enclosures Cott. Calig. Dii., 156.

Oct. 22.

158. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

This night about 10 o'clock two persons of very good credit informed me that the King departed this day from Lauder (Lawther), the Lord Chancellor's house, and passed over the Forth to meet the excommunicated Earls at St. Johnstone, far against his promise. Yet Roger Aston returned this day from the King at Lauder, and, supping with me, assured me that the King could be at Holyrood House on Wednesday next, the 24th instant, as before he had certified to me, and by sundry reasons has drawn me to send her Majesty's letter to the King. The King, the commissioners [of the Kirk, etc.] and all hereabouts looked assuredly for the King's return on Wednesday at the farthest. Nevertheless these new reports and other matters confirming the same "occasioneth" me to give this seasonable warning. Direct me how to carry myself both to the King (supposed to join with and "partie" the excommunicated Earls) and also to the Kirk, barons and burghs, like to take arms upon open understanding of the King's actions herein. I shall diligently enquire, and speedily advertise you of the truth in this novelty and wonderful enterprise.

The ministers in all pulpits at this humiliation and fast have confirmed the excommunication against Angus, Huntly, Erroll, Auchendoun and Sir James Chisholm, and also earnestly persuaded the people to hold fast the religion which they have received. Further, it was generally given out yesternight in this town that a mass of Spanish gold was intercepted by the officers of this town and carried to the Tolbooth. This bruit possessed many, and

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1593. was carried to Lauder this morning. But this day it is found that one stranger had brought a trunk laden with money, and bestowing the same secretly in his friend's house was discovered, whereupon he left the trunk and withdrew himself, so the trunk was seized and carried to the Tolbooth with opinion that there was Spanish gold therein, yet on opening the trunk only Scottish gold, amounting to near 4000 marks, was found, and it is thought that the party got it by indirect means. Whether the report of these things has wrought sudden resolution at Lauder or not, I do not know. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 22.

159. Angus to Mr. Archibald Douglas.

I understand from time to time by your nephew, Mr. Richard, what pains you have taken since the beginning of my trouble to remove the Queen's displeasure from me, and from my associates. Albeit your travails have not yet produced the effect we all crave, yet, because you have dealt therein, I have moved the rest to write a letter of thanks to her Majesty, hoping that hereafter she shall deal more effectually in our cause; whereupon the obligation you desired shall be sent, even as we have written to her Highness.

The particulars of what we crave by that which Errol and Huntly have written to you, you will understand by Mr. Richard, to whose sufficiency I refer all that we desire to be performed on your part. Douglas. *Signed:* Angus.

1 *p. Holograph, also addressed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Oct. 23. **160.** Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Having made diligent enquiry this morning I have learnt that the King was in Lauder yesternight, contrary to the tale which has sprung by reports given out by "Paty" Murray, the agent for these excommunicated Earls, presently employed to draw them and all the noblemen (summoned by the King's missives to appear at St. Johnstone to-morrow) to Linlithgow to proceed in the Convention and trial. This sudden tale of the King's departure was over rashly given to me by one of my "talesmen," and too readily believed by the other talesman and myself, for which I crave pardon. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 26. **161.** Mr. Archibald Douglas to Sir John Fortesque, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It appears that such as intend that liberty of conscience should be treated of in Parliament would persuade the King that it is the only way to make us agreeable and gracious to all other princes and potentates. This project was sent into Scotland by the Bishop of Ross, founded, as I hear, upon some former dealing with foreign potentates during the time that he dealt for the King's mother, and the same is now embraced by some about the King; to what end I leave it to be considered. Albeit some noblemen have promised her Majesty that they shall be no suitors that any such matter should be established by Parliament, yet it does not appear that they will "oppone" the same, if set forward by others.

1593. The present state of that country remains such that all the noblemen, very few excepted, are become Papists or Protestants *au plaisir*, or young children that can be contented with any religion, so that it shall be hard to find any "contradictoris" if this intended liberty shall come in question,—the ministers, some townsmen of Edinburgh and other towns only excepted: and all these will be found weak of themselves if they be not countenanced by some of the nobility.

Earl Bothwell appears to be the fittest to be employed for them, if his humours and theirs could remain in conformity any long time together, "bot it is to be feared that if necessite shalbe remowed from him that the simpathie shall not long remayn amongis thayme," besides that he may be withdrawn from them if he be not furnished with good counsel. It appears, therefore, expedient that, whether he shall remain at home or be forced to leave the country, the ambassador resident should take some good order that either the Earl may be well counselled how to behave himself in the matter or that some of account may be dealt with, not to leave the ministry destitute of help. Whatever her Majesty will have me to do, I shall be ready to see performed "after powar."

I pray to have advertisement of her good pleasure herein. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk and Sir Robert Cecil. Red wax seal.*

Oct. 27. **162.** PROCLAMATION BY JAMES VI. CONCERNING THE EARLS AND OTHERS CONCERNED IN THE SPANISH PLOT.

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 101–103. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. p. 255.

At Holyroodhouse. Notification that Angus, Huntly, Errol and others had been summoned to underlie trial by Parliament, which was delayed for sundry causes: that since then his Majesty had appointed this present Convention to meet at Linlithgow to take such order with them that they might be compelled to satisfy the Kirk and his Highness, or be expelled forth of the country: that he has commanded them to await the verdict at Perth and to dissolve their forces: that with the advice of the ministry he intends to make manifest to the world his care and zeal for religion: that proclamation shall be made of the foregoing: that the lieges return to their houses except such as are specially summoned to the Convention.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.* "27 October 1593. An Acte against the three Erles at Hollyrodhouse."

Oct. 29. **163.** MINUTES OF THE PETITIONS IN RESPECT TO HUNTLY, ANGUS, AND ERROLL, ETC.

"Minuts of the petitions to be proponit in the name of the convention of the ministry, barrons and burrows convenit at Edenburgh the xxixth of October 1593 to his Majestie and Convention of th'estates halden at Lithquo in this instant October."

(1) First, that Huntly, Angus, Erroll, Auchindoun, and Sir James Chisholm be commanded to dissolve their forces with all diligence, and not to "conveyne" them again under pain of treason.

(2) That no trial or benefit of the law be granted them upon their own suit till they be first reconciled to the Kirk.

(3) In respect they are challenged upon the highest treason and that

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1593. their present liberty gives them occasion to practise against religion and estate, that they may be commanded to sure ward,* until trial.

(4) Seeing the action is popular concerning not only the King but the whole country, that when they shall be tried letters be directed to all parts of the country warning all persons "havinge interest to accuse" to compear at a "competent" day.

(5) "That all lettres and probation be verefyed with deposition of sic as hes bene examinate be patent to th'accusers" [*sic*]† and that a commission be granted to take Mr. George Ker (Carr) for the more clear probation.

(6) That there be depute as justices three or four of honour, good conscience and religion.

(7) That the "assyssers" be nominated by the accusers.

(8) That none presume to "procure at his Majestyis handis in ther favours" under pain of the tinsel of their life-rents and offices till first they be tried and found clean.

(9) That there be nominated four of the nobility, four barons, four burgesses and four of the ministry, all well affected [*etc.*] with power to conclude and prosecute all other things concerning the whole form to be observed in proceeding against them.

(10) That the band made at Aberdeen betwixt the King and the nobility,—that his Majesty should have nothing to do with the traitorous lords,—may be ratified and intimated by open proclamation.

The convention appoints the Laird of Merchinston, elder, the Laird of Faudonside for the barons, the commissioners of Edinburgh and Stirling for the burghs, and Mr. James Melvill and Mr. James Nicholson for the ministry to present these petitions to the King's Majesty and Estates at Linlithgow, and to return answer with diligence; and the convention to "staye" till answer return.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

Oct. 29. **163a.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. lii.

Since weighty matters have "impeched" us from writing to you by our own hand, we request that you will hear and give credit to Robert Bowes, our ambassador, in such matters as we have given him charge to communicate to you. Windsor.

Postscript in Elizabeth's hand.—"Deare brother, let this credit, I besech you, be so far beleevid as whose aunswer may contynue or breake our frendship. Think not woordis without effects shall deceave me. For your own best hit is that I demand. Who so shall otherwise think shall beguyle you."

1 *p. Draft. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "29° October 1593. Minute of a lettre from her Majesty to the King of Scottes for credit to Mr. Bowes, with a clause written by her Majesty's self."

Oct. 29. **164.** BURGHLEY TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii. p. 1. There came yesterday at one instant your two letters, of the 20th and 22nd, both which being perused and considered by her Majesty, she has commanded that presently you should require access to the King; and she writes a short letter of credence to be given to you. You shall say to the King that she hopes that her late letters will move him to take some other course for the

* A space has been left for insertion of the places of ward.
† ? [and] be patent.

1593. quietness of his own realm and the continuance of the good peace between both the realms than hitherto, for it cannot be denied but that the heads of those who seek the change or qualification of religion in his realm are such as join therewith the practice of Spain and are the common enemies to this isle, and therefore her Majesty thinks they ought both to be prosecuted in one sort. Yet she has no meaning to ruin any of the heads of his realm, if they shall yield full satisfaction and assurance for their reformation in religion, and the relinquishing of all bands and pacts with the Papists and Spanish parties. Therefore her Majesty requires that the King will deal princely and plainly with her, whether he means sincerely to suppress these factions or to suffer them either by too much favour or connivance to get the upper hand over his best subjects. Many causes move her to doubt of his sound proceeding herein, and none greater than by understanding the audacity of the three rebel Earls adventuring to come to his open presence, and being dismissed without commitment; secondly, the neglect of the punishment of the great open raid lately made into Tynedale, himself being upon the frontiers when the complaint was made to him, and the principal offender, named Eliot, a capital offender at all times, having been in his own presence. This has argued, in her Majesty's judgment, an evil disposition in his councillors towards the continuance of the amity. You shall by way of conclusion require the King that, according to his former letters, there should be no end taken with the three rebellious Earls and their faction but with satisfaction first made to the Church in renouncing all Popish and Spanish factions and [by] maintenance of the mutual peace betwixt the realms. Her Majesty hopes that he will see the same performed; and for the better assurance thereof requires that he by his own hand give some answer to her late letters.

Her Majesty has considered the proceedings betwixt the King and his clergy, and she finds that their earnestness is very necessary at this time. With the heads of them, you may safely deal. You may do well secretly to give them comfort that her Majesty would not see the common cause of religion perish for lack of defence.

Your letter of the 22nd, making mention of the report of the King's sudden departure to meet the Earls, was by a third letter this day well corrected; and thereby it may be gathered that many busy heads make their gain from such untrue reports. You shall let him understand that, if her Majesty shall find that he by little and little suffer himself to be circumvented and his good subjects disgraced or weakened by strengthening the other party, she will then be weary of her watchful care of him and look better to herself hereafter. She has it "from good place" that instruments are suffered to reside near him for contriving such matters, and that there have come or are to come even special persons from beyond sea to win him to a qualification in matter of religion, which, if he hearken to, her Majesty foresees nothing but the ruin of his estate and kingdom.

You shall also "hearken" what Bothwell does and where he is, and if you find him not divided in his courses from the religion and that the Churches have a care of him you shall then give him all convenient comfort, for the Queen plainly sees the course which others hold to be tending to the King's danger. You will do well to advertise whether the Chancellor holds or offers kindness or correspondency with you, how the Queen [of Scots] stands, and in what terms, and what has become of the Duke. I shall omit no good occasion to move her Majesty to take pity on your particular estate. Windsor.

3¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of the L. Threasurer's letter to Mr. Ro. Bowes, ambassador resident."

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[1593.] Oct. 29.

165. Mr. Archibald Douglas to Sir John Fortescue.

Upon the 29th instant I received from Mr. Richard Douglas, my nephew, the following letters—one to her Majesty from Angus, Huntly and Errol, two from them to me, and one from Mr. Richard to me. All of these I enclose,* Mr. Richard's being a copy: the original I have retained by reason of some particular matter therein. Their contents show in what confusion the present state of that country is. I leave it to be considered if her Majesty can find any better time to draw the assurance of that whole state to herself without charges. By good means matters may be brought to quietness, and breed her Highness's surety. Hard dealing may force men to seek assurance where it may be found and may occasion further trouble. I pray you to present their letters to her Majesty, and to make her acquainted with the hurt I have received. I shall do all that I can to see her good pleasure accomplished after my power, which is not great at this time. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

[*c.* 29 Oct.] **166. Sir John Fortescue to [Mr. Archibald Douglas].**

Vol. lii. p. 4.

Her Majesty has perused the letters [enumerated in No. 165] and yours to Sir John Fortescue, to which, with thanks for your own particular care of anything that may concern her, she is pleased to return this answer. First, in the letter from the Earls she finds many laboured thanks for her intercession for them already to the King. Secondly, a suit for further mediation with the King and ministers for effecting their desires, which she finds in covert terms to mean the procurement for them of enjoying their consciences free, without trouble or molestation (for so they would have it to be ratified by an act). Thirdly, it contains their justification of themselves by affirming that they have been already (without just ground) heavily troubled and prosecuted. Lastly, their general offers of all conditions and assurances before promised to her Majesty.

In all these things she finds little cause of satisfaction, seeing that whatsoever they write or say is grounded upon a false or misconceived foundation. Concerning the first insinuation, of thanksgiving for that which is already done, although her Majesty has ever abhorred unjust prosecution, and had no particular displeasure against them, whereby, "for any seconde respecte," she should desire their ruin, yet is she far from assuming to herself any thanks, since she "never had one thoughte to deale for them in the termes they stande in," neither can she be won with a phrase in a letter to make herself author of the untimely favours which have been already extended by the King or which may hereafter be showed to them either by partial trial or by palpable connivance at their presumption in daring, thus untried, to present themselves to their sovereign. As their treasons preceded their punishment, so her Majesty has been ever far from dealing for them, neither would she begin it until by due form of law they be acquitted or delivered to the King's mercy; and therefore they are much mistaken if [they think] they can so "overfadome" her Majesty as, by insinuating thanks for that favour which was never afforded, to serve their particular turns by possessing the world with a "conceipte" that a prince of her wisdom would suffer herself to be made an instrument for their grace and credit to whom she is not assured to what use their power or means should be employed. Therefore her Majesty requires

* See Nos. 149, 152, 159; Mr. Richard's is awanting.

1593. you to deal plainly with them, that as she has ever accounted dear to her those who have run all courses tending to the strengthening of the King's estate and maintaining the peace of the Church, so she is not ignorant how these personages have levelled at their own greatness, adhered to foreign factions, and publicly professed contrariety of religion, yea, even projected their country's ruin.

Without further assurance by submitting themselves to ordinary and just trial and by humbling themselves with reasonable conformity in matters of religion, her Majesty will not open her lips to the King, neither will trust in these general protestations, forasmuch as, their former actions being considered, it cannot be safe for the King thus to favour them untried, or, while unconformed, to leave them any means to prevail against him.

As for the point in their letter to you, that the ministry seek to wrest them to all their own opinions or fancies, her Majesty cannot think so unreverently of the members of that Church as that they would indiscreetly do anything by constraint or compulsion in matters not essential to the security of the religion which they are bound to maintain. Therefore, for conclusion, as her Majesty might haply have been induced to deal with the King for them if they had sent their particular pacts, covenants and formerly promised conditions, which might have assured their sincere meaning to yield all security both to the King's estate and religion, with absolute assurance of never entering into foreign confederacies, so now she esteems their generalities of good protestation little worthy the balancing with the particular insinuation of their desires, who seek to be tried by partial combination, and by their acquittal shall remain no way obliged to any recognition of pardon or grace at their sovereign's hands, but have further liberty granted them. This is not to be permitted to men "so farre ingaged," although it is far from her Majesty's princely nature or proceeding to force any tender conscience "wher it hath no simpathie with forraigne practize." Windsor.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of a letter written by Sir John Fortescue in answeare of the letters which came from the three Erles of Huntley, Angus and Erroll, sent by Arch. Dowgless, and this aunswere made to hym for them to see."

Nov. 1. **167.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since my letter of 27th ult. Lord Lindsay, sundry barons, ministers and burgesses of Fife, Stirlingshire and Lothian convened at Edinburgh with intention to repair to the Convention at Linlithgow, but being restrained by proclamation published at Edinburgh on the 29th, they sent two barons, two ministers, and two burgesses with their petitions for the maintenance of religion and to the effects specified in the minute of their petitions (a copy of which I enclose).

This convention at Edinburgh thought it meet, notwithstanding the proclamation, to remain here until they should receive advertisement of the success of their commissioners. But before the access of these persons, the King and Convention had ordained another Convention of the Estates to assemble at Edinburgh on the 12th instant to take order touching Angus, Huntly and Errol with their accomplices and for the banishment of Papists. For which the King by long oration (uttered to clear himself from just suspicion) has promised enough, and therewith dismissed the messengers of the convention at Edinburgh with report only of the act of Council thus

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1593. concluded at Linlithgow for the order to be further taken with the Earls and Papists. None of the noblemen called to the Convention at Linlithgow appeared save only Lords Hamilton, Livingston, Seton and Hume, with the officers of state being councillors.

The King has returned to Holyrood House this afternoon. The convention of the barons and others at Edinburgh, their messengers having returned this day, are purposed to depart to-morrow to their own houses, and order is given to stay all noblemen, barons and others appointed to have come hither to join with Lindsay and the rest here, and also that all parties in this cause for maintenance of religion shall attend and be ready upon new warning. It is hitherto very uncertain what shall be further done either by the Convention of the Estates on the 12th instant or by the noblemen, barons, ministers and burgesses to be hereafter assembled for this cause against the Earls and Papists, and little credit is given to the fair promises and protestations made at Linlithgow for the advancement and surety of religion and justice.

I have been told that it was debated in Council at Linlithgow whether or not the King should pass to St. Johnstone, where the excommunicated Earls are, and that Lord Hamilton refused to go ; whereupon that advice was rejected : further [I hear] that Angus's lodging was provided in Linlithgow ; that he lay before at Bathgate (Bathcatt), within three miles of Linlithgow, and was kept out of Linlithgow by the town, wherein Hamilton partied the town and has also showed such forwardness for religion that he is much commended; and that thereon Angus has gone to St. Johnstone, where the three Earls remain with small numbers and to the little contentment of the town, which is generally condemned for receipt of excommunicated persons.

Last night the Provost of Edinburgh (as I am informed) made a strait search in Edinburgh for Bothwell, notwithstanding that he is not as yet put to the horn. The Master of Caithness, sent to the King at Jedburgh in behalf of Bothwell, was directed by the King to return for further order in that suit, but was warned by a person of quality that Lord Hume had protested and purposed to deal in the hardest manner with him. Therefore he deferred his access to Jedburgh and came to the King at Linlithgow. His success there and all other things touching Bothwell I refer to the report of others. The Master of Glamis, daily looked for at Linlithgow, absented himself. At the " makinge " hereof I received the letter [No. 145] from the Privy Council to me concerning redress for the raid lately made in Tynedale by Scottishmen, wherein I have travailed with the King before and given advertisement to your lordship. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the making up of this packet advertisement was brought that soon after the King's departure from Linlithgow proclamation was there made commanding all men to receive and entertain Angus, Huntly, Erroll and the rest of their faction, and that the like proclamation shall be published to-morrow in this town. Therefore the convention before gathered here and purposed to depart tomorrow is resolved to remain, and it is looked that other noblemen, barons, ministers and burgesses shall join with them to present their petitions against the excommunicated Earls, who are looked to come hither shortly. The ministers will forbid the people to communicate with them or to receive them into their company. This fire is like to kindle with more speed than was looked.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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1593. Enclosure with the same :

(Matters relating to the Kirk.)

" Minutes of articles to be formed be Mr. David Lindsay, Moderatur."

That some good order be taken in this present Parliament anent the ecclesiastical estate in so far as the " auld estait " of bishops, abbots and priors " nather be Godis law nor the lawis of the cuntrie can stand, and of the awin necessette is cumming to decay " ; that the " forfaltrie " proceed against the late conspirators ; that the act of Annexation be " retreated " and some solider order taken for preventing of their dangerous attempts and repressing of the present boldness of Papists ; that the glebes of Kirks not yet feued be given to the ministers without division ; that expenses of " reputation " [? reparation] or building of manses be made by the parishioners ; that some order be taken to execute the acts against markets on the Sabbath Day ; that the " haill actis " pertaining to the Kirk be printed ; that some good order be taken that ministers be not drawn from their charges and compelled to wait " on the lang tyme for pleying of ther stipendis, glebis and mansis " ; that the act of Dissolution be concluded in this Parliament ; that gifts of benefices already bestowed on ministers serving the cure stand and be confirmed.

" Minutes of actis to be formed be the same."

The act of *ipso facto* against Jesuits, seminaries, excommunicated Papists and their resetters. Anent teinds, tacks of teind, pensions, benefices or any other " kirk geir " pertaining to persons " forfault " or any other way falling into the King's hands to [be] employed [in] " revisioun " of the ministers serving at the kirks, and other common, godly uses. Anent benefices as well undissolved as dissolved, " disponit " or to be " disponit " to ministers serving the cure, and their stipends to be free from taxations or any part of pensions, first fruits, " syst penies," etc.

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed.*

Nov. 5. **167a.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Every day since the receipt of the letter from the Privy Council for redress I have sought access to the King, but the Chancellor, Secretary and others whom I have employed therein have answered that the King is much grieved with pain in one of his teeth, drawing thereby great swelling in his face and a troublesome lump in his mouth, and the disease so disquiets him that he could not hitherto speak with me.

I received yesterday afternoon her Majesty's letter to the King, with a copy thereof for me and another letter from your lordship, giving me good and seasonable directions in these present troubles. Immediately on receipt thereof, I pressed to have access to the King, but this afternoon the Secretary and Clerk Register were sent to confer with me concerning the redress, and brought no certainty of access, therefore I forbore to enter into any further communication with them, but earnestly begged for " indelate " audience that I might deliver her Majesty's letter to the King and proceed with him and his Council in all matters committed to my charge. The swellings and pains troubling the King are much assuaged, therefore I look for access with expedition.

I am informed that one David Hay, burgess and skipper of Kirkcaldy, having a limp halt, has his ship lying presently at Aberdeen, laden with " firdales " for West Flanders. William Hay is merchant of his ship, and James

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1593. Marr, stearsman. In this ship Huntly and Erroll have sent an especial person to deliver letters and messages to Count Mansfeldt and then to pass to the King of Spain. This person attended a while at St. Johnstone to see the success of the trial of the excommunicated Earls that he might report the same to Count Mansfeldt and the King of Spain. It is thought that this ship shall touch at Yarmouth or other place thereabouts on the east coast of England. I have provided that this messenger and his packets shall be apprehended if the ship put in at Kirkcaldy, and that like order may be taken with speed for arrest at Yarmouth or other place on that coast.

The noblemen, barons and other parties for religion have resolved to send to Edinburgh on the 10th instant two or three discreet persons in every county, one burgess in the principal burgh of every shire, and one minister in every presbytery, to remain there during the Convention of the Estates at Edinburgh on the 12th. The residue of the parties for religion will stand upon their guard and be in readiness to do as their commissioners shall advise. These commissioners shall have power and commission to accuse the Earls not only of treason and of their escapes and default of appearance upon several summonses (for which they were put to the horn), but also of open perjury and apostacy, directly to be proved by their handwritings, of keeping Jesuits and seminaries in their houses, of hearing of masses and sundry other crimes. All these crimes will be manifestly proved against them, so that they must be only relieved therein by the King's commission. The King and courtiers, being advertised (as I hear) of this intended course for the accusation of the Earls (which course was ordered to be kept secret), are much offended therewith and are devising means to deliver the Earls from the danger of these accusations. It is said that sundry chosen persons are sent into every shire to stay and break the assemblies and courses of the parties for religion, a matter hard to be compassed to the full contentment of the King, the Earls and courtiers. It is also said that if the party for the Earls at this next assembly shall be found able to advance their causes to their desires, then the Convention shall proceed to their full resolutions, or otherwise be continued and put over until another time; and that the King by solemn oration shall both lay the burden of these matters on the shoulders of the Convention and also open the way for the course to be taken for the Earls or for the continuation of the cause.

The proclamations made at Linlithgow and Edinburgh in favour of the Earls (a copy of which I enclose) have much stirred the people, chiefly the ministers, in regard that thereby the excommunication pronounced against the Earls is frustrated by the King and Council, yet the ministers seem to be very loth to move any strife betwixt the civil and ecclesiastical powers and jurisdictions. Some petition (as I hear) will be made to remove this question, and it is given out that the Earls purposing to be here at this next Convention must be lodged in places provided by the King's order, otherwise they shall find little favour in this town.

Lord Hume is called to be a gentleman of the King's Chamber, and now lies in the King's Chamber. "Paty" Murray, the chief agent for Huntly, is also called to be of the King's Chamber, the Laird of Balwearie, one other favourite of Huntly, is made a councillor, and sundry others well affected towards Huntly and his party are promoted to be officers in Court. I am informed that, if the King shall determine the utter ruin of Bothwell, then he shall join to the courtiers a sufficient party against Bothwell before he proceeds with further severity, and that for this cause Mar and the Master of Glamis are sent for. If they shall consent to "party" the courtiers (which Mar will not do, as it is thought), then Bothwell shall be speedily put to the horn,

1593. notwithstanding that, upon the offers lately made to the King by the Master of Caithness, his horning is deferred and the cause is to be considered at the next Convention. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 104–5. Proclamation against troubling the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Erroll, and others, during the time of their trial. Edinburgh, 31st October.

½ *p. Broadsheet. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

Nov. 5. **168.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR JOHN FOSTER.

On 12th October I received your letter of the 10th, by the hands of Alexander Rutherford (Rotherforth), after the King's departure towards Jedburgh, so that by the absence of the King and Council I could not procure such timely redress as you required for the great raid made by William Elliot of Lawreston, the Laird of Mangerton, William Armstrong of Kinmonth and their accomplices. Nevertheless, on the 12th I recommended this cause, by the means of the Lord of Lindores, to the King's speedy order and redress, as I signified to you by my letter of the 12th October, carried by Alexander Rutherford. Since the return of the King to Holyrood House, I have moved for "indelate" redress for that outrage; wherein the King answered that he had given such order in that matter as was required by Nicholas Forster, your son, lately with him at Jedburgh,* so I trusted that you had been satisfied in this behalf. But on the 31st October, I received your letters from Alnwick, and also a letter from the Privy Council, together with a copy of the letter sent to you by the Scottish Council, then at Jedburgh. The Lords of Council have directed me, as her Majesty's ambassador and according to the form of the treaties, to deliver the complaint to the King as you should advise me by writing; wherein it was requisite that, besides your letter, you should send me the perfect complaint put in order and form, and containing all things necessary to be specified in the bill to be exhibited to the King by me against such offenders as you think meet to be "bylled," and for the certainty of all wrongs, hurts and spoils that ought to be redressed. Thus, upon the receipt of these letters mentioned, I have with great earnestness sought to have access to the King for execution of this cause, and have stayed your servant, Alexander Rutherford, that I might return him with full answer, but I have been daily delayed with excuse that the King is so pained in his mouth and teeth that hitherto he cannot speak with me. I beg you to send the complaint and bill with all possible expedition that I may exhibit the same to the King for redress. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Endorsed:* "The coopie of Mr. Bowes his lettre the viijth Novemb. 1593."

Nov. 8. **169.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit the King had promised to give me access on the 6th instant, yet I was "put over" to yesterday. In the morning the King rode hunting, giving me to understand that he would return before 3 p.m. and then hear me. He was "occasioned" to return home before noon by the extremity of the rain and storm, and thereon I sent again to be admitted to his presence to deliver

* See *Calendar of Border Papers*, i. No. 908.

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1593. her Majesty's letter and to report to him such important matters as her Majesty and her Privy Council had committed to me, yet again I was "referred" to this day. This morning I heard the trumpet sound very early for the horse-band to attend on the King on hunting, therefore I sent to Roger Aston, then with the King, to know whether he would receive her Majesty's letter and give me audience or not, and if he would, then to appoint the time. The King promised to come in again before 3 p.m to receive the letter and hear my credence.

The King and Council now about him have resolved to send to her Majesty an ambassador with fair offers on behalf of the King himself and of the Papist Earls, and to accuse me of having omitted to set forth for the benefit of the Earls such things as have been given me in charge by her Majesty. I hear that the King shall assure her Majesty to run a faithful course with her and for the maintenance of the amity; that he will not deal with Spain in any sort; that he will banish all Papists out of the realm; that these Earls and their parties shall give assurances for her Majesty's contentment; that it will be required that the King may be suffered and helped to rule as he and his Council find most honourable, sure and profitable for him, the religion and amity betwixt these two realms; and that I may be revoked as one who has done evil offices in Scotland and not followed the directions given by her Majesty.

This embassage and the ambassadors shall be determined at the next Convention. It has been moved that the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill or Alexander Hume of North Berwick (now Provost of Edinburgh) shall be employed. But it has been answered that the King cannot spare the service of the Chancellor and Alexander Hume at this time, and Sir Robert Melvill is thought to be old and unwilling to undertake the journey. Therefore choice is made of the Laird of Balwearie (newly called to be a councillor and wholly devoted to Huntly). I am informed that the Abbot of Lindores shall be joined with him, if means can be found for the "diffray" of his charges, and that Sir George Douglas and Patrick Murray have offered to "cleare" Balwearie's expenses on this journey, which charge it is thought shall be wholly borne by the Earls. I have been told that Mr. Richard Douglas has lately had some speech with the King touching the Earls, wherein I have no certainty, neither have I spoken with Mr. Richard since then.

"By these" it is like that the King shall send their offers and "seke" to her Majesty, which I have held to be more honourable and profitable to her Majesty "than that they shalbe any wyse solicited to for hir Majestie," and to that end I will proceed as I have done, being ready to answer all accusations and calumnies whatsoever,—which storm I expected to have fallen before this with more personal vehemence. Howsoever it shall fall out I will stand to my defence and be ready to do as her Majesty shall direct.

By my last I certified that means were devising to prevent the commissioners of the counties, burghs and Kirk from laying accusations against the Earls. Now, proclamation is published in Edinburgh yesterday restraining all men from coming to the next Convention, except only those sent for. This proclamation has greatly stirred the people and moved the ministers to persuade them to stand upon their guard, chiefly in regard of four principal matters lately past, and noted in the King's actions, viz., the bold and public coming of the Earls to the King at Falkland [*sic; for* Fala] and their "dissmission" without imprisonment, the "convoye" of which things begins to break out. Secondly, that albeit the King had deeply protested with oaths to the ministers to have no dealing for the Earls, yet his doings at Linlithgow testify his part therein. Thirdly, that immediately after the departures from Linlithgow of

1593. the King and ministers (called to that Convention by the King), proclamation was made in Linlithgow commanding all men to receive and entertain the Earls and their accomplices, a matter flatly revoking the excommunication pronounced against them. Fourthly, that by this last proclamation published yesterday in Edinburgh the means to accuse and prosecute the Earls are taken away. It is feared, therefore, that these things shall stir the people hastily to take arms against the Earls, if any party shall be found sufficiently to govern and fortify the cause. I enclose a copy of the proclamation published yesterday. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Proclamation by James VI. appointing persons to enquire into the accusations against Angus, Huntly and Erroll.)

" Apud Halyroodehouse, 7° Novembris 1593."

Calendared in *Register of Privy Council*, v. p. 105.

Forasmuch as the King's majesty with advice of his Estates at Linlithgow has appointed commissioners to convene at Edinburgh on 12th November to deliberate upon sundry matters specially touching the surety of religion, and proceedings to be taken against all adversaries to the same, and upon all other matters that shall be propounded concerning his Highness's estate and affairs, and the present troubles,—therefore, that this good work may the better proceed, his Majesty ordains that open proclamation be made at Edinburgh and other places needful, prohibiting the lieges to repair to the said burgh under any pretext during the time of the deliberations, except such as are summoned or shall obtain his Majesty's licence, and prohibiting them to do or attempt any thing that may hinder the course of proceedings; under pain of sedition and insurrection.

⅔ *p. Broadsheet copy, in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Nov. 12. **170.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King gave me audience on Thursday, the 8th instant, late in the afternoon. I delivered her Majesty's letter, putting him in remembrance how long I had kept it by want of access to his presence, which delay I noted likely to have come by the means of his Council, as I had ever before obtained access on the first opportunity, chiefly when I had her Majesty's letter to present. He excused the delay by the pain and disease in his teeth and mouth, showing the " sarsenet " still binding up his jaws. He said the Secretary had forgotten to tell him that I had her Majesty's letter to him, and after the reading of it he paused so long without speech that I was " occasioned " to open matters.

First, I let him know that her Majesty required him to hear and credit me as if with her own hand she had written to him; and he acknowledged and well accepted my credence. Next, I put him in mind of the postscript of her Majesty's letter, expressing, first that his present answers might continue or break their friendship; secondly, an admonition that words without effects shall not deceive her; thirdly, a declaration that it is for his own good that she demands. Upon these grounds I laid the foundation of all my travail with the King in these behalfs. He agreed that I had truly recited the contents of her Majesty's letter, showing himself desirous to hear the credence given to me. Whereupon I informed him " in " her Majesty's instructions, as certified by your lordship to me. Because I had been warned that this present Court

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1593. purposed to " put at " me and that I should now find the King very resolute in the course of his present councillors and courtiers, therefore I had drawn up articles of my instructions, and intended to have prosecuted them in order and to have received the King's answer severally to every article. I declared to the King, that her Majesty hoped that her letter would move him to take some other course than his counsellors now about him induce him to. The King answered " that her Majestie might not thincke to taxe him in his course and government " ; that he had not dealt with her in words but with deeds ; and that he never denied any offer or promise made by his ambassador. To these I replied that her Majesty's advice and admonitions for his welfare are evident arguments of her great care for his prosperity and ought not to be interpreted as a " taxation " against him, and that his attitude herein ministered to her Majesty just cause both to grow weary of her watchful care of him and also to look better to herself hereafter. Next, I reminded him how slenderly he had hitherto performed his promises to prosecute the rebellious Earls, and affirmed that her Majesty had never denied to him the accomplishment of any offer or promise made in her name and with her warrant by any of her ambassadors, wherein I offered to answer for whatsoever I had said or done in all my services here for these seventeen years last past. The King passed over the two first parts of my reply and answered only to the last, saying that he " ment " * not of me, nor would charge me with any thing ; but Mr. Randolph and Mr. Ashby in matters of great weight promised sundry things not performed by her Majesty, wherein he could not and would not impute any fault in her Majesty, whom he ever found kind and favourable to him, and with a sudden calm protested to be ready to requite her goodwill to the uttermost of his power, concluding that the errors noted by me in his course and councillors were general, so he must give a general answer to them. Thereby I was " occasioned " to break my intention to receive his answer to every clause as it came in her Majesty's letter and my instructions. Therefore, to open some particular causes (besides many other circumstances) moving her Majesty to doubt of his sound proceedings and of the disposition in his Council for maintenance of the amity, I " laide forthe " the audacity of the three Earls at Fala (Fawley), and their dismissal without commitment : secondly, the neglect of the punishment of the raid in Tynedale, notwithstanding that some principal offenders had been in his presence [see No. 164].

This argument proved not only an evil disposition in his councillors towards the amity, but also that the great forces coming to this raid, and gathered from diverse clans not accustomed to ride together, and in greater number than the powers of the principal enterprisers could levy, were therefore drawn into this action by others of greater ability and quality than the offenders, thus increasing the suspicion towards his present councillors, favourers of the rebellious Earls, who, for their own advantage and with the advice of the Jesuits in Scotland, thought it meet to break the amity.

Touching the Earls at Fala the King said that, without his foreknowledge, and suddenly, they presented themselves before him, with all submission craving pardon for their contempt of summons for due trial by law. Whereon, because he has always used, and ever will use, as a maxim to do no rigour on the humbled yielding of their own accord, and that he thought it reasonable to give them trial in convenient order to be agreed by him and the Estates, therefore he rebuked them for their over-great audacity, assuring them that they should fare the worse for it, and so dismissed them to do as he and the Estates should

* *ment, menit :* complained.

1593. determine. For redress for the raid in Tynedale the King said that he was ready (upon the complaint thereof made by Nicholas Forster to him at Jedburgh) to do it with all expedition and as Mr. Forster had required. He acknowledged that Will Elliott and Mangerton had been with him, but he denied having known them to be offenders in this raid before I signified the same to him. He cleared his Council and courtiers of any practice or privity in the draft of so great forces for this raid, and he alleged the same to be done by Bothwell. But I told him that Bothwell and these offenders could hope for small profit thereby, in regard that they might be sure to find him ready to proceed against them with all rigour for Bothwell's sake, and that Bothwell, being known to have practised such an outrage against the gentlemen and parties in Northumberland who have showed him most favour, might assure himself to feel her Majesty's displeasure and lose the goodwill of these gentlemen for his unthankfulness. He replied no further and required me to confer with him and his Council on the morrow for the redress demanded. In this cause I have " expended " these three days last past, so have had to defer the address of the present letter thus long after my audience. I refer you to my letter to the Privy Council for my doings and success for redress in the raid of Tynedale.

I informed the King that her Majesty thought it could not be denied that those who seek change or qualification in religion join therewith the practice of Spain, and that the rebellious Earls receive messages in secret sort from foreign parts, and, for lack of sharp prosecution, gather great courage, needful to be timely corrected; wherein her Majesty has no meaning to ruin any who shall yield full satisfaction of their reformation in religion and the relinquishing of bands with Papists and the Spanish parties. The King said that he was ever ready to punish these Earls and the rest of the Papists, but finding no help at her Majesty's hands his power did not suffice to execute as he desired; and forasmuch as he is now driven to pursue Bothwell and his parties (whom he may not suffer to range as they do) he, therefore, entertains about him such as have set themselves for his sake against Bothwell; that it passes his power at one time to daunt Bothwell and these three Earls, being three of the most ancient and strong noblemen in this realm, and if he should again pursue them and " tute " them with the horn he should little prevail thereby, and enforce them to seek their relief by dangerous means. For which causes he had called a Convention to meet here on 12th instant to take order as well touching Bothwell as also the Earls and their accomplices.

I took occasion thereupon to commend to the King the three several requests of her Majesty: first, that he will show her whether he means sincerely to suppress this kind of factioners, or to suffer them to get the upper hand over his best subjects; secondly, that according to his former letters he " doe take no end " with these rebellious Earls and their factions until they give satisfaction to the Church, and in renouncing all Popish and Spanish factions, and for the maintenance of the mutual peace betwixt both the realms; thirdly, that he will by a few words of his own hand give some answer to her Majesty's late letters to him. To the first the King said that he had called a Convention of the best sort in the realm and without blemish; that with their advice he would resolve what order should be taken with the Earls, either for their trial or else for the acceptance of such assurance as shall be found necessary for the satisfaction of the King, the Estates and the Church in Scotland, as also of her Majesty, and for the preservation of the amity betwixt both realms; that this order shall be imparted to the Earls and, if they refuse to receive and perform the same, then this Convention shall determine to proceed against

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1593. them. To the second the King promised to deal princely and sincerely with her Majesty; that his true meaning is to proceed against the Earls by the resolution and acts of this Convention; that her Majesty shall not only be acquainted with the order to be taken with the Earls, but also her advice and consent shall be required and received in the same; and that I shall be privy to all his proceedings herein and give her Majesty true and timely advertisement thereof. If the last part shall be performed, then it is likely that the embassage intended to her Majesty and the accusations against me shall be stayed. Thirdly, the King promised to write to her Majesty by his own hand within eight days.

In conclusion, I let the King know that her Majesty has it from good place that instruments are suffered to reside near him to entice him and contrive evil matters, and that especial persons have come or are to come from beyond the sea to win him to a qualification in religion, and, if he hearken to these, then her Majesty foresees nothing but the ruin of his estate and kingdom. I laid before him not only the dangers approaching, but also the effects fallen on him, to be seen by the great contempt of his people towards him and by their readiness to take arms against the excommunicated Earls and Papists, whom they see over-far favoured and contenanced by him. The King said no instrument resident near him shall have power to hurt him or the common causes, for he directs his own course and does not hearken to advice other than of his Estates and Council; that he knows not that any person has come into Scotland to allure him to any toleration in religion, and if they shall come, they shall lose their labours; and that for prevention of the dangers expressed he and this next Convention should provide remedies. Appointing me to be with him and his Council the next day, he left me.

Bothwell, after the King's return hither, came to Jedburgh, but being loth to encumber that town, and providing for his own safety, passed (as I am informed) amongst his friends. The King has charged the ministers deeply with having shewed over-great favour to Bothwell and with bearing too much affection towards him. To which the ministers have answered that, being witnesses or cautioners for performance of the graces granted by the King to Bothwell and his parties in the articles at Holyrood House, and embodied in an act of Convention at Stirling, they wished the benefit thereof to be allowed to Bothwell for the King's honour, and the peace of the country, and for their acquittal towards him; and as they ever condemned his attempts against the King, so they always refused, and ever would refuse, to "partye" or favour him therein. Thus the Church will not mix the common cause for religion with Bothwell's particular; nevertheless I hear that they wish the King to deal graciously with him. Albeit he has lately inclined to show some favour to Bothwell upon condition that he shall depart out of the realm, yet the same, as I am told, has been soon changed by Bothwell's adversaries, seeking some portions of his livings. What shall be done for him at this Convention will appear very shortly.

I have spoken sundry times with the Chancellor since his return to Court, especially for redress for the raid in Tynedale. Albeit he told me that I should find him where I left him, yet the former "inwardnes" betwixt us is partly abated, for having found him slow to use the accustomed kindness and not free from suspicion of joining with the courtiers stirring these troubles, therefore I have not been hasty to seek such inward course with him as may "wrapp" me in like suspicion by the well affected. He finds himself (as I hear) distressed many ways; for, albeit he was called to Court to be accounted the plot-layer, and thereby to bear the blame from the courtiers, that he

1593. might provoke the King against Bothwell to advance the desire of his enemies, and that he might be friends or else "comporte" with Huntly and his faction, yet I am "laboured" to think that these courtiers have him in great suspicion, that they persuade the King to employ him but not to open any secrets to him, and that he thinks himself to be in continual danger of his life. He promises his whole endeavours to move the King to the best course, and, if he cannot prevail, then he pretends to be resolved to retire. His actions in this next Convention, which will be narrowly looked into, will discover him to his honour or further discredit with the well affected.

I am informed that the Queen here continues favourable to the parties for religion and little likes the present courtiers, and it is thought that the Chancellor may recover her favour if he will turn to the course thus liked by her. The report is very general that she is with child, but hitherto there is no full certainty thereof. Some courtiers (as it is said) have told the King that after the birth of a Prince the common prayer of the people will be "God save the religion and Prince." The King is much occupied with this matter and "conceipte."

The Duke has left Court and remains at Glasgow without any purpose to return hastily unless the King shall send for him, which is expected to be done within eight or nine days.

Albeit many great effects are looked to be wrought at this Convention to meet in council to-morrow, yet not one nobleman has as yet come hither or is expected. Some barons and commissioners for the Church and burghs (called by the King) have come, but the Convention will be seen so slender that it is thought that the King shall furnish it with some Lords of the Session. What the success then shall be is much doubted.

The ministers have complained to the King and Council how prejudicial the two late proclamations in favour of the excommunicated Earls are to the cause of religion and how contrarious to the King's promises and to the laws and ordinances of this realm. The Earls have been put in comfort of finding satisfaction in all things at this Convention; whereas the commissioners to have been sent to accuse them are stayed. Order, nevertheless, is taken (as I hear) that all men loving the cause of religion shall stand on their guard and remain in readiness upon warning.

The Earl of Mar, coming hither upon the King's letter, would not "tarye" this Convention, but departed saying that his conscience cannot acquit the Earls. If this Convention shall proceed well, then the Duke and he will return to Court.

Angus, Huntly and Errol (as I am informed) are soaring about these parts, purposing to draw near this town, but not to show themselves openly at this Convention nor to press their trial with great earnestness. They complain of the breach of the King's promise to them, seeming to distrust the King so far, and to feel confident that they can provide for themselves without the King's privity.

At my conference with the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill, the Lord Secretary and Clerk Register on Saturday last, the 10th instant, they agreed that the Wardens of the Middle Marches of both the realms, or their deputies, should meet at Stawford, or at such place as the Wardens shall agree upon, on the 28th of this month, and that the bill of the late attempt in Tynedale, being already known to have been an open day foray, should there presently be filed, sworn, and delivery made of "principalls and doubles," either by the delivery of the principal "faltours" named in the bill to be exhibited by the Warden of the Middle Marches of England or by his deputy, or of a

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1593. gentleman whom the Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland shall " make worthe the bill " ; and that another bill for Scotland, to be exhibited the same day by William Ellot of Larestane against certain Englishmen, inhabitants in Tynedale, shall be likewise filed, and the like redress made if this " attemptate " done in Scotland shall be " tryed " by the Warden to have been likewise an open day foray ; and that the " attemptate " done in Tynedale shall be first filed and first delivered. It was promised that this order should be perfected by the King and Council that I might have it that day, or yesterday at the farthest ; but albeit the Clerk Register travailed very diligently, yet because the King and Council could not come together in time, it is not yet perfected. Nevertheless it is still firmly promised that it shall be done to-morrow at the farthest. But finding these delays and that the King is this day hunting, I dare not prolong further the sending of this letter. It is firmly promised that I shall receive to-morrow full order for the redress for the raid in Tynedale. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

$7\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 12. **171.** LAIRD OF JOHNSTONE TO BOTHWELL.

Whereas your lordship desires that I should give my consent to whatsoever you should promise to the Queen of England concerning the forthsetting of religion, surety of the King and preserving of the amity betwixt the crowns, if you think my " hand vryt " needful to confirm the promises I have made, I give your lordship full power to subscribe and conclude for me as for yourself, by this my letter, subscribed with my hand. Lochwood (Lochvode). *Signed :* Johnestoune.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Holograph, also addressed. Endorsed :* " The Bond. L. Johnston's bond who is enemy to Maxwell."

Nov. 12. **172.** CONVENTION AT EDINBURGH.

" The names of those that are to be of the Convention to be at Edinburgh the xij of this instant Novemb. 1593."

Six noblemen : Lord Hamilton. He refuses to be one. Chancellor, Marishal or Morton, Mar, Rothes, Livingston.

[Six] Barons : Bass, Airth, Balwearie, Colluthy, Abbotshaugh, Largo.

Six Ministers : Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. James Carmichael, Mr. Robert Rollock, Mr. John Duncanson.

Edinburgh : The Lord Provost and Clement Cor for Edinburgh. Stirling, Linlithgow, Dundee, St. Andrews : each a commissioner. All the officers of estate.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

Nov. 12. **173.** MEMORANDA BY ROBERT BOWES.

" Answere to the cidell sent inclosed in the Lord Thresurer's lettre, 29° Octobr. 1593."

The Provost of Lincluden is called William Douglas, brother of the Laird of Drumlanrig, deceased : he is Collector of the Tenths and one of the King's Secret Council : he favours much the Earl of Angus, being now chief of his surname. I have required Lord Hamilton by his own servant to send to me the Captain of Dumbarton, or else Captain Hamilton. As yet I have not heard from Lord Hamilton, but after the order taken with him for powder

1593. I shall speedily advertise your lordship. That the books may be made ready for the next pay at Berwick to be made by Mr. Clopton, agreeable to your lordship's order therein, may it please you to despatch Sheperson to Berwick with expedition. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p.* *Endorsed:* "12 No. 1593. Mr. Bowes awnswere to a sedule inclosed in the Lord Threasurer's letter."

Nov. 17. **174.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit the King and Council, at my earnest suit for redress of the late "attemptate" in Tynedale, had agreed to give the principals and also the doubles, yet upon the arrival here of Cessford, Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland, and by his information that for such open attempts as were filed by the princes themselves, their commissioners or wardens on their honour, the "single availl" of the goods was always accepted, and that this bill for Tynedale must be filed by the King himself, therefore they "denyed" to give the doubles, as I demanded, and agreed that the King should file the bill and deliver a gentleman (whom he will make "worthe ther bill") to the Warden of the Middle March of England at Berwick or Alnwick, on the 28th of this month, to remain until a principal "faltour" be entered for his relief, or the bill paid for the principal value thereof, as will appear by the enclosed copy of their answer or offer. For the doubles I alleged the treaties, and noted sundry wants in their offer. But it is answered that the custom of the Borders in this case is fully offered, and shall be performed, and that Sir John Forster (as they think) will well accept this manner of redress. Whereunto I gave no consent, yet received this their answer to be certified to the Privy Council, and to Sir John Forster, and thereon to be allowed or reformed as for the progress of justice and for preservation of the mutual quietness on the Borders should be expedient. In this I have written to the Lords of Council.

Because none of the noblemen appointed to come to this Convention, other than Livingston, came hither, therefore the King has written again for sundry noblemen to be here next week, and purposes to continue the Convention until their coming. Some barons, with the commissioners for the Kirk and burghs, are present here and have met with the King and his Council to provide for the common causes. It has been moved that Angus, Huntly and Errol with their accomplices should not be admitted to the King's presence until they had satisfied the Kirk, and that they should be committed to ward for one year that they might give proof of their good behaviour, sincere conversion, and relinquishing of foreign practices. It was also required that every person detected of Papistry and offering to subscribe to the articles of religion should not bear office about the King nor come into his company for one year next thereafter. I was told that Lord Hume and Sir George Hume told the King that this last motion was made to weaken him and to keep away good instruments ready to serve against Bothwell and in all other services. This Convention has hitherto concluded nothing, and little hope is yet conceived of any good effects.

The King and Convention were informed by some of the ministry that the excommunicated Earls had no good intention; for it was reported that Mr. James Gordon, the Jesuit, with the Earl of Huntly's third brother, a person of quality for Erroll, and another young gentleman of the Gordons, had passed to Dunkirk to be hostages to Count Mansfeldt for the King of Spain. The King will not credit this report, yet it is to be examined, and I have been advertised that these persons and others passed away in David

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1593. Hay's ship. [*In the margin:* This is now strongly denied, but it is looked that it shall be shortly confessed and cunningly excused.]

Sundry of the barons and commissioners for the Church and burghs came hither in the fore part of this week, notwithstanding that they were restrained by proclamation and advised by letters of the ministry to stay their journey for this time. But they alleged that they got no knowledge of the proclamation or letters mentioned. The King (as it is said) was offended with their coming hither, therefore they made their assembly the more quietly and resolved to present to the King and Convention these three petitions following: first, that the proclamation lately set forth in favour of the Earls, and against the liberties of the Church and laws of this realm, might be rescinded, as they term it; secondly, that all laws and statutes made against Papists, apostates, Jesuits and other practisers may be put into speedy execution; thirdly, that the traitorous Earls may be committed severally to sure ward until they shall be tried, or else give satisfaction to the Church in sort demanded. Some of the barons and commissioners coming before the King to exhibit their petitions were checked for disobedience against the proclamation, yet they were dismissed with order that their petitions should be considered.

Angus, Huntly, Errol and Sir James Chisholm are in this town, in Cannongate or near hereabouts, as it is generally believed, and on the 15th Angus with twenty servants came forth from his lodging in Cowgate, in Edinburgh, and taking his horse openly in the street, departed out of the gate speedily and without interruption, for the town was not warned of his being here. It is said that they are near the Court that the guard may protect them, and they all will come hither again at the coming of the noblemen sent for, at which time they trust either to obtain the relief promised to them, or else to trust no longer to the promises made.

Lord Hamilton came hither for a private cause and could not be entreated to tarry more than one day. He shows himself ready to serve the King whilst the King maintains the religion; for the preservation whereof he offers to adventure his life and all his possessions, " as " the Church is well comforted by him. He has deferred giving me knowledge of his mind for the manner of the provision to be made for him, until he shall advise with the Captain of Dumbarton. The Earl of Cassillis has been at Leith, and there quietly conferred with some of the ministry and given them good contentment. The Chancellor (as I am informed) has been earnestly solicited by a messenger lately sent to him by Sir James Chisholm to show his friendship to Angus, Huntly and Erroll in regard that they offered to rescue the King out of Bothwell's hands when he lately possessed the King, and that they will make the King and the Chancellor so strong a party against Bothwell that he shall have no power to hurt them.

The Master of Caithness has made earnest suit for Bothwell, but no order can be obtained, and the King has told him that this Parliament cannot hold at the day appointed (being the 20th instant), so that he cannot restore Bothwell at this time. It is much doubted that the King will not restore him at all if a sufficient party shall be got together, and that for this purpose he will the rather agree to grant peace to the excommunicated Earls. Some motion has been made for reconciliation betwixt Bothwell and Hume on condition that Bothwell will give over Coldingham and Spott, but I cannot learn that Bothwell will buy Hume's kindness so dear.

It is told to some of the ministry by a person of good quality that Robert Bruce has come to Scotland from Flanders and has brought with him 24,000 crowns, whereof 3000 shall be given for the pay of the King's guard, 3000 to Lord Hume as Captain of the guard, 10,000 offered to the King of Scots (Arabia

1593. Petrea), and the rest disposed by Huntly and Erroll. This is confirmed by others coming from the north parts, yet I have not hitherto received any confirmation from my friends in the north, where surely the whole inhabitants expect daily the arrival of Spanish forces from Dunkirk, Nieuport and those places on the coast of Flanders.

The band betwixt the Chancellor and Lord Hume is subscribed by themselves and is sent to be subscribed by Hume's friends. In this band the Chancellor will not covenant to " party " Hume against the Laird of Cessford, and likewise Hume will not aid the Chancellor against the Master of Glamis, who is still absent from the Court, far against the expectation of many. The King gives especial favour to Lord Livingston and the Master of Elphinstone, great friends to the three Earls, and hereby his burning affection to these Earls is the more noted.

Many of the Church and others well affected surely look for sudden violence, chiefly in case the Spanish forces shall come into this realm, therefore warning is given to all the religious to stand upon their guard. Nevertheless it is thought meet with patience rather to endure sudden extremity than over rashly to enter into arms before some manifest discovery shall be made by deed of the intentions of the evil practisers. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$3\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(James VI. and Council to Bowes.)

Printed in *Calender of Border Papers*, i. pp. 512–3.

Answer to the bill of the inhabitants of Tynedale against William Elliot and others. [The King excuses the necessary delay of his answer; will file the bill himself; will deliver a gentleman made worth the bill; and requires that the " single availe " of the goods be accepted. 17th November 1593.]

$1\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

Nov. 23. **175.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesterday the Duke and Mar, accompanied with 400 horsemen, returned hither upon the King's letters, the bearer of which had commission (as I hear) to charge them to appear upon pain of horning. Montrose, likewise called by the King's letter, has excused himself, adding that he had " gotten and endured two snoffles," and would not receive the third. Of the six of the nobility summoned to convene this day the Chancellor, Mar and Livingston only are present as yet. It is meant that to augment this small number the Duke shall supply the place of Hamilton. All the officers of estate are here, except Blantyre, sick at Linlithgow and expected to be here this night. Five of the six barons and the six burgesses appointed have come hither. The six ministers named are to be only petitioners to the King and this Convention, which is thought very weak to take up so weighty causes as shall be committed to their deliberation.

This first day of the meeting of Convention the Duke and Mar shall be reconciled before the King and the Assembly with the Chancellor, yet the Chancellor's friends think that this agreement would have been made with greater surety to him by the mediation of friends on both sides [rather] than by the King's commandment. It is looked that the Queen of Scots shall receive the Chancellor to her favour within few days.

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The petitions exhibited by the commissioners of the barons, burghs and Church shall be read this day and the matters referred until to-morrow and the next opportunity. The variance betwixt the Laird of Dairsie (Darcy) and Mr. William Murray for the office of Provost of St. Andrews shall be determined this day, and Mr. William Murray established therein.

[*In the margin:* This is done in favour of the town and church of St. Andrews.]

The matters for Bothwell shall be had in deliberation very shortly, and the King will be pressed earnestly to deny him any benefit of the act of Council at Stirling, for I have been informed that the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvill, Lincluden, the Comptroller and Newbattle this morning moved the Chancellor to join with them for the King's safety against Bothwell. Wherein, finding the Chancellor not so ready as they looked for (notwithstanding that he acknowledged himself to be the King's creature), it was plainly alleged that assistance must be provided for the King against Bothwell; that they must either join together for the same or else suffer the King to be guarded by Bothwell's friends and themselves to retire from Court; that the impediments hindering the success of this cause ought to be removed by the King's good means; that these impediments are noted to be the present favour of the Queen and the good will of the Duke and Mar towards Bothwell; and that in the compassing of this plot they did not think it meet to name the Queen to the King, but rather to insinuate the matter to him by covert means, as by libel or otherwise. The informer told me that they severed without conclusion; nevertheless he thinks that they will proceed in their purpose. What shall succeed herein, or how the Queen, the Duke and Mar shall stand for Bothwell is not known. But Bothwell's friends are in good hope of finding them steadfast.

I refer all matters touching Bothwell to the report of Mr. John Colville, who, I hear, purposes to go to your lordship with causes of weighty importance, which he offers to impart for her Majesty's warning and benefit. If his service shall be found worthy of gracious consideration, then the present condition of his distressed estate will be seen needful to be speedily relieved, which I commend to your timely furtherance.

Upon several consultations betwixt the Chancellor, some of the officers of estate, and the ministers, for order to be taken against Papists, and chiefly against Angus, Huntly, Erroll and Hume, it has been found convenient not to urge the expedition of the trial of the Earls and their accomplices, in regard that no impartial assize can be got to "fyle" [*i.e.* convict] them, and that upon their acquittal no conditions can be imposed on them. Because the Earls will confess having received Jesuits, heard masses, revolted from their profession of religion, made default in their appearance upon summons in treasons, and done other facts against the laws, not punishable by death, and because for these crimes they will put themselves into the King's mercy, denying still their blanks and conspiracies, and because it is thought that Angus and Erroll only will refuse to subscribe to the articles of religion, therefore it is advised that they shall enjoy their livings and prossessions, and that an act of Abolition shall be made in their favour for all crimes confessed by them, on condition that if hereafter they shall be proved guilty of the Blanks and conspiracy, or shall practise any hurt against religion or estate, then they shall lose the benefit of the act of Abolition: further, that Angus and Erroll shall depart out of the realm, and that Huntly and Hume shall be "lymited in fitt placis" for one year to give proof that they are worthy to be received into the Church and the King's grace. Albeit these things are thus advised to be motioned in Convention, yet it is doubted whether the

1593. King and the Assembly shall allow thereof, and it is thought that the resolution herein shall be carried much after the King's own appetite.

Some of the principal commissioners for the nobility, Church, barons and burghs have informed me that it is reported to them that Angus, Huntly and Erroll, making some overtures to her Majesty, have obtained and received her Majesty's letter * testifying her good liking of their offers to herself and her assent to commend their submissions to the King for the satisfaction of the King, the Estate and the Kirk here, which satisfaction they fear shall be measured by the affections of the King and this Convention, with over-great favour to the Earls in respect that the cause is thus furthered by her Majesty. They say that the Earls and their instruments have got greater advantage by these means than was intended by her Majesty, whose good aid they have ever had, and trust to have always, for defence of the religion against all foreign forces. In this I let them know that the Earls might well have sought her Majesty's favour, and that her Majesty, naturally disposed to deal courteously with all men and especially with strangers and noblemen in this nation, might yield courteous answer by letter or otherwise in general manner. Nevertheless I was not privy to any letter sent by her Majesty to the Earls or any for them. But her Majesty by letters to the King, and by instructions to me to be negotiated with the King, had given many and wise advices both to forbear to receive the Earls without good assurance and satisfaction in matters of religion and estate and for prevention of dangers; and also that by conviction or confession of their faults they should find themselves beholden to his mercy and be fully drawn from all Popish and Spanish faction and course; and that her Majesty had otherwise declared her good mind never to betray the cause of religion and peace in this realm, as lately I had given proof to some chief instruments in the Church, whom they trusted. With these and other like reasons they were well satisfied and much comforted, relying wholly on her Majesty's accustomed bounty and support in preservation of religion and peace in this isle. Please direct me what to do in this cause either for the further satisfaction of the Church and well affected, or else with such here as deal for the Earls and, peradventure, use more liberty than is indeed allowed by her Majesty. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* I think Mr. Bowes has done well herein and should be advised to continue this course with all parties that are opposed to the three Earls.]

By sundry means it is confirmed that Mr. James Gordon, the Jesuit, William Gordon of Strathdown, brother of Huntly, and four or five more have passed out of Scotland in David Hay's ship for Dunkirk. It is now said that Mr. James Gordon departed by the King's commandment and according to his former promise and purpose; that William Gordon has gone to the schools and to be cured of the disease of "frenzie," possessing his second brother, and feared to trouble him; that his schoolmaster is with him; and that the others are servants. Yet many wise [men] think that few of these passengers are servants, but young gentlemen of quality. Some still deny that any of these persons named have thus departed, and some have foolishly bruited that they shall pass into England. The King still scorns the matter, as I am told.

I hear that the Queen has lately complained to the King that sundry

* *The words* "received her Majesty's letter" *are underlined, and the following entry in Burghley's hand is made in the margin:* "This is not trew, but by Archib. Dowglass intermeddling and Richd. Dowglass this report is raysed, which Mr. Bowes hath well answered, as on the other side, and he might do well frendly to spek with Rich. Dowglass to shew hym how far hir Majesty hath gyven advise to the King."

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1593. near about him have used over-large liberty in their speeches of her; wherein the King has promised to let her know hereafter as well the author as also the words uttered against her. The King has given order to Sir George Hume,* one much suspected in this behalf, to put him in remembrance of his promise whensoever he shall hear or know anything spoken against the Queen or her honour. Many are in good hope that this reconciliation betwixt the King and Queen shall produce good effects, in regard that the Queen is well affected to the good causes and to the instruments in them, and of late has been so stung with the venom and deceit of Papists that she will no more suffer them to come near to her.

I am told that albeit the Duke and Mar will agree in the deliberation for Bothwell and will follow the King and his pleasure in this behalf, yet they are seen so far to favour Bothwell that Bothwell's adversaries will not trust them; and that Blantyre † will prove that for the King's honour it is necessary to give Bothwell the benefit of the act of Convention at Stirling, and that this matter will stir the coals mightily. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Nov. 23. **176.** PETITION BY CHRISTOPHER SHEPERSON TO BURGHLEY.

I humbly pray your lordship to procure timely directions to be given to my master [Robert Bowes] in the particularities mentioned in the instructions given to George Nicolson, which I delivered to your lordship.

Also, seeing my master's weakness and want must needs prejudice her Majesty's service in the dangerous time and place wherein he is employed, without some speedy remedy, may he therefore be relieved by her Majesty's bounty in such sort as may be for the benefit of her Highness's service and his comfort, and without loss or charge to her Majesty.

Also, whereas Mr. Ralph Bowes has given security and stands charged for payment of 1500*l.*, parcel of Customer Smyth's debt to her Majesty, may it please your lordship to give order that the executors of Customer Smyth may be acquitted of that sum, wherein Sir Francis Walsingham's bond given for the same debt may be cancelled and delivered to Lady Walsingham for her discharge. *Signed:* Christofer Sheperson.

⅔ *p. Endorsed:* "The humble petition of Christofer Sheperson. 23° Novembr. 1593."

Nov. 30. **177.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have put the King in memory sundry times of his letter promised to her Majesty, hoping that the memory of this promise would bring to his mind his other promises, mentioned in my letter of the 12th. I did not press audience greatly during the Convention, but after it ended, on the 26th instant, I sought access and obtained it yesternight.

Because Sir John Forster had certified me that he had written his opinion to her Majesty and her Privy Council that the principal value for the bill of Tynedale might be accepted, and that he was ready to receive the gentleman offered for that bill, if he did not receive advertisement to the contrary, therefore I have moved the King to send the gentleman to him. The King let me know that he had appointed Archibald Beaton (Beton), his page of honour,

* *In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "The wolf to be a watchman."
† *In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* He is Privy Seal.

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1593. to be delivered for this bill at Berwick, on the 28th instant, but had stayed his delivery because he had got into his hands Will Ellott of Lareston, the principal offender, whom he had delivered to the young Laird of Cessford, to be entered and delivered to Sir John Forster at Alnwick on 4th December. I trust this delivery shall be performed: as Cessford has likewise promised.

Then I "renewed the memory" of the King's promise to write to her Majesty, to acquaint me with his proceedings with the northern Earls, and to take her Majesty's advice therein. [I said that] it will be thought strange that he delays to write to her Majesty; that he and this Convention have determined the order with the Earls and their accomplices without her privity or advice; and that I was not called and acquainted therewith. The King promises to write to her Majesty with speed [*In the margin: in Burghley's hand:* "Apres demayn."], and albeit this Convention has taken an order for the Earls, yet it is not absolute, the King says, but that he may alter it [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "He may mar it."], and therefore he will require her Majesty's advice and assent to the same. Moreover, he told me that the Earls would not accept the order of the Convention. Nevertheless it is generally believed that they were here secretly and were made privy to all his proceedings by Sir George Hume and Patrick Murray, who shall be called before the Church on 4th December for "intercommoninge" and accompanying these Earls. I was driven to receive this new promise for an answer, fearing that little better fruit shall spring thereon than has come of the former.

There were present at this Convention the Duke of Lennox (called to occupy the place of one of the Earls), the Earl of Mar for the rest of the earls, and Lord Livingston for the lords. All the councillors of estate, four barons and five burgesses for the ministers were petitioners, and [there were] no councillors in this Convention. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* The greater part of the councillors are evil affected, but the King's humour has ruled most.]

The ministers prayed order for reformation in religion, that the laws against Papists might be put in execution, and due punishment inflicted on Angus, Huntly, Erroll, and other offenders. They pressed much that the Earls and their accomplices might be first warded and afterwards tried, agreeable to the laws of this realm. It was answered that if they should be tried, then they should be quit by a "whyte assyse."* Therefore other order should be taken with them. It was replied that their treasons and faults were so evident that they could not be quit by any assize if the King should proceed against them as he did against the Earls of Morton and Gowrie, beheaded. But the requests and reasons of the ministers got no allowance, for the Convention resolved to ordain an edict that only the established religion be professed in this realm, and that all persons who have not professed the same, or have made defection from it, shall subscribe to the articles of religion before 1st February next, or depart out of this realm and enjoy their lands, livings, goods and possessions, with other privileges and benefits (as the ministers affirm) against the laws and acts of Parliament. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "A good preface if it so folowe."] Secondly, an act of Abolition is made whereby Angus, Huntly and Errol, Auchindoun and Sir James Chisholm shall not be accused for the Blanks, but all their offences and faults therein shall be abolished and put in oblivion under sundry specified conditions. I enclose a copy of the edict and act of Abolition, being drawn into one act of Council by this Convention. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "This edict hath a good shewe, but the King may mak it lyk a Welshman hop."]

* [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* An assize without appearance of a jury, "which we call acquitall by proclamation for want of evidence."]

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This edict and act of Abolition is thought to be very injurious to the Church, and far against the laws of God and this realm.

The ministers have not only protested openly to the King and Convention that they will not agree to the same, but also in their sermons inveigh greatly against it. They allege that, albeit it has a pretence to establish one true religion in the realm, yet liberty is given to all men to profess what they list, on condition that they depart out of the realm, whereupon they shall enjoy greater privileges and advantages than any other good subject can do; that it is very dangerous that the crimes of these offenders shall be thus slightly passed over; that notwithstanding that the King once confessed that he had not power to pardon them * [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "The King hath made confession without absolution."], and promised to punish them with all rigour, yet they have now been detected four times, and escaped punishment; further, that these persons being excommunicated cannot be discharged without sight and experience of their repentance, neither of which has hitherto been seen in them, nor is expected to be hereafter shewed by them. It is expected that some of the ministers standing thus steadfastly and openly against this act shall be sharply punished, which is like to be the beginning of many troubles, for the people are generally offended and enraged with this act.

The King condemned the excommunication of these offenders because it was not done with his assent. But it was answered that the Kirk, being loth to contend in any sort with him, sued and obtained his leave to excommunicate all these persons, provided that Hume should not be excommunicated. They alleged this to be done lately at Linlithgow, and that the King by his handwriting had assented that Huntly and Erroll should be excommunicated; and they put the King in such good memory thereof that the matter was passed over.

The King, as I hear, is discharged by this Convention of all promises made to Bothwell, either by himself or by the Convention at Stirling, and will move the Lords of Session likewise to discharge him of his promises made whilst he was in Bothwell's hands against his will, and by which promises the King has "quit" and discharged many great sums of money to his exceeding loss and prejudice. It is looked that the Session shall please the King herein. Amongst other things, I looked that by the grace granted to Bothwell the bill for the spoil at Falkland laid on sundry Englishmen in the West Marches, and exceeding the sum of 13,000*l.* sterling, should have been discharged, but now the same is called for again, and with great earnestness. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "This will allweis be a quarrell in the West Borders ageynst our demandes for justice."] The King would grant no favour to Bothwell nor hear any longer of any suit in his behalf. It is ordered that Bothwell shall depart out of this isle within fifteen days without any kind of promise of restitution or favour until the King shall understand that he has obeyed this order. Thus the King will always remain at liberty, and it is verily thought his good will shall never be recovered by Bothwell. Great search was made the other day in Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith for Bothwell, Doune (Down), Spynie, Ochiltree's brother, and others. Mr. John Russell, an advocate, Robert Stewart, serjeant at mace, and Bothwell's lackey, were taken in Edinburgh and committed for his causes. All others who have been with him at the three several raids at Holyrood House and Falkland shall be, as it is said, "punished by the purse" for payment of the King's guard. The Queen, the Duke,

* *Pardon them.* These words are underlined, as the text for the commentary in the margin.

1593. the Chancellor and Mar show themselves friendly to Bothwell; and the Queen (as I hear) prayed the King to consider how much he bound himself by his honour, by his promises and act of Council to Bothwell, whose faults were no greater than the faults of others of less worthiness, to whom, nevertheless, he had showed great graces, to his own danger.

The Chancellor has kissed the Queen's hand, whereupon she wished him to serve the King faithfully, to deal uprightly with the Kirk, and to show his good endeavour to herself, for which she offered him goodwill and good deed. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* The Queen would be comforted herein by some message to be done by Mr. Bowes.]

The King (as I hear) acknowledges that Mr. James Gordon the Jesuit, William Gordon, Huntly's brother, with some others, have passed away into Flanders. But it is confidently alleged that all the young gentlemen are sent to the schools. I am informed that one of Gordon of Abergeldy's sons and one Harvey ("towardis" Erroll) are amongst them, and that Lord Forbes's eldest son, whom Huntly long before this time had enticed and privily conveyed from his father, is in their company. I have advertised Lord Forbes thereof, but he thinks that before this they had put his son into some monastery, therefore he purposes to provide that his inheritance come to his younger son. John Gordon of Newton, a great and rich Papist, embarked for Dieppe in September last, arrived at Yarmouth, and passed to Dunkirk, where he thought to have remained (as I was informed) half a year, but he soon departed from thence to London and returned to Yarmouth, where he entered into Thomas Smith's ship of Montrose and came to Montrose. I am told that he has made all this haste for the expedition of the sending away of the pledges: upon whose coming to Count Mansfeldt it is expected that the forces shall be sent from Dunkirk, Nieuport and Bloye.

Lord Hamilton has lately advertised me that Dumbarton Castle is clean without powder, bullet and such like necessary furniture, which the King's power does not suffice to supply in season. I offered him one last of powder, agreeable to your late direction. He confesses himself wholly devoted to her Majesty. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "I did so wryt to Mr. Bowes by hir Majesty's commandment."] He looks verily that strangers shall come with their forces into this realm and that Dumbarton shall be chiefly sought for and attempted. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "It is the only place for discent of Spanyardis in the west of Scotland."] Therefore he must of necessity make the larger provision, wherein he will willingly defray what he can from his own purse, yet he cannot sufficiently provide all requisites without her Majesty's help, the charge of which will amount to 200*l.* sterling at the least. By means of a merchant in this town he can provide in the best manner all things needful, so that by delivery of this sum to this merchant, and by his own charges and means, this "peice" shall be sufficiently furnished and he shall be at her Majesty's commandment. In this he looks for return of her Majesty's pleasure with speed. Direct me whether I shall put him in comfort to be supplied with this money in this manner, and, if so, then how and when the same shall be conveyed to the merchant. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "j last of powder and j^{c} *li.* in money to provyde the rest war very honorable."] Many great things have been aimed at, but I always put them over with the true reports of her Majesty's other burdenous charges.

Because the Parliament has expired without any prorogation and is not likely to be summoned again for a long time, and this Convention has ended without expectation of being assembled before 1st February, therefore I request her Majesty to revoke me or at least to grant access, to be thereon

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1593. discharged of this service, or furnished with new instructions. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "I thynk he might be spared for on month."] Edinburgh.

4 *pp. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk;* "30 Novem. 1593. Mr Bowes to my lord from Edenburghe."

Printed in *Acts of Parliament*, iv. 46–48; summarised in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 108–9.

Enclosure with the same.

("Act of Abolitioun.")

The true religion, publicly preached and by law established, to be the only religion professed and exercised by all his Majesty's lieges. Angus, Huntly, Errol and others to be forgiven with option of making satisfaction in religion or going into exile, with other conditions.

1⅔ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.* [*Note in the margin in Burghley's hand:* "that the banishment of the Earls opens a postern to the Papists, and that the remission of all penalties is against all reason."]

Dec. 2. **178.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King, being greatly offended with the ministers continuing their speech still against the act of Abolition, has said (as I am informed) that he will banish the Papists by his own means and power; that he will make known to all Protestant princes the seditious behaviour of the ministers, whom afterwards he will severely chastise for their faults, and that if they shall not cease to inveigh against this act, then he shall sufficiently bridle them. It is much feared that, by advice of the Papists about the King and by the enticement of the northern Earls and their friends in Court, he shall be allured upon this occasion to pick some quarrel against the ministers and town of Edinburgh, who live in no little fear of sudden enterprise to be attempted against them.

The Chancellor and some others of the Council, present at sundry sermons, have (as I hear) reported to the King the preachers' words uttered against this act, and also advised him to deliberate upon the grounds and reasons laid by the ministers. Hereupon the Chancellor, Mar, the Master of Glamis and Sir Robert Melvill, by the King's commandment, called the ministers of Edinburgh before them in the Tolbooth to "note and open" the defections and imperfections in this "Acte of Edict and Abolition." Amongst many faults these few following have been recounted to me. First, one article in the edict for religion, Papists and excommunicates departing out of the realm before 1st February next are granted liberty to enjoy their livings and possessions, contrary to the laws and statute presently in force, whereby not only the five offenders, in whose favour this Act was ordained, but also all other obstinate Papists and excommunicates shall have greater privileges and benefits than the laws of this realm give to them. Next, the clause in the edict enjoining offenders first to satisfy the Church in matters of religion, and, next, the King for the establishment of good order and quietness in the country, is not sufficiently and plainly expressed. Further, choice is given to Papists to subscribe or depart, and, albeit they shall choose to stand to their Papistry, yet they shall still "brooke" their livings, against the laws and notwithstanding that they ought to be compelled by penalties of laws to embrace the religion. The abolition of these crimes is condemned, in regard that it is against the laws of God and this realm, that the parties to take benefit thereof

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1593. do not seek it or confess any crime, nor show any repentance nor offer any satisfaction to the Kirk or to the King.

These councillors acknowledge that some things were omitted in this act which should have been inserted, and that other things were contained in it which were not voted by the Convention. Thereupon they first dismissed the ministers with hope that the act should be reformed, and next resorted to the King, then sitting amongst the Lords of Session in the Tolbooth. On hearing their report, he was much grieved that they acknowledged any error in the act, for it is said that he with his own hand corrected and entered sundry words and clauses in it, and that, when request was made that it might be read and voted as it was then framed, he would not suffer the votes to be taken again, in respect that it was voted before. It is now looked that the ministers shall be further conferred with and that the matter shall be reformed by Convention of the estates. Some fear that this is done to snare the ministers, so that they shall either consent to the "Abolition" as framed by a Convention voting at the appetite of the King, or else a quarrel may thereon be taken against them.

The King was ready to have ridden to Linlithgow yesterday, to speak (as I hear) with the northern Earls, but his journey is now stayed by the advice of some of his Council: for, albeit he answered (as it is reported) that he was a monarch and not to be ruled as the cantons in Switzerland, yet with fair reasons he was persuaded to stay. [*In the margin:* "This is said to have bene wrought by the Chancelour, backed by the Queen."] Advertisement is sent hither from the north that Huntly has given up assurance with Athol and Mackintosh. It is found that he "usethe" to pass and repass with small company betwixt his house and these parts, therefore some of his adversaries intend to attend better on him, and if they might be helped to horse themselves better, he would be "more nearely awayted on."

Bothwell has addressed to Mr. William Balfour (Baforde), minister of Kelso, a letter of sundry petitions to the King, which are lightly regarded and answered. Mr. John Russell, for his favour and dealing with Bothwell, has paid 2000 marks Scots, and this day is delivered by proclamation. I hear that fifty other persons noted to have received or been with Bothwell in his late actions are "billed" and shall likewise be fined and driven to compound, that the sum of 20,000*l.* Scots may be levied and equally defrayed for the King's house and pay to the guard, and that some others for like faults shall be banished and some suffer death for exemplary punishment. Yet the Chancellor puts men in hope that the King shall be drawn to deal better with Bothwell, for it is thought that Hume will procure his sister, the Countess Marishal, to send for him, and that thereon he will join with the northern Earls and abide with them. It is doubted by some whether the King * shall be enticed to come to them.

By Mr. John Colville your lordship may best be acquainted with these and other matters of more importance; for the expedition whereof it is wished here that Mr. John may be timely hastened to you. The wars betwixt Maxwell and Johnstone will be certified by others on the Borders. I am informed that Ladylands is the instrument betwixt the northern Earls and Maxwell, and that the Earls offer to pay the soldiers serving Maxwell, for Sir James Chisholme has told that the Earls have indeed received gold. These Earls (as I hear) have exhorted Hume to stand fast to the Catholic faith and not to subscribe to the religion. Hume has obtained respite for his

* Originally written "the Q." (Queen), and apparently altered to "the k." or, more improbably, "these."

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1593. subscription until the 18th instant. Then he has promised either fully to satisfy the minsters or else to give them plain answer. Sir George Hume and Patrick Murray have likewise further day given, but some think that all these shall be gone before the 18th; and if so, then strange effects will be looked for in this realm.

I have advertised Mr. John Carey that the Scottish Jesuit, happily taken and in his hands, is Mr. Alexander MacQuhirrie (Mackquhery), otherwise called John Black, or Polippus, or Thomas Ogilvy. He is deeply acquainted with all the practices in this realm and beyond seas, and has haunted sundry parts in England and served Lord Hume; his examination may much profit this service. The Queen is now occupied in providing a nurse and other requisites for the child of whom she expects to be delivered in the end of February next. I beg your lordship, in this time of vacation and calm, to present my petition for revocation, access to her Majesty or relief. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 7. **179. Robert Bowes to Burghley.**

Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. liii.

This day the King sent me his letter to her Majesty,* to be conveyed with such expedition that her answer might be returned before 1st January. The messenger, by the King's direction, acquainted me with the contents, showing me a copy of the letter and the letter itself, already sealed (a courtesy not much "looked for" by me at this time). After a view of this copy I let the messenger know that the King had particularized the excuses of the northern Earls, the crimes confessed by them, and their actions, further than he had before "opened" to me in my negotiations, and that, for the due "compasse" of his letter, I thought he had omitted sundry important matters passed betwixt him and me. Yet finding the King's letter thus framed and sealed, I agreed to receive it with due compliments and without controlment or alteration of anything, offering to be ever ready to give good satisfaction in any cause falling in question therein. This messenger "shewed" me that not only had the King delivered to Cuthbert Armourer his safe-conduct to Sir Robert Carey for access to his presence, but also that Sir Robert's errand was to excuse himself for any entertainment given to Bothwell against the King's pleasure. I gathered that the messenger sounded me to disclose whether I was privy to Sir Robert's coming hither or to the causes. Therefore I denied knowing anything, approving well his good intention and care to give the King so honourable satisfaction. It may be that your lordship shall find some of the motives stirring this journey to be signified in my letter of 8th November last, yet being uncertain thereof, I leave the matter to experience. I will always remain ready to answer for myself.

I am informed that the King and Queen entered yesternight into a very loving band, whereby the King has received the Queen's promise to concur with and further his actions and courses, which he protests shall be godly, princely and honourable; and that the King hereon has given to the Queen the greatest part of his jewels. Likewise, that the Chancellor directs his course to please the Queen, and that by the means of the Queen and Chancellor the Court shall be reformed.

It is also confirmed that Sir George Hume is providing for leaving the Court,

* Printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. LIII.

1593. and if this takes effect it is said that Lord Hume will not tarry long after him, and that they shall draw themselves into the company of the northern Earls. Yet by others I am credibly informed that the King's countenance is nothing abated, but increasing towards them, so that little cause is hitherto seen why they should abandon the Court.

I hear that the Chancellor labours much to stay the King's journey to Linlithgow to speak with the northern Earls, yet without the knowledge of Sir Robert Carey's coming he could not have been stayed. Sundry fear that if Lord Hume and Sir George Hume shall join with the northern Earls, then they shall be so accompanied that the whole realm shall be troubled and endangered thereby. Huntly has proudly boasted * the barons who refused (upon his letters to them) to accompany him in his late journey to St. Johnstone; and on the access of "Paty" Murray, sent by the King, he has "given upp" with Atholl, whom before he sought by very large offers, and also is in comfort of being honoured with commission of lieutenancy. The Duke of Lennox is resolved to withdraw from Court and to lie in St. Andrews. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 9. **180.** ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. liii. p. 7. Whereas we have had cause of late, through the defection of certain rebellious Irish subjects in the north (whereof the chief ringleaders have been Maguire and his associates), to direct our Deputy to send some small number of our forces against them, although we have already so weakened the said Maguire that he is now [reduced] from 1000 [to] not above 100, and is only preserved by entrenching himself in a fort called Enniskillen, within a lough,—to which, because it cannot be approached but through bogs and marshes, we have appointed certain boats to be sent, and so make little question of his being taken or utterly extinguished,—yet because we hear that O'Donnell, who is his kinsman "and ever parted with him," has some purpose to call in certain Scots to assist him, whereby we shall haply be "occasioned" to send more people thither, which we would not willingly do against so beggarly a rabble of traitors, whom in the end we shall have either dead or alive if we list to trouble ourselves about him [*sic*], we have thought to require you to let the King understand that we expect that he shall command his subjects to forbear either entering or relieving by any means any of those northern rebellious subjects of ours, and especially any of the Maguires or the O'Donnells, or their adherents. And forasmuch as we understand that the Earl Morton, by the "tutelshippe" of the Earl of Argyll, has the commandment of the country from whence commonly the Scots are "waged" by the Irish, we likewise require you to deal with him to take order therein, for if our estate "shall receave prejudyce by suche tolleration or allowance, wee cannot dejeste it in any sorte, thoughe, thankes be given to God, we have litle cause to feare any eventes there (more then the trouble), considring howe greater forces spedd when they were ayded by our greatest adversaries." Hampton Court.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head:* "A Mynute of her Majesties letter to Mr. Bowes to treat with the King for restrayning the concourse of his subjects into Irelande to ayde Macguire, Odonell, etc."

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* *boasted:* threatened.

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181. Instructions for Lord Zouche.

Vol. liii. p. 8.

"A mynute of the instructions given to the Lo. Zouche, sent to the King of Scottes in ambassage for matters hereafter following."

You shall declare to the King that we cannot find ourselves satisfied with his letters of the 7th of this month (which did not come to our hands before the 15th) in answer to two of ours. Because he has required to have our advice upon the late act for the surety of religon and of his estate, and also to be informed before 1st January what surety we would have for us and our realm, therefore, although it seems a short day for such a matter, we have without delay sent you to impart our mind in these causes, hoping that he will remember his promises to our ambassador, by Sir Robert Melvill, and by his own letters, never to take any end with the three Earls without our advice and consent. You shall say that we have perused a copy, dated 26th November, of an act of Council, for the public peace and quietness of his realm, whereby, though in the preface there is an article no way to be misliked, for the exercise only of the established religion, yet it is apparent that this act was not purposely made for that intent, since that article could not lawfully have been altered but by Parliament. But it manifestly appears that the scope of this act is to deliver the three Earls, being notable traitors, with whom the Spanish King's forces have practised how they might invade our realm by way of Scotland, whereof we have most manifest proofs both out of Spain and the Low Countries. Yet, notwithstanding, by this new act of Council they are licensed, if they will, to depart the realm with such a freedom as never was granted to any offenders in any well governed estate, and to enjoy the fruits of all their livelihoods in foreign countries, and so to enrich themselves to be more able to execute their treasons, yea, to have liberty to make procurators to maintain all their causes at home.

Now, for some colourable defence hereof, the King uses some allegations which we cannot think allowable, neither can we think that any good councillor of the King, having freedom of voice, can think them allowable, for indeed he does not deny but that they all three confess the hearing of masses and reception of Jesuits and seminary priests. But we think the King's meaning cannot be to allow them to be free from severe punishment, either corporal or, at the least, pecuniary, for these crimes confessed, but freely at their own desire to go into other countries with their livelihood.

The Earls of Angus and Errol confess the writing of the Blanks to foreign princes, but they allege that [the purpose] was to be repaid sums of money which they had spent upon Jesuits there in Scotland, amongst whom they name one William Crichton, a most famous traitor, who was taken upon the seas certain years past with a number of traitorous letters to have stirred up rebellion in this realm, yet we have such compassion on him that we put him to liberty upon report of his age and upon his oath freely offered, never to deal thereafter in matters of estate but to live privately at Lyons in contemplation only in his house of religion; but how he has deserved this favour and how he has observed his oath, his wandering from the Low Countries and Spain into Scotland, and from Scotland to Spain sundry times, may justly condemn him a perjured friar. But we assure ourselves that the King cannot think that this confession of the said two Earls could deserve immunity, since Carr, who was put in trust with the Blanks, voluntarily confessed before the King's Council that the purpose was to bring forces into Scotland, which Sir Robert Melvill, who was one of the Council, also avowed to us. Besides [there were] the confession of Fintrie and a number of other proofs.

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1593. Next, though Huntly confesses the subscription and his seal to the Blanks, yet he says the same were only in favour of his uncle, the Jesuit, to notify to his uncle's superior that he was forced to depart the realm and to declare his poverty, and so to relieve his uncle. But if this were true, yet this confession does not deserve so favourable an order as to be quit from punishment, or at least from renunciation of the fault. But what probability may there be that the Earl of Huntly, joining in subscription of sundry Blanks with the other two Earls, they confessing the intent of their Blanks was to foreign princes for money for themselves, this odd Earl's meaning was only to notify to his uncle's superiors that he might not tarry in Scotland, as though this message might not have been written without offence in an express letter? Or what needed he, being an Earl of so great livelihood, to urge a friar or a proctor of Jesuits to give an earl's uncle alms or relief?

But, to proceed with the King's answer, they inform the King further that they did not mean to procure the entry of any Spaniards, as they are justly accused to have done, and as some of them in former times have manifestly done, as has lately been proved by the very letters of Huntly and Errol. But now for this last fact they desire trial; wherein the King pretends to be doubtful how trial may be made of this great crime. It seems to us a strange "conceipte" in a King and monarch that, when such men are sundry ways accused of so high and manifest treasons, he should doubt how to have them tried, because they are persons of might and wealth.

There is also to be noted in this act a general provision in favour of all other Papists upon declaration to the King before 1st February of their desire to leave their country. How many livelihoods and revenues shall be conveyed out of the realm by this, we leave to the King in policy to consider. But to pretend some remedy for their inconveniences, it is added in the act that these Earls shall give good sureties with bonds in sums of money not to attempt to practise any harm to the religion. But how slender a provision this may be is easily to be judged. For, considering their inward disposition, or rather rancour, shall remain still in them to work the ruin of the religion, which cannot be without foreign forces, who shall stay them (being at liberty) from renewing their former practices with foreign princes to bring their purpose to pass? They shall find princes as ready to yield to their desires as they are to ask; and if they shall return with such forces as are to their contentation into the realm, who shall be found to overrule them, or who shall sue for the forfeiture of their lands, *quia jus erat in armis*? The more we think of this remissness, the more dangerous we see it to the King's estate, and highly dishonourable, and we do not doubt that if the King will cause this act to be "reviewed" by wise, godly and politic men they will advise him to take another course for avoiding the danger of these traitors and not to give the bridle of his government to them and their confederates.

Therefore, whereas he requires our advice and consent before he would make any conclusion with these Earls (although neither our consent nor our advice was required before this act was passed, wherein we think ourself abused), we cannot give better advice than we have done before. As for their trial, we do not doubt but if the King will not yield to the special friends of the said Earls to make a partial jury, but show himself disposed to have justice take place, and to be advised by his officers of justice to nominate a convenient number of upright noblemen, who fear God and regard his surety and mind the common peace of his realm, he shall find his former pretended doubt to be cleared.

Lastly, if the King shall like this advice, we require him for our better

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1593. satisfaction by his oath upon the word of a prince to assure us what he will do without further delay.

If the King shall allege that the speeches to Sir Robert Melvill inclined him to some favouring of the Earls, you shall let him understand that either the Earls were misinformed that we had moved the King in their favour or Sir Robert Melvill misreported us, for our speeches tended only to allow of the King's mercy to them upon acknowledging their faults and [giving] good assurances and conditions. We told Sir Robert Melvill that it were more honourable for the King to be moved thereto by our intercession, being a prince, than by any of their friends, being but subjects to the King; and without conditions we could not think it honourable for the King to grant, or for us to require, any favour for them.

In the end, if you shall find the King's answer to you doubtful, or shall understand that he means to continue his favour to the Earls, and consequently like to embrace the Spanish offers, then we will that you, the Lord Zouche, shall require the King that, for our better satisfaction, he will permit Robert Bowes, our ordinary ambassador, to declare to the King and his nobility and Council such things as by our commandment you have direction for him. This being granted (as we desire to have it in some public sort), you, our ambassador, shall recall all our advice and counsel to the King both before and since these three Earls' treasons were detected, our frequent information given to him of the number of Jesuits maintained in his realm, both English and Scottish, how often he promised redress thereof, but by what impediment you know they still continued in the realm. After this, you, the Lord Zouche, shall say that we have commanded you to require him not to think us so negligent of our own estate that we will not employ our power to the uttermost to withstand the landing of any strange forces in Scotland, thereby to invade our realm by land that way, since they could not do so by sea. We would be very simple to imagine that any foreign prince, especially the King of Spain, would send men or money into Scotland, either from Spain or the Low Countries, to gain anything but means only to invade England; and of this purpose we have a multitude of advertisements monthly from Spain and from the Low Countries that the King of Spain has only "expected" to have some assurance of some noblemen in Scotland to join with his forces. As this was to have been effected by the Blanks last year, so must we think that if the said Earls be permitted to go out of the realm they shall have much better commodity to perform the former, not by Blanks subscribed, but personally with their own offers to accompany the same without any fear of forfeiting their bonds. Therefore, if the King will not speedily suppress the traitors either by condemnation or imprisonment, we must be forced to prevent these dangers by all the good means that we can. Hampton Court.

7¼ *pp.* *Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk.*

Another copy. Cott. Calig. D.ii. f. 122.

Dec. 20. **182.** INSTRUCTIONS FOR LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. lii. p. 16. "Instructions for the Lo. Zouche to treat with certayne lords and others in Scotlande."

After good knowledge given you, by means of one who shall go before you into Scotland, of the disposition of certain lords and gentlemen there to maintain the established religion, and to oppose all persons who shall attempt to alter

1593. the same, or who shall assent to any practice for bringing in strange forces to that realm, you shall give them to understand your commission to advise the King to proceed more directly against the three Earls than hitherto he has done, or than by the act of 24th November it seems is intended. You shall inform them what you have said to the King and what answer you have had from him, and you shall enter into private conference with them what they think of the said answers. If it shall appear that these [answers] are but frivolous and not likely to produce any good effect for surety of the religion and for the weal of the King and his country, and consequently to the maintenance of the common peace betwixt the King and us and our countries, then you shall demand of them their opinions how these mischiefs may be remedied, and how a sufficient party may be there had to withstand the attempts of the adversaries, and how they may be suppressed. Upon knowledge whereof we will assure them of our countenance and favour; and for encouraging them herein you shall declare to them that we have by you given the King knowledge of our mind, that we may not nor will suffer any practice in that realm, for we are assured that the same is intended to invade our realm, and for prevention thereof we will speedily cause convenient forces to be put in readiness upon our own frontiers.

You may also move those with whom you confer about this matter to inform you what borderers of power and ability may be won to be of their party, so that our officers may have knowledge whom to trust there and "to use friendlie" upon all occasions. If, perchance, these lords and gentlemen with whom you shall confer shall appear not to be sufficiently informed how to answer you for want of conference with some greater number, you shall require them to use diligence in as secret manner as they can to procure, before your departure, some certainty both of the numbers and of the dispositions of them; and herein our ambassador by reason of his former knowledge and acquaintance can best procure the means to have this matter both secretly and effectually handled. Finally, if they shall pretend lack of ability to make their party more strong than their adversaries, and for that purpose shall require to have aid from us of some portion of money, or other help, you shall require them therein to show you their demands, limited in a reasonable sort, considering how we have [been] and daily are burdened with excessive expenses in the Low Countries, in France and in Brittany for like causes, and you shall promise them on our part to further their demands to the uttermost of your power, and that you will procure them answer without delay. Hampton Court.

2 *pp.* *Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk.*

Another copy. Cott. Calig, D.ii. f. 118.

Dec. 20. **183.** MEMORIAL FOR LORD ZOUCHE.

"A Memoriall to instruct the Lord Zouch of the manner of her Majestyes procedings with the King of Scottes. xxth Decemb. 1593."

First, all the advice given by her Majesty's sundry letters, and especially by those written in September last, with the answers made by the King to a number of articles propounded by the ambassador. He then answered expressly that he would in no wise conclude with the three Earls without her Majesty's privity, advice and consent, and with the satisfaction of the Kirk in Scotland. The scope of all her advice was to maintain his subjects in their obedience to his laws, and especially in the observation of one form of religion

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1593. established by himself oftentimes; secondly, to banish all known, obstinate Papists, and otherwise to correct them either by imprisonment or by penalties of law; thirdly, to proceed against Huntly, Errol and Angus, for treason; yet upon acknowledging their offences, renouncing all further practice with strangers, and reforming themselves to conformity of religion and finding caution, and upon her Majesty being duly informed of all this, she would not dissuade the King from his disposition to show them mercy. She had the like disposition in moving the King to accept Bothwell's submission, which, as her Majesty has understood, has been so ample and full of fidelity, that whatsoever his offence has been, he can make no larger satisfaction to the King, who naturally desires nothing from his subjects but reverence and fidelity. These have been the principal points of all her Majesty's advice.

Now, for maintenance of all these advices, since sinister interpretations may move doubt, her Majesty has thought it not superfluous to add some notes of the reasons that have caused her so often to give them. First, the reiteration of them at sundry times has been because she has heard of many alterations of the King in his proceedings. But what most grieved her was when she heard of his alteration of his councillors, and choice of such as were known "contrarilye affected." Thereby was judged his secret disposition to favour those who had most manifestly sought to ruin the state of his kingdom. This moved her the oftener to "remember" the King both of her advice and of his promises.

For justification of her sincerity, she could not, for the maintenance of his subjects in obedience of religion, do more sincerely than to advise him to do the same that she has done in her own realm, whereby she finds the commodity of universal obedience. As her Majesty has laws established by herself, with the consent of all her states, to observe one form of religion, which she maintains, and punishes the offenders, so she has advised the King, and does still, to see his laws duly executed, and, without respect of person, to correct all offenders. Herein her advice is to move him to rule as a King by his laws, and not to allow any of his subjects, how great soever they be, or how much soever they have been in his favour, to violate his laws and to diminish his regal authority.

For the second matter, of advice for proceeding against the three Earls and their associates, when her Majesty first understood how they were charged with most high treason, and that their messengers had confessed the same, and that the King himself seemed so animated to pursue them by arms and by justice, how could she do less than "to allowe" him herein? She sent Lord Burgh to the King to commend his actions, and he accepted her advice with thanks: and afterwards when he sent Sir Robert Melvill hither, her advice was both honourable and reasonable, namely, that if these Earls would acknowledge their faults, renounce all like practices, and reform themselves, *etc.*, she would not mislike of the King's mercy to be showed to them upon their submission; whereupon they made means to her Majesty to intercede for them, as one prince might do with another. This she required Sir Robert Melvill to declare to the King, although she has heard that the same has been otherwise reported.

As for her Majesty's dealing with the King for Bothwell, surely such has been his protestation of his natural duty and of his desire to recover the King's favour, that her opinion was, and is, that the King might make great profit of him to prove him with his favour? So it seems that the King has, upon his submission, admitted him to be restored to his estate, although by his

1593. enemies, who seek more after the Earl's living than the King's service, the perfecting of the grant is impeached.

In this sort you may inform yourself of these former reasons, to the intent you may be the more able to answer or reply to the King in conference.

3¼ *pp. Copy in Lord Zouche's hand. Endorsed.*

Dec. 20. **184.** PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS FOR LORD ZOUCHE.

For a long time there has been continual practising of sundry Jesuits and other seditious persons of Scotland and England, amongst whom the most notorious men have been William Creichton, an old Jesuit, one Bruce, a Scottish man, and one Semple, a captain, who have in Spain solicited the King there to take in hand both the alteration of religion in Scotland and by the way thereof to invade England ; and for that purpose they have these three or four years continually travelled betwixt Spain and Scotland, and betwixt the Low Countries and Scotland, and in 1589 procured the assent of divers lords of Scotland to give ear thereunto, and procured their consent to give aid to the Spanish army, and to write their letters in 1589 to the Duke of Parma. Among these lords were Huntly, Errol, Crawford, Bothwell, Morton and Lord Claud Hamilton. Their conspiracy being detected, sundry of them were imprisoned and afterwards remitted by the King. [Then follows a narrative recapitulating the conspiracy of the Spanish Blanks, and the King's proceedings with the Earls thereafter, down to the act of Abolition.]

Now her Majesty has thought it very needful to send someone to the King of Scots to carry answer to his letters, to challenge him for his breach of promise in not making her acquainted beforehand with the act for the Earls, and " inwardly " to press him to declare his disposition, which she might trust, or otherwise use all good means to withstand the enterprises of the Spanish practisers.

Further, Lord Zouche is to confer with such of the King's Council as are well affected and with others of his nobility, how these great mischiefs may be remedied [*etc.*, as in No. 182]. He is to receive from the ordinary ambassador full advertisement of all things.

3½ *pp. Copy in Lord Zouche's hand. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Dec. 21. **185.** ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Vol. liii. p. 18. Having cause to send Lord Zouche to the King, we have commanded him also to deliver you our most affectionate salutations as one whom we very highly esteem for your virtue, and for your sincere and constant desire to preserve the amity between the two realms, the interruption of which is sought by the subtle workings and malicious practices of the common adversaries. And whereas we understand by divers reports of your present estate, which we are loth to name in direct terms, not hearing it confirmed by yourself, we do by these lines assure you that we as heartily wish you joy of the same as any prince living, and that our love is increased by the remembrance of the friendship between the King your father and us. Hampton Court.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head :* " A Mynute of her Majesties letter to the Queene of Scotts by the Lo. Zouche."

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186. ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

The effects of Sir Robert Carey's errand, best known to himself, will be opened to your lordship by his own report. I think that you will thereby understand that the King of Scots has " entred into suche jelowsyes " against me and [is] so tired with me and my services that my labours shall little profit her Majesty's services here. For these and other respects, and upon " occasion given me " to advertise her Majesty of my doings in the contents of her late letter to me, I have again made suit to be revoked or suffered to have access to her Majesty and to answer for myself. I beg for your help in this petition.

I am credibly informed that the northern Earls have lately craved that the day appointed for their answer to the act of Abolition may either be prolonged or else that they be not urged to subscribe to the articles of religion. They are put in some comfort for the prorogation of the day, and for the best remedy against their subscription it is advised that they shall offer to their ordinary minister to subscribe, and draw him to certify under his handwriting, to the intent that the certificates presented to the King and Council may be accepted and work their excuse. Secondly, they pray to be licensed to depart out of this realm without subscription, and, nevertheless, to enjoy all their lands and livings.

But they are advised not to " sticke " to subscribe, as a matter of small moment; and not to seek to pass out of this country in this time of troubles when the King needs most their service, and when their repair into foreign parts shall be suspicious and hurt the cause. Thirdly, they desire not to be accompanied with a minister, who, being near about them, shall spy and discover their secrets. It is advised that they shall give no stipend or allowance to the minister, to the intent that he may tire with the expense and depart of his own accord. Fourthly, they require that the excommunication against them may be retreated [*i.e.* rescinded]. But it is answered that, seeing the King will not approve and allow the excommunication and that they are not hurt by it, therefore they shall forbear for a time further to irritate the Kirk.

By William Troup (Trowpe), servant to Huntly, the King (as I hear) has sent a commission of lieutenancy, in form of a letter, especially to be executed against Mackintosh and his adherents; but framed to serve with large power and authority to command all men, and also to execute all punishments on every person, within the limits of that commission at the will of the lieutenant. In Court it is thought meet to commit this charge of lieutenancy in the north to Auchindoun, yet because it is feared that Huntly will disdain and impugn the authority of any other than himself within his own bounds, and that thereby some division shall arise amongst the Gordons, therefore a blank is left in the commission that the name of the lieutenant may be inserted. I am also told that not only the Forbeses and many other barons and gentlemen well affected have left their houses to be freed from the oppression of Huntly by this commission, but also that sundry ministers in the north have been lately so quarrelled with that they are in danger of their lives in case they shall continue at their places and do the duties of their ministry.

Order is given by the King and Council that the house at Stirling, presently in decay and ruin, shall be made ready for the Queen to be there delivered of her child. The Queen " hathe good lykinge " to be at Stirling, and purposes to remove towards it on the 27th instant. But some principal officers and courtiers, remembering the many enterprises executed at Stirling and fearing like events to succeed in that place, are seeking means to stay her and to allure her to the castle in Edinburgh; whereby this town shall be utterly subjected

1593. to the will of the Court, and whereupon "some sharpe effectes are feared to be practised with great severity" as well against Bothwell's friends as also against the ministers in this town.

The Convention is appointed to begin at Edinburgh on the 11th January. It shall be removed to Stirling in case the King and Queen then lie there, as now they intend. I am told that above eight score letters or missives are already sent to noblemen, barons and burgesses to appear at this Convention, which is summoned chiefly to obtain the grant of a taxation for 50,000*l.* Scots for the furniture of the Queen and "diffray" of her charges at this time. The Church of Scotland have also appointed their General Assembly to be at Edinburgh on 11th January. The late fight betwixt Bothwell and Sir Robert Ker, the resolute purpose of the King to prosecute Bothwell and his friends, and all things touching Bothwell, I leave to the report of Sir Robert Carey and others. It is bruited that Bothwell's houses at Crichton and elsewhere shall be rased. I have been informed that Atholl was warded beyond the water of Earne in gentle manner and amidst his own lands and friends, and that the King had promised Spynie free ward beyond Spey, yet I am now told that, albeit the King had secretly promised Spynie that he should be in safety in Edinburgh (keeping himself quiet there), and that he should have had some other especial favours, yet he gave to the Master of Glamis secret captions to apprehend him, who escaped very narrowly and has now been charged to appear before the King and Council and has made default.

The King (as I have heard) was offended with some words uttered at the Council table by the Chancellor in favour of Bothwell, letting him know with some warm speech that such as should possess his good countenance should plainly set themselves for him against Bothwell and the ministers, and openly follow him and his course. Thus the King's wrath against the ministers is noted to break forth greatly and daily to increase, and it is said that he records in writing all the words of the preachers in pulpit against him or his government.

In conference the other day with the Chancellor, he wished that the league betwixt her Majesty and the King might be renewed, and consummated in all points, and that the King of Scots might be received into league with her Majesty and the Estates in the Low Countries, but thinking this more meet to be imparted to your lordship than entertained by me, I passed it over. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "Chancelors speach."]

On my travail with the King for order to restrain all his subjects from entering into England [*sic*], [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "It shuld"] to relieve or aid any of the rebels there, "namely," Macguire, O'Donnell and their adherents, the King has addressed his letter in that behalf only to the Earl of Argyll. The matter (as I have heard) has not been esteemed as was pretended to me, but I think that to be done rather in dislike of the person moving than in neglect of the cause moved, so that my service cannot be as fruitful as appertains.

By four or five letters lately brought hither from Spain and Bordeaux it is confidently advertised that an army shall be prepared in Spain for Scotland. I have seen two of the letters, and taken out the clauses touching the expedition of this army by sea for Scotland, copies of which clauses I enclose. I am informed that by other letters (brought with these and secretly kept by the parties to whom they are addressed), it is advertised that the messenger to the King of Spain was sent with especial address given by persons of greatest quality in Scotland, and that thereon not only the army of Spain shall be hastened to the seas, but also that another army shall be provided in the

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1593. Low Countries for this purpose, and that the army in the Low Countries shall not be amassed or stir before further warning shall be given by the King of Spain. James Craig's letter to his brother, Mr. Thomas Craig, has been showed to the King, who scorns the matter, yet the wise and well affected here are much perplexed with the advertisements given by persons of credit and confirmed by many circumstances. This day Lord Hume has subscribed to the articles of religion; nevertheless, because he is excommunicated by other presbyteries, the cause is stayed here to be considered by others. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. No fly-leaf or address.*

(Enclosure with the same).*

(James Craig to Thomas Craig.)

"The clause in the letter of James Craig, at Burdeux, to his brother Mr. Thomas Craig, advocate, at Edenburghe, at Bawrest 4° Decembris 1593."

There is of truth an army in Spain making ready to depart, but methinks they be first bound for Blouet in Britannye, there to abide their second enterprise.

I understand from a credible man who was at the Court of Spain in October last that letters were come out of Scotland to the King, and other particulars, and that within two days thereafter the despatch was sent back by way of Italy and Antwerp.

The "brute" amongst the army in Spain is that they are bound for Scotland, and perhaps some commandment given to them in Flanders to make that voyage. "I wote not what great occasion moves our Lordes in Scotland to desier them, but I doubt nocht who is busiest to have them sall soonest tyere on them." 4 December, 1593.

"Advertisement by an other lettre from Beyon xxiiij° Novemb. 1593."

There came a man whom I supposed a messenger from some evil men both of England and Scotland to the King of Spain, then at the Escorial (Schorialle, called St. Laurence) in the beginning of October, and [he] was despatched again on 22nd October by the way of Italy, by the convoy of some "good" persons, to wit, Colonel Semple, the Duchess of Surrey, Sir Francis Inglefield, and some Jesuit traitors. And I being there two or three days before he got his despatch, they held matters very close from me, whereof I took suspicions of no good to come thereof, neither to our King nor to the Queen of England nor to any that profess God's word. At last, being in conference with Semple for my own business, wherein he has been my small friend he answered me in these terms: "that I sould take na thought of my busines, but it wold go wele; saieng they had matters of greater weight amongst their handes then myne, and that he wold be more helpfull to th'estate of Spaine and the Catholick faithe." Whereof I "collected" that evil men both of England and Scotland "pretend" to make rebellion with the assistance of the King of Spain, as before. Assure yourself, there is a new plot "in layeng" against God and His word. God grant it may come to light before the time of execution.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley:* "4 Decemb. 1593. James Crayg to his brother Thomas Cray[g], advocat in Edinburgh."

* The enclosure has become detached and is bound in this volume as number 70 and 71.

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187. Elizabeth to James VI.

Printed in Tytler, ix. 124; *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, p 95 *n.*; summarised in *Warrender Papers*, ii. LXXII.

It vexes me to see a seduced King, abusing Council and wry guided kingdom. My love for your good breeds my heedful regard of your safety. If I neglected you I could wink at your worst and yet withstand my enemies. But I will not " stick " to tell you that if you tread the path you go in I will pray for you, but leave you to your harm. I doubt whether shame or sorrow have had the upper hand when I read your last lines to me. Who could suppose that your answer should satisfy any one with her four senses, let alone five ?

For those of whose actual rebellion you have had so evident proof in the field, whose offers you knew then [*i.e.* in 1589] so large to foreign princes, and now at last are plainly confessed by the carrier [of the Blanks], because you slacked time till he escaped, therefore, forsooth, no jury can be found for them. May this blind me who knows what a King should do ? Abuse not yourself so far. If you show yourself weak, then bold spirits will guide the ship to wreck. There is no Prince alive but if he show fear or yielding he shall have tutors enough, though he be out of minority. When I remember what punishment these lewd traitors should have, then I read again lest at first I m[issed] your mind. But when I read again, " Lord, what wonder grew in me that you should corre[ct] them with benefites, who deserve muche severer correction ! " Could you please them more than save their lives and ma[ke] them shun the place where their just deserved haters dwell, and yet enjoy as much their ho[nours] and livelihoods as if for sporting travel they were licensed to visit other countries ? Call you this a banishment, to be rid " from whom they feare " and go to such they love ? I smiled to see how childish, foolish and witless an excuse these three made, turning their bills of treason to artificers' reckonings, with *item* for many expenses, but lacking one, which they best deserved—namely an *item* for the [hangman's] cord. Is it possible that you can swallow so bitter a drug ? I never heard a more deriding scorn, and vow that, if I were you, they should learn a short lesson. The best that I commend in your letter is that you do not affirm the truth of their speech, but only that " they so say." Howbeit I muse how you can want a law for such obvious traitors, who deny their guilt to save their lives. For who should ever be tried false if his own denial might save his life ? For your own sake play the King and let your subjects see you respect yourself and neither hide nor suffer danger and dishonour. That you may know my advice, I have chosen this nobleman, whom I know to be wise, religious and honest, to whom I pray you give full credit.

2 *pp. Copy, and endorsed, in the hand of Burghley's clerk :* " 1593, 22 December. Copie of hir Majestis letter to the K. of Scottes, of hir own hande, by the L. Zouche.

Dec. 23.

188. James VI. to Lord John Hamilton.

It has pleased God to bless us with appearance of succession, the Queen, being with child, and near the time of her delivery. For this and other weighty affairs, we have made special choice of you, amongst others, not to fail to address yourself towards us here at Holyrood House the 11th day of January next to come, at which time you shall be acquainted with the particulars " motionynge " your coming. Holyroodhouse.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy. At the head :* " Copie of the Kingis letter to the L. John Hamilton to be at the Convention to be holden the xjth of January 1593, at Edenbr."

James VI.
1593.
Dec. 26.

189. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Yesterday I received your letter of the 18th, and thank God for the recovery of your health. I have acquainted the King with her Majesty's purpose to send hither a nobleman, to be here on 1st January or some few days after. Because of the late receipt of the King's letter and the present season of the year, I have prayed that a short delay may be well accepted. The King let me know that he required her Majesty's answer and advice before 1st January, to the intent he might proceed the more effectually with the northern Earls, bound to give their resolute answers to the act of Abolition before or on that day; but hearing that they are not as yet minded to accept the benefits of the act, and purposing not only to take further order for the Earls with the advice of the Convention, but also to remove to-morrow with the Queen to Stirling and to come hither again to the Convention on 11th January, therefore he wished that the nobleman might so dispone his journey to be at Edinburgh at the beginning, or soon after the assembly of this Convention. Order is given to put his safe conduct in readiness and it will be perfected and sent to Berwick soon after I know the name of the person to be sent.

On my information to the King, first, that young Cessford had not as yet delivered William Ellot to Sir John Forster at Alnwick for the bill of Tynedale, and, secondly, that Sir John Selby complained that the Warden of the East Marches of Scotland or his deputy has not for a long time kept meeting with him, he ordered again that young Cessford shall within eight days deliver William Ellot, or Cessford himself or a gentleman whom he shall make worth the bill, to Sir John Forster. I have given notice hereof to Sir John Forster. The King has written earnestly to Alexander Hume of Huton Hall, deputy Warden of the East March, to keep his meeting duly and give redress to Sir John Selby. I have sent this letter to Sir John Selby.

Sir George Hume, cited to appear before the ministers for intercommuning with Huntly or other Earls excommunicated, denied having spoken with any of them except once with Huntly at Lord Livingston's house, and before the sentence of excommunication. For the proof of his allegations and upon view of his good behaviour he has further day given till 1st January next. He not only offered to solicit the King and to do good offices for the Kirk, but also wishes them (the Kirk) to send to the King some discreet persons to move him in articles meet to be proponed to him. According to this advice Mr. David Lindsay and two of the King's ministers were sent to the King, letting him understand that his people generally were greatly stirred by three things: first, his inordinate favour to Papists and to the excommunicated Earls; secondly, that by letters from Spain and Bordeaux it is plainly advertised that Scottish messengers have been sent to the King of Spain, and that two armies are in preparation for Scotland; thirdly, that Patrick Murray, one of the King's Chamber, and other of the King's servants so frequently and openly accompany Huntly and the rest that they are deemed to be sent to them with the King's privity and allowance. To these (as I hear) the King answered in effect that, first, he expected these Earls should have been won by his favourable dealings with them. Now he better espies their meaning; and seems determined that if they shall not willingly at the time appointed accept the act of Abolition and conditions therein, then the act and proclamation made in their favour shall be repealed, and more "straite" order be taken with them by the next Convention. Secondly, he has been likewise informed that the Jesuits of Scotland still practise with Spain to draw foreign forces into this realm. But he does not understand that the Earls have dealt further with

1593. Spain since the discovery of their Blanks. Thirdly, Patrick Murray has always haunted their company and depended on Huntly; and Drummond and other of his servants seen with Huntly might have particular business of their own with him. Yet in the end he seemed to assent to some reformation, with better mind than has lately appeared, and that, with the advice of the next Convention, he would provide that order should be taken for the Earls, and the prevention of the danger by Spanish forces and practices, and also that by the advice of wise and discreet persons he would seek this reformation and establish his government. The ministers have been comforted herewith and attend for the wished success of these things.

I am informed that Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, Linclouden, Sir George Hume and other courtiers of that side have earnestly persuaded and prevailed to draw the Queen to Stirling, trusting there to be in great surety against Bothwell and to obtain the rather the Queen's favour. The Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill and others have stood much against this removal to Stirling, which shall be entered into to-morrow. The Queen shows herself indifferent to remaining here or removing to Stirling at the King's pleasure, "and that she may be free from all future interpryses to be attempted hereafter here or at Sterlinge."

Argyll has written very sharply (as I hear) to Mar, letting him know that his great favour showed towards Huntly is done to deliver Huntly from all punishment or hurt for Murray's slaughter. If the King and Mar shall not prosecute this slaughter, then Argyll protests that he with his whole power will do it against Huntly and that for the same he will join with Bothwell, trusting that the Queen of England will not abandon him. Mar has promised to write to Argyll to stay all men under his rule, that they shall not enter into Ireland. The Laird of Wemyss, near kinsman of and in especial opinion with Argyll, has undertaken to travail with the Earl and also Maconnell and McLean for the stay of their people from Ireland and from aiding or relieving any of her Majesty's rebels. That your lordship may see the order taken for the raid intended against the Laird of Johnstone for the slaughter of Lord Maxwell, I enclose a copy of the proclamation for the same.* Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 28. **190.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to your letter of the 21st instant I have sent to Mr. John Carey the King's safe-conduct for Lord Zouche. I have informed Zouche that the King and Queen departed towards Stirling yesterday, and that the King wishes to find him here at his return on 10th or 11th January next. The advertisement of the repair hither of this nobleman has wrought outwardly some show of alteration of the course held in this Court in favour of the Papists and northern Earls, who, I hear, are threatened to be severely dealt with in case they shall refuse to accept the act of Abolition. But I am quietly informed that Angus and Huntly have framed assurances of all their inheritances to be conveyed to their eldest sons, and that the King's signature is ready written for confirmation of the same: further, that because Erroll has only daughters as yet and his wife is with child, therefore he "expectethe" his wife's delivery, purposing likewise to convey his lands to that child, if it shall be a son.

* Awanting.

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1593. Huntly and Errol have tarried three or four days in Aberdeen, openly vaunting of the favour they looked for in England by Mr. Archibald Douglas's means. The commission for the lieutenancy against Mackintosh has been published there, and it is reported that Huntly, appointing the Laird of Pitlurg to be lieutenant for him, has inserted his name to fill up the blank in that letter of commission; from whose authority the Earl Marishal has obtained exemption, and Lord Forbes and many gentlemen seek the like. It is given out that Huntly and Errol have come to Logiealmond (Loggye Amontt), Erroll's house, that Angus will be with them this day, and that they all three trust to have access to the King's presence at Stirling on the 30th instant. Mackintosh and McLean have knit themselves together in band and have spoiled all Huntly's tenants and people in Lochaber, into which were brought and kept all the "pryses and driftes" of cattle which Huntly or his followers had before reft from Murray, Mackintosh and other adversaries. All these goods are now rescued and taken with other cattle, horse, mares and sheep, esteemed to exceed 40,000. MacEndowy (Mackendowye) and the rest of Huntly's dependers beheld the matter and durst not encounter the enterprisers. Hume is licensed to be absent from the Court for some days, and to return on 7th January. It is looked that reconciliation shall be made betwixt Bothwell and Hume, unless the northern Earls furnish him shortly with 5000 crowns for maintenance of the King's guard. Spynie shall be put to the horn with all speed, and his livings shall be disposed. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Dec. 30. **191.** PART OF A LETTER FROM [BURGHLEY] TO ROBERT BOWES.

"Part of a letter to Mr. Bowes to be imparted to the L. Chancellour of Scotland if he shall see cawse."

I think him to be the wisest and most upright counsellor to the King and in most credit with him for matter of estate, and therefore in duty bound to have respect to the King's government at this time, that he be not sinisterly persuaded to his ruin; for if he inclines to an alteration it is to change the state of religion, or to make a neutrality therein, or to strengthen the Spanish faction upon hope to feed his necessity with money out of Spain, or to have access of strange forces into his realm therewith to invade England, with pretext of advancing his title.

As to the first, I think his own conscience better persuaded than either to alter or grant neutrality of religion. Neither do I think that he can have any such pretext to change his religion as the French King has, considering that the contrary party to him be but secret murmurers who may be suppressed with a word of his mouth. For the second purpose, I think it very dangerous for the greediness of a sum of money (of which, when it shall come, he shall have the smallest part) to arm his rebellious subjects to live without law and continue their horrible murderings of good subjects. As for the last, which is of most moment for a Scottishman, there is more difficulty in coming to any good order than can be shortly expressed in words. But, in brief, these things are to be considered by the Chancellor and any other wise man of that realm. First, it is to be held for a ground infallible that Almighty God appoints kings and princes, and having by lawful means established the Queen's majesty, and now above thirty-five years preserved her in her estate against the mightiest enemies abroad, and most pernicious traitors at home, no Christian man, observing God's providence herein, can think that the hand of God will wax

1593. short for her defence during her life; neither can anything be attempted against her but by mere injustice, and so punishable by God's avenging hand. Besides, this is to be considered, that the realm having lived so long in peace will in no sort suffer acute war to be brought into it, but even for the benefit of peace, without other respect, will mightily withstand any invasion of strangers. Thirdly, all kinds of people of this realm are sufficiently warranted by law to disavow the title of any person whatsoever who shall during her Majesty's life attempt to impeach her of her present estate; and if any such attempt should be made, there are sundry competitors in title who will take advantage thereof for their particular; and this I doubt not but the Lord Chancellor must allow, and will prosecute the same with his good advice.

Many other reasons might be alleged to this purpose, and therefore to conclude, I wish that we all in both the realms submit ourselves to God's ordinance, for *Non est consilium contra Dominum.* I leave all these my cogitations suddenly delivered into writing without any meditation to be used as you shall see time convenient.

The cause that moves me to make mention hereof is that I suspect every one of the above three doubts. For in Scotland itself I am sure you perceive the difference betwixt the King and the ministry to their discredit. For the second, I am well assured what promises are made to "attempt" the King with money to alter his government. For bringing in of strange forces to invade England, I am very certain what the Scottish Jesuits and seminaries both in Spain and the Low Countries promise, though I think the King of Spain's "declination" to his latter end shall frustrate much thereof.

1¾ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "30 Dec. 1593. Part of my lord's letter to Mr. Bowes to be imparted to the Lord Chancellour of Scotland if he shall see cawse."

1593. **192.** GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

Pedigree showing alliances of the family of Hamilton, Dukes of Chatelherault. Notes relating to Scottish noblemen. Pedigrees of Lords Seton, Livingston and Glamis. List of public offices and the King of Scots' Household. Pedigrees of the Duke of Lennox, Earls of Montrose and Murray, etc. Notes referring to the Earls of Huntly, Morton, Errol, Glencairn, Mar and Rothes and others.

3 *pp. Written and endorsed by Burghley:* "1593. Scotland. Pedigrees."

[1593.] **193.** GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

A pedigree showing the relationship of the Earls of Mar, Rothes and Errol, the Master of Glamis and Lord Hume. Genealogical notes by Burghley of the families of the Earls of Gowrie, Marishal and Angus.

1 *p. In Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[1593.] **194.** GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

Memoranda relating to the families of the Lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford and Bedroule. A short pedigree of the Collingwood family. A pedigree of Sir John Forster's family showing its alliances.

1 *p. In Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley.*

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[1593.] **195.** GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

Memoranda relating to the Lairds of Spynie and to the Earl of Murray, slain by Huntly.

½ *p. In Burghley's hand.*

[1593.] **196.** GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA BY BURGHLEY.

Memoranda of alliances between the families of Angus, Hamilton, Mar, Glamis.

1 *p. Partly in Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "Earl of Angus alliance in Scotland."

[1593.] **197.** NOTES BY BURGHLEY.

Genealogical memoranda and descents of the Kings of the Isle of Man and Norway, and genealogical table of the Kings of Scotland.

3 *pp. In Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley:* "Genealog. regum Scotiae."

[1593.] **198.** WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND.

"The West Ilis of Scotland ar dividit in foure partes, every part haveing in it a princepall Ile with a number of smaller Ilis about the same. Twa lyis northward, the Lewes and Sky, and twa southward, Ilay and Mull.

"Lewes hes joyned with it be a small gripp of twa or thre pair buttes length the Harreich. Lewes is xxxij myles of length, and Harrich viij myles. Lewes perteynes to McCloyd of the Lewes, wha being an ould man, famous for the massacring of his awen kinsemen, his bastard sonne, called Torquill Oig, usurpes now the rowme. This ile will make vij^{c} men to the weirs, besydes them which occupyes the ground, which neyther in that nor na other of the iles ar charged to the weirs, but suffers to remayne at hame for labouring of the ground. The uther part of this ile, called Harreich, perteynes to McCloyd of Herreich, wha is presentlye a chylde and hes sundrye other landes. On this land of Harreich he will rayse vij^{xx} men able for the weirs."

"Ewist is ane yle of xl myles of length, but of small breadth: the north part therof perteynes to the Clandonalld, in the north, to whom Donald Gormson is chiftain, wha will rayse on their part iij^{c} men: the south part [pertains] to the Clanrannall, wha will rayse theron iij^{c} men.

"Barra perteines to McNeill of Barrey ,wha may rayse theron and some litle iles adjacent ij^{c} able men.

"Rona, perteining to McCloyd of the Lewes, lx men.

"Pabba, perteining to McCloyd of Harreich, xl men.

"Helsker, parteining to Murray Ycolmkyll, xx men.

"Colsman, not inhabited.

"Irt or Hirtha [St. Kilda] perteines to McCloyd of Harreich. The inhabitantes, rude and simple, sendes na men to the weirs.

"Skye is ane large ile of xl myles of length, and alse mekle of breadth, perteineth of auld to the Lordis of the Yles, whais bastard posteritye now brookes sundrye partes, and uther partes ar possest by diverse inferiour clanes. Troutyrnes and Slait possest be Donald Gormeson. Troutirnes will rayse v^{c} men, and Slait vij^{c} men. Strathoradell, perteining to McKynnoun, wyll rays viij^{xx} men. Watternes, perteyning to McCloyd of the Lewes, wheron he

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[1593.] will rayse ij^{c} men. Durenes, Pracadaill and Meynes [Minginish], perteining to M^{c}Cloyd of Harrich, wheron he will rayse v^{c} men.

" Raarsay, possest be M^{c}Gillicallum of Raarsaye of the Cl[a]nlewyd [Clan Leod] of the Lewes, will rayse lxxx men.

" Eg, perteining to the Clanrannald, will rayse lx men.

" Romb [Rum], possest be the Clanrannald, will rayse x men.

" Canna, possest be the Clanrannald, will rayse xx men.

" Ellan a Muk, possest be M^{c}Ane of Ardnamurchan, will rayse xvj men.

" Scalpa, perteining to M^{c}Claine of Dowart, will rayse xx men."

Mull is 24 miles in length, in some parts 16 miles broad, in some parts but 12 miles, and will " rayse to the wears " 900 men.

Lismoir, pertaining to the Earl of Argyll and Glenurquhy, will raise 200 men. The two " Hwnais," pertaining to M^{c}Cowll of Lorne and John Stewart of the Appin, will raise 60 men.

Ullowaye [Ulva] pertains to M^{c}Cowlei, and will raise 60 men.

Comantra [Gometra] pertains to M^{c}Lean of Dowart, and will raise 20 men.

Inchenyt [Inchkenneth], pertaining to M^{c}Lean of Dowart, will raise 20 men.

Ycolmekill is the seat of the Bishop of the Isles and the burial place of the old Kings of Scotland.

Coll (Coill), pertaining to the Laird of Coill, of the Clan Lean (Clan Lane), will raise 140 men.

Tiree (Tierhie), very fertile, will raise 300 men.

Islay (Ilaye) is 24 miles long and 20 miles broad : one half possessed by M^{c}Lean of Dowart, and the other by Angus MacConnell. The great massacre and bloodshed that have been betwixt them was for the profit and " comandement " of this isle : the whole isle will raise 800 men.

Jura, 24 miles long, narrow, and for the most part wilderness, is possessed equally by Clan Donald and Clan Lean, and will raise 100 men.

Colonsay (Collonza) and Oronsay (Orronza) are both in effect but one isle, possessed by one called MacFie (M^{c}Cafie), depender upon the Clan Donald, and will raise 100 men.

Seill pertains to the Earl of Argyll, and will raise 120 men.

Loing, possessed by M'Lean of Dowart, " of th'erle of Argyll," will raise 20 men.

Scarbra (Scarba) pertains to M'Lean of Lochbwye and will raise 20 men.

Gigha (Geygha), possessed by the Clan Donald, will raise 100 men.

Rathlin (Rauchlin), on the coast of Ireland, possessed by the Clan Donald, although pertaining heritably to the Laird of Barskymmon, in Kyle.

Arran and Bute are not numbered amongst the other isles above written, but lie in the Firth of Clyde towards Kintyre and Argyle, on the south side thereof.

" Thir iles, gif they wir on ane end," are esteemed to be " xiiij^{xx} a xij " miles in length. It is " halden " that they may raise, if they were all under one " commandement," 6000 men for war, besides the " laboures of the ground theirof ij^{m} with actons [?], habershonis and knapstalles " ; the remnant bowmen, and many of them now become harquebussiers. Besides the inhabitants of the isles, there are many in Scotland who speak the Irish tongue, as namely, the braes of Caithness and Sutherland, " haill Strathnaver, the bray and north cost of Roslovet, Glengarry, Knoydert and Moydert, Petty Brachley, Strath-erne, Badzenoch and Lochquhaber, the bray of Murray, Strathspay, Straith-owin [Strathaven], the brayes of Mar, Atholl, Braidalbane, Buchquhidder, Menteith and the Lennox."

" Thir dependes " upon the Earl of Argyll divers in Bredalbane, Menteith

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[1593.] and the Lennox, besides Cowall, Argyle Knapdaill and Lorne; and, besides, sundry friends and tenants in the lowlands. Kintyre, although for the most part the King's proper land by the "forfalter" of the Lords of the Isles, who were also Earls of Ross, yet is presently possessed by Angus MacConnell and others, the Clan Donald of the south. His principal bounds are Kintyre on the mainland, Islay, Jura, Colonsay, Gigha. His principal dependers in his wars against M'Lean were those of the Clan Donald in the south, Donald Gormson and his Clan Donald in the north, the Clan Ranald and MacIan (McIane) of Ardnamurchy. The principal bounds of M'Lean are the Isles of Mull, Coll and Tiree, and in the mainland Morvern and some parts in Lochquhair. His principal dependers in his wars against MacConnell were they of the Clan Lean, MacLeod of Harris, Mackinnon of Strathswordale (Strathoradell), MacNeill of Barra (Barrey). Their concords and discords are difficult and almost impossible to declare, for, since their reconciliation after the barbarous wars, the tutor of Harris has joined with Donald Gormson, and, as some say, also Torquill, "usurpit of the Lewes."

In Strathnaver and the braes of Caithness and Sutherland Mackay (Makky) has dominion. Torquil, the eldest son of MacLeod of the Lewes, poor, "unable" and oppressed by his bastard brother, the usurper, remains in Coigach (Coigheauch) on the mainland.

Then, MacKenzie occupies Kintail, Lochbroom, and in effect the "haill" north part of Ross and the brae of the south part thereof, and all Ardmanach to Cromarty. "The Lovet possesses the Lord Lovit Fraser, and be north him lyes the boundis of Knoydert, Moydert and Glengarry," pertaining to the Clan Ranald, "which rekkins themselves" of the Clan Donald and are friends and "assisters" to them. Glengarry has assisted the Earl of Huntly against Mackintosh, and so has Allan MacCoull Dhu (Allen McCoull dwy), chieftain of the Clan Cameron (Chamroun) in Lochaber (Lochquhaber) and Allaster MacRanald, chieftain of another branch there.

The Clan Chattan (Quhattane), whereof Mackintosh is chieftain, dwells in Badzenoch, the Earl of Huntly's land, and about Inverness in Petty Brachley, Stratherne and Strathnairn, the Earl of Murray's land.

The Laird of Grant occupies Strathspey, Strathowin, Urquhart, Glenmornestoun.

The Earl of Atholl occupies Atholl, Stratherdill, G[l]enshe, Apnadaill and Strathtay; the Laird of Glenurquhy, Lawers, Glenlyon and others, the Earl of Argyll's friends, occupy Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Glendochert, Glenfallach and others within Perthshire. The Clan Gregors, dependers on the Earl of Argyll, "dwelles on the maist part of all menis land betwix Dunbartan and Dunkeld." The MacFarlanes, Buchanans, MacAulays, Colquhouns, Galbraiths and others [dwell] within the Lennox, under the Duke thereof, "althoughe devyded amanges them selfes."

3¼ *pp. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "The note of the Weste Isles of Scotland. For the L. Threasurer."

1593. **199.** NOTES CONCERNING SCOTLAND, BY BURGHLEY.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 38. Transcript in Harl MS. 4648, p. 88.

"Georg Car first confession.* Erle Bothwell published his apology ageynst his calumniators. Georg Carr renewed his former confession in chargyng the three Erles with treson. The laird of Fennetry did affyrme G. Carr's con-

* Dates in margin decayed.

James VI. 1593.

fession. Fentry was execute. The Erle of Anguss escaped out of Edenburgh Castell. The King was in his jornay northward. The Lord Burgh cam to Edenburgh. 1592. [Ju]lii. A generall band by sondry noblemen at Aberden with the [Council]* ageynst the King's counsellours. 1592. 25 Aprill. The ministers gave ordre that n[o] speches shuld be used agaynst the King or his . . .* Ambassador of Denmark with the King of Scottes. Julii. A Parlement in Scotland at Edenburgh. Sir Robert Melvyn. 23 Julii 1593. Erle Bothwell was secretly brought to the [King's Chamber and]* ther asked forgyvenes. Lord Hume cam into England out of the Low Contreys. 1592. The King receaved the Queen's letters and promised to expell all Papistes known. Hath committed Fentry. Parlement at Edenburgh. Erle Bothwell forfeated."

3 *pp. In Burghley's hand.*

Add. MSS. 23,241, fol. 46.

200. [Sir Richard Cockburn] to Lord Thirlstane.

I was minded to have written some purpose I heard in conference yesterday with the English ambassador with all other occurents here, in answer to your letter received yestreen, when one came to me this morning three hours before his Majesty rode out to hunting, with direction to desire you to be at Holyroodhouse tomorrow by ten o'clock, and injunction that I should make none privy to your coming. What has given occasion of this unexpected sending for you I know not, only conjecturing that Carmichael's return late yestreen from Clydesdale, where his chief errand was "to try forder of the advertisement he receaved and made to his Majestie," has moved all this haste. It may be some matter of importance on which his Majesty would have your advice; which, I doubt not, he looks shall move you to come; and, if necessity require [you] not, you may be licensed to return back at night. If Carmichael had not accompanied his Majesty to the hunting, I would have gone down and learned more particularly what he knew in this matter, which I shall be curious to have before your coming tomorrow. Edinburgh, "this Tivisday" † 1593.

½ *p. No signature. Holograph in the hand of Richard Cockburn. Addressed.*

[1594.]‡

201. Catalogue of Noble-men.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 160. Transcript in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 193.

Duke of Lennox, a Protestant.

Earls: Caithness, Protest., communicant, suspect; Sutherland, Protest., communicant—his wife a Papist; Orkney, Protest.; Huntley, Papist, excommunicate, rebel; Errol, Pap., excom., rebel; Buchan (Baiquhen), a child, brought up in the religion; Mar, Prot.; Marischall, Prot.; Crawford, Prot.; Montrose, Prot.; Gowrie, Prot.; Menteith, Prot.; Moray, Prot.; Athol, Prot.; Rothes, Prot.; Glencairn, Prot.; Eglinton, Prot.; Cassilis, Prot.; Bothwell, Prot., but some say he is suspected; Morton, Prot.; Angus, Papist; Saltoun, Prot., young; Forbes, Prot.; Lovat, Prot.; Glamis, Prot.; Gray, Prot., tempor.; Ogilvie, Prot.; Innermeath, Prot.; Oliphant, Prot., young; Drummond, Prot.; Lindsay, Prot.; Livingstone, suspect, yet communicant; Elphinstoun, Prot., yet suspect; Fleming, Prot.; Hamilton,

* Decayed.
† Blank. Perhaps 1593–4, during visit of Zouche.
‡ The document is calendared as 1593, but is later than death of Auchendoun.

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[1593.] Prot.; Boyd, Prot.; Semple, Prot.; Ochiltree, Prot.; Cathcart (Carcart), Prot.; Ross, Prot.; Maxwell, young; Herries, suspect, yet communicant; Somerville, Prot.; Home, com., suspect; Borthwick, Prot.; Sinclair, absent with Papists; Seton, Prot.

Barons: Cessford, Prot.; Buccleugh, Prot.; Johnston, Prot.; Drumlanrig, Prot.; Bumbie, Prot.; Craigie Wallace, Prot.; Garleis, Prot.; Lochinvar, Prot.; Bargany, Prot.; Blacquan, Prot.; Lochnorice, Prot.; Minto, Prot.; Cowdenknowes, Prot.; Wauchton, Prot.; Aiton, Prot.; Wedderburne, Prot.; Hutton Hall, Prot.; Manderston, Prot.; Bass, Prot.; Ormiston, Prot.; Edmiston, Prot.; Dalhousie, Prot.; Restalrig, Prot.; Merchiston, Prot.; Braid, Prot.; Corstorphine, Prot.; Black Barony, Prot.; Carmichael, Prot.; Drumelzeir, Prot.; Buchanan, Prot.; Pollok, Prot.; Largo, Prot.; Lundy, Prot.; Abbotshall, Prot.; Durie, Prot.; Torry, Prot.; Wemyss, Prot.; Balwearie, Prot.; Balmuto, Prot.; Tullibardine, Prot.; Glenurquhart, Prot.; Pitcur, Prot.; Kinnaird, Prot.; Bonyton, Prot.—elder; Bonyton, Papist, exc.—younger; Eggil, Prot.; Dudhope, Prot.; Sheriff of Moray, Prot.; Innes, Prot.; Cromarty, Prot.; M'Intosh, Prot.; Grant, Prot.; Findlater, Prot.; Buquhen, Prot.; Philorth, Prot.; Mackenzie, Prot.; Ballnagowan, Prot.

The chief courtiers at this present:

Lord Hume, captain of the King's guard; Sir John Maitland, Chancellor; Sir Thomas Lyon, Master of Glamis, Treasurer; Sir Robert Melville, Treasurer depute; Clerkington, younger, Secretary; Ormiston, Justice Clerk; Provost of Lincluden, Collector general; Prior of Blantyre; Sir George Hume; Thomas Erskine; Sir William Keith; Sir James Chisholm, Master of the Household, Papist, put from court.

Names of the chiefest known and professed Papists in Scotland:

Huntly; Auchindoun, now slain; Cluny; Newton; Lesmoir (Leschmore); Gight, younger; Aberzeldie; Drumbrek, Meldrum; Earl of Errol; the Goodman of Meginch, son to the Bailie of Errol; Esslemont; Earl of Angus; Duntroon, Ogilvie; Bonyton, younger; Pury Ogilvy, Papist . . . England, brother-in-law to Tho . . .* of the King's Chamber; Kinnaird; Endernitie; Master of Gray, once Papist, now suspect; Earl of Crawford, suspect; the Bailie of Errol; Balfour Ogilvie; Sir James Lindsay, brother to Crawford, gone for France; Balwearie, brother-in-law to Fintrie, lately executed; Lady Livingstone; Sir James Chisholm, Papist, excommunicated; Ladylands, fugitive, excom.; Sanquhar, fugitive; Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit; Countess of Sutherland, Huntly's father's sister; Archbishop of Glasgow; Bishop of Ross; Mr. John Hay, Jesuit; Mr. James Chene, Principal of the seminary of the Jesuits, of the house of Esslemont; Mr. James Tyrie; Mr. Thomas Tyrie, his brother's son; Mr. Walter Lindsay, brother to Eggil, in Spain; Mr. Robert Abercromby, Jesuit, of the house of Murthly; Mr. John Myreton, Jesuit, brother to the Laird of Cambo; Mr. David Law, son to a burgess of Kirkcaldy, newly made seminary priest; Mr. George Ker; Mr. Robert Bruce, brother to the Laird of Binning, Papist, practiser; Mr. Mark Ker, Jesuit; Mr. Alexander MacWhirry, Jesuit; Mr. Gilbert Brown, Abbot of New Abbey, Papist, excommunicate, fugitive; Mr. Paul Redik, brother to the Laird of Dabetie; Mr. William . . .† of the house of Ruthven in Angus, Jesuit and chief practiser.

7 *pp. Faded. Edges of the page destroyed.*

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* Page destroyed. Not in transcript.
† Faded.

James VI. 1593–4. Jan. 4.

202. Elizabeth to James VI.

Vol. lii. p. 19.

We have learnt from our ambassador resident what order you have taken for the staying of any subjects of yours who usually frequent the company and actions of divers barbarous rebels in the northern provinces of our kingdom of Ireland, whither being drawn by such means as the Irish can afford them, for mere beggary they run after them in most of their rebellions. Whereof, although we take small regard for any harm they can do us (being daily extinguished or delivered to our mercy at our pleasure), yet should we have had a more sensible feeling of the matter if, by any toleration from you or any subjects of yours, the rabbles of such traitors should either have been comforted or increased, and therefore we are exceedingly pleased with your direction to the Earl of Argyll for the preventing of such inconvenience, in which our servant Bowes has faithfully "enlarged" your sincere and clear proceedings, for which we return you our kindest thanks. And now, since his letter in answer to that point, our servant Sir Robert Carey arrived here. For your satisfaction and at your request only, we sent him to you instead of his brother, although it was unfit he should have left a place of such importance in his father's absence. That you may see that we are, and mind to be forever, alike to you (with whom we have always proceeded plainly and trustfully), we have thought good to let you know what we expected before his going and how little we are satisfied since his homecoming. It was not unknown to us what the conclusion of your last Convention was, the act itself, appearing to us so strange (both in regard of the dangerous issue it promised to yourself, and also that it fell out "crosse" to all our former expectations), that we forthwith resolved to send an express ambassador to deal with you in all the particulars of the same. We doubt not he shall have arrived before this letter. Yet note that upon your first overture made to us of sending someone, to whom you promised to impart some matter of importance which you would deliver to such a selected messenger only, we were not ignorant that it "moughte" be a ready means to make all your good servants, who aimed at the single and sound preservation of the common amity, doubtful of us, that we haply (perceiving you surrounded with divers counsellors so notoriously detected in religion and foreign practice) would either relinquish wholly our mediation for them or else incline to you, because we found you still disposed to keep them in good estate, neither disgraced nor disabled by that act, but rather more likely to win, so far as to the suppression of all your good patriots, and thereby to "perill" your own kingly estate and dignity. If, then, these were our former "conceiptes," and these have been the best fruits of his journey, first, that the other party have made their benefit by delivering it generally abroad, that this gentleman was sent by us, and not sent for by you; secondly, that no new matter has been delivered to him but what we have often answered—as the causes of Bothwell; if also, when we looked for some speedy and weighty overture, our said servant was detained and his audience prolonged, with matters less serious; think, then, whether this course has given us cause of contentation, and whether we have not occasion to be confirmed in our former judgment, that some about you meant it rather for a scorn or disguising than for any sound purpose of proceeding. For the matter of Bothwell, on which you insist, he has not been harboured by our permission, but his receivers have been punished, and therefore if the borderers (who have received many favours, or rather redress, in their outrages) have "requitted" it now to him (upon the view also of your own free pardon, which he had to show them), when we held him a man utterly

James VI.
1593–4. disgraced and ruined, this may no more be imputed to us, being committed in so remote places (the condition of the people here being considered when once it comes to feuds or friendships), than many other things can be imputed to you, even done within your own Court or chamber.

As for our servant Bowes, whom you so much mislike, surely, seeing he groans under the burden of his desire to preserve the public peace, and that particularly he " affecteth " your person (which you may please to remember when he warned you of Bothwell's purpose to surprise you on the water), before we shall have him charged with some particular offence (for which he shall be forthcoming to yield you reason) we cannot believe otherwise than that it is only by the enemies of God's cause and your own peace that you are " distasted " with the manner of his service, not having heard his answer, which is the true way to clear all accusations. We have commanded Lord Zouche to be a witness, upon your charging him, whether he has neglected his duty towards you or cannot purge himself of having done nothing but by warrant, and when we shall understand this we can best give you satisfaction.

Whereas you desire that we will not believe without grounds any ill reports of you, we assure you that no device or finesse can divert us from caring for you, except in things so palpable that we cannot seem to doubt, without touch to our own providence, which is so necessary a quality for all kings, who are bodies politic, and in whom so many thousands have interest. If, therefore, we shall know any thing of such nature at any time, you must pardon us for providing for our defence, seeing that truest charity begins at first from itself; and be you assured that you can neither treat, " condition " nor hearken to any practice with kings or potentates but we shall one way or other understand it. Persuade yourself that what has been or is determined, be it much or little, contrived by many or few, we are not so ignorant of it as to be found hereafter either deluded or unprovided. Hampton Court.

4 *pp. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head:* " A Mynute of her Majesties letter to the King of Scotts in aunsweare of the memorial brought by Sir Ro. Careye."

Jan. 4. **203.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By my letter of 28th December, brought to Lord Zouche at Durham, I informed him of the King's removal to Stirling [etc., as in No. 190]. Therefore he has changed his resolution to have been at Berwick on the 1st of this month, and now appointed to be here on the 8th, against which time all things shall be here ready for his lordship.

His coming makes here sundry effects, for the excommunicated Earls have not showed themselves at Stirling, as was expected; and forasmuch as they have not accepted the benefit of the act of Abolition within the time limited, therefore it is resolved that as well the act of Abolition as also the proclamation (authorising all persons to receive and entertain them notwithstanding the excommunication) shall be abolished, and that the proclamation for the same shall be published in Edinburgh on the 7th. I enclose the copy of this proclamation. Albeit the wise and well affected grant this to be a good entry to wished reformation, yet unless they shall see the same accompanied with indelate and open action for the punishment of the offenders, they will still suspect this to be practised to win time for their compassing of evil practices and to draw this Convention more willingly to grant a round taxation; and therefore advice is given that in Convention the King and

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1593–4. Council be moved to proceed against the Earls and Papists with speed and plainness, so that they shall timely embark themselves in the action, or else plainly discover their meaning to depend on foreign courses and forces, to which side the Court is thought to be over much addicted.

Huntly has procured some indiscreet [members] of the Presbytery of Bagynoch, near Strathbogy, and depending on him, both to commend to the Presbytery in Edinburgh his present good disposition towards the Kirk, and also to desire that he may be received, with respite to be given until April next, and to be employed for the advancement of the affairs of the Kirk in those parts, in regard that he is now willing to further the causes of religion and support the ministers, who without his aid cannot serve in those places. This letter and commendation is not well allowed by the ministers here, yet of the advice given to Huntly and the others to take this remedy against their subscriptions to the religion and other like causes I have advertised you by my letter of 22nd December.

I am informed likewise that Angus intends to procure like redress by the favour of some lewd ministers under him in Douglasdale, and that Angus and Huntly, after Hume's example, will subscribe to the articles of religion, rather to satisfy the King than the Kirk, but that Errol will not as yet agree to subscribe, and Angus has made offer to some of the ministers here that his submission may be received; all which things are still suspected to be full of dissimulation and deceit. It is told me that, with the King's privity, Mr. John Nisbet shall be addressed to Mr. Archibald Douglas to travail in favour of these Earls and against the ministers in Scotland. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Enclosure with the same.

Printed in *Acts of Parliament*, iv. pp. 52–53.

(Proclamation by James VI. against Angus, Huntly, Erroll and others.)

Forasmuch as William Earl of Angus, George Earl of Huntly, Francis Earl of Errol, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun and Sir James Chisholme of Cromlix,* "beinge speciallie declarit" troublers of the state of religion and practisers with strangers, were called to their trial, and having "disdainded and refusit" to accept the benefit of the act of Abolition, his Majesty with advice of his Council and Estates declares that they have "amitted and tint" all benefit and favour granted to them by the same edict, and that they "salbe accusable be lawe" for the causes and crimes contained in the summons raised against them "as gif the saide Abolition had never beyne made or graunted." [ ] 1593.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Jan. 4. **204.** ADVICES FROM MR. JOHN COWIE.

There are two Scots brethren, gentlemen of the name of Kymmenis, northland men, who have been great dealers in Spain, and of late have been in Dunkirk. They frequent Calais in France, and send their letters through England to the Earl of Huntly, whose servitors they are.

Sundry packets of letters have come from the Court of England to certain English Papists in Calais and by them [were] conveyed to Dunkirk.

Eight sundry packets have come from Spain for the assurance of the arriving of the Spanish ships in Scotland. There is one "Sanders" Rutherford

* Sir James Chisholme's name is not in the printed Act.

James VI.
1593–4. (Routherfurthe), a Scottish pilot, who has been a dealer for a long time in Spain and is principal pilot for the Spanish ships, and is now at " the Groane." The ships of Spain are " mynded " to come towards Kirkcudbright, and some of them to arrive in the north, where Huntly commands. [*In the margin :* " This Routherforth is one of the best pilottis in all Scotland."]

There comes in this Spanish fleet one John de Modina (Madana), a Spaniard, who was in Edinburgh in the last conflict, and [is] well acquainted with divers of the Scottish nobility.

Lord John Hamilton hoped to have been lieutenant-general in Maxwell's place,* but it is concluded he shall not, but that the barons in Maxwell's dominions shall remain for the next two months to take order with Border affairs, and are to remain in Dumfries (Dunfrese) till the King make a new raid against Johnston.

Two ambassadors are to come shortly into Scotland, one from France and another from Denmark ; and (as is thought) one from Spain, for certainly the Scottish pledges are received both in Spain and Dunkirk. The Laird of Buccleuch has either come home or is shortly expected. Likewise Lord Sanquhar (Saker) is shortly expected to come home through England. He has been a long time at Rome conversant with the Pope and frequenting the company of all the Jesuits and seminaries there, and therefore should be well looked to.

I am daily advertised that it is very requisite that a special eye be given to Dunkirk and the companies assembled thereabouts, lest they deceive both the Hollanders' and our ships some of these long nights ; for some special enterprise is expected from thence either into England or Scotland.

The King has given Huntly a new commission to slay the Earl of Atholl and Mackintosh (Malcomtoshe) ; and likely enough it is to fall out with Huntly as it did with Maxwell, for there is news come to Edinburgh from Huntly's own folks, the 30th of December, that his principal friends of the north have confederated with Argyll's friends of the highlandmen, who have sworn never to come into the fields against the Earl of Argyll.

For the better confirmation of this last, I have this 3rd of January received new advertisements out of Scotland that Mackintosh and his accomplices have of late taken out of Huntly's country to the number of 50,000, horse, beasts, swine, sheep and goats, and that there is some mutiny grown amongst Huntly's own company, and amongst them some conspiracy against his own person, which is thought to be the cause why he forsakes lying at his house of Strathbogy (Strawboggye) and keeps his Christmas at Aberdeen.

2¼ *pp. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk :* " 4 Jan. 1593. Scottish advises from Mr. John Coweye."

Jan. 8. **205.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your two letters of 22nd and 30th December, and accordingly have informed Lord Zouche, who arrived here on the 5th instant, somewhat of the present conditions, and also of some articles specified in her Majesty's instructions, which he has showed to me.

By my last letter I sent a copy of the Act for the abolition of the act of Abolition. This last act was once appointed to have been read yesterday in this town. At the same time and in Edinburgh two other proclamations were published, the one for the summons of Justice Courts in Edinburgh for the

* Maxwell was slain in a feud by Johnstone on 6th December 1593. See P.C. v. pp. 112–113 and *n.*

James VI.
1593–4. punishment of Papists, traitors and all other offenders (a matter intended to levy money for the King's necessity), and the other for the authorising and allowance of the new coin of four Scots pence, lately coined, and little liked by the people. Because this act of Council for the abolition of the former act was framed in the nature of an edict, in like sort as the former act was framed, and the former act has not been proclaimed, therefore it has been thought meet that this last act should not be proclaimed, as was looked for, but that it shall be stayed till the King's return hither and afterwards established by the next Convention, so that it is yet in suspense, but, peradventure, may receive life by the audience to be given to Lord Zouche.

I have been told that means are making to draw Dumbarton Castle into the hands of the Duke of Lennox (Herenius), and that in Dumbarton and St. Andrews a mass of victuals shall be laid in, which is thought to be done for the entertainment of Spaniards. I shall give warning to Lord Hamilton, who will be here to-morrow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

1593. Jan. 15. **206.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to your letters of 22nd and 30th December, I have made means to move the Queen of Scots to endeavour to draw the King from the Papists and Spanish faction, and the experience of her former labours and readiness herein gives good hope that she will willingly employ her travail in the furtherance of this effect. The King has given order to revoke his subjects serving in the Low Countries. This is pretended to be done to procure payment of the arrears by the States to the Scottishmen for their services there, but many suspect that it is intended to purchase favour and friendship at the King of Spain's hands and to strengthen the confederates and " comployts " for Spain. As occasion offers I will answer all the King's objections against me. This cloud has hung long over me, and albeit her Majesty's letter to the King sufficiently provokes the fall of this storm, yet he still forbears to discover the particularities of his griefs against me.

The daily business and late sickness of the Chancellor ever since the receipt of your lordship's letter has given me no opportunity of imparting the good advice therein expressed. The Chancellor and the Master of Glamis are presently reconciled, yet likely again to fall into discord. Their disagreement has wrought and still works great prejudice to the common causes.

I leave to Lord Zouche's report the effects of his wise and honourable proceedings with the King in the audience on Sunday the 13th. His discreet behaviour and delivery of his message gained great praise, and have much changed the course before held, and greatly profited her Majesty's service. The act for the abolishment of the former act of Abolition is not yet proclaimed, and some of the King's minions and courtiers have laboured (as I am informed) to lay the blame on the Chancellor. By the labours of these courtiers against the Chancellor there are several parties in the Court, viz., the one of the Chancellor, Sir Robert Melvill, Newbottle and other councillors, and the other of Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, Sir George Hume, Thomas Erskine and others of the King's minions. I am told that both these parties strive to win the favour of Bothwell and of the people by doing good offices for Bothwell. These two parties in Court (labouring, as I hear, to be gracious to the Kirk and well affected) have severally and in divers sorts advised some principal persons convened presently here for the Church. The councillors have thought it not fit for the convention of the Kirk to exhibit to this Con-

James VI.
1593–4. vention of the Estates any articles or petitions, to the intent it may be known that by the breach of many promises of reformation they utterly despair of any reparation of the estate and government. But the courtiers persuade them to present their petitions and also promise them contentment. It is thought that this sudden alteration in the affections of the Court and courtiers is chiefly wrought by the presence of Lord Zouche. I am informed that this convention of the Kirk is, for the present, purposed to forbear the exhibiting of any petitions to this Convention of the Estates, the assembly of which was so slender that the King has again written for more in sharp manner.

Although the King has affirmed to Lord Zouche that the Earls refuse to accept the benefit offered by the act of Abolition, yet I am credibly told that Angus and Huntly have made secret means to principal persons of the ministry that their submissions to the Kirk may be received; and therewith the King is given to understand that one Ker, late servant to Lord Herries, has arrived in Scotland with letters from Mr. William Crichton, the Jesuit, certifying that the King of Spain offers to send hither 2000 men at his own charges for three months, that neither greater forces nor any money can be obtained, as was promised, and that Crichton, purposing to have come hither with report of the King of Spain's full resolution, is now stayed in regard that the success of the causes in his handling so little pleases the Earls, him (Crichton) and their confederates. But many wise and well affected deem all these reports to be spread by the Papists and Spanish faction to win time.

Errol still stands out, refusing to subscribe to the articles of religion, as the other two have offered, and says he will be the last of those who shall any wise fall away from their religion professed and the cause enterprised. Mr. George Leslie, his solicitor, (as I am told) was yesterday timely in the morning brought to the King quietly with letters, but the effects are not discovered to me. I am told that Lord Hume would not be entreated by the King to subscribe to the articles of religion before the King had granted to the Master of Glamis the office of Chancellor; yet the Chancellor trusts still to enjoy the same. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 15. **207.** EDWARD LORD ZOUCHE TO [BURGHLEY].

Having had audience on the 13th and delivered her Majesty's letters, both those which I brought with me and the later received from you with your letters of the 4th, which came to me on the 10th, I have thought it my duty to signify how far I have proceeded and what purpose I think to take until further advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure. If my proceeding be not according to expectation I marvel not, in myself being, as I protested, wholly unfit for such a charge, yet hope I that her Highness will accept of my readiness and give order for my direction and therewithal be pleased to command my revoking, that her services may be better performed by those who are far more fit. My course was that, after access to the King and making her Majesty's commendations, I delivered the first letter. Upon the King reading thereof I signified to him her Majesty's care to satisfy him by my speedy despatch, which was such that if the ambassador here had not advertised me not to come before the 10th, I had been here very near the appointed time. The day being prolonged, her Majesty had in the mean season sent me another letter to be delivered to him, whereupon I delivered the same. After the reading thereof I complained of the shortness of the time required by the King for advice in so

1593–4. weighty a matter, as also of his deferring of Lord Burgh and me when her Majesty, to testify her loving care of his well-doing, commanded such diligence to be performed. As touching that writing which purported [to be] an act, I had instructions to show her Majesty's dislike therein. But forasmuch as I had understanding by some reports, and specially in pulpit, that the same was to be revoked, I did not think it needful to use any arguments in that behalf, being ready, notwithstanding, if it pleased the King, to acquaint him therewith when I should be required. In the end I signified her Majesty's dislike of his remissness to his rebels, and desired, for her better satisfaction in respect of sundry reports which were spread, that he would set down some such way as might assure her Majesty of his princely care to satisfy her. Whereupon he gave answer that, for the haste he made in demanding advice, he was persuaded that it needed no long deliberation, being but a demand of a thing which was but conditional, and, as he had before signified, *actum quasi non actum.* Lord Burgh's stay was not feigned, but of necessity, as he was himself about another exploit, as Mr. Bowes could testify; and my stay was for my better ease in my travel. For the act, "it was of it selfe none," and the Earls having refused the benefit offered, he was as free from any composition with them as ever he was. For the reports which ran, he could not tell how they had been occasioned. But, for his part, he had given no cause, alleging that he was not so ignorant but that he knew what it was to lose an old friend and to trust to a new, with divers other reasons, and if he had failed in dealing "towards" the Earls, he had erred ignorantly, but not willingly. As touching the further assurance of his desire to maintain the amity, which was, as he said, the chief point, he would consult thereof with his Council and within three days give some overture. I took occasion to signify that her Majesty doubted some evil parts in some of his Council. Whereupon he answered that he must trust his Council as her Majesty must do hers, but if any evil parts were known in any of them he would not suffer the same, and justified his Council. I "rested of these poyntes" until I "receyve" what manner of show will be made for her Highness's satisfaction; and if this seem dilatory I purpose to proceed in the other part of my instructions.

I purposed to have written yesterday to your lordship of these things, but that I had also a desire to write somewhat to you touching the other matter. Wherein, forasmuch as I am referred to others for their advice, and, indeed, can do nothing of myself, "because I am wholy ignorant of sutch partyis as with whom I should deale," and those which "the party"* has dealt withal, who should have gone before, run another course than I take to be allowed of within my instructions, as may appear by a copy of his offer under his own hand, which I send herewith.† And since it seems also that he has further commission than mine warrants, inasmuch as he demanded to see my instructions, I refer your lordship to that note, and the things therein contained to the consideration of her Majesty. If her pleasure be that I deal in any such sort as is there set down, I beseech you to procure me instructions to that end "against that tyme which they require of metyng." Mr. Bowes's service is specially to be employed herein, for without him "in a long tyme a nother can smally prevayle." Other occurrences I refer to Mr. Bowes, whose long experience can make choice of such as are fit to make [them] known to your lordship. In the meantime "I lyve here unprofitably, as I feare, to her Majesty, to myself desperately, and if I receive not further helpe, in greate feare how I shall through want performe my ordinary expences."

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* *i.e.* Lock. See No. 210.

† Amissing.

James VI.
1593–4. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand :* I have sent him a bill of exchange for money.]

Since I was with the King the Master of Gray has been here, as I suppose to feel what I would demand. I answered him that there had been "before tyme" demands, but none performed. He told me—in love, as he said, to her Majesty—that the King was ready to grant whatsoever I demanded, and this night the Lord Chancellor sent one to Mr. Bowes to advise me that I should pray the King to refer me to his Council.

All these things I take to be delays, yet there are on all sides great protestations of desire to do service to her Majesty. On other sides there is continual advice from those with whom the party sent deals, that there is no trust to be had, and it seems so manifest that the preachers speak of it in the pulpits. So I desire with speed to receive further advertisement from your lordship. To-morrow I am promised audience, when I am to demand the King's resolution for her Majesty's satisfaction, which I fear will be dilatory, but with great shows of desire to satisfy her.

I pray God to send me out of this country, where I see nothing to trust to on one side or on the other. I beseech your lordship that I may therefore have leave to come home, that I may travail in what I am acquainted [with] and disburden myself of that burden which by no ways I would have taken, if I might as easily have showed my insufficiency as now will be made manifest. But my hope is that by your good favour my wants shall be no further punishment to me than the shame they bring with them, which caused my protestation before I set forward and breeds my disquiet now. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Edward Zouche.

4 *pp. Holograph. No fly-leaf or address.*

Another copy. Cott. Calig., D.ii. f. 169.

Jan. 16. **208.** ARTICLES BY THE KIRK AGAINST PAPISTS PRESENTED TO THE KING.

(1) First, it is humbly "cravit" of his Majesty that the law "stryke upoun everie ranke of Papistis" according to their merit and "medling,"—pain of treason for "Papische traitors," warding and such other kind of civil punishment for inferior ranks. (2) Next, as touching those that are already "in handis" and those who are "twichit" * by their letters and Blanks, we crave that "quhill" your Majesty proceeds in trial of the one [*i.e.* the former] you direct out charges against the rest to make themselves answerable either in Edinburgh ("sik as can nocht object deidlie feade"), or else in Dundee (if they have "the cullour of the forsaid fead") to as short a day as possible. If they compear, let them be warded "abyding" their trial. If by fleeing they "mak thame selffis giltie," let them be "persewit" with all diligence as the custom is in matters of treason. (3) Thirdly, in respect there are other Papists in the country who justly may be feared "to beir hand" to give their concurrence with those who are under trial, that they be not "ane arme to uphold thame" we crave that these persons be warded in the meantime. (4) Fourthly, we crave, according to an act of Parliament, that all avowed Papists in the country be instantly discharged from bearing public offices on land and sea, place of Council, Session, Parliament or any other judicature whatsoever, and that such as are suspected be suspended from their

* *twichit :* incriminated.

1593–4. aforesaid offices till "sufficientlie thai be tryit." (5) Fifthly, by reason that the matter "twitchis" all estates, we crave that a certain [number] be nominated of every estate—noblemen, barons, burgesses and ministers—to be present at the trial. (6) Lastly, we crave that, seeing cruelty and oppression abound in such great measure throughout the country, your Majesty, with your well affectioned subjects, will devise how the land may be purged from "bygannis" * and this "soirt of blodie vaine stemnit in tymes to cum."

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed:* "The Kirkis artiklis presentit to the King the xvj of Januar. 1593."

Jan. 17. **209.** SCOTTISH COUNCILLORS.

Councillors newly established by the King of Scots.

Lennox, Hamilton, Marischal, Mar, Morton, Montrose.

Livingston, Seton (indiffer.), Lindsay (aff.), Forbes (aff., enemy to the L. Huntly), Culross, Colville of that Ilk (aff.), Cambuskenneth (aff., banished with the Er. of Mar).†

Bass, Lauder (aff.), Culluthy of Fife [*i.e.* Carnegy of Colluthy] (aff.), Wedderburn (a Hume, aff.), Carmichael (aff.), Hume of North Berwick (aff.).

½ *p. Notes in Burghley's hand.*

Jan. 18. **210.** [SIR ROBERT CECIL] TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Vol. lii. p. 23. Your letter of 8th January did not come to my hands till the 15th, in the morning, whereby you may perceive with what difficulty any answer could be returned to you at Edinburgh by the 18th, as you required. I have read your letter, wisely and diligently digested it, "being so approved by the best"; wherein, as the considerations and cautions projected by the party seem to be very good, so does the Queen's resolution continue most firm to those whose actions tend to the safety of their sovereign, preservation of religion and suppressing of foreign practices. But seeing the events of all actions of this nature are casual, albeit her Majesty is thoroughly assured that in all their present attempts they will most tenderly preserve the King's person, and that the innocency of their own hearts (so full of duty to him) will be sufficient warrant for their own actions, yet it were dishonourable to her to be a beginner or inciter of any such course, because it may well be said that she, "being a seconde personne," cannot look into the hearts of men, and therefore if any disaster should happen, it might be imputed to her Majesty as a neglect of a King or an over-credulity of the party. But if they shall once, as they often have promised, begin of themselves to remove his wicked instruments, who are the chiefest cause of this danger, whereunto both his person and his estate are running headlong, her Majesty stands too much upon her honour and reputation to see them any way fall in pursuing their enterprise for want of assistance and strengthening by all means possible. Wherefore her Majesty having also sent by Lord Zouche to know, by you and from all those whose minds will concur, both what is likely to be in their power, and what opinion he has of the conjunction of any great persons of the realm with these other noblemen who shall be actors therein, and having also understood that the Convention shall shortly give great taste of what may be hereafter expected, she greatly desires to hear some success of the same, thinking that if this party (who seem to forsee their own oppression by the power of their adversaries)

* *bygannis, bigones:* Here refers to bygone offences against the sovereign or state.

† Exiled with the Lords of the Ruthven administration.

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be not able to begin to suppress their enemies without so openly engaging her, and to hold such courses also in that Convention as may weaken most of those bad instruments, it is either for want of soundness of all the members of the party who profess the concurrency, or else, if they cannot begin their action without her Majesty " opening " her self in the manner required, surely then she may doubt (though she should in the beginning yield to their demands) that it would not long continue with good success. If Lord Zouche shall receive any overture upon good foundation, although you seem to think he has not commission to give more than general promise of mediation, yet be assured that upon any such offers made to him and recommended by him hither, there shall follow absolute help without delay on the Queen's part; and when he shall have understood the fruits of the Convention, and shall have avowed directly to the King that if he do not otherwise proceed she will relieve the party that professes religion and extirpation of foreign practisers, then whatsoever she does for any of that party hereafter is avowable before God and man.

Now, on the other hand, if in this first project which is laid down, her Majesty must be an actor, it will make her think that the party is very weak when, without her, it cannot be attempted, though they shall be protected afterwards by her against their adversaries. Therefore her Majesty desires not to be dealer in what they shall do herein first; but when they shall any way have removed those instruments—preserving the King's person most preciously—she will both allow and strengthen them speedily and assuredly.

As for the doubt you conceive that the money desired to be levied in this Convention may be converted against them, methinks you may very well say both to the Duke and to Atholl that if they and their friends be not able to provide that whatever is granted may be conditional to be employed for the use it is asked for, either they want that caution which they ought to use, or else the expected actors in this Convention do not join heartily in foreseeing what ought to be provided for.

Thus have I delivered you such answer as can in honour be made you, wishing you to observe well the scope, and to advertise how you proceed, whereupon you shall receive all good contentation. As for any rumours of her Majesty's inclination to [listen to] offers of any party who are not of the religion, think that she is most " irremoveable," and will scorn to be thought " bleared " with any such devices, though she cannot forbid them to make their overtures, for which they have only their labour for their travail; and of this do you assure all those who doubt her proceedings. " Where I find you are layd for, I pray you take heed to yourselfe, to whom I wishe as to my selfe." Hampton Court.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Sir Robert Cecil's clerk. At the head:* " A copie of my master's letter to Mr. Henry Locke in answere of his of the viijth of Januarye."

211. Robert Bowes to Burghley.

Jan. 20.

Although the King's wrath against me daily increases and stays greatly the wonted and open access to me of many of my familiar friends, yet the Chancellor has been pleased to confer with me. Whereupon I " opened " to him your lordship's opinion [recapitulating No. 191].

The Chancellor readily agreed that there needed no argument either to prove the dangers arising by any alteration [in religion] or to move him to employ his whole power to prevent the same. He affirmed, first, the King to be firm and steadfast in religion notwithstanding that those Papist Earls,

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1593–4. Scottish Jesuits and Papists have, without just cause or ground, given forth the contrary and thereby brought the King's religion into suspicion in Spain, France, the Low Countries and elsewhere: Secondly, that those Earls or others could not allure the King by any offer of supply for his necessities to yield himself captive to the King of Spain: Thirdly, that it was vain to think that any benefit might come to the King by invasion in England. Therefore he promised either to direct the King from all these ways or to stop the passage, or else, wishing the last day to come hastily upon the world, he would leave Court and all things.

He hopes that by the means of this new Council provision shall be made for prevention of the dangers appearing, *etc.*, and declared that it had revoked the act of Abolition, and had taken order that the Earls should be summoned to Parliament to be punished and that neither the King nor the Kirk shall receive, without consent of the Estates and Council, any offer by the Earls for their peace or submission.

Against these things I showed that the Earls summoned to Parliament could not be put to the horn or prosecuted for crimes until Parliament should begin, the time whereof was uncertain, and in the meantime they should enjoy all their livings without bonds or assurance for their good behaviour, and should not need to subscribe the articles of religion nor make any offer for their peace. The Chancellor promised to provide some speedy remedies in these behalfs. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Also endorsed:* "At Durham the 22nd Jan. almost 12 at midneight. Newcastell the 22 day at past seaven in the eveninge. Morpeth this 22 daye at past 4 in the afternoone." *Other postal endorsements torn.*

212. Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Zouche.

Jan. 23. By reason of my father's absence from Court your letters of the 16th of
Vol. liii. p. 25. January came to my hands on the 22nd, to be imparted to the Queen, which I have done accordingly, and send this answer following. Her Majesty allows well of your diligence and care for her service, wherein you answer no more than her expectation. Because your lordship seems curious and full of caution, and in nowise disposed to swerve from your instructions, her Majesty has commanded me to say that it is one thing in all these employments to follow the very letter of instructions, which the meanest wit and judgment may perform, and another thing in such an employment as this (wherein time is so precious and it is impossible for any absent to judge so well of things so daily mutable as your own discretion and the judgment of the ambassador leger *) to observe the scope of the instructions given, and yet, as time and occasion require, to accommodate speeches and actions, and to take hold of occasions and opportunities according to one's own discretion and judgment, and so to proceed speedily and soundly, not contrary to the instructions.

Her Majesty has in your negotiation given you in charge chiefly two things, the one to see what will grow from the King by resolute dealing with him and assuring him that the Queen understands thoroughly the secret of all the offers of the enemy and the inclination (nay, rather the absolute devotion) wherein those northern Earls and Popish councillors are engaged, and by letting him absolutely know that she has delayed too long the looking to herself by depending on his assurances of reformation which have either been shows,

* Ambassador resident, as contrasted with a special envoy.

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1593–4. or if of force and power, then what one day has brought forth has been another day abolished, and so only time gained. Her Majesty can not receive words for payment, but expects the proceeding against the Earls so far as to disable them at least from ever offending him, and the removing of his ill-affected councillors wherewith the Church and all good patriots are so much discontented.

This being the first part your lordship has to play, you can judge better there than any here what likelihood there is of good and sound proceedings. This course, as most honourable, the Queen first propounded.

Next, her Majesty directed you, in case of trifling, to let him understand that if he suffer himself thus willingly to be lost by not looking to the disease timely, she (as secondly interested in all the actions of that kingdom) cannot defer the case till the matter be past cure. This is one of the chiefest points wherein you are to deal with him.

You are then directed by all secret means, by the ambassador's opinion, by Mr. Locke's information, and all other wise means, to understand what party there is of force sufficient to resist these purposes. You are also to seek to discover if the party is likely to be united and to go through without any peril to the person of the King himself. Therefore she expects rather to receive enlightenment from you, how to direct you, than to be written to every day for new directions. Upon advertisement from you both, who know what her Majesty would have done, and see there what may be done, you shall quickly receive order for any thing to be done.

To come now to answering you for that which you would know by the 28th. [*In the margin, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "This 28th is the day appointed of meeting with the commissioners, by which tyme he desireth to have answer."] Her Majesty has seen their demands and the particularity of their "proportions," which is not a thing she would "sticke at" if she shall understand by you that the party will thereby be sufficient, but as yet you leave her as ignorant as before. Though you say you have not met with them or conferred with them, yet she doubts not that by this time you shall as well be able to advise as to advertise, for otherwise you need not have been sent. Her Majesty therefore wills you, seeing you know her mind, not to stand upon too many doubts or scruples, but to follow the substance of her instructions according with the memorial given you apart by my Lord Treasurer.

Now, to conclude, her Majesty wills you to inform all those who have already joined in the offer, that she remains ready to help them and assist them against all the adversaries of God's cause and the peace of the kingdom, and that, if the King shall still favour the other, she will not "sticke" to avow the helping of those who are so good patriots. But whereas they would attempt nothing of themselves, her Majesty says that they must make a beginning by removing the ill councillors, before she can with honour enter any way as they desire [for the reasons given in No. 210].

Only this you may assure them from the Queen, that for their assistance there shall be money ready upon the Borders upon any advertisement of the same from you, to whom, with Mr. Bowes, who is likewise to be made acquainted with this letter and all your actions, she refers it.

Please also to let Mr. Lock know this her Majesty's resolution. He, I believe, has already by this time a letter to the same effect from me. The Queen says that if they cannot begin anything without making her the author, which cannot be done without touch to the treaty, it is to be thought they can do little of themselves, but for assistance of them afterwards she will aid them, and so requires your lordship to assure them. You may take this notice, as written at her Majesty's commandment, by my means, because of his lordship's

1593–4. [Burghley's] absence. [*In the margin in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "This argueth the Queen wold have her ministers doe what she will *not avowe.*"] The Queen also wills me to let you know that you write somewhat darkly because you would be brief, which she does not desire, for she assures you that she cannot but take contentment with your letters though they were longer. Hampton Court.

4 *pp. In the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to the Lord Zouche in answere of his of the xvjth of Januarye."

Jan. 25. **212a.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. lii. p. 30. Since I wrote by the Queen's commandment a letter of the 23rd, your letter of the 20th has arrived, wherein her Majesty finds "a wonderfull uncertaine course holden by the King, which maketh her not a litle to seeke what way to runne with him." She holds nothing more precious than the keeping of the amity, yet, if things be as your lordship advertises, she must needs break, for she must "help a partie"; wherein the King has this advantage, that either she must "suffre her selfe intrapped," or else break out before he has openly broken with her. He "will kepe all thinges smothe till his plottis be rype, and being rype you knowe it wilbe with the latest to prevent them."

What the letter of the 23rd contains her Majesty sees no ground to alter; only she requires you so to use it as no way to discourage them, but to inform yourself how far the Duke is to be trusted. She is not without cause moved to be jealous of him, seeing she notes that he is made the principal in this new Council, and therefore wishes you to be very wary in speaking with him, and in all your words to point only at a scope of assisting them against their adversaries, if they can remove them from the King. You may assure them that the Queen will help them afterwards, such course being taken first as they shall think good, with which she desires not to be acquainted.

Where your lordship writes that you will be at Berwick to confer with them, the Queen persuades herself you will bring no Scots into the town itself, wondering that you would appoint to return before better satisfaction than yet she finds you have. Comparing the date of your letters, which could not arrive here before the 25th at night, you could hardly look for answer before the 28th. Neither do you nor Mr. Bowes give your opinion what you would wish her Majesty to do in Mr. Lock's negotiation, which she was desirous upon your being there to be informed of; and for this purpose Mr. Lock was appointed to inform you of all particularities. Where the Earl of Atholl makes show of his will and ability to strengthen the action, her Majesty believes in both, and therefore does not look to help him to begin, but when they had begun in a good course, to give them all furtherance, of which your lordship may assure them; wherein neither perfection nor expedition shall be wanting. Hampton Court, "within one hower after the receipte of yours the xxvth of Januarie, at x^{en} in the nighte, 1593."

1¾ *pp. In the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to the Lord Zouche, in aunswere of his lo. letter of the 20th of Januarye." *Parts underlined and marks in the margin.*

Jan. 26. **213.** LORD ZOUCHE TO [BURGHLEY].

When I wrote on the 20th, I hoped to have received a full answer at my next attending on the King, but being deferred until the 23rd, I was first

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1593–4. answered that the King, having advised with the Estates, could now assure me that the act of Abolition should be wholly "disanulled," that proclamation was made to take away all former benefits from the three Earls, and that they should not have any favour until they had yielded themselves to prison. Whereupon I asked the King whether that was all that I should receive for the satisfaction of her Majesty. To which he answered that the same was "the generall," but "the perticuler" should be what I would demand. I told him that my commission was not now to require that which he should do, but what he would do, for the matter had now grown to such ripeness that (her Majesty having heretofore debated by letter and messages what was fit to be done) he could very well judge what was needful, wherefore I was only in that case to receive what he would give for answer. Whereupon he used many protestations of his desire to satisfy her Majesty and to send me away contented, and protested that as that had been done in general, so he would also do anything else in particular that I should demand. Whereupon I remained long upon my former course, that I was not sent to capitulate, but to receive what he was pleased to give in answer. Notwithstanding, I would think, though I had not commission so to say, that if he would prosecute the Earls by all means, without favour and without delay, and give assurance thereof by his oath on the word of a prince, that might satisfy her Majesty. At length he promised so much, and for my satisfaction said he would think of more, and used protestations as great as king or christian may use, so that I was driven to affirm that I would rest satisfied if he would perform so much by writing under his hand, that by the same I might satisfy her Majesty. He promised to do this and to send the Lord Secretary to me the next day with the writing, for my consideration. But then he began upon some speeches which I had had with the Master of Gray a day or two before, wherein I had said, as by the way, that "there went a flying brute" that the King had said that he would "hoode" her Majesty and her ambassador. "Which words," said he [the King], "I understand you were contentid that he [Gray] should acquaint me therwith," and gave me thanks, but desired that I would tell the author. Whereupon I said that I did not deserve such thanks, being a thing which I had not meant his Majesty to know, because I could not prove the same, and wherein I had given the other [*i.e.* Gray] my reason why I would not reveal the same to the King, but since he had broken that trust I hoped his Majesty would take it as a "flying rumor"; that nevertheless "he would deale so mutch the more plainly and not thincke the worse of me if I grewe summe what more suspicious."

In the end we parted with his promise that the Lord Secretary should come the next day to me to bring me that writing. Whereupon, the same night, being bidden to supper by the Laird of Wemyss, I met with the said Master of Gray, who "semed that he found" that the King had satisfied me. Whereunto I answered that if I received the King's promises in writing under his hand, then I might be satisfied. Whereupon he seemed to say that I had not delivered anything in writing, neither was it fit that the King should give anything in writing. I answered that I was not to reason therein, because I stood now on the King's promise, not on the matter as disputable. The second day after, the Secretary came to me from the King to require that I should set down what I would have the King set in writing. I held to my former course and said I was only to receive what the King had promised me, not to prescribe words to persuade a willing mind to perform what he purposed; and so we parted. This morning the King, being prepared to go to Stirling, sent for me to give me a short farewell. When I took that to be

1593–4. a strange dealing and was thereby moved, he "semed to enter againe to put me from that he promised me." Whereupon I told him that I little looked for such a course, but since I did not find what I expected, I required at his hands that which I had further in commission and did not think convenient to use until then:—that I was commanded to require that Mr. Bowes might speak to his Majesty before his nobility and Council what I had in commandment to signify to him. Whereupon the King, seeming to say that I would quarrel with him, said that all was ready that I demanded, and that he meant to satisfy me. He would have drawn me into particulars, but I told him that I might not so do, and that I was only to receive his answer, which I was to consider, and thereupon to judge whether it agreed with what he promised, but since I saw nothing but delay I hoped to finish quickly if he would give me leave to discharge the rest of my message. "The which he eschewed myghtely, and I thinck would be brought to good," if factions were not so great here that he is wholly led at the sway of parties. In the end he gave me leave to depart, vowing that he would send to me. But after he had been at his Session House in counsel with some over hinderers (as I take them) he departed, not without sending the Master of Gray to protest that he would do anything to satisfy me. I am now to sue to go to Stirling to have my dispatch, so your lordship sees what course I have taken and what issue there is.

Here is nothing but delays, and we fear some evil dealing. If her Majesty be pleased to censure me according to her pleasure, I attend it in all humility and wish myself rather in prison to answer for a contempt, arising through my "wantes," than to be here to see the dealings I see and to be of little experience and power to do her Highnes service. I beg therefore that I may with speed receive some direction for my return, which I find more needful than my presence here, and yet am loth to come before some advertisement, though I would rather "drinke of one water al the dayes of my lyfe then to lyve heare with the best intertaynments can be afforded in this country."

These delays "make me that I can not mete with the others as they desyre," and I think that time is precious and they will fear "fastnes" from your lordship's advices above, whereof some complain, and I crave pardon that I give it this touch. Surely good can be done, if time be not lost, "but Mr. Bowes can put in execution so mutch as all others can who should be sent in that behalfe," and I persuade myself that he is complained of rather for his experience than for his wants [*i.e.* deficiencies]. Means have been made that I should move the King's friendship towards him, and when I am present the King gives him no evil countenance, but rather "all good."

I hope I shall need to write no more before I come, which I beseech you may be soon, otherwise I and my retinue will grow sickly here. I have received your bills of credit, but no money as yet. As soon as I receive the same I will acknowledge the receipt and send bills. For that which I received at Newcastle I gave the customer a bill. I am told for certain that the Lord Chancellor works underhand for the Earls and receives great sums of money to that end. I could write of much bad dealing; but these are reports, though by such as Mr. Bowes has found faithful. No courtiers come towards me but precisely by the King's appointment, so jealous is this state of the occurrents of England. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Edward Zouche.

Postscript.—Even when I purposed to have made up my letters I had understanding that the Lord Secretary would be presently with me to bring me the promised articles under the King's hand. This has stayed my letter until now, because I desired to send a copy herewith, that I may know her

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1593–4. Majesty's pleasure whether, notwithstanding this, I shall proceed to that course before the King, his nobles and Council, wherein I beseech your lordship to signify with speed her Majesty's resolution.

4 *pp. Holograph. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. No fly-leaf or address.*

(Enclosure with the preceding.)

" Notes for the L. Zouch his memorie of certaine heddes given for aunswere to the proposicion made by him as ambassadour from our dearest sister and cosine the Queene of Englande."

First, whereas the act of Abolition was misliked by the Queen, to show and assure her that it is all utterly retracted, extinct and annulled, with express ordinance never to have force in whole or in part thereof at any time hereafter; that no offers of any of the persons contained in the said act be heard or accepted hereafter " except their personall entrie in ward and sure firmance without condicion precede " ; and in case they do this we faithfully promise that not only the opinion of our Council and Estates shall be " enterponed," but likewise the advice of the Queen craved and heard before any favour be showed to them; that the Parliament shall be appointed to hold as soon as the term of our law and practice of this country will permit. Lest they might think it a respite given to them to continue their practising until the said Parliament, we have ordained our Council to advise and resolve at their first assembling upon the best expedient and what lawful means may be used in the meantime, whereby they may either be compelled to obey, or be prosecuted with all rigour: and generally we have avowed, as we are a Christian prince and professor of the reformed true religion, that unless they yield and declare their obedience after warding themselves without condition, we will omit no possible means for prosecution of them with rigour at all times,—not doubting but the Queen on the other part, according to our protestation made by Lord Burgh and Sir Robert Melvill, shall " enable us to this action " in some measure, as she has done to other princes her neighbours and confederates, and that such honourable consideration be had of us that our goodwill and earnest desire rest not unperformed " for fault of possibilitie."

1¼ *pp. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 27. **214.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Lord Zouche's letter will so sufficiently satisfy your lordship as to the success of negotiations and the other causes requisite to be seasonably considered and ordered that I refer all to the view of his letter.

I have been credibly informed that by letters from Spain advice is given to send thither Sir James Chisholm in regard that his credit in Spain will suffice to work great effects for the benefit of the Catholics in Scotland. Sir James has purchased peace in manner signified by my last letter, and, being enjoined to depart out of the realm, he prepares (as I hear) to hasten his journey, which the well affected here think will be taken in hand to prosecute the plot before laid by the northern Earls and practising Papists of this realm with the King of Spain.

Mr. Richard Douglas (as I have heard) has offered in the name of Angus that Angus shall yield his body to ward as the King shall appoint. It is likewise given out that Huntly and Erroll will make the like offers. But forasmuch as the solicitors for these three Earls are so frequent in Court and have free

1593–4. access to all their friends (who hitherto have delivered the Earls from all dangers), therefore it is generally deemed that nothing shall be determined against them without their privity and assent, so that their punishments shall be no greater than they will agree to endure for the benefit of their common cause and to win time. Which effects are very much suspected by the wise and well affected in this realm, and the rather that all these Earls have lately showed themselves full of comfort to pass through all their troubles and obtain their desires.

I am told that the King was moved to arm himself, the noblemen and others of quality presently here about him to ride into Liddisdale suddenly for the apprehension of William Ellot that he might be delivered to Sir John Forster for the bill of Tynedale, since redress is still deferred notwithstanding the King's sundry orders and promises given for the same. But I have been quietly advised that the King would have entered on this journey to catch some hold of Bothwell or some of his friends or followers now on the Borders, but such timely warning was given to Bothwell and this intended raid is now so broken that small effects are likely to follow. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Jan. 31. **215.** WILLIAM MYLBURNE TO WILLIAM CRAVEN.

Whereas you wrote a bill of exchange to me to pay to Lord Zouche (Soutch), her Majesty's ambassador, the sum of £200 sterling or the value thereof, I have divers times offered him payment, but his pleasure is not to take it as yet. He desires me to pay it in English money or gold, which I could not presently do. "Alwaies" I said that before his departure I would do my best to get some part thereof in English money. I was with him this night, desiring him to take it. His answer was as before, and he told me withal that he had written to the Lord Treasurer that he could not receive it "but to losse." Indeed, Sir, I never offered him other payment than as the exchange goes here, which is 9*l.* Scots for one pound English. I dare not procure English money out of England, for it is against the law. Think me not negligent, for this sum not only was and shall be ready, but if his lordship pleases he shall have 500*l.* more to the service of her Majesty as the exchange goes. I assure you that you gain nothing by the exchange although perhaps the ambassador is informed that you do. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Wm. Mylburne."

Postscript.—"Med" * this letter enclosed, for it is to procure money to be left with you.

1*p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed:* "Ult. Jan. 1593. W. Melburne from Edenborowgh to Wm. Craven. L. Zowches mony."

Feb. 1. **216.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. lii. p. 31. In the absence of my father your letter of 26th January was brought to my hands the 1st day of February, which I was not a little glad to see, considering that your former letters declared your purpose of returning to meet with some noblemen at Berwick, which course (not having had direction to return) would have seemed strange to her Majesty (especially as the King had given such slender satisfaction), and would have utterly overthrown the other action, when so publicly it should have been dealt in, besides the

* Memorandum.

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great inconvenience that might have grown from drawing Scots to such a place of conference as her Majesty's town of Berwick is. Of all which things, because I see your own discretion has made you stay, and forasmuch as I know my letters of the 23rd and 25th have sufficiently declared her Majesty's pleasure in these two points, I will forbear to speak any further, and will only make answer to your last, which I received this day.

Her Majesty finds how willingly the King would have sent you away contented with dilatory promises, and how gladly he would have retracted the promise of setting down of his mind under his hand if the Master of Gray with his finesse could have found you pliable; wherein she very well allows your wise "perseveration" not to be "dallied" with. It is somewhat that you have got a record under his hand. But her Majesty has so many such testimonies of those his resolutions, afterwards vanishing into smoke, that she recommends you specially to urge that she knows well the circumstances of the plots projected by the Popish faction, who only desire a little time for the ripening of the fruits of their winter travails; whereof her Majesty has proof not to be denied. Although at other times less than this would have served from one prince to another, yet things have now gone too far for her Majesty to trust to the sequel of any future Councils or acts, because she sees how those who are called to those assemblies, noting the King's inward favour to those Spanish instruments, either do not or dare not proceed in such "roundnesse" as necessity requires. She is sorry that the King has no more feeling of his own danger, which cannot fall out without grief and molestation to his nearest friends. Hereby, as where in his answer he craves aid from her, you may well say to the King that if he be advised to make that demand by the direction of any of his "pollitickes," who have censured her Majesty as being loth to be at charge, he shall well find that, upon assurance that it should be employed to the use it is meant for and not be committed to such as will convert it directly to the contrary (whereof even of late she "hath had to good tryall"), he shall have no cause to doubt but that she will show as great desire to help him as she has done heretofore to him, and daily does to others, in such princely measure as may sufficiently assure those whisperers (of whose discourses her Majesty is not ignorant), that she is a prince who can tell when and where to spend and spare, and can foresee where there is likelihood of performance and where only in outward appearance.

You may also say to the King, that it seems strange, seeing he now discovers his full purpose to proceed against them, that he should speak of want of means to do it when daily, out of their confident assurance, they put themselves into his hands, are openly known to be near him and privately discovered to be personally with him, as Mr. Bowes and others have often advertised. Your lordship shall do well (being thoroughly informed thereof) soundly to urge it to him.

In conclusion you shall say that as hitherto she has deferred all her own resolutions upon expectation of his actions after so many Conventions and consultations, so now, the hour being almost come for which they have so long attended, thinking still to "hood" her Majesty and her ministers—which you did very well to "remember" to him, having heard it—she may not longer depend upon such uncertainties, but requires that, for proof of a good beginning, they may be safely warded, and when this has been done he may take time for further counsel. This her Majesty would have you urge and attend for, if you may obtain it; if not, to certify her. "Wherein" you shall know her pleasure what you shall do. Her Majesty also requires you to note to him that divers noblemen have been warded *pro forma* and have

1593–4. gone away at their pleasure, as the Earl of Angus and the chief conspirator, George Carr. Such proceedings she cannot lightly pass over, considering that his affairs are so nearly conjoined with hers that he cannot be in danger without occasion of doubt to her; and to these imminent perils speedy and sure remedies must be afforded.

Your lordship can remember Horace's sentence "*Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet*"; wherefore, though you write passionately of your tedious abode, yet now, the cause considered, I know you will forget your "particuler" in order to be an instrument of so good a public service, wherein your lordship wants no reasonable maintenance, neither would her Majesty keep you there to her charge if necessity did not require it.

Forasmuch as you know the second work you have to perform is the dealing with a party that may be able to resist those other devices (wherein you write that time is most precious), you can do nothing better than so to try by this what will be done by the King, so that, being thoroughly sounded, her Majesty may show herself with more openness hereafter to the other, with whom, for the better uniting and assuring of them, your lordship by sound and secret good means may proceed as of late you have been directed by the letters written by her Majesty's commandment, wherein you will do well to confer with him who has been most conversant in the same, and who by letters of the 28th, from Berwick, affirms that, having duly informed you, your lordship and Mr. Bowes "doe savour better of that proceeding." In all which her Majesty looks that you shall daily "inlarge your selfe" with Mr. Bowes's advice, whereby you may the better receive her direction for your stay or return. Hampton Court.

Postscript.—Because the King says that the Parliament shall begin as soon as the term of laws and practice of his country will permit, please advertise what that time is. Her Majesty will in nowise have you to make any public meetings, "but secretlie when it shalbe," and not at Berwick for any thing; and for the Duke, you shall in most wary terms proceed with him, and yet not seem mistrustful.

4 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to the L. Zouche in aunswere of his lo. letter of the xxvjth of Januarye."

Feb. 2. **216a.** MONEYS PAID FOR THE USE OF THE KING OF SCOTS.

1586: by Roger Aston, 4000*l.* 1587 ——. 1588: by Easter Wemyss, 3000*l.* 1589: by Mr. John Colville, 3000*l.* 1590: by Carmichael, 3000*l.* 1591: by James Hudson, 3000*l.* 1592: by James Hudson, 2000*l.* *Summa*—18,000*l.*

Item, received by Colonel Stewart *in anno* 1590, "quhilk aucht not be compted"—500*l.*

½ *p. In a Scottish hand. Notes in Burghley's hand at the foot. Endorsed by Burghley:* "A note of the Sc. Ambass. of money paid to the King of Scottes. Delivered 2 Feb. 1593."

Feb. 3. **217.** JAMES VI. TO MAITLAND.

Add. MSS. 23, 241, fol. 50. The bearer, John Achesone, one of our hunters, complaining that he cannot have payment "of that meane debt" owing to him by the Treasurer, we have directed him to you, to be furthered therein by your good means, and desire

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1593–4. you to deal with the Treasurer and some others of our Council that he have no further cause of complaint. Stirling Castle. *Signed:* James R.

Postscript [in James's hand]: "Ye that are ane of the number of us huntairs soulde be helpfull to all the professouris of that craft: but in earnist I thinke all oure thesauraris are gane yealde" [barren].

½ *p. Addressed.*

Feb. 5. **218.** EARL OF ERROL TO [A COUNCILLOR: cf. p. 283].

I received your letter by this bearer, and albeit I cannot presently answer at such leisure and so particularly as I wish, yet I assure yo[u that] although you appear ever to challenge my doings and intentions, and to think that the suspicions against me are not causeless, therein you do me great wrong, except your meaning be concerning the matter of my religion only. For by my last letter I was as plain . . . as possibly I could; and albeit we have "left" the benefit of Abolition, yet you know that it proceeded not upon our [? willingness] "to pairt" the country, but because it lay not in us to find the su[m] ordained by the act, and all sureties offered by us . . . heritages being refused at the last Convention "and concludit th[at our bodies ?] salbe wardit," which indeed is far more strait. Nevertheless we will not "repung" to satisfy his Majesty therein if thereby we do not see evid[ently] our "wrakis" sought by the ministry, who ever make their advantage of our offers, and such as perhaps yourself dealt with lately ("gif anything ye haif delt concerning me) haif d . . . the same." For my letter to you contained two parts, which being well considered, no reasonable man can justly find fault therewith. The "particulair" of this the bearer will show, whom I have also wi[lled] to take your opinion in some other things, over tediou[s to] write at such length as the matter requires. Slanis.

"Ressavit xj Februar 1593."

½ *p. Copy in a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Bowes:* "The copy of th'erle of Errols letter. Slaynes v^to^ Feb. 1593." *Edge injured by damp.*

Feb. 11. **219.** ALEXANDER DUFF TO [A COUNCILLOR].

As to the offers "wnto this cuntrie," my master and Erroll will be in Aberdeen on Monday next w[ith] the convention of the barons to receive their opinion "towardis" the satisfaction of the King and Kirk. But to be plain to your lordship, I perceive my master, Huntly, "sa indurit that he will nocht for nathing satifie the desyris of the Kirk and for na tinsall nor vantage." He will not hurt his conscience for any earldoms or worldly authority. "Sua I se thair is na thing in him bot to blaw at ane bleind coill" [blow at a dead coal]. Errol is "in to that same sort." May God turn their hearts, for no man's persuasion may persuade them.

The truce is up betwixt Mackintosh and Huntly, and Rannald Alane M'Indewe and the Laird of Glengar are come to the wars with six score "wellit" [*i.e.* picked] men. Two hundred men of the Clan Chattan are lying about the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch to hold victuals therefrom. Young Abergeldie and the Macphersons (M'Ferssonis) are therein. Mackie has sent four score men to Macintosh.

½ *p. Endorsed by Bowes:* "A part of Alexander Duff (servantt to th'erle of Huntley) letter, xj° Feb. 1593."

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220. EARL OF ERROL TO [A COUNCILLOR].

This is only to advertise you of the taking of William Hay, burgess in Aberdeen, with some others who were in David Hay's ship which transported Mr. James Gordon; and seeing the men are carried to Edinburgh, to be examined "of gritter materis," I desire you to do what you can that they be used but according to the common law, for I know that nothing can be justly "imput" to them [with] which they may be "trublit," nor to David Hay himself, except the transporting of Mr. James Gordon, William Gordon, brother to Huntly, a son of John Gordon, brother to the Laird of Craig, and Mr. James Moffat, who were with him. This needed not such rigour as the taking of the men violently and arresting of the ship, they being otherwise answerable to the law and having the King's warrant for anything they have done, "the boundis quhairof gif thai haif exceidit, it will shortly try now." I send the warrant herewith, desiring that you will cause Robert Hay of Kirkcaldy or any other friend of David Hay's to use the same for the men's relief, "and gif yow adres how the mater may be best handlit that the men get na wrang." If Mr. George Leslie is yet there, he will serve the turn, if you charged no other "mair proper." I pray God that all things may "try" as they are in truth. Since all these rigorous and extraordinary forms are "perfitit" for malice and "wrak" of us, we must bear patiently with the iniquity of the time, committing our just cause to God and "to do" for ourselves as we best may, for I see little appearance of favour if their power is as great as their malice. I will say no further in this matter, and am assured you will help the honest men so far as you can in their honest cause. Slanis.

Postscript.—If we had not thought that the putting of Mr. James Gordon forth of Scotland should have pacified the ministry further than now appears, he should have remained for any danger that might have ensued, for we now see perfectly that whatsoever intention we have to please them, all is "turnit bak in the wrang sens" to our own disadvantage; in respect whereof, for my own part, I shall be "tryit" in times coming "to tak sa grit panis for sa litle thank"; and for David Hay, surely he shall have no loss so far as I "may," seeing I was the only "causer of him to tak that jornay in hand."

⅔ *p. Copy. Endorsed by Bowes:* "The erle of Errolles letter. Slanys 11th Feb. 1593."

Feb. 13.

221. ELIZABETH TO LORD ZOUCHE.

We have perceived by your letters of 5th February how little you hope for great assurance at the King's hand and how necessary you think it to entertain some such course as may be a counterpoise to that possession which these Popish councillors—and so, by consequence the traitorous Earls—have of the King, who does not foresee that he thus lays the foundation of his own destruction, if he does not prevent it. It appears also that you have spoken with commissioners from divers, who have assured purposes of all those from whom they come to stand firm for the defence of religion against the Spanish practice. But where you seem to renew the motion for supplying their wants and request to maintain your promise of money "uppon pawnes," adding these words in your letter, "and therby shall not her Majestie be seene tyll the action be adventured," we wonder that you so mistake yourself, seeing you confess by your own words that you conceive what was our former meaning, which in another part of your letter you again reiterate in these words, "so that her Majestie come cleare as a helper and not as an inciter

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to this course." You have always known, both by our words to yourself and letters of the 20th and 25th from Cecil by our direction, that it was not money or charge that we respected if once we saw the foundation honourable, and that we might not be author of any beginning, but helper of such persons as by their own first industry should severally and manifestly to the world of themselves make head to the factious and traitorous party. We are very sorry that you either as private or public minister have adventured your own credit for that wherein we could not make good your word without doing that which we, as is well known, have ever denied—unless you can make such distinction as that he who lends money upon pawn, or whatsoever, is not as well the author of an action as he who freely gives it. Whereas you seem to be of opinion that the party of religion ought to be comforted and the noblemen rewarded, you know well that rewards follow precedent actions, and therefore as yet no such thing can be challenged at our hands, neither shall it at any time rightly deserve the name of reward, but rather that of a just aid and succour to the professors of the common cause, which we are bound by the law of God to protect and defend. Therefore we conclude as before, that if these parties are not able of themselves to begin without thus engaging us, we conceive little hope of any good success hereafter. We hope that, although for encouragement and comfort you and Bowes have "inlarged" yourselves, yet you have not proceeded, things being thus raw, either to borrow for them to begin with or to promise to lend upon pawn any money before such time as those grounds were publicly laid which might justify our actions, which we will not colour by such palpable devices as to refuse to give and yet be content to lend, or to like that our ambassadors should do as private men what was not justifiable to do as public ministers. It is not money that we respect, but soundness and justness of the action, wherein they shall no sooner "publishe themselves" than we shall quickly afford them whatever has been promised on our part. For yourself and your return you shall have order as by your letters we find occasion.

We have seen also by a letter written by him who is used in this cause that it is expected that money should be sent to Durham to be lent upon their pawns. You, now knowing once again our meaning, may do well to reform any such "conceipt" derived from so notable a mistaking. You must plainly know that we will not give him [*i.e.* James] such a cause to break with us, whereof haply he would be glad; and though we see that you do all things with good zeal, and we suppose what you have done was to keep them from despair, yet we wonder that Bowes, who has been acquainted with all proceedings there, does not perceive our scope and does not let them with you understand how dishonourable a course it were for us to be beginner of any such action. Wherein, if it be said or thought that secrecy or colour may be used, we will hazard for nothing [*i.e.* in no wise] that which a prince should take chiefest care of.

All other things we leave to the letters of 23rd and 25th. One thing more we must add, that whereas you say commissioners from divers have come, we see little increase of other means than before, and if without us they can do nothing of themselves, we shall despair of any great likelihood of the action. To the end you may not mistake us, we thus require you to understand us, that whensoever they shall have begun any open action of themselves and shall thereby make manifest that they have a party likely to suppress those traitorous and dangerous ministers we will help them immediately, but to hire them or help them to begin any action whatsoever by furnishing them directly or indirectly, though it may have never so much colour of secrecy,

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we will neither do it nor can allow you to do it either as private or public servants. But if they shall proceed otherwise of themselves by any means seeming best to them to prevent the inconveniences likely to ensue, they shall find us a prince who will not see them want for any thing we can do for them. Hampton Court.

3½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head:* "A mynute of her Majesteis letter to the Lord Zouche."

Feb. 21. **222.** ACT CONSTITUTING THE EARL OF MAR KEEPER AND GOVERNOR OF THE KING'S SON.

Printed in *Historical MSS. Commission Reports, Mar and Kellie*, p. 39; *Supplementary Report*, p. 35.

Since the King's Majesty has been blessed by God with the birth of a son of "guide habilitie and expectatioun," who must be attended upon in convenient place under the governance of some noble and well-affectioned personage, and since his Majesty remembers the true and lawful service of John Earl of Mar, Lord Erskine, Captain and Keeper of the Castle of Stirling, and that his father and grandfather had honourably exercised the governance of the sovereign princes of this realm in their young age, namely of himself, his mother and his grandfather, therefore his Highness with advice of his Privy Council by these presents makes, constitutes and ordains the said John Earl of Mar Keeper and Governor to the said Prince within the Castle of Stirling with enjoyment of such honours, privileges and commodities as he, his father and grandfather enjoyed of before and with power to do all things needful for the execution of the premises; the present commission to endure until his Highness with advice of his Estates in Parliament takes further order.

¾ *p. Copy. Endorsed:* ". . . Lord of Mar anent the keiping of the young Prence, gevin upoun the xxj day of Februar, 1593."

The right hand edge of the document is injured by damp.

Feb. **222a.** SATIRICAL DIALOGUE IN LATIN VERSE.

Dialogue in Latin verse between the King, the Duke of Lennox, Angus, Huntly, Errol, Bothwell, Hamilton, Atholl, Marishal, Rothes, Montrose, Mar, Crawford, Seton, Hume, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the President of the Session, the Comptroller, the Secretary, the Clerk Register and Sir George Hume. Commences: "Impero, vos regi vestro parete Britanni." *Ends:* "Est in tam vasto corpore mica salis." *The Latin is so corrupt as to be unintelligible in many places.*

The King commands the others to give reasons for their actions. The Duke wishes the glory of the name [of Stewart] to shine in the King. Angus, Huntly and Errol justify themselves. Bothwell confesses his faults and professes good service. Two lines each for the remaining speakers.

2 *pp. In the hand of Burghley's clerk. Endorsed:* "Feb. 1593. A pasquill of Scotland."

March 4. **223.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. lii. p. 39.

Since your letter of 13th February there are not any come either from you or Mr. Bowes but only one short letter of the Queen's delivery. You promised forthwith advertisement of the cause then in hand, therefore I have forborne to write, and now inform you of such letters as I have received from you, the rather because I doubt much that some of yours are intercepted since

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1593–4. that time, being nineteen days. I have received from Mr. Locke a letter of the 22nd from Kelso, the contents whereof you may guess by the answer, which I enclose, whereby you may perceive in how wrong a course they are, and how far wide from what has been expected. It appeared by your letter that the King faithfully promised you performance within twelve days of that which should give absolute satisfaction that now he was more in earnest, thus implying that he has not been so all this while. Inasmuch as he promised that you should know the secret that had kept him all this while from such courses as have been required, you will satisfy her Majesty very much by knowing that from him and by urging the performance promised. Wherein if your lordship shall find him use delay, you shall let him know that the Queen much doubts that these strange and unexpected courses have [worked] and will work a great "scruple" in the hearts of his best subjects, who, doubting what his favour towards the other side may work to their perdition, may haply break out into some such courses as may endanger the peace of the land and may work a great alienation in the hearts of his subjects, wherein consist the strength and surety of princes. If the King would open his eyes to all these considerations and to the palpable practices with foreign enemies, her Majesty thinks that he might make great use of the particular enmities between the several factions, wherein he can show no greater wisdom than by helping and countenancing the good and sound party against the other to make the one the instrument of the other's correction, and, if he does not do this, of necessity imminent danger must follow to the King and confusion to his estate. Hereof her Majesty requires you to inform the King and to let him know that although she will never comfort nor allow of any violent courses which may any way tend to the dishonour or peril of the King, notwithstanding any slanderers or false intelligencers who are apt to calumniate her proceedings, yet such is her interest in the peace of that land, to which she is so near a neighbour, and so great cause has she to suspect the consequence of introducing foreign forces, which she must necessarily expect if that party be not punished and suppressed, that she will be forced hereafter by the complaints of the professors of the religion, oppressed by so unnatural subjects who have vowed the overthrow of God's cause and thralled themselves to the common enemy, to help them in such courses as shall necessarily tend to the preservation of the amity and the preventing of any foreign practices with the common enemies, who intend nothing so much as the invading of her kingdom by getting foot and interest in that kingdom, as plainly appears by all their courses, as the Queen particularly knows both out of Spain and the Low Countries. Hampton Court.

2¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to the Lo. Zouche uppon the receipt of Mr. Locks letter of the 22th of February."

March 4. **224.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MR. HENRY LOCK.*

Vol. lii. p. 42. I have received your letter of 22nd February from Kelso (Kelsaye), whereby I am glad [to hear] that my letters of the 13th and 14th ult. have rectified some courses which by misunderstandings were very like to have been misguided. I should have been very sorry if her Majesty had been made or suspected to be the author of any action dangerous to the King's person in show or in effect. You know that her Majesty has ever advised

* Originally enclosed with the preceding.

1593–4. those honourable personages never to undertake anything which might render their actions suspicious to the eye of the world of neglecting their duty to the King's estate or hazarding the person or honour of their sovereign; and therefore, to omit former proceedings in this affair, I will draw myself to the point of your letter of the 22nd. That you may see what parts of your letter now are to be answered, I will revive to your memory the chief points in the same, which I do the rather that I think neither your leisure nor commodity serve you to take or keep about you copies of all your writings, neither do I think you are of so small judgment as to carry any one paper about you that may be subject to the least misconstruction, considering your dangerous journeys and the many devices to forestall you, of which I wish you to take good caution.

You speak of an assembly intended on the 15th of this month at Kelso (Kelsaye) and so onward to Dalkeith on the 17th, and from thence to Edinburgh, there to publish a proclamation of the causes of their moving. Seeing that this beginning implies only a revenge against Hume, Cessford and others, and seeing that at Edinburgh some just and necessary cause of their action shall be afterwards proclaimed, tending only to the suppressing of the Popish partisans with Spain, I confess that it does not vary with my conception of the scope and end of all their former propositions; for the clearing whereof I would you had sent some draft of the words of their proposed proclamation. But to follow you further, I find you lead the journey directly to the King at Stirling, where you speak not only of entering the town, but the very castle, and not there to stay, but to besiege the same, and, "which is most of all," you use these words, "if he should flye, goe where he wyll, wee wyll followe hym." This gradation, being absolutely different from her Majesty's expectation, makes her not a little careful to prevent any so dishonourable, unjustifiable and barbarous a violence of subjects to a King, especially in this time and place where the Queen and her young child remain. Therefore, whatever you do, persuade those parties to be well advised concerning violating their duty by any such enterprise, and to employ themselves against the Earls and their favourers who are away from the Court or presence of the King, and who under colour of an extraordinary singularity of duty to the King project the ruin of him, his kingdom, and of God's cause, which he is bound to maintain.

Her Majesty has received from the King many promises in generalities of better courses. Wherefore, though former experience has taught her not to be over-credulous, yet if any such "roundnesse" in his actions may appear, it were no wisdom to mar a good work by ill handling or to blemish loyal minds with so external violent action, which will be scandalous to the whole world. If those Earls were once tried or convicted, the rest of that faction would fall by little and little to the ground; and had their action displayed itself against them only without any affront to the King's person, as I see now it is intended, then her Majesty would have avowed the strengthening of their enterprise when directed only against a pack of dangerous, traitorous and unnatural subjects.

It is well that Atholl and divers other lords concur in the defence to suppress those bad instruments, but it is wondered that no more of the great and principal noblemen engage themselves in the cause, for thereby may be suspected that, though these be men of action and gallant spirits, yet will their means rather serve to maintain some sudden, violent surprise than to prevail against resistance or to hold out without some devices for possessing the King's person. If this were done, and if her Majesty should any way further or assist them, it will be thought probable that she has been a contriver or aider.

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1593–4. Accordingly you shall certify them that she will not hazard her honour for the world, but thinks, and ever thought, that they would have framed their actions in other sort. If they aim only at the weakening of the rebellious adherents to Spain, it shall quickly appear how dear their estates shall be to her; and to that end she has and will let the King know her mind by her ambassadors fully. It may be answered that it is not the first like attempt in Scotland. But it is not examples that make things lawful; but it is the rule of honourable respects between kings, and the absolute duties of subjects to sovereigns, which are inviolable and which would cry shame on all such courses, when so many ways are open with less danger. Any prince may be an assistant as long as subjects' quarrels one against another are in question, and not private actions against monarchs, which no time, cause or any state may tolerate or endure. Whensoever they shall publish anything, it should be such that all princes may behold their sincerity, and that their actions accord with reverent regard to their anointed prince; and in this action will the Queen countenance them and will have her Borders ready to defend any violence offered in their absence, for which purpose she also writes to her Wardens to be in readiness. Hampton Court.

4¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to Mr. Lock in answere of his of the xxijth of Februarye." *Correction by Cecil.*

March 5. **225.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as Lord Zouche has now addressed Mr. William Foulkes to your lordship with advertisement as well of his negotiations (which he has performed with such wisdom and courage that thereby the service is highly advanced, himself much honoured, and the well affected here generally comforted) as also of the estate and occurrences in this realm, and forasmuch as Zouche's report is so full and sufficient that my repetition will rather darken than enlarge the same, therefore I trust that my abstinence in writing of these things may be favourably accepted.

Because the miseries and ruins in my body, mind and estate daily grow to such extremities that her Majesty's service shall be endangered and myself hastily perish, therefore I have again sent the bearer, Christopher Sheaperson, to make humble petition for timely compassion on me. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 5. **226.** OCCURRENCES IN SCOTLAND.

"Advertisementis geven by sondry persons of th'occurrentis in Scotland."

The Earls of Angus, Huntly and Erroll, under pretence "to take up" the feuds in the country, convened their friends by their letters on 13th February last at Aberdeen, where they deliberated whether they should enter into ward, what submission they should make to the Church, and what answers to the King. Wherein they concluded that they will not enter into the castles and wards appointed. They will not suddenly alter their religion, and they sent to sue to the King to change the places of their wards, naming particular houses of their friends to be assigned for their several imprisonments. After this convention Angus and Erroll came to Dunblane, three miles from Stirling, where Angus was lodged in the house of Sir William Blackwood (Blacote), an excommunicated priest, and Erroll with Sir James Chisholme, where Lord

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1593–4. Livingston came to him from the Court at Stirling and tarried with him on Saturday and Sunday, the 23rd and 24th of February. The King affirmed that they did not come within 60 miles of that place, but others have assured that they were there quietly.

The King, "by meanes," moved Angus and the rest to enter into the wards assigned, offering to Angus for his assurance the promise of the King and the Earl of Mar, Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, where he should have been warded, and the like offers were made to Huntly, Erroll and Auchindoun. But they all refused, alleging that by any change of Court by Bothwell or otherwise they should be in danger by their ward. Huntly by his letter to the King has declared that he could not with safety enter at any time into St. Andrews, the place prescribed for his ward, praying the King to continue his favour towards him, or at least to leave him to provide for himself. The charges to enter into ward were not delivered to the officers before the 14th of February, notwithstanding that the King on the 11th had affirmed that they were then sent forth to be executed. The officers have not yet returned, and could not make any personal execution "of the bodyes of the offendouris," who nevertheless still remain at their own houses.

Order is given by the Council to Mr. John Skene (Skeyn), one of the King's Advocates, to draw the libel and summons against the Earls and Auchindoun for their trial by Parliament beginning 22nd April. The old Advocate has delivered the old libel and summons, wherein no matter of treason was objected against the parties summoned to the last Parliament, and the old Advocate refused to travail in the draft and forming of the new libel; and the full time to be given by the laws to the parties has nearly expired, so that, except very speedy order be taken, the offenders cannot be tried by the next Parliament.

The Council moved the King to give Bothwell such conditions as should allow him to depart beyond the seas, and the Earl of Mar has employed a special gentleman to persuade him to accept the King's conditions, by which Bothwell should be restored to all his possessions and his friends shall be acquitted, and, at her Majesty's request, he shall be called into this realm after some convenient abode in foreign places. Albeit fair assurances are offered, yet Bothwell and his friends distrust the same, and now it is bruited in Fife and other places that Bothwell and the ministers here, with the help of England, will take and detain the King against his will. This bruit is raised by advertisement sent out of England, and is suspected to be increased by some councillors here. The composition to have been made with Sir George Hume by means of Mr. Richard Douglas, and for the Laird of Spott for the lands of Spott, is broken up in regard that it was espied that Spott should have been drawn to a "tryste," and there taken or slain.

Lord Hume has conferred with the Laird of Johnstone in Edinburgh and in the fields thereabouts, whereby Johnstone was in hope either to have obtained some favour and "oversight" in Court, or else to have been "partyed" by Hume. But it is found that this presence of goodwill towards Johnstone was devised to draw him from Bothwell, that thereby Bothwell might have been put out to his ruin.

David Hay, called to answer for the transportation of Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit [and others mentioned in No. 220], still absents himself, yet he justifies his fact by warrant given by the King and delivered by the hands of the Secretary. This warrant is dated above one year past, but it is thought that it was ante-dated "of purpose evident," and the warrant is delivered to Robert Hay of Kirkcaldy to be showed to the Council for the discharge of

James VI. 1593–4. David Hay, in whose favour the Earls Marischal and Erroll have severally written to councillors. Angus, now returned to Douglas, has brought and keeps there with him two Jesuits, whose names and qualities are not yet known. It is thought that Mr. Cuthbert [Gilbert] Brown, the Abbot of New Abbey, is one of these, and that the other is an Englishman of credit amongst the Earls.

1⅔ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. In the margin :* "At Edenbrugh v^to^ Martii 1593." *Endorsed.*

March 9. **227.** PROCLAMATION AGAINST BOTHWELL AND THOSE WHO ASSISTED HIM IN THE RAIDS.

Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. p. 256.

The King's Majesty and Lords of Secret Council hearing sundry rumours of some new insurrection to be made by Francis, sometime Earl Bothwell, and certain other declared traitors and conspirators, to the "inquietation" of his Highness's person and estate and troubling of the common quietness of his realm and lieges, therefore, and for certain other causes and considerations, his Highness ordains a messenger or other officer of arms to pass to the market cross of the burgh of Edinburgh and there by open proclamation charge all and sundry the lieges who took part or were in company with the said "declarit" traitors at their coming against his Majesty at Holyrood-house in the month of December 1591, thereafter at Falkland in June 1592, and, last, in the month of July last at the same Abbey, to remove themselves from the said burgh within twenty-four hours and not to resort again within ten miles thereof or of the King's residence without special licence, under pain of death; with charge to the Provost and bailies to apprehend all contraveners hereof and to commit them to ward until punishment. Linlithgow.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Endorsed :* "Coppie of the proclamation against those that assisted Erle Bothwell in his three severall rodes."

1594 March 12. **228.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. lii. p. 46.

I am sorry that by my bad delivery of her Majesty's princely directions your zeal for her service has carried you further than even I know she had intention, or, to my simple understanding, any letter of mine has given you warrant. Therefore, seeing your lordship alleges one clause of my letter of 23rd January, you will pardon me if I move you rightly to consider that the words were spoken with a condition annexed, which was that the parties should be certified hither to be sound and able to go through, should never presume to offer any dishonour to the King's person, and that nothing at all should be attempted until you had received full answer from the King what to trust to. You know you were directed to deal publicly and openly with the King and in the meantime to hear and comfort the party of the religion, to assure them all honourable help in all justifiable actions, but never to go so far as to engage the Queen by gift or loan of any one penny or farthing to stir them or incite them to any action against their King. Now, my lord, if before you have ever heard from hence that the party was allowed and held sufficient to enter into any honourable action, if before the King had fully answered you, you entered so far as it now appears you have done, then whatsoever was beyond this was beyond her Majesty's directions. For a greater proof that your zeal has carried you too hastily remember that your own letter of 5th February renewed the motion for lending some money, which you said you would do but upon pawns, and therein desired to have warrant to perform that in deed which before

1594. you had in some sort promised. If you observe the Queen's answer of 13th February you shall find whether any such thing were allowed. Seeing, therefore, you had not done it when you wrote your letter, but depended upon answer, if you did it before the answer came you did it without commission; if after the Queen's letters came, it was contrary to commission, and therefore if you had any way made promise of any money to be lent them, yet, seeing you found her Majesty rejected it, you had done better to have excused yourself than "to breake the rule of that which her Majestie is bound to with the King where you are ambassador." I am now to signify her Majesty's further pleasure, growing from the substance of your own letters from Edinburgh on the 4th instant and which I received on the 10th, not having received any one from your lordship or Mr. Bowes since those of the 13th, except one short one making mention of the Queen's delivery. Your poor friends were in pain of imagining whether any disaster had befallen you, but the silence is found to have been only occasioned by your following the King to Stirling and the lateness of finishing your instructions.

Whatsoever your lordship has now sent by Mr. Foulkes the Queen has perused, and allowed well of your manner of dealing with the King and his Council in remembering both by your own speech and by her ambassador, Mr. Bowes, the King's "often" promises to pursue his rebel Earls (and yet no action has followed), and that now, upon your earnest motions, some new promises are made in presence of a good assembly of his noblemen (whose names you do not write) and other councillors, to follow the matter against them severely, by law, and in his own person, with such power as he can make, requiring concurrency of aid from her Majesty after he shall have openly entered into the action.

Her Majesty very well likes your answer whereby you showed him how justly he may without any extraordinary charges suppress them; and seeing you have with good reason answered him, and that he has now so solemnly made those new promises, which, if performed without delay, must needs come to good effect, she would have you procure a new audience and then declare to him that she is glad to see his promises so solemnly renewed before so many of his Council, yet she will continue in expectation how he will proceed to execution, and as she shall perceive the same in deeds openly and freely followed, she will then yield to comfort the King therein as she shall see reasonable cause. To the intent that her Majesty may by you have some assurance by the King's writing of this his last resolution with his Council, she has willed you to require this of the King, and thereupon to require licence to return speedily. [*In the margin:* "Since the writing of this letter her Majestis pleasure is that before you returne you shall wryte back againe what the King sayth to this point last toutched in the end of the letter and marked with a crosse: which being donne you shall forthwith have order to returne; for the Queene would be lothe that you should come home so frustrate as that no one thing should be procured by her sending you."] But her Majesty would that you should know that she is greatly perplexed with a report made by Mr. Foulkes, that the night before his coming from you he heard in Edinburgh that she had given aid to Bothwell to take the King's person, a matter that greatly disquiets her, who never had any thought to have the King's person injured or honour touched, and never gave any person any such counsel. Therefore if you shall perceive any such suspicion to be had by the King, you shall utterly declare her to be most falsely slandered. But to increase her Majesty's disquietness, she was sore offended to understand, by Mr. Foulkes, that your lordship and Mr. Bowes had hazarded to deliver to the Earl Bothwell money

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1594. upon pawn of a jewel and some pieces of plate, a matter done without any warrant and which, if known, cannot but be interpreted as an act of hers to give the Earl money on purpose to encourage him to enterprise attempt against the King's person, which she neither meant nor can conceive a thought of. Therefore if this your act shall be discovered, and the report thereof brought to the King, you shall use the best means you can in truth to discharge her Majesty thereof, and if you cannot acquit yourselves, then you may, if you think good, confess that, whereas you were informed of a jewel to be sold and that it might be bought for a less sum than it was worth, you granted to adventure a portion of money, so that you might have it delivered at Berwick, yet in the end you found by the offerer that he would have you to receive it but as a pawn so that you might have the money repaid some convenient time, whereunto you agreed (it being likely enough to be forfeited) without making her Majesty privy thereto or having any direction to give or lend any penny to any person in Scotland.

Besides this act, whereof she is clear, her Majesty hears by the report of Mr. Foulkes that a servant of Mr. Bowes is sent up with this jewel, which she never means to see. If your lordship finds that what you have done "be so muttered on" that the King shall hereafter know it, though he does not speak of it to you before your going, yet her Majesty would have you take some course, by Mr. Bowes's advice, to open it and to anticipate his charging you present or absent. You know best how to salve the matter, but her Majesty hopes you have not acknowledged that you knew it belonged to the Earl, but only as a pawn, wherein you thought to have a good bargain. But if you think it cannot be directly imputed to you nor the error known to be done by your lordship, then you may use your own discretion.

[*A cross in the margin.*] Whereas the King has promised that if the Earls refuse to enter ward he will then proceed by Parliament, her Majesty wishes you to press him not to use any such protraction, but to put them now to the horn as traitors, seeing they have refused in effect the summons sent forth against them. If it be said that they have not absolutely refused, "but with condition," your lordship may well answer that if traitors may capitulate with a King it is the ready way to make himself despised and to animate them the more; and therefore, if that may be done, it will give the Queen hope that after such a preparative better conclusion will follow. It is said that one Hay (Hey), of Kirkcaldy, being summoned by the Church to appear for having carried away certain pledges, has refused to come and has secretly showed the King's own hand and the Secretary's for the matter, which her Majesty would have you "learne out" certainly, if you can, so that the King cannot deny it. For all other matters, my letters of 4th March will show her Majesty's absolute pleasure, which still continues, and had not your lordship been too hasty in the matter of 400*l.*, your dealing with the King has wonderfully satisfied her. I hope your lordship will salve that, so that it shall not come in question, and by the next I doubt not but you shall have licence to return, which I will further as soon and as much as may be possible. Hampton Court.

Postscript.—The Queen is well satisfied with Mr. Bowes and yourself for all things, if she may see that this be so handled that neither she, who is innocent, be suspected, nor you, who are her ambassadors, reproached.

$6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my masters letter to the Lord Zouche in aunsweare of his lordships letter of the iiijth of Marche."

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229. Lord Zouche to [Burghley].

Cott. Calig., D.ii. p. 136. Transcript in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 166.

[I] told the King [that I was come either to] understand more by his [Majesty than I had] * heard or seen in this time, or to receive the performance of his former promise, which was that if we have not in action such matter as might content us within x or xii days, we should then proceed to the other part of my instructions. The King answered that many things had fallen out in this time to occupy him, that he could not give me audience the other day at my demanding, and that he had therefore appointed this day to the end that if any matter "wes fallen" in the meantime he might understand it, "else" he had sent for his Council who would be here this night, and then he would give me answer. Whereupon I told him that, seeing the Earls had been hereabout where he might have them at his pleasure, and their favourers had such access to his ear, I could hope for no good success, and that therefore my desire was that he would hear Mr. Bowes deliver to him before his nobleman and Council that which I had in command to direct him.†

The King denied that the Earls had been within three score miles, and that he had spoken with any of them since the last Convention. I was evil informed, and when he had talked with his Council he would give answer and write to her Majesty. I told the King I would pawn my head that some of the Earls had been not far hence, and that some men about him had dealt evil with him, if he had not appointed them thereunto, for I was informed that they had written in his name to some of them [the Earls]. As for an answer, I had often enough received dilatory answers and I therefore urged that he would either appoint me a day that Mr. Bowes might be heard or "princelie" refuse to hear me and so send me away. His Majesty demanded whether I would receive an answer to my former propositions; which I passed over, and pressed for a day for Mr. Bowes to be heard. [Whereupon he concluded that "the other morning" I should have answer to this proposition by twelve o'clock.]

This was Monday, 25th February. On the 26th the King sent me word at 3 o'clock in the afternoon that he was ready with his lords and Council according to his promise to hear us. Whereupon I thought good not to seem so prepared, and therefore gave answer that he promised that we should know when to attend him, and if we had known in any time we would have been very ready; but the next day we would be ready at what time soever. Two hours afterwards I received his order that we should have access next day at 9 o'clock in the morning. In the meantime we were solicited by Mr. Aston, to see whether nothing might content us. We said that we would most willingly accept any course taken for the satisfying of her Majesty; so that it grew to that issue whether we would desire once again to speak with the King privately, or that he should send for us. We thought it not convenient "to make shew of our flyenge to be hard as it was graunted," and the King thought it dishonourable to send for us. In the end it was craved that, being called before the Council, we would first demand this resolute answer, whereto it was accorded.

[Whereupon being sent for on the 27th, we had access to his Majesty in Mar's house] where, the King with fourteen noblemen, councillors and gentlemen of his chamber being present, I told his Majesty that we were come according to his promise to receive his answer and were also ready to perform the other part of our message. Whereupon the King commanded the

* Parts within square brackets supplied from Harleian transcript.

† Page decayed here.

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Chancellor to answer. He began with the proofs of the King's former care of performing the amity, both by the delivering up of such traitors of her Majesty as came within his kingdom and also by his conduct when the Spaniards were upon his coasts, and affirmed that he was minded to continue the same course as heretofore, and had "geven upp in writinge" as much as was possible to be performed, and was purposed to proceed accordingly, having to that end contented his Council to confer what was further to be done therein, but complained of her Majesty who had suffered his rebels to be harboured and countenanced within her realm, even in one of her own houses—naming Norham (which was Bothwell, of whom he had received intolerable indignities). [Some other things were spoken which, partly through the King's interrupting the] Chancellor, partly for want of memory in myself I was caused to forget. I then said that I little thought that I should speak of this matter before the Council, being in that part directed only to him, but I would do so if it were his pleasure. The King said "yea, for it was a publick matter and such a one as wherein all they had parte, and wherein he had ymparted with them and don nothinge but by their consents," repeating in sum the speeches that had passed between us.

Whereupon I "entered into the answeringe" of as much of the Chancellor's speech as my memory could call to mind, and said that I had to complain only of these delays concerning the Earls. I doubted not that her Majesty had by all means shown her carefulness to requite any kindness from the King. But in this matter there were such delays as, in my poor judgment, made his meaning apparent; for I, having urged him only to give some such contentment as would satisfy the Queen, [received nothing but delays. In so much as I found] one clause in my instructions giving me leave to take promises of sure proceedings hereafter, I moved his Majesty to assure me of the prosecuting of them from that present by all means possible; which he granted upon the honour of a prince. I required this to be set in writing for my better warrant. "The which, yf I had then received soe generallie as was promised, I had accepted thereof, but being after comaunded to urge action I could not; which I alsoe acquainted him withall." Upon this he promised with like vows that within x or xii days I should see action to content us. I "required" what I might see to that purpose, or else that Mr. Bowes might proceed according to her Majesty's direction.

The King "burst out with me" into some passion and denied that his first promise was made so general, or that he should account of himself as if he were not a sole prince but the Queen's lieutenant, who must render account of his dealings to her. I told him that my mistress had not used him so, but as a sole prince, the care of whom caused [her to break many sleeps. He asked me whether] the Queen had sent me to accuse him, and grew very angry with me and said I had two advantages of him: the one, that I had spoken privately with him, the other, that though I was there "sett in a chaire" and covered, yet was I but a gentleman and the Lord Zouch at home "els he wold approve anie waie that I had not saied well." I confess I was moved and said that although I was here in a place I was not worthy of, yet even in my poor estate my carriage had been such that I have been received into the company of my betters. As for offending him, if I had done anything amiss, let him complain to my sovereign who would not maintain me, or any subject she had, to give him just occasion of offence; for I had commission to say so much upon some complaint which had been made by him against Mr. Bowes. Knowing her Majesty's care of the King, I had little cause to offer him any abuse.

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So after a little anger he put me off that matter and brought me to the rest of my answer which was that, if there were any further [assurance, I desired to receive the same. And as touching] Bothwell [I could not say] where he was, but this I could say by commandment from her Majesty—that she did not maintain him, but had punished some of her subjects at first for having received him without her knowledge, had offered his Majesty all good aid against him, complained of his suffering such an indignity and was sorry that he had so passed it over. But it might well be that some of her subjects, having seen the King's pardon and having received some particular friendship from him, might do that which she knew not of; but if he would embrace her love as she did offer it, she would stand fast to the King for the suppressing of Bothwell or any other. So I craved still to know what course he would take for her Highness's satisfaction.

Whereupon we were desired to go forth a while, and after our calling in again the Chancellor told us that the King with his Council assured us "that they should be after the retorne of their disobedience yf they did not yeld [*sic*] further prosecuted by all such good meanes as could be devised, but yf force must be used then her Majesty must concurre in that parte." I told the King that if any such thing were demanded she had given me leave [to reply in some part to such a demand; and I craved pardon] if I should again use words which might offend him. I had commandment to assure him that her Majesty would aid him if she might be assured that he meant to prosecute them in sincerity and that her expenses would not be misemployed.

The Chancellor in the name of the lords and Council said that they required her Majesty to remember the last treaty in Border matters, wherein each prince promised to deliver offenders, and therefore to deliver Bothwell to the King as he had delivered Sir Brian O'Rourke. Whereunto I answered only that I would acquaint her Majesty with all. But Mr. Bowes, being better acquainted with the orders of the Border, said that [in such a case] where any person were to be required the King himself [had] a course to demand him and not by her Majesty's ambassador. The Chancellor beginning to answer in that point, the King concluded, saying that Mr. Bowes said right.

In the debating of the King's accusation of Mr. Bowes, the King denied to have complained to her Majesty of him, who thereupon put him in memory that her Majesty by her letter to the King had made mention of the matter. He said that he had commended Mr. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Carey (Carew) —with no accusation, but that he had said that he misliked his course, which he wished might be amended. He added that he marvelled that in the said letter, which came after the arrival * of Sir Robert Carey, he was not answered of that which he caused to be moved by him, and which would have helped many matters. He affirmed likewise that there were some defects both in that letter and in one from her Majesty to the Queen of Scots. These imperfections, he thought, might well "escape," seeing there was no secretary, but as he left these without noting of any particular [want in substance or form, so I passed over his speech thereon, thinking] it convenient to acquaint her Majesty therewith, as a thing "passing in my negotiation." Thereupon Mr. Bowes prayed the King to show some particularities of his evil behaviour, and offered to "confesse anie truthe alledged," trusting to give good account of anything laid against him. The King said "he had not to charg him but to himself," and because he had received very lately into his house Mr. Lock, who was a great solicitor for Bothwell and other rebels, as he had opened to

* *i.e.* his arrival at the English Court.

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1593–4. Mr. Bowes himself. Bowes answered that, after the King had imparted that Lock had been accused to him, Lock came purposely into this realm, boldly presented himself to the King to plead his innocency, and was dismissed; so that from that time he might well receive him as one cleared and free from all suspicion. But this "receipt" of Lock, wherewith the King charged Mr. Bowes, was done after the departure of Sir Robert Carey, [and there could be no cause to move the King to condemn Mr.] Bowes's [course] to Sir Robert. The King acknowledged that Lock had indeed offered himself for trial, and therefore warned Mr. Bowes that he esteemed Lock his great enemy, as he should well feel if he fell into his hands. Therewith "in some warme collor" he admonished us to examine our safe-conducts, declaring that it was ever implied that we should not transgress the laws of his realm, neither could the privilege of an ambassador deliver him from punishment for any sedition stirred by him. His sharp warning showed his severe mind to lay on us the uttermost pains which might be lawfully "afflicted," which we lightly esteemed and passed over. So, after urging to have set down something certain how they meant to proceed and what time it would take, we were dismissed for that day upon promise to have all that set down in order by the Council before their departure. That same night three of the Council were sent to make us acquainted more particularly what was thought good by the King and Council, to confer with us if we liked thereof or could advise better, with vehement protestations that the King was wholly bent to satisfy her Majesty. [His offers were, that if they did not put themselves to ward after the return of their summons] they should be proclaimed traitors, and the same should be annexed to their libel, and so by the next Parliament be prosecuted by law and with expedition. But if her Majesty would concur [because of the charges etc.], they should be "horned" and prosecuted with vigour as soon as proclamation might be made for the gathering of his subjects. In that case he would proceed against them in person and seize their houses and livings, "till when" he would demand nothing, provided that it were first concluded that then there would be aid for the maintenance of the war and strengthening of the houses with garrisons. Hereof we long disputed, alleging that it behoved the King to go more roundly to work, for the course of law was too gentle for those who had refused so many clemencies. [Such contempt following after they had been so gently dealt with is like to "obdure" both them and others. If the King's mind was bent indeed against them] we were persuaded that means might be made to entrap them without any such ado; their houses might be taken and possessed by their enemies; commissions might be granted to some of their enemies joined with the good men who hate them for their wicked course; and we doubted not they would be subdued without any great charge. Against this it was reasoned that the King by appointing their enemies should make them stronger; those who hated their "faict" would not see them overthrown through malice; that it would breed more feuds in the land, whereof they already had too many; that the King should thereby weaken his estate.

We then said that as the King had made so many promises and they were all frustrated, it were necessary that he engaged himself "some waies" in such sort that her Majesty might be assured of him. If he would prosecute them earnestly, no doubt but he might find means for the time for money, until such time as his just disdain against them grew apparent, by the removing of evil instruments about him [testifying his change of mind; else how could we think that any of this would prove other than delays, which are] dangerous, especially when we had perfect intelligence that the Earls were coming and

going not far from him and their favourers admitted to his presence. After long conference they complained that nothing would satisfy us, and we complained of no hope of good purpose, but in the end urged that we might have set down directly what we should receive, concluding that, if it were such as might satisfy us we would receive it, if it bred doubt we would certify it, "and if it out of doubt" [*sic*] we would be glad to proceed in our directions.

Next morning we understood the Council [were] prepared "to" their journey, whereupon by the advice of Mr. Bowes we sent to the Secretary to require resolution, and thus caused their stay once again. Within two hours the same councillors brought us answer to that which they had propounded in conference over night, which was as much as the King could do with his honour. We desired to receive his conclusion in writing. They answered that he was not purposed to give anything in [writing, unless we would propound in writing. In the end] Mr. Bowes and I having considered that her Majesty requires the continuance of the amity more than anything, and finding some difficulty in the other, we thought it good to receive once again her Highness's further pleasure. Therefore I desired to receive from his Majesty, his Council being present, the conclusion he was pleased to make.

Therefore we again had audience, and I, demanding resolution, received the like speech as before from the Chancellor, [that the Earls would be prosecuted by law, and proceeded against by force, if aid was given from England]. [We demanded the time of the prosecution.] They promised the peaceable course would be done presently, and the other as soon as matters should be concluded betwixt their Majesties,* whilst I laboured to show that more had been heretofore done and yet nothing come to pass. The Chancellor laid the fault upon her Majesty who advised the King that he should do well to agree with them. And the King, seeing we stood so hard to be satisfied, began again to be angry, and to ask whether the Queen meant to rule him or no, saying that she should not teach him how to rule his subjects, that this cause was public and might touch her as well as him. As for the cause, since they had refused so good offers, he meant to prosecute them as far as he could to show all princes and his own people his care of religion, with great protestations to that end, still using great words according to advice given him as might seem by the copies [of the letters from Douglas. Whereupon I, being also moved, said that I would for this time receive] the answer made by the Chancellor in his Majesty's name, to acquaint her therewith and with his Majesty's speech also, till which time I would wait her further pleasure. But this much I must needs answer in the meantime: that her Majesty had not deserved those words, for she had not sought any rule over him, neither had she advised but for his good; but I would certify the one as well as the other and attend her further pleasure.

After this Mr. Bowes proved to them that much more had been done aforetime and yet in effect came to nothing. Whereupon the Chancellor sought to lay the fault upon her Majesty, as before. And then the King said he would also help the Chancellor to take away this scruple, saying it was manifest how seriously he had dealt therein, and how they durst not show their faces until Bothwell had showed him such indignity that it seemed as if there had been an interregnum; whereupon they burst forth, and for that cause they have been the more winked at. But now he will never bear with them more, since they have refused to enter. Mr. [Bowes "used many other

* The Harleian transcript is here corrupt. The original text reads: "They promised it should be done presentlie the peaceable course the other soe sone as matter should be concluded."

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speeches to prove that it was not the cause, but finding [*sic*] me silent, because I took it contrary to "] my course to speak further, having already concluded. I took my leave, signifying that after knowing her Majesty's pleasure I would wait upon his Majesty again.

Afterwards, persuading myself that I would be better at Edinburgh, partly because the King meant to be absent a fortnight, and partly because I held it more safe and to have more opportunity of conference with Mr. Bowes and others, I craved licence to repair thither until I should hear her Majesty's pleasure. This being granted with better liking than my tarrying, I repaired to Edinburgh the next day, being 1st March. The next morning Colonel Stewart was sent to me by the Chancellor to persuade me of his good services to her Majesty; and, to have the better credit with me, he brought me Huntly's letter to the King, excusing himself from coming in to ward because the place was not safe in respect of his private enemies (which the Chancellor inferred to be himself), but otherwise justifying himself of all duty towards the King and of his ability and will to withstand his enemies.

Colonel Stewart [protested on behalf of the Chancellor that he would do all good parts betwixt the King and her Majesty, and] that now he found the King fully be[nt] to run a round course and to shake off the Earls, and that he himself was grown again into as much favour with the King as ever he was in; the fear of which had caused him hitherto not to show himself so far as otherwise he would, in respect of his enemies about the King. He vowed that I should now see good proofs of his faithful course, and that on the morrow the Chancellor would come to the church where I was, so that he might on my way homewards confirm the same. I entertained the Colonel with good words of kindness, and said that I was sorry the Chancellor sought still to deceive me with words when I knew well his course was so bent to the King's that he would follow him right or wrong, for I understood he had so promised his Majesty. Besides, I understood that he had written to Huntly, advising him how to carry himself until the Parliament, and that then he [would find means for him to escape. Although these things might well be invented to his hurt, yet seeing his carriage, the delays which were used, and his credit with the King], for my own part I could not but conclude that there was no good meaning to proceed in a round course. I well knew that the Earls passed to and fro in the country so negligently that if he truly meant to prosecute them in such sort as all men confessed was necessary, they might have been entrapped before this. And, being in prison, then might consultation have been had with her Majesty, both how the King's affections might be yielded unto and the amity and safety of the two realms preserved. If the King had showed, or the Chancellor procured, his disfavour against some of these bad instruments, then there would have been some hope of an alteration of purposes.

This was answered, that although the Chancellor was truly devoted to the King above all others, yet should it [not be proved that he had dealt so without advice, but that his credit was so impaired with the King by the friends] of those Papist lords and so shaken that he could not do that which he desired, but was so put at that he looked for greater disgrace. But now, if her Majesty would concur, it should be found both what part he had in the King and what mind he had found in him to prosecute these Earls effectually; that it needs force to do anything against their friends; that it was not yet in his power to remove any; but that "continuance of time" would work that also. Great vows were made that, if concurrence might be had, I should see my service take better effect than any had done a long time. I answered that

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Next day the Chancellor took occasion to come in my company from church and confirmed the words of Colonel Stewart. He denied that he had ever dealt underhand with the Earls, and protested his full intention to perform all good parts hereafter. For shortness of time I referred my speeches to that which I had had with Colonel Stewart, promising to acquaint her Majesty with what I had received; but praying him to believe that till further action happened [I would not commend it. Also on 2nd March Lord Hamilton sent to him * with complaints of sorrow that the King] had dealt with me so evil, and then to tell me he was sorry that the King had made fair promises now to deal against these Earls, but that he had not changed his mind; that I should offer his service to her Majesty, by whom he would be directed in all his actions, as upon whom he settled his good or evil.

I answered that I had recommended his service to her Majesty and had yet received no answer, but I hoped to receive it upon this dispatch. In the meantime I took occasion to take some exception in that he had made a bond with many for the prosecution of Johnston for killing Maxwell, not because it was unlawful, but because he had once determined not to take such a matter in hand as being rather thrust upon him by his enemies than that they meant him any good. He answered that he had indeed been offered such a bond of friends, who would also stick to him in any other cause; that he accepted the same but was not to go against him until after two months; whereof he prayed me to assure her Majesty. But if she would mislike thereof or employ him otherwise, he would be wholly directed by her. I made promise to acquaint her [Majesty herewith, and, as much as in me lay, procure her gracious answer]. I understand by Mr. Bowes that he has the keeping of Dumbarton Castle, which might prejudice much if a man evil affected had it; that he required of her Majesty but a hundred lasts of powder for the furnishing thereof, with assurance that he would keep it for her and never yield it to any without her consent. If it pleased her Majesty to afford him some comfort I should be glad to be the instrument thereof. The Church has him in great estimation and assure for him that he shall faithfully perform all good services.

According to her Majesty's commandment I have also, with the help of Mr. Bowes, travailed with the other party. They are purposed to shew themselves before anything further be demanded, wherein they will use all diligence in hope that upon the overture there shall be good concurrence with them according to their former propositions. They persuade themselves that, if her Majesty's forces prejudice only the Humes, "for the rest of the Borders they are persuaded well enough of." The Church also and all good men, "not beinge politick," fear that her Majesty should not take fast hold at this time to establish some such good for them as may be a continuance of their peace, wherein if they now find that words may content, I fear they will hereafter be quite discouraged.

I have testified what I have gathered, to the end I might know in all things her Majesty's direct pleasure. I lay my "wants" [*i.e.* deficiencies] before her Majesty that she may take away her displeasure for anything I have done ignorantly, or lay punishment upon me, disabling me from any service of honour. *Signed:* Edward Zouche.

24½ *pp. Copy. Tops and margins of the pages burnt away.*

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* *sic:* ? me.

James VI.
1595.
March 15.

230. Petitions of the Kirk.

[Misplaced: see page 551].

"Petitiouns of the Kirk to be humblie cravite of his Majestie and Estaitis of this present Conventioun for purging the land of idolatouris and establisching of trew religioun."

(1) First, it is humbly craved that "substantious" and solid order be taken before the dissolving of this present Convention for pursuing his Majesty's "forfat tratouris" and rebels with their assisters, either by his Majesty in person or by his lieutenant, with all expedition possible, if they do not remove forth of the country according to promise. (2) That the penalties of the cautioners be nowise discharged either in whole or in part, but be "exactlie tane up" and employed to wage men to assist his Majesty or his lieutenant. (3) That their resetters since the last band be "callit and convict and thair unlawis tane up" and applied to sustain the waged men. (4) That their livings be wholly "intrometit" with by his Majesty's chamberlains and factors without exception of their wives' life-rents or conjunct fees, and so much thereof only to be bestowed upon their wives as shall be sufficient to furnish their own necessity, but not to supply their husbands; and the rest to be applied to waged men. (5) That the ladies of Huntly and Errol be charged to repair hither and make their residence in this country, and that Lady Huntly be charged to deliver her eldest son to be kept by whom his Majesty shall appoint to that effect. (6) That all his Majesty's good subjects be "dischargit" by open proclamation under the pain of treason to reset, supply or have intelligence with any of the foresaid traitors and their assisters who have not yet had remission, and that all provosts, bailies of burghs, sheriffs, stewards and justiciars be charged to take and apprehend all who are notoriously known to have been at the raid against the lieutenant and to resort within their bounds, "and namelie," the Laird of Bonytoune, younger, the Laird of Latoun (Lattowne), Patrick Butter, John Ogilvy of Craig, William Ogilvy in Queich (Quiche), Robert Gray in Ballegerno (Balligornocht), Mr. Alexander Ramsay in Brechin, and present them to his Majesty, under the pain of 2000*l.* if they be found remiss and negligent. (7) That sufficient living be provided at every parish church for sustentation of the ministry, that such as are "evill provydit" may be supplied, and others "plantit" at kirks which presently lack all ministering. (8) That all kirks annexed to prelacies and other benefices of cure consisting of teinds annexed to any benefice whatsoever be dissolved and conferred in title by presentation and collation to several [*i.e.* separate] ministers for serving the cure of the particular congregation, reserving the present possessor's life-rent of the two parts. (9) That certain commissioners be appointed with full power to treat and conclude upon a present provision for the ministry to be "plantit" at every particular congregation, to remain unaltered from year to year "quhill the constant forme of provisione may tak effect be deceas of the present possessouris." (10) That the act of February be ratified without exception, that the commissioners aforesaid may have "quhairupone" to assign.

1⅔ *pp. Copy. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Bowes's clerk:* "Articles presented to the Kinge by the Ministers. Edenburgh xv° Marcii 1594."

March 20.
1593–4.

231. Elizabeth to Lord Zouche.

Vol. lii. p. 52.

We have of late been informed by your letters to Cecil in what terms things stand in Scotland [recapitulating the King's protestations to proceed against the Earls to the satisfaction of the Queen and his well affected subjects].

1593–4. Now, by your letter of 12th March, new occasion is given us to furnish you with an answer under our own handwriting. We find that the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer were sent from the King to signify to you that the Earls " were concluded traytors " by act of Council for having refused to enter ward upon summons of treason, and should be so declared next day by proclamation; which was not done; but therewithal it was delivered to you that the King had intelligence that Bothwell, with the assistance of our subjects, was intending a surprise of his person. Hereunto we cannot forbear to expostulate with the King that any ungodly person or slanderous sycophant could induce in him the least doubt or scruple that we would have assented to or allowed any attempt against any king's person, had he been neither friend, ally nor neighbour. Therefore, although we are content to send you this letter under our own hand for your direction and warrant what to say to the King in that matter delivered to you by those two councillors, yet such is the monstrous untruth of this report that we can hardly believe that any person is able to settle in the King any such " conceipte," and therefore we are not " unnapte " to believe (seeing one of those councillors " did wrest " our own speeches delivered to himself at his being in England, whereof he promised, being charged, to explain himself by his own letter, which yet we could never receive) that this has been devised only to stay his good purpose in the publishing of those Earls by proclamation; but such is still our desire to avoid the least taint to our inviolable amity that we require you to assure the King that if we loved him not, yet we love ourselves so well, and hold the kingly office so sacred, that we would not desire life any longer after we should either allow or animate any persons for any cause in any so rebellious actions. For testimony whereof you shall let the King know that as we keep in memory the substance of divers of his letters, so we hope he forgets not what course we held with him by our letters, even then when by his own public pardon to Bothwell our subjects upon the Borders were encouraged to receive and favour the Earl after his recovery of the King's presence, yea, and when such was the King's estimation of him that Sir Robert Melvill himself, on his return to Scotland from us, was glad to receive his recommendation; and when by the King's own letter also we were assured of the King's reception of him into his grace, how we offered all manner of support against him or any other, and punished some of our subjects, his favourers on the Borders, who yet pleaded the King's own licence for the same. Yet since that time, for all the promises and shows, we have observed that the Earls against whom the King had gone in person, and who had sold their King and country to strangers, durst in the public eye of the world present themselves to his presence, that their wives are favourably received, their solicitors in Court, their chief friends in ward with the King in Council and chamber, their livings remaining entire to their uses or their friends, and only protractions and delays provided for them; and even now *in puncto temporis*, when all men expected some resolute course against them, this false invention has been set on foot the very day when the proclamation should have been divulged. Wherefore you may assure the King upon the warrant of our conscience that we may not so much as think that any action of ours has afforded the least cause of such " conceipte." Therefore, if any of our forces shall be found to concur in any such wicked and unthought of enterprise, we shall be the first to deliver them into the hands of the King's Justices. But if the King may have heard that we have ever wished that the party of the religion, the noblemen and good patriots might be so respected that the Popish faction and Spanish instruments might not encroach upon his favour, to the harm of himself and his country, surely it is no more

James VI.
1593–4. than we confess we have always wished, and have often declared it to the King: and if we did not think that he would relieve and sustain them, yea, and rather use their services against "the other," surely we could not foresee anything except confusion in his affairs.

But we will forbear to enlarge ourselves now any further, having set down what is most true, wishing the King not to believe any "flying tales," but to weigh reports according to their appearance of truth. Of all estates none is more subject to censures [*i.e.* criticism] than that of princes; for the King himself is constantly reported to have often and private conference with the Earls (of which he has vowed the contrary) "under hande" to protect and assure them; and there be some who will not "sticke" to affirm that George Ker, who is ranging abroad unapprehended, is winked at by his direction, yea, and that one Hay of Kirkcaldy, having transported certain pledges into the Low Countries, answered that he had the King's warrant and the Secretary's for the same. Such bruits, being compared with the long deferring of the Earls' trial upon nice scruples, doubtless cause fear in the hearts of his good people, and may prove dangerous to his estate. Longer than his subjects shall dutifully and obediently carry themselves to the King their sovereign we shall not wish them either favour or protection; and hereof we command you to assure him, expecting to hear by you next what the King has promised to put in execution for the suppressing of those Earls and their confederates, without which we can never esteem him in safety.

After you have imparted this to the King, you shall make known to the Queen that although we have not heard but by yourself of her safe delivery of a young prince, yet we cannot forbear to congratulate her for God's blessing therein, to whom we wish all honour and good fortune, to the comfort of both his parents [with compliments to the Queen]. Hampton Court.

4½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A mynute of her Majesties letter to the Lord Zouche in aunsweare of his to my master of the xijth of Marche."

March 20. **232.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Vol. liii. p. 57. I have received your letter of the 12th, confessing the receipt of mine of the 4th. Concerning the message delivered by the Chancellor and Treasurer from the King, her Majesty has written that which may yield the King satisfaction, if he has conceived such doubts as by them you are given to understand. Whereof, though you may and can, by your own attestation, verbally acquit her Majesty, yet she is content that you show the King her own letter to you. [The preceding.]

Her Majesty likes your proceeding in the conference between you and Mr. Bowes with Colonel Stewart, sent from the Chancellor, and though the man himself is but of slippery condition, yet she would have you entertain those offers of the Chancellor with assurance that if you find his overtures sound and sincere you will procure from her Majesty good acceptance of the same. Her affections to any of the King's ministers have ever been yielded according as she has noted in them soundness to the King and constant upholding of the cause of religion. Other likings in particular she never had any, because she never had particular end to work anything in that kingdom but merely for the safety of the prince.

Her Majesty would have you understand what course he would offer to take with the Earls, and with Bothwell and the rest. Wherein you may

1593–4. assure him that she bears no particular mislike to the persons of the three Earls, severing them from the practices and projects with foreign enemies, but if they remain unpunished the sequel must be pernicious to the King. As for Bothwell, further than that he is an enemy to those who are traitors to the King and makes profession of the cause of religion, her Majesty does not think or "care of him," though if his submission could have reconciled the King's grace and favour, she thinks he might have been used against those traitors upon good consideration. But if he should ever presume to have the least thought against the King, she would think him worthy of all that could be laid upon him.

In this manner your lordship may open yourself to him, to see into what particularities he will descend; and seeing you have been promised so resolutely the King's prosecution [of the three Earls], her Majesty's pleasure is that you by all good endeavour get the same performed, the rather that it should not appear to the world that your journey has been "frustrate." I doubt not but that upon receipt of your answer to this, you shall receive your revocation from her Majesty, who has allowed well of your late writings and carriage with the councillors there, perceiving by your censure [*i.e.* criticism] of the Chancellor's overture that you will hardly be deceived, seeing you determined never to give him trust. Mr. Bowes's private advertisements confirm your doubtful opinion of any good or round proceedings. You will therefore show your wisdom in hastening that which will discover the King's meaning, and that by such good means as you can. Hampton Court.

Postscript.—Because in all these stirs of levying forces her Majesty commanded her Wardens to stand upon their defence only, she has willed me to inform you thereof, lest you should construe it that they might presume to stir into any part of Scotland without her further direction. This I perceive by Lock's letter they would fain have had her Majesty to yield, but it is far from her mind.

In order that Lock should not err, being absent from your directions, I have acquainted him with some points of your letter to me, and the Queen's to you, for avoiding the confusion which might grow by the distance of time and place. I this day received from him a letter dated at Berwick on 14th March, wherein he writes: "I trust all shall fall out well, as by the messages yesterday from the Lord Zouche and Mr. Bowes sent to me for hastning them to action and assuring me good issue, I am the rather drawen to hope." What I may guess by these words "hastning them to action," I know not. But I doubt not but that, seeing you find their action directed to the King's person, you will with such discretion keep your hands so clear that your proceedings as public ministers, representing the person of her Majesty, shall nowise give the least occasion of "touche" to her Majesty's innocency of allowing or not abhorring such an attempt.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my masters letter to the Lord Zouche in aunswere of his of the xijth of Marche."

March 20. **233.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Vol. liii. p. 60. I have received your letter of 14th of March, from Berwick, containing the "forwardnes" of those persons who are resolved to try their fortunes, and enclosing divers instruments making manifest their forcible proceedings. Though there be many good grounds to declare themselves against the faction of Spain, yet I do not see how, this warning being given and the matter so publicly carried, it will be possible to do anything without the assail-

James VI.
1593–4. ing or prosecuting of the King's own person, which her Majesty did and does utterly condemn.

Whereas you seem to doubt lest any knowledge of your letters from hence should be given, you may know that "of all your purposes even there her Majesteis own embassadoures have ben expostulated from the Kinge," insomuch as the Chancellor and Treasurer told them openly that the Earls were already, for the Queen's satisfaction, found traitors by act of Council, and should have been proclaimed that day, but that the King had assured intelligence that Bothwell (with the Queen's forces and help) meant directly to surprise his person, for which, if there were not better order, he must protest against the breach of amity. Besides, you must consider that, although divers of the greatest noblemen of the realm and religious persons might with good colour have joined forcibly to suppress their enemies without any forcible approach to the King, yet, as things are, only such persons as have suffered for the Earl Bothwell's private cause join in this purpose of following the King. As for Atholl, Argyll, Gowrie and the rest, although they will "party" against Huntly for their own particular feuds, yet will they never put themselves into so desperate an attempt as that of pursuing the King. What they do by levying forces northward may well be against their enemies, as is usual amongst them. But if you find any nobleman of power or greatness of birth once approach the King's Court, I am much deceived. Where you speak of Hamilton's kindness, it is far from any such matter; for I see by your own letter it was only this, that he would go out of the way because he would not be against them.

For the Duke, you see he has better bethought himself, and assure yourself this will make Bothwell irreconcilable, whereby some good course which might be taken for him after this will never be granted by the King.

The Queen has commanded her ambassador utterly to disavow that vile imputation that she should encourage any man to offer dishonour to the King's person [etc. as in No. 231]. Where you write that her Majesty's forces on the Borders are in readiness, but have no direction to go into Scotland, she never purposed they should. They are only to defend their own if any raid should be made by the Scots.

I enclose such speech as was used by the Chancellor to the ambassador,* to whom he had urged the day before that the maintaining of Bothwell was the cause that nothing was done against the three Earls. I pray you look well to yourself and to all your papers, and believe that the King will be well provided for any such attempt. Hampton Court.

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my masters letter to Mr. Lock, in aunswere of his of the xiiijth of Marche."

1594. March 26. Vol. liii. p. 62.

234. Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Zouche.

I received your letter of the 19th on Sunday last, by which time I doubt not but my letters of the 20th have come to your hands, wherein I hope you are satisfied how to deal in the matter of Bothwell. The imputation that her Majesty was his "setter on" is a matter so false that it needs small defence. Yet so precious to her is her princely honour that she has directed you by her own letters how to satisfy the King, who I would to God were as watchful of his pernicious enemies as he is jealous of his best friends.

You can consider that every letter of yours has five days to come in,

* Now amissing.

1594. and every answer of mine as many; "wherin you must leave some surplusage for my account," because I must wait a day or two for her Majesty's deliberation, whereas you, reporting things done (*res gestas*) may answer with more expedition. Neglect of you or negligence you have no cause to suspect, for, apart from your own particular (whom I love and honour), the public cause draws diligence and careful consideration.

For the contrariety in my last letter, it is very true you were licensed in the first part of the letter to return after having discharged the contents of the same, yet a postscript [was] added to suspend your revocation for some time. Though this was "contrary in it selfe," yet it could not much mislead you in your actions. But I see your zeal for her Majesty's service, which you find crossed by untoward courses there, and your great desire to return, make you too much displeased with yourself and others, wherein you do some injury to both.

But now to come to the substance of your letter; for the matter of Bothwell you have direction already what to say. For the second matter (wherein it is now answered that without the Queen's concurrence the King can do nothing against the Earls by force), you shall answer that if he would use the strength of his civil power absolutely, without extraordinary force, he might quickly alter the course of these disorders, and, that done, he shall satisfy her Majesty and his own people so much that he cannot want help to execute afterwards what shall be thought necessary. If the Earls be summoned to enter into sure ward and be but put to the horn if they refuse, then, by that example of the King's sound proceeding against them, all his good subjects will be animated boldly to proceed against them, and the contrary side will be terrified. This being a work for the King's own safety, her Majesty little thought that it would still be to do; and without this she sees no reason to be satisfied. Former experience has taught what shall come of Parliaments, and many things may happen before that time, therefore if you find the Council (which assembled the day before your last letter) have not resolved of such course, you shall desire to speak with the King and Council together.

Though you have discharged the greatest part of your instructions, yet since her Majesty finds how you were interrupted by the King and Chancellor that day when you and Mr. Bowes had audience and wisely carried yourselves in the presence of fourteen of the Council and Chamber, she is pleased you shall go on with whatsoever you had before to say, and withal shall represent how long you have tarried, how much you have been promised by the King, and how little has been performed, and also let him know that, seeing by so many letters you have given the Queen assurances from him, and especially that in twelve days it should be performed, and yet find nothing done of substance to advertise, nor any good likely to ensue, you shall desire him to give you leave to return, that her Majesty may know that you, finding your journey fruitless, will not stay where it shall be endless. Her Majesty indeed wills me to let you understand, "that if you once have done this last message in good and decent sort, without any hold for him to take that you would quarrell, and yet to use playnnesse, your lordship may only staye to see if he promise anythinge what he will doe for five or sixe daies, and then returne without any other lycence." But her Majesty would have you to stay so long after to see "what operation your comming away will take," and so be able to inform her what to trust to. If the King "do still aunswere his favouring the Erles, with the Queenes encouraging or protecting Bodwell," you can answer how she is wronged, and that she has never set on any one of his subjects against him in any violent course. If her Majesty may see him begin in suppressing

James VI.
1594. the Earls and Popish traitors, which ought to be first in time as it is chief in consequence, she should have comfort to follow any honourable or reasonable course which he would move her to keep, for she makes one and the self-same reckoning of suffering Spanish forces to settle in Scotland as if they were to land in England, which is the mark they shoot at, whosoever sends them.

There came in your lordship's letter another from you and Mr. Bowes jointly, which I am commanded to answer all in one. It contained the King's sending for the Chancellor and Council to Stirling on 18th March, to resolve on the new offers of the three Earls and Auchindoun, to which no answer can be made from hence till it be known from you what the issue of that Council is.

For the matter of the King's suffering the Earls to be in Stirling Castle or town, as you wrote, you shall do well to urge it upon some good ground to the King, if it may be proved. If he deny it as a false bruit, it may yet serve to let him see that all things that are reported are not true; and you may let him know that it would be the rather believed, seeing that Huntly's wife is in Court so well esteemed, Sir James Chisholme pardoned, and all the offenders find their solicitors so well encouraged by persons most inward with the King.

You write also that upon the bruit that Bothwell had come to Haddington with great forces, the Provost of Edinburgh caused strong watch to be kept, which is now found to have been done without cause. If this be so, it may serve as another example of their false apprehensions.

For the matter of the speech given out by Sir Robert Melvill that a letter or writing found in one Geddes's (Gaddies') trunk was brought to her Majesty, you shall "take knowledge" that you have informed the Queen of such a bruit, and that she has commanded you to enquire of him what matter the writing contained, in what trunk it was found, when and where, and how it was brought to her, because she does not know that any person had any such thing.

This is all wherein your letters require any new answer, for divers other points are fully answered by mine of the 20th day, which I hope have arrived. You will find that many times you have written and satisfied those things which before they had arrived here my letters have, peradventure, needlessly found lack of, and so, peradventure, yours have done of mine. All these things being considered, there will be found negligence neither in you nor in me. Whitehall.

Postscript.—Her Majesty, perusing a letter of your lordship to me, of 13th February, sees that you once moved the King to make proclamation that if any could lay anything against any of his Council, they might be heard: of that she would not have you press him any more.

4½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A mynute of my masters letter to the Lord Zouche in aunswere of his of the xixth of Marche."

March 27. **234a.** COMMISSION BY JAMES VI. TO LORD HUME AND OTHERS AGAINST BOTHWELL AND HIS ACCOMPLICES.

Abstract in *Register of Privy Council*, v p. 137.

The King and Council grant commission to Alexander, Lord Hume, Warden of the East March, Sir Robert Ker, apparent of Cessford, Warden depute of the Middle March and Sir Walter Scott of Branxholme, to convocate all lieges dwelling within the said bounds for pursuit of Bothwell and his accomplices.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy. Endorsed by Bowes's clerk.*

James VI.
1594.
March 29.

235. Declaration by James VI. and Answers of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.*

Forasmuch as after conference with certain of the ministers of Edinburgh, his Highness has thought expedient to notify his resolute determination to pursue by law and force his traitorous and rebellious subjects, namely, Francis sometime Earl Bothwell, his accomplices and partakers, as also the avowed Papists suspected of trafficking with strangers against the established religion, and therein not only to bestow his own means and the force of his own good and obedient subjects, but such money or other support as the Queen of England shall bestow to that effect, he therefore has required the ministers of Edinburgh not only to notify this determination to all their auditors, but also to certify the same to all other presbyteries in the realm, requiring them to make the like publication of his intention and to move all his good subjects to assist his Majesty with their counsels, bodies and goods in the prosecution thereof, and no wise to suffer themselves to be abused by traitors and rebels who under the cloak of religion would presume to raise men of war or stir his subjects to arms, but resist [and] refuse all passage, receipt, supply, entertainment or favour to them in their wicked pretences. And because sundry of the ministry in Fife are slandered and suspected to be "mellers" and stirrers up of some of his Highness's subjects to participate with the said declared traitors † (with whom, notwithstanding, his Majesty, for the reverence he bears to the message they sustain, will forbear to deal), therefore he requires the ministers of Edinburgh to take such order with their said brethren that they may give a public declaration of their innocency in this case and by their actions hereafter give a proof of the zeal and affection they profess to his Majesty's service, commonwealth and quietness of his realm, or otherwise to see them tried and punished in order to remove the slander to the whole Kirk.

"Answers to the King's Majesteis articles by the Presbetrye of Edenburghe."

(1) First, the Presbytery thinks that in a proclamation of civil things proceeding from the King's Majesty and Council no mention should be made of the Presbytery or ministry of Edinburgh, for that would import this ministry "to have power of the haill ministery of Scotlande." Therefore desires the words "*after the conference with certain of the ministers of Edinburgh*" to be deleted. (2) Whereas it is declared that his Majesty's intention is to pursue rebellious subjects, it is desired that traitors to God, professed enemies to the true religion—namely, Angus, Huntly, Errol, Auchindoun, Sir James Chisholm and their accomplices—be first named in proclamation and prosecuted with all extremity, and then "his awin traitors." (3) Whereas his Majesty's intention is declared to be to pursue by law, it is desired, in respect that the said apostates have contemned the benefit of the law, that presently they be pursued by force. (4) Whereas his Majesty requires the ministers of Edinburgh to notify his intention, *etc.*, the Kirk shall obey when they see a good beginning "in action" against the aforesaid enemies of God. But where he desires to notify his intention against Bothwell, our unanimous mind is that if he attempts anything against his Majesty's person, crown, Prince, religion or estate of the country, or "caste him to impede the worke" of the prosecution of these traitorous apostates, then, in that case, we oblige ourselves openly and privately to "drowne his interpryse"; but if he keep

* The Declaration and Answer are also in Cott. Calig., D.ii, fol. 186 (*b*), 187, wrongly dated under May.

† *In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "Ministery of Fyfe partakers with Bodwell."

James VI.
1594.

himself free of "all these foresaidis," then we are constrained "to seike a sycht" of the declaration wherein he is found to have refused the benefit of the Act of the Estates, since some of our brethren, namely the ministers of Edinburgh, at his Majesty's command subscribed his pacification as witnesses. (5) Where his Majesty requires the ministry of Edinburgh to take order with the ministry of Fife, alleged to be "mellers" with Bothwell, it is craved [that] he give in their names to the Presbytery here, who shall write to the presbyteries, within whose bounds they are, to take order with them.

2*pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* Edinburgh, 29° Martii 1594."

[April 1]. **236.** JAMES VI.'S ANSWER TO LORD ZOUCHE.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 198. Transcript in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 248.

Answer commanded to be given to Lord Zouche anent the Papist Lords.

First, his Majesty shall prosecute with all extremity the process of forfeiture at the time prefixed. His Majesty in the meantime shall pass in proper person against them, and shall immediately charge his well-affected subjects by proclamation to pass forward with him upon 20th April instant for their prosecution with all extremity until they be either forced to yield such obedience as shall content both the princes, or else rendered unable to endanger the religion or estate of either of the realms. And this shall be no impediment to the prosecution of their forfeiture by law.

For removing all hindrances that might impede the progress of the expedition his Majesty craves that the Queen's ambassador will "indilayedlie" move the Wardens of England to restrain Francis sometime Earl of Bothwell, presently reset within their charges, from all attempts against his Majesty, realm or lieges, until the Queen give order that he be delivered, or at least restrained until the final end of his Majesty's expedition; and at his returning the said Earl shall either [? be delivered *] or put out of her dominions and no way favoured or supplied in time coming, directly or indirectly.

His Majesty likewise craves that by writ from the Queen he may be assured of support of money for the furtherance of the action and of a sufficent power of his subjects under the charge of such as . . . "be commoun consent of his Majestie and . . . [ambassa]douris in her name to be left within thair . . . possesse thair strenthis and housses an . . . thair livingis furthcummand to his Majestie . . . behove."

This supply must be furnished at the very time of thair p[rosecution], or at least before his Majesty's return; at which time "for the b[etter continuing] of thair prosecutioun his Majestie sall g[ive permission] to any his lawfull [subjectis quhome [he shall nominate am]bassadouris to follow furth [against them with] all rigour and extremitie requisite for [their] repressing." If the said Francis be not delivered or restrained, or if the said money come not in due time, nothing that may fall out to hinder the action shall be imputed to his Majesty.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Marginal notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Edges injured by fire.*

April 2. **237.** MR. HENRY LOCK TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

After many difficulties and "fered brags," Earl Bothwell with the few banished with him (partly through regard for their pledged honour, partly

* See *Warrender Papers*, vol. ii. p. 230.

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1594. through regard of their friends in other parts, drawn long since " into companies," and so known by the King) returned yesterday about 2 o'clock after noon into the Scottish Borders by Kelso (Kelsy) with only about 50 horse of Scots at most, and scarce any English, although, but for the restraint here, there had been 100 or more of our nation. Lord Hume, Cessford, and Buccleuch, with about 1200 horse, were at Kelso; where they made proclamations against Bothwell and his declared favourers. During this time Bothwell, passing by on this side the river, went two miles beyond to his own house to his lady at Moss Tower (Mos Towre), where, his strength being 500 horse, " chois men," he refreshed himself; and hearing that Hume meant to draw to him, he prepared a letter of challenge to Hume, who in " mene spase " had dissolved his company and retired to Eccles (Ekels), a Hume's house not far " of " Wark, whither this 2nd of April Cessford and Buccleuch are appointed to come to consider what is to be done, their people being willed to " stay a new warning." Whereupon Bothwell and his returned to Kelso and lay there; whence this day I received a letter of their purpose to meet Ochiltree with his power, and sundry others of the west, and so to be by 5 at night at Dalkeith, four miles short of Edinburgh, there to resolve to go to Leith or meet their other powers towards Stirling to-morrow.

By their letters I find their greatest doubts [are] past, [especially that of] not knowing what resistance to expect. A few days will try their fortune. Atholl, Gowrie, Montrose, Murray, Spynie, Forbes, Innermeath will with their power be " in felde " personally. They protest great care in their carriage towards the King. Their proclamations are published abroad, whereupon they look for increase of friends. Hamilton has two captains of his name and kin " in feld " with them with 100 horse, himself sending secret comforts.

It is said all last week that the King, speaking three sundry times with the ambassadors, has given fair language and is on terms of agreement; yet his former examples show that agreements made in fear prove faithless, and the issue, how plausible soever it seems, is " looked for " to prove fraudulent. " And if thes nobel men be left to thaim selves withowt the taking up of thair caws, besides that it wil hensforth in a necessity be hard to asosiat ther likes, so theas being now ingaged so far must cut thorow al difficultis a despaired safty; which if thay do whether by thair own fors (which thay hope) or the others fair offers (which extremitis may compel thaim to acsept) it wil be noway so profitable to hir Majesty (which in al this acsion I only have indevored) as by the imbassadors interpositions for hir Majesty in umperring of the caws, which I commit to your honours consideration of," craving with all possible diligence to know what I may do, either by repairing to them or otherwise, for satisfying their present expectation of the relief which they allege to have been promised by the ambassadors. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

Postscript.—All the colonels, soldiers, and good captains are in Bothwell's camp.

2¼ *p. Holograph. Also Address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal partly remaining.*

April 5. **238.** Mr. Henry Lock to Sir Robert Cecil.

By my last, of the 2nd, I had brought these enterprisers towards Dalkeith, where by 6 at night they met Lord Ochiltree (Ogletre) with about 100 horse, and Mr. Alexander Hamilton with 50. Then, hearing that their " soiards " [soldiers] of Fife would be over with them at Leith the next morning, they

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1594. removed, after public prayers in the church, towards Leith, whither they came about 12 at night; and on the morning of the 3rd, having still no news from Athol, or of Spynie's passage [over] the Forth (whose powers were yet said to be great), they "toke in purpose" to repair the old fortifications of Leith for safeguard. "Whilst" they had begun this, notice came that the King's power was marching to besiege them there; which caused them forthwith to issue forth "in feld" with their force of only 600 horse sufficient, and no foot. In the afternoon, they being encamped in a plain betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, there issued out of Edinburgh 3 cannons, 200 shot, and "sum prikers on hors bak," who entered into light skirmishes with the other party till a battle * (as they think), of 1000 pikes, appeared with 500 horse led by Hume (who had the night before with 100 horse stolen in to Edinburgh), and by Wemyss (Weames), Carmichael (Kermikill), and Alexander Hume, the Provost of Edinburgh. After which the town of Edinburgh's infantry, "thowght better then 1000 shot," were drawn out by great difficulty ("throwgh the King's personal being in Edinburgh and instant intretie with to gret humiliasion to his subjects"). As his Majesty issued with them, the other party resolved to remove farther from Edinburgh, to be free both from the cannons playing out of the castle on them, and of these footmen's multitude. The King's presence "in felde," they only feared in regard of his safety. They drew, therefore, to Niddrie (Nethery), a town mid-way betwixt Edinburgh and Dalkeith, being two miles off from where Hume with the horsemen ascended a hill. The others, not far off, having newly arrived "to the plain underneth, sumwhat straight and marish," descried Hume at hand and Glamis with 400 horse more a mile off approaching, and determined to try their fortunes before Glamis's approach. Hamilton, therefore, divided their small companies into three, under leaders; the first to Ochiltree, Hercules Stewart, Bothwell's half-brother, and Captain Foster; the second under Colonel Boyd and J. Colville; and the rearward to Captain Hamilton. After prayers said on their knees, crying to God and the Church, and vowing that her Majesty should that day see proof of their intentions and faith, they advanced, first assailing the enemy's rearguard, who stood a while. In the middle "ward" Hume presently placed the "poltron," [*i.e.* the craven], the rearward "yet standing better to it," till at length in a short space they all, through Hume's weakness and the attackers' fury, began to wane, and at length to try their horses' speed towards Edinburgh by two several ways, the one towards Holyrood, the other by Borough Muir (Borow Moore) towards the castle. His Majesty stood in this way, by which the chase chiefly followed, and had done much more spoil had not the King's presence moved them to retire. They did not wish to occupy the place of his retreat, and Bothwell continually cried on them to spare blood, chiefly of the straggling footmen, who had now cast away many [of] their weapons and calivers and fled, and many followed to Edinburgh gates. The field thus cleared, they ransomed sundry prisoners (for of slain I hear not of above 12, all horsemen) and so retired to Dalkeith. Of theirs I hear not of one slain or taken nor much hurt.

Bothwell won Hume's cornet and his trumpet, to whom he gave liberty and two rose nobles to carry his challenge to Hume, whereto answer is not yet returned. At Dalkeith they refreshed themselves all that night, and till 9 the next morning. In all which time, hearing nothing of Atholl's purpose or hap, and being as yet too weak to abide a fresh charge, and being unvictualled for a siege in so weak a ground, they returned to Kelso (Kelsy) to

* *battle*: body of troops; cf. modern battalion.

1594. be safe till a new resolution and intelligence of their friends' power and purpose. Whence I presently am sent for, being craved this day to meet them to hear their determinations; who have had nothing from the ambassador, being, as is said, restrained by a continual guard and watch from liberty to receive or send intelligence.

Thus your honour sees a thing begun more "happily" in show than substance; with great preparation but little effect. The hazard of overthrowing all I find great, if Atholl and they be idle or do not join in time; for as this nation "is soone hote and soone cowld," so want will press on them presently. If I knew truly her Majesty's intention I could do more. But I find that my dissuading them from a surprise attack, or any course dangerous to his Majesty, their want of "lent mony" (which altered their first counsels and days), and, lastly, the ambassador's late message to them in no case to seek the young Prince, have made them almost ignorant what to do, since the King will be where the persons they resist are and will patronise their cause, not admitting any petition or trial, except the force of the sword. Yet I look that of this beginning this effect must presently follow, either that they, being now "dispaired, inraged persons," shall work some greater matter or else be so utterly overthrown that there will hardly be head made again against the northern faction unless her Majesty supports in time. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 6. **239.** LORD ZOUCHE TO BURGHLEY.

Both by cross-dealing in Scotland and also by intelligence that my letters might be intercepted, I have been stayed from writing, but having arrived here I thought good to acquaint your lordship therewith and to stay the information until such time as I come myself, because the matter being intricate and my own actions slow, I shall be as soon at the Court as my despatches could be if I should stay here to settle them down and send [them]. I hope your lordship will be a means betwixt me and my wants [*i.e.* deficiencies] so that her Majesty may suspend her anger, which my ignorance may justly draw upon me. I came from Edinburgh this day, but find myself somewhat ill "upon it." Yet I hope to be with your lordship on Saturday at the furthest. Berwick. *Signed:* Edward Zouche.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 6. **240.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Lord Zouche will sufficiently and at large inform your lordship of the whole success of all his negotiations (which have been done with such wisdom, constancy, courage, diligence and commendable behaviour in all the hard entertainments and discourtesies given to him there that the same have turned to his great honour and praise) and also of the present condition of this state. Restraint of access to me or conference with me has so barred intelligence that my abode here shall little profit in this service. [Therefore he again craves to be revoked or have licence to repair to her Majesty.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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1594.
April 6.

241. Mr. John Colville to Sir Robert Cecil.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 259.

The bearer can declare how courageously and reverently Bothwell and Ochiltree have behaved in this last journey. Although they could not without hazard of his Majesty's person achieve their victory, yet we hope that, although friends failed at the first, the credit we have gotten by that enterprise shall effectuate the work within few days. But howsoever those who have promised have been tardy and slothful (perhaps through the intercepting of the letters of advertisement sent to them), yet since we have not failed in our duty, we would know what regard shall be had to us either in further employment in that service, or support during our distress. Certainly " I beleif the benevolence of freindis " and I look that necessity shall move us to action, which, albeit the enemy be but too well prepared, we shall always follow out with dutiful respect to our sovereign's honour and safety.

To delude her Majesty, the ministry and all honest men, some form of pursuit is outwardly showed against these Papists, but, the chief councillors being their special friends, what greater severity can be expected than at the last raid on them, wherein Huntly was in the King's chamber the first night that his Majesty came to Aberdeen in pursuit of him? Whatsoever course her Majesty thinks meet to follow in our estate, I rest to be commanded as her born subject, and to use my credit where I am to that effect. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 8.

242. Elizabeth to the Earl of Huntingdon.

Vol. liii. p. 67.

Although we doubt not but you have understood from divers of our Council in what good part we have taken your exceeding care in our service, yet can we not forbear at this time to let you know it by our own hand, the rather for that these new occasions of disorders in Scotland and on our Borders have crossed our purpose to have had you come up in regard of your health.

It was strange to you to hear of your new guest, but to us as a matter incredible but that we found you so seriously to assure it. For, as that presumption in any such person would have been contrary to our liking, so in him, of all others, it was beyond our expectation, having sent so many cautions in that behalf. But now that things are as they be, whereof the issues are yet uncertain, and that the looseness of those northern parts is fit to be guided by wise and sound directions, we know that you would be loth to be absent in this " tickle " time, yet we require you there to have care of your health so that you may neither prove wearisome to yourself, or be less serviceable to us. Greenwich.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* " A mynute of her Majesty's letter to the Erle of Huntingdon."

April 9.

243. Mr. Henry Lock to Sir Robert Cecil.

Although I do not think that when you wrote your letters on the 3rd the successes of the 1st and 2nd here in Scotland could be known, yet I find by their scope a disgust of the intended course and of the form of accords that things were drawn unto, although never either by myself prepared or by the ambassadors accepted, or [by the] commissioners directly or otherwise intended " to " any unworthy form in so needful a matter. To prepare in all points, therefore, the readiest evasion for the profitable stop of the former and the

1594. conclusion of riper determination, I have thought it most fit, according to your advice, to hasten after Lord Zouche, who departed from Berwick yesterday. In the meantime, endeavouring to leave the enterprisers neither encouraged nor discouraged other than as from this "of better warant shall be disposted of" according to their own most sufficient knowledge of their own mind and others' actions, I will only speak with Bothwell and Ochiltree to acquaint them with my journey. They, being by bruit informed of Atholl's rising, with Forbes, are with 700 horse going shortly to him to pursue the common enemies; or if he [? Atholl] stays (which is likely, to give the King no excuse in his presently proclaimed raid on the Earls) then they are to ride on Hume and his party, but in all points to carry themselves respectfully to the King and Prince. I hope not to be long after the letters, and crave that, if any letters be sent for me, some mark may be on the back of the cover. Berwick. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal.*

April 13. **244.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as her Majesty has employed the services of Sir Robert Cecil in the advertisements of her directions for the negotiation of the causes here with the King, the Estate and Council, the continuance of this course will (I think) still please her Majesty and well content your lordship, the rather that Sir Robert will impart all things to you, therefore I have presumed at this time to make my certificate to him of the present condition here, to be presented to her Majesty. I beg that you will accept my doings in the same, and that I may speedily know whether to hold on this course or to direct my letters in these causes to your lordship as before I used to do. [He begs to be revoked or to have access to her Majesty's presence.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 13 **245.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

That you may know the condition of this estate since Lord Zouche's departure, I have gathered information from sundry persons, although intelligence is in manner barred by the want of access to me without danger or suspicion. Albeit Edmund Arnold, coming hither from Berwick, was straitly searched for letters three several times, I have adventured herewith to give you understanding that on the evening of the 11th instant the King, pretending to be ready to ride to Stirling suddenly entered into boat at Leith and passed to Sir Robert Melvill's house at Burntisland with the Master of Glamis, some councillors, and with part of his guard, leaving another part to attend on Lord Hume, sent into the Merse, and the rest to remain in Edinburgh until called for.

The King was put in hope to have surprised in Fife the Lairds of Logie and Niddry (Netherye), Mr. Jerome Lindsay and others of quality, together with the captains and soldiers entertained for Bothwell. Those captains and soldiers, having entered on the sea to resort to Bothwell and coming near to Dunbar, returned into Fife and are scattered there on the coast and have been sought for by the guard, but as yet no one is apprehended. [*In the margin:* "One poore man called Kirkcaldy is taken."] The King and Council have

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1594. charged the young Laird of Wester Wemyss and others suspected for Bothwell to appear before them this day at Burntisland, where the King will tarry for these causes, pretending to be purposed to ride to-morrow to Stirling, yet it is thought that he will assemble his whole guard and some power there and proceed hastily against Atholl at Dunkeld. But that journey is like to be stayed, for Atholl is said to be of such strength and mind that the King may, perhaps, see him before he shall look for him. What shall further ensue will shortly appear, and is looked to bring forth great storms and confusion in this realm.

Before the King's departure the summons of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun to appear on the 20th May in the Parliament beginning the 18th of May was proclaimed, and warning given to the countries beyond Forth to attend on the King in his raid against the said parties. I enclose copies of the two proclamations, together with a copy of the letter sent by Bothwell and Atholl to the ministers lately convened at Dunbar. [No. 258.] It is told that the Master of Glamis, seeing the King and Council ready to give order for the raid against the Earls, said that there needed no haste in that matter until her Majesty should give aid.

It is now fully concluded that the Laird of Easter Wemyss and Mr. Edward Bruce shall be sent to her Majesty with the King's commission on the 15th instant. The Laird of Wemyss is addressed also to the French King to renew (as I hear) the league betwixt France and Scotland, with some further additions, and to require the French King to send his ambassadors hither to honour the baptism of this Prince.

Mr. Bruce is appointed to receive her Majesty's answer, and to return with the same to the King. It is told me that they shall seek the delivery of Bothwell, agreeable to the treaties, and in like manner as the King delivered O'Rourke to her Majesty; wherein, as they have direction to allege many matters proving the dangers falling on the King by the great favour given to Bothwell in England, so pointing at a breach of the league (which, nevertheless, they will soon pass over), they will much press that Bothwell may be delivered (which they look not for), or at least may be restrained, in like sort as was accorded between King Henry VIII. and James V. for restraint of the Earl of Angus. This shall be urged that the King be not hindered in his expedition against the Earls. [I am told that] sundry other things will be required at her Majesty's hands, as speedy payment of the yearly gratuity; liberal support for the prosecution of the Earls; the presence of her ambassadors to honour the baptism of the Prince; and if any mention shall be made of any letter or writing, written or subscribed by the King, proving him privy to the course with Spain, that thereon they have power to clear the King.

The Chancellor, left here by the King, departed to his house at Lethington the same day that the King crossed the Forth. He was directed to me to let me know the continuance of the King's resolute purpose to pursue the rebellious Earls. Wherein he gave great assurances with advice that Bothwell might be restrained that he should not impeach the progress of the King's intended raid. I answered that the King, this estate and himself had long and sufficient experience of her Majesty's mind and course for the preservation of the King and common causes here, and of her resolution to give no comfort or allowance to the course of Bothwell or of any other subjects tending anywise to the dishonour or peril of the King. [I said] that the King had delivered to Lord Zouche especial articles touching Bothwell, which would speedily be presented to her Majesty, who would either direct me, or else deliver the declaration

1594. of her pleasure herein to the King's ambassadors; further, that upon receipt of her Majesty's directions to me, I should diligently proceed in the execution thereof for the benefit of these causes, and in the meantime should omit no good office in my power to prevent the dangers threatened. I added that if the King pleased to declare his sincere mind to prosecute the Earls effectually by open action, he might approve [*i.e.* demonstrate] the same by wise and secret order to surprise them, in the security of their own houses, by such barons and persons of action as would sufficiently perform the same without great charge or trouble to him or [his] realm. With these [answers] he seemed well pleased, offering to expeed the good causes, but my advice for the surprise of the Earls savoured (methought) nothing in his taste.

Sir Robert Melvill and Sir John Carmichael were directed by the King to the ministers of Edinburgh to take their advice how Bothwell may be restrained that he impede not the prosecution of the Earls. It was answered that the ministers and whole Kirk, seeing the King entered into that action, shall not only concur with their public prayers to God and daily exhortations to the people for assistance of the King in that work, but also, if Bothwell shall lift arms either against the King's own person or the Prince or anywise to hinder the prosecution against the Earls, that then they would condemn him and his enterprise and to their power persuade all the people to withstand his attempt and give their services and assistance to the King in following forth the action against the Earls and Bothwell. This answer has not fully satisfied the King (as it is said), so that he is not thoroughly pleased with the doings of the ministers and officers of this town. For, whereas he required to be accompanied the other day with 500 footmen of this town to have surprised Bothwell in Carfrae (Carfray), they held it so dangerous to draw so many out of the town so far into the fields whilst the town was filled with strangers and borderers of broken sorts, that they prayed to be excused therein. And whereas the King wished them to put into Leith a sufficient number to keep that town against Bothwell and others minding to take and fortify it, they answered that they had not power to defend their own town and Leith; whereupon the King (as it is thought) departed the sooner and with better will from this town. Yet it is believed that, upon sight of new troubles arising, he will return here for his surest safeguard. Some fear that if he shall abide long beyond the water, he shall be so troubled and tempted that he shall be drawn either voluntarily or by force to put himsef into the hands of the Papists.

The Laird of Cessford came hither upon the King's letter, and is dismissed with favourable countenance, but Buccleuch being sick could not come. It is thought that hitherto they have no liking to be both here together.

All matters touching Bothwell I leave to the report of others. It is said that Mar purposed to assay to draw Bothwell to accept conditions whereby he would withdraw himself to parts beyond the seas and purchase quietness for his friends at home. It is credibly informed me that through the advertisements of their "familliars" the King is perfectly made acquainted with all the secret resolutions and plots of Atholl and Bothwell. [Begs for revocation.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The King is now determined to pass quietly to-morrow to Stirling, taking with him the Duke alone. Logie has come to the King and proved himself so guiltless that he is committed to the custody of the Laird of Wester Wemyss, his kinsman. The rest of the gentlemen charged to appear are appointed to come to the King at Stirling.

4 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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Enclosure with the same.

Summarised in *Register of Privy Council* v. 140–141.

(Proclamation for the levying of forces.)

Forasmuch as it is resolved by the King's majesty, with advice of his Secret Council, to repair to the north for the repression of the chief authors of the treasonable conspiracies, letters are to be directed charging all earls, lords, barons, feuars, freeholders and landed gentlemen dwelling within the sheriffdoms of Fife, Kinross, Perth benorth the water of Erne, Forfar, and Kincardine, and the inhabitants of burghs within the said bounds to meet the King at Dundee on the 29th instant, and also all lieges dwelling within the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, and Cromarty, to burgh and land, to meet the King at Aberdeen on the 2nd May next.

1¾ *pp. Broadsheet. Copy. At the head:* "Apud Edinburgh nono die mensis Aprilis anno Domini jmv^{c} lxxxxiiij." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

April 15. **246.** Sir Robert Melvill to Burghley.

As for my silence this time bygone in making answer to letters written by your lordship to Mr. Bowes and myself, the one containing some privy commission that I had brought from her Majesty concerning the Papist lords, the other in favour of James Murray, to be spoken to his Highness in the Queen's name, as likewise to be informed of our proceedings here, the truth is that I have delayed to write, hoping for some better settling of this estate. Now taking occasion to satisfy yours in the premises, and to give you true information of my master's good inclination to please the Queen, I answer, first, that I "movit" James Murray's recommendation to his Majesty and received answer that his former service should be considered, albeit at that time he was under suspicion to have practised in "turnis" for which he is presently put in ward. As for the privy commission her Majesty gave me concerning the Papist lords, I communicated it only to my sovereign without any manner of dealing with the said lords, which is altogether agreeable to those instructions given to her Majesty's ambassadors to be imparted to her Highness. If she has been informed that any others have dealt any further "heirintill," I doubt not but she has tried the same.

I am sorry that jealousies have fallen forth betwixt our sovereigns since my departing, leaving her Majesty [at that time] in so good disposition towards my master, albeit I may constantly affirm that he continues in the like affection towards her as he has given proof at all times how willing he has been to please her Majesty in offending his nearest kinsmen and other great princes who offered him "greit plesour." My lord, let not sinister information take place to dishonour the long amity and sincere affection betwixt them, but suspend all suspicions and let sure trial be taken before you believe wherein the impediment consists: I assure you that if the articles delivered to your last ambassador, and now renewed by his Majesty's own ambassadors, be attended unto, the Papist lords will be prosecuted with rigour. Advise her Majesty to put her "helplie hand," otherwise it will not be possible to be performed, albeit his Majesty's intention be very good. Burntisland. *Signed:* Sir Robert Melvill.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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247. SIR ROBERT MELVILL TO ELIZABETH.

When I call to mind the manifold courtesies shown by your Majesty unto me, partly in benefits, but chiefly that by your good favour my life in my sovereign's minority was preserved, I am moved to offer my "oblist" duty in giving you true information of the sincere affection which he bears to your Highness, whom he does prefer to all princes and friends on earth, albeit it appears his good inclination to continue the long and happy amity is of late brought "in" jealousy, carrying farther coldness than at any time heretofore, whereby perils may ensue to the whole isle, to the great grief of my heart, being yet first minister in this realm and oftest employed to do good offices, as I doubt not your Majesty may call to remembrance. The truth is that if both your Majesty's hearts were well known to the other, these suspicions would take no place. His Majesty minds effectually to prosecute the Papist lords until either by rigour he suppress them, or by their obedience in entering in ward and confessing their offence surety be set down for good order towards religion and the quietness of both the realms; and nowise to reduce [*i.e.* restore] them to his favour until your Majesty and the Kirk here be thoroughly contented. This procedure he is to undertake shortly,* as by the instructions sent by both your ambassadors may clearly appear, and in effect it accords to that privy commission I received of your Majesty, and whereof I have been since "inquirit" by your ambassador. I communicated that matter only to his Highness, and have kept myself within "thir" bounds and gone no further. If, "besydes this," speeches have been made, they shall be found† to proceed from others. I affirm that I had neither intelligence nor dealing with these lords. I beseech your Majesty to consider rightly hereof, for I assure you that nothing shall be omitted in this turn that may give your Majesty contentment. Please to accept in good part these few lines from one of your "auldest acquentance" in this country and most affectionate to your service. Burntisland. *Signed:* Sir Robert Melvill.

1 *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[April.] **248.** INSTRUCTIONS BY JAMES VI. TO JAMES COLVILLE OF EASTER WEMYSS AND MR. EDWARD BRUCE, DIRECTED TO ELIZABETH.

"Instructions to our trustie and welbelovid James Colvill of Esterwemes and Mr. Edwarde Bruce, directed by us [to] our dearest sister and cozen the Quene of England."

After presenting our commendations and letters to the Queen, you shall, in our name, signify to her that, since God has blessed us in the birth of a young son, which we doubt not was advertised to her good liking and contentment, we could not omit, having due respect to the blood, amity and friendship betwixt us, heartily to invite her among the first by these presents to direct witnesses to assist the baptism appointed to be on 15th July next to come.

You shall declare next that we have made choice of you, after the return of Lord Zouche, to deal in some points touching us near in honour, and likewise to give assurance for performance of our offers [of] the prosecution of the Papists, if we find her favourable assistance and concurrence. But first of all you shall declare with what just griefs we have cause to renew our many complaints for the receipt and maintenance of Bothwell, with certain accom-

* "Quhilk forme he is to intend schortlie."
† Literally: "*it sall try to proceed*"; i.e. *be found upon trial.*

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1594. plices upon the Border of England. How he so oft hunted our life and sought our dishonour, from time to time the Queen has been acquainted, and we find it strange that lately, to our contempt, he has been publicly harboured within sundry of her own houses, comforted with money for the levying of certain companies of horse and bands of footmen and their pay proclaimed publicly at parish churches, and has been served with English "trumpeters." Thus aided, he came in warlike manner, accompanied with certain English subjects, within this realm, in sight of her Wardens and officers in the Marches, and at his coming by the castle of Wark was saluted with some shots of ordnance, with other favours and courtesies not accustomed to be showed to rebels and traitors, yea, not to most loyal subjects of ours, although of better rank and quality, standing in our good grace and favour. Likewise his retreat was no less public, riding with his troops in order, the cornets and "pinsonnes" being borne; and, coming by the said castle of Wark, the like congratulation of "shootes" and ordnance was used "as of before"; and within two days thereafter their musters made at Crowdoun Hill. You, being eyewitnesses, can best report what was his behaviour and enterprise in approaching so near the parts of our present residence, and all the circumstances.

You shall likewise call to the Queen's remembrance how oft in her letters to us not only was their "receipt" within her dominions disavowed, but also sundry advices interposed, mixed with sharp and vehement admonitions not to suffer such indignities most unseemly for a prince. What promises were contained in a letter written by herself to requite us for the delivery of her Irish rebel, O'Rourke, the same, delivered to you, will testify.* Besides that, the treaties of peace are as strait in that point as possible. All this you shall lay before her, and therewithal how perilous and evil example it is for princes to suffer and "overse" the receipt and entertainment in such excessive measure of rebels and fugitive traitors, and you shall, therefore, with all instance urge their apprehension and delivery to us. After so many promises, we expect at last to receive such satisfacton as in honour and reason we may rest contented [with].

Since on all occasions we have given effectual proof of our sincere good-will towards the Queen, and will offer the hazard of our life, crown and whatsoever is most dear to us, preferring her amity to all others, and having thereby lost our foreign friends and raised up enemies both at home and abroad, we remit to her wiser consideration with what inequality and small respect we shall be thought dealt withal if the harbouring and aid of our so monstrous rebels within her dominions be any longer permitted and "oversene," and how the same shall be interpreted, and we thereby perhaps irritated to alter our former kindly disposition.

You shall likewise signify how "steightlie" [*sic*] being dealt withal by Lord Zouche for prosecution of the Papists, after refusal to set down his verbal proposition in writing for a more formal answer to have been made thereto, he altered [*sic but?* uttered] his desires; whereof one was the removing from our company of some of our special servants, not expressing their names. For this we doubt if he had a warrant, as he seemed always to continue "in a preoccupied opinion conceived with such deffidence" that, although we made offer to enter into all action desired, with the performance of what else could be wished on our part, besides conference with some of our councillors appointed to reason with him "in all heades," he could never be drawn to a confirmed thing nor satisfied in any sort, pressing sometimes the

* The letter is printed in *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, No. XXXVIII.

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delivering of some answer "with whatsoever yt was he would carie,"* and after leave taken returned [and] threatened very oft to deliver the rest of a more hard commission to us in presence of our Council; which at last was done, but not so sharp as we looked for. Notwithstanding all this we did not fail to give him our full answer in writing, containing all that can be done on our part, if the Queen will give her help and concurrence, as the cause requires. Whereto you shall persuade her, remembering therewithal our desire for restraint and delivery of our rebels, that, all lets and impediments being removed, the prosecution of the Papists, excommunicates, and other malefactors may proceed to the purging of our land of such heinous crimes and offences wherewith it is now defiled.

Furthermore, you shall "remember" the Queen of that gratuity which it pleased her to bestow upon us after the contract of amity in the year 1586. [She promised] a sum of 4000*l.* at least, with a most friendly declaration in a letter under her privy seal (whereof the copy is delivered unto you for your better instruction) not to lessen that manner of kindness, but rather, as cause should require, to augment it; and besides made many promises in letters, all of her own hand (which you carry with you) to spare neither treasure, force nor anything else that we should stand in need of. The sum not having been received in such quantity as was promised, and great sums resting unpaid, you shall most earnestly urge an account and reckoning to be made, and what rests yet unsatisfied you shall crave to be delivered with that which is due for this present year, but in greater measure and quantity than has been granted at any time heretofore, in respect of the urgent occasions of augmenting our charges. Whatsoever sums of the annuity shall be procured either for "byronnes" or this present year you shall deliver to our servant Thomas Foulis (Fowelis).

You shall likewise, in declaring Lord Zouche's behaviour, remember that in his journeying homeward through the Merse, at Ebchester (Abchester), there was a meeting and long conference betwixt him, Bothwell, and the like, with the governor of Berwick. How this may be interpreted we remit to the Queen's judgment.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

May [*rectius* April].

249. Instructions by James VI. to James Colville of Easter Wemyss, directed to the King of France.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 237–240; dated April.

"Instructions to our trustie and welbeloved James Colvill of Eister-wemys directed by us to our dearest brother and cosyn the King of Fraunce and Navare."

After you have presented our commendations and letters to the King of France and Navarre you shall declare to him our great desire to cultivate the most ancient league betwixt that crown and ours, and shall impart to him the news of the birth of our young son, and therewithal invite him, by such as he shall please to direct, to assist the baptism appointed for the 15th day of July next to come.

You shall likewise congratulate his late happy success, wishing to him the accomplishment of the rest of his heroic and princely desires to the rendering of his subjects to their due obedience and acknowledgment of him their only and natural sovereign.

You shall also signify with what earnest desire we are contented (having

* *i.e.* the substance of the answer that he was to carry was to be left to the King's own determination. Cf. No. 213.

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1594. understood the like in him by a letter sent to us) to have the ancient league renewed and confirmed in all points and articles, with addition of what further shall be thought necessary to be capitulated; which may be done by such as shall be authorised with sufficient commission from us for that effect. You shall deal in like sort that the company of men-at-arms of this nation for service there (the charge whereof being given to you, as before, is now certified by us) may be restored again and have their ancient entertainment.

If, before you return thence, the King and the house of Guise be not perfectly accorded, we have thought meet likewise to direct you to deal with our cousins the Dukes of Guise and Maine, "remonstring" to them how desirous we are to have them acknowledge their natural prince, whereunto if they can be moved at our request we will most earnestly "interpone" the same by you. Seeing it has pleased God to devolve the just right and title of that crown upon our dearest brother (who we doubt not will have such consideration of them as their qualities and ranks shall merit), their rendering of obedience to him will procure no small honour to themselves, will greatly benefit the country and pacify that troubled state.

You shall likewise make diligent enquiry concerning the Queen our mother's debts and revenues there, and report to us the very case, so that requisite order may be taken, seeing the same must justly appertain to us.

Because of the great damage sustained by some merchants of this realm using their lawful trade in time of war, you shall deal earnestly for redress for their losses, and in case of refusal that letters of reprisal be granted, seeing, as we understand, they had warrant and protection of both the parties. You shall travail earnestly for the Bishop of Glasgow's restitution *ad integrum* to all he was dispossessed of; whose good affection to our late mother's service, and to our own, merits to be remembered in whatsoever favour our recommendation can procure.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 16. **250.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By long experience of the especial devotion of the Laird of Easter Wemyss, and the affection of Mr. Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss, towards her Majesty and the amity, I have just cause to recommend these two ambassadors to your lordship's favourable courtesies and entertainment, and to request that, as the Laird of Wemyss is likewise to pass to the French King with commission from the King of Scots, leaving Mr. Bruce to bring back her Majesty's answers to his instructions, you will advance the expedition of the happy success of his journey and of his return. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 20. **251.** ANSWER BY ELIZABETH TO A WRITING SUBSCRIBED BY THE SECRETARY OF SCOTLAND.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. p. 228, omitting the last part of article 3.

"Awnsweare apointed by the Queen's Majesty to be made to a writinge subscribed by the Secretary of Scotland, entituled 'An Awnsweare commaunded by his Majestie to be delivered to the Lord Zowche, ambassadour for the Quenes Majestye of England.'"

Her Majesty commanded me to make this answer (to be showed to the King) to a writing comprised in five articles, subscribed by the King's Secretary in the King's name and given to Lord Zouche. (1) Concerning the King's

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1594. promise to prosecute with all extremity the process of forfeitures at the day prefixed against the Papist lords, her Majesty has had the like promise at sundry times heretofore, but she has hitherto seen no good performance of such offers. (2) Concerning the King's offer in the meantime to pass in his proper person against the said offenders on 20th April, her Majesty likes that course very well, and wishes the continuance of such honourable mind in the King, and being taken in hand the matter can have no difficulty to stay it. (3) Concerning the third, Lord Zouche declared to her Majesty that, besides the general commandments that had been given to the three general Wardens to forbid the "receipt" of Bothwell, or to yield him any aid to make any "attemptates" in Scotland, he certainly knew that of late the Warden of the Middle March by open proclamation caused to be dispersed a number of horsemen who had secretly assembled (and who, he doubted, would have stolen into Scotland to Bothwell), so that the King may herewith be well pleased to see her commandments thus obeyed. Yet her Majesty sees with what difficulty the vulgar people is to be restrained from secret favouring of the Earl, notwithstanding most strait commandments to the contrary, and the rather pardonable in them, because they see in what sort he is openly succoured and aided in the King's own country, especially upon the Borders, where for these two or three years he and his company have been suffered to pass from town to town without restraint or impeachment, even when he came to Edinburgh, the King's principal city. Where the King requires that, until the end of his intended prosecution of the Earls, Bothwell should be detained from such attempts, or, after the "ende of the said expiration" be delivered, or nowise favoured by her Majesty or any of her subjects, her Majesty continues her former opinion that he shall not be suffered to have any comfort in her realm to attempt anything against the King's person or to impeach the prosecution of his rebels; and though she cannot restrain him within the bounds of his own country, yet if she shall perceive manifestly that the King will prosecute the Earls according to his promise, she will assure him that if Bothwell or any of his party should attempt any thing upon the Borders of Scotland to stir any trouble whereby to withdraw him from this action or delay the execution thereof, she will cause her own forces to stay him and his from any such attempt. (4) The fourth article contains a motion to be aided with some support of money for the furtherance of the King's action, to be furnished at the time of the prosecution or before his returning from those parts. To this motion her Majesty finds small cause of answer, for in that realm the people and forces are usually levied and brought to the field in warlike manner, without any special wages; and many armies have been levied against England without any wages from the King, although not for above thirty-four or thirty-five years, and therefore her Majesty sees no cause for the King to defer this public and profitable service upon expectation of money out of England. Besides, she sees no likelihood that the money should be employed in this kind of service, considering that she never understood that any part of the money delivered last year was employed against the said rebels, though at that time a small part of that sum might have so reduced them that now the King would not need any further journey; neither can she expect any effectual suppression if no other course be held this year than last, when, though they were forced to abandon their houses, yet the custody thereof was, in the end, given over to their friends, and consequently restored to the rebels, and by them ever since freely enjoyed. But besides this, a great absurdity against the King's honour [has been] committed, if the report be true that the Earl of Huntly obtained a commission of lieuten-

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1594. ancy in the north at the same time that he was published a traitor. The last article is of all others the most strange, for it presages that all the noble offers made by the King in the first article may vanish to smoke; for it concludes that for lack either of delivery or restraining of Bothwell, or support of money in due time, the interrupting or retarding of the King's action may not be imputed to the King, nor his good meaning interpreted as "shewes." By these words it may be gathered that there is more regard to a restraint of Bothwell (which, notwithstanding, is offered by her Majesty within her own realm) and to a portion of money than to making the realm free from most dangerous traitors.

$4\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Draft in the hand of Burghley's clerk. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* "20 Ap. 1594. An awnswere to the Secretarye of Scotlandes writinge." *Corrections in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*

Another draft of the same.

5 *pp. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Fair copy of the same (*Vol.* 53, *pp.* 68–72).

April 20. **252.** BURGHLEY TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii. p. 73. Her Majesty would have you deliver to the Secretary to be imparted forthwith to the King her answer to certain articles brought by Lord Zouche and signed by the Secretary. Besides the delivery hereof, you shall offer to answer to any objection thereto. Therefore, because they will allege that the only stay of the prosecution of the Earls is the refusal of a sum of money required, you shall (if you find the King no way satisfied with the reasons alleged in Lord Zouche's writing) say that you think assuredly, when we see the Earls thoroughly prosecuted to their suppression, and their lands and livelihoods forfeited without hope of their recovery to breed new troubles, her Majesty may in reason be moved to yield some aid for the charges sustained; and you may give the King hope to trust thereto, and earnestly move him to follow the same without delay.

Item, [as] to the matter pressed by the King to have the Earl Bothwell restrained during his prosecution of his rebels, you may give good assurance thereof, according to the express words contained in the third article of the writing. You shall assure him that she promises to employ her forces against the Earl and his party if they shall attempt anything to the hindrance of the prosecution of the rebels. You shall do well to cause his friends to admonish the Earl of this determination, thereby to restrain him from all violence more than in his own defence.* In this sort you shall hasten this negotiation with the King, so that her Majesty may speedily find what expectation she may have of his purpose to perform his promise. If, notwithstanding this answer now given to him and your declaration of the rest, he shall make any colourable delays, she, being thereof certified by you, minds no more to be abused with vain promises. On the other side, if she shall find his proceedings to be sincere

* *These words have been added by Sir Robert Cecil in the draft in substitution for a paragraph to the effect that:* we think it reasonable that we may be assured by the King's promise that Bothwell and his followers may live quietly during the prosecution of the rebels, for otherwise they may justly allege that their attempts, if any should be, were for their own defence. *The last clause is altered to:* for otherwise the King may justly impute his stay of prosecution to such attempts, if any be. *This amendment is apparently meant to stand, and to follow after* more than in his own defence.

1594. and earnest, she will perform all good offices of love and friendship that reasonably may be required; and if you see his proceeding sincere and void of delays you shall in her name comfort him with this offer. Greenwich.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of the Lord Treasurers letter of instructions to Mr. Ro. Bowes."

Draft of the same. *Corrections in Burghley's and Sir Robert Cecil's hands. Vol.* 53, No. 39.

Another draft of the same. *Corrections in Burghley's and Sir Robert Cecil's hands. Vol.* 53, No. 40.

This draft contains another deleted paragraph anent Bothwell: If he will forbear to attempt anything against the King's good subjects during the time the King will seriously prosecute his rebels with force and if the King shall subdue them so that the realm may be freed from danger from the said rebels, Bothwell will be so free from offending the King by any action that he will be contented presently to enter into custody of any ward within the frontiers of England and there to be detained as a prisoner by her Majesty's commandment, and to be by her delivered to the King to answer any accusations by the states of the realm. Such an offer being made by Bothwell, you shall receive the same from him "without being knowen that the same hath bene before hand made knowen to the Queenes Majeste."

April 20. **253.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. liii. p. 68. By Lord Burghley's letter you may perceive her Majesty's answers to that writing delivered under the hand of the King's Secretary. If you observe one part of the answer to the third article, you shall see that the Queen protests that if Bothwell shall begin any attempt whilst the King is in action against the Earls, she will take order that he shall be pursued by her own subjects; wherein, though she will not have you put any such thing into the article, yet is it her pleasure that you shall "of yourselfe" move the King to avoid all particular prosecution of Bothwell's friends for the time, lest they, taking apprehension, be driven to stand to their guard for their own defence, which may be a colour for their purposes and disorder to the King's affairs. This you may tell him "of yourselfe" when he has read the answer. Greenwich.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A mynute of my master letter to Mr. Bowes."

[1593 *c.* Sept. 11.] **254.** OBLIGATION BY BOTHWELL TO DEPART OUT OF SCOTLAND.*

I, Francis, Earl Bothwell, *etc.* Forasmuch as the King's majesty has, of his special grace and favour, faithfully promised to restore me, my wife, bairns and accomplices, in Parliament to be holden in the month of November next to come, and to grant us full restitution and re-possession to our lands, rooms and possessions, and that we shall have particular remissions for whatsoever attempts committed by us at any time heretofore against his Majesty or his authority, and that full security shall be granted and established in our favour by "decreit" of Parliament, therefore I bind and oblige myself faithfully that I, for satisfying of his Majesty's will in that part, shall with all possible expedition make my preparation for my departing forth of this realm with such

* This [undated] document has been bound under April 1594. (Vol. 53, No. 32). But Cf. pp. 171, 178.

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1594. others my accomplices to whom his Majesty shall grant licences, and shall depart forth thereof within the space of * months after my said restitution, repossession and security [shall be] granted in Parliament; and that I shall remain forth of this realm during the space of † and in case I fail and do not depart within the space aforesaid I shall renounce all benefits of restitution, repossession etc., and am content that my restitution and all benefits thereof which shall be granted hereafter to me shall be null and void.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* "Botwels obligacion."

April 21. **255.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

After the King had caused his guard and others narrowly to search all the towns on the seacoast in Fife, and nothing prevailed therein, he departed on Sunday last, the 14th instant, to Stirling, finding there the Queen both sickly and also little pleased with his absence and that he had taken out of the hands of the burgesses of Edinburgh such part of the money received with her on their marriage and concredited to them for yearly profit. These sums are to be assigned for payment of this new guard, which will not be long thus kept together without the money to be levied by the taxation granted to the King. After the expense and "diffraye" of levying this money it is said that little will remain to suffice the charges at the baptism of the Prince and for longer maintenance of the guard, which may not be discharged before resolute order be taken with Bothwell. Some think that here is good hope to draw the relief in these behalfs from her Majesty, or otherwise to provide means by foreign friends.

The King purposes to return to Edinburgh about the 24th instant, for the Convention of some of the nobility and estates nearest this town, beginning here on the 26th for consultations upon preparations for the King's raid towards the north against the rebellious Earls. According to the proclamation he intends to begin this journey about the 29th. It is bruited here, but little hoped, that Angus and Errol will yield themselves to ward before the King's raid. I am informed that Angus, having . . .‡ the Sacrament of the Altar, as they term it, at a mass, and sundry other persons with him, has passed lately to Huntly to confer with him in these behalfs. Huntly appears (as some who have lately spoken with him inform me) to take little care for the hurt to be done to him by the King's personal raid against him, and in the meantime was ready to invade Mackintosh's bounds. Many wise and well affected much distrust to find very profitable fruit of the King's journey, and if Bothwell shall attempt any enterprise against Huntly and the Papists, as it is bruited that he intends to do, thereon the King shall turn himself against Bothwell and his party.

Charges are directed to Atholl and Forbes, commanding Forbes to appear before the King and Council on the 19th instant (which he has not performed), and Atholl on the 26th, to answer for their treasonable dealings and practising with Bothwell at his last "attemptate." Some letters have been brought hither from Sir James Sandilands, then at Venice, and from some Papists at Antwerp, and have fallen into the hands of some ministers, who are so suspected and threatened that they will not adventure to offend in any little matter nor break open the letters without especial order. I cannot yet get

* Blank. † Blank. ‡ Hole in the paper.

1594. the information in those letters, and if they come into the hands of the principal officers here, then all great and secret matters are likely to be concealed from the common sort. I am told that the King of Spain will not send hither any money and forces before the King here shall "imbarke himselfe" plainly against the Queen of England.

Some letters sent by some near about Bothwell have been heard of by one letting me know that they have been carried to the King, and that thereby it is certified that Bothwell will come again into Scotland and attempt his enterprise against the Papists before the end of this month. It is likely that the writer of this letter shall be known and discovered to Bothwell. This Court (as I am informed) is possessed with strong opinion that her Majesty will not break or "caste upp" with it for any cause, even if they should hang her two ambassadors, whose residence here has been deemed by some councillors at the Council table to be hurtful to this estate and requisite to be restrained. This, with the hatred of the Court against me, bars all resort to me, as the King's ambassadors can testify, so that my abode here can yield no fruit. Nevertheless, I will be very contented to sustain all dangers and griefs, if it may profit her Majesty's service, still craving that I may once see her Majesty's gracious eyes beholding me and her sacred ears hearing my informations for the benefit of her own services. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The King caused Mr. John Ross, preacher in St. Andrews, to be committed to ward for words uttered in his sermon, reproving him for his excessive favours to the traitorous Earls and Papists, and many others of the ministers fear to receive shortly the like measure, whereby this estate is presently tossed with confusion.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 24. **256.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The King has deferred his return to Edinburgh until to-morrow, and some bruit has arisen that he will also defer for some few days his raid against the rebellious Earls. But I am informed that although the King is still minded to proceed on that journey, yet the Council intend to persuade him to suspend it, in regard that the Earls are summoned to Parliament and by law ought not to be troubled in the meantime; which allegation has before this been condemned. But how it shall now be allowed, it is not certain.

It is reported that the Earl of Argyll, intending to have "partyed" Atholl against Huntly, shall be stayed by the Earl of Mar, who, with the King's privity and order, will this day set forwards to withdraw him from Atholl: yet some think that Argyll will hold his former purpose. Likewise earnest labour is made to put all men from Atholl and his associates, preparing, as it is said, to ride against Huntly and the rebellious Earls.

On the 22nd instant the Master of Glamis and the rest of the Council here came to the Tolbooth with the King's commission to fence and adjourn the Parliament, which is "put over" until the King shall have further occasion to begin it. This manner (as it is said) has not been in use or practice before. All summonses and bills before made and appointed to be heard at the Parliament of 18th May next are brought in question; so that this course "occupyethe manye to deme rightly what is intended herbye."

Colonel Balfour, then in Holland, has certified by letter that a Jesuit, corrupted by Duke Ernastus to kill Count Maurice [of Nassau], is taken, and has confessed. It is herewith given out (by what warrant I do not know, for Balfour in his letter "seyne to me" makes no mention hereof) that the

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1594. Jesuit has further confessed that Ernastus has sent forth eleven other persons to seek the lives of her Majesty, the French King, the King of Denmark, the King of Scots, and other princes. But little credit is given to the report that the life of the King of Scots is thus sought. Nevertheless the Council here have earnestly examined a stranger of Moravia, lately come to this realm. This stranger affirms that he came hither from England, purposing to pass to Hamburg, and as he denies all allegations against him, he is kept with a guard until further order shall be taken at the King's coming.

William Troupe, servant and solicitor to Huntly, has diligently sought Huntly's relief. Advice is given to Huntly to render himself to ward, but I am told that he has no liking thereof. The Countess, his wife, has departed from Court and returned to her husband. Her rewards in the Queen's chamber were liberal and far exceeding the common order and proportion used here. Lord Ochiltree, crossing the water of Forth and arriving at Kirkcaldy to pass to the Earl of Atholl, was discovered and sought there by the King's guard of horsemen, but he escaped with the loss of five geldings, which he left in the town. Now he has gone to Atholl at Dunkeld. I am informed that Sir James Lindsay and Thomas Tyrie (Tyrye) shall be secretly sent into Flanders and France; that their errand in Flanders shall be to Duke Ernastus; and that "for" France they shall bring the King of Scots's letters to sundry of his kinsmen of the house of Guise, and take the means of the Laird of Wemyss (presently ambassador to her Majesty) for the delivery of those letters. But you may haply learn better certainty of these matters from Wemyss, if the same be already committed to him and his travail. I am told that they and their coffers are already put into the ship, and that they were ready to go on board with the first wind, first for Flanders, and from thence to France. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

April 29. **256a.** PROCLAMATION FOR THE KING'S ARMY TO BE READY FOR A RAID AGAINST THE REBELS.

Printed in *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, iv. 54; *Register of Privy Council*, v. 143. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. 257.

The army appointed to convene at Dundee on the 29th instant is to hold itself in readiness for pursuit of traitors and rebels upon six days' warning.

¼ *p. Copy. Broadsheet. Endorsed by Bowes's clerk.*

April 30. **257.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

According to directions given me by Sir Robert Cecil and yourself, I have drawn the answer appointed by her Majesty to be made to the writing subscribed by the Secretary of Scotland as an answer to Zouche [No. 251], and also subscribed the same and delivered it to the Lord Secretary here. In this draft I observed the whole form and substance of the writing sent by your lordship, saving that, in the accomplishment of her Majesty's pleasure as signified by Sir Robert Cecil, I omitted one clause in the third article which contained that if Bothwell shall begin any attempt whilst the King is in action against the Earls her Majesty will take order that he shall be pursued by her own subjects. I have "drawne out" that clause, as her Majesty will not have me put it in. Nevertheless, I have of myself and by my own advice wished the King to avoid all particular prosecution of Bothwell's friends for a time, lest they

1594. stand to their guard for their own defence, which may be a colour to other purposes and a disorder to the King's affairs.

Secondly, I have added some words at the end of the fourth article, that thereby I might manifest the certainty of the King's grant of the commission of lieutenancy alleged by the article to have been made to Huntly, which indeed was conveyed for him to the Laird of Petlurgo. That you may see all the alterations in the writing containing her Majesty's answer, I enclose true copies as well of the writing which I delivered to the Secretary as also of that which you sent for her Majesty's answer specified. By view of the notes set down therein the alterations will readily be seen.

On the 27th instant the King gave me audience, whereupon I "opened" the directions to be imparted to him. But because he was not then acquainted with the contents of her Majesty's answer as delivered in writing to the Secretary, therefore he referred me over until the 29th instant. On the 27th he sent Sir Robert Melvill, the Provost of Edinburgh, Mr. David Lindsay, and Mr. James Balfour to let me know that the Estate and Council convened thought it convenient to forfeit or attaint Angus, Huntly, Errol, and Auchindoun before he proceeded by force against them, and to pray me to think of the matter, and on the 29th to give my advice therein. For reasons moving the King and the Estate to defer the raid and first to forfeit the rebels, it was alleged that victuals were wasted and would not suffice him and his forces; that the King's journey and great trouble of the country would be fruitless in regard that the rebels would not resist, but would withdraw and cover themselves in secret places; that their bodies might be most lawfully pursued and their houses and possessions most orderly seized and disposed to their greatest disadvantage after they shall be forfeited; and that being presently summoned to appear at the Parliament, they ought not in the meantime to be prosecuted by force. Wherein it was affirmed that the opinions of learned counsel declared that if these parties, thus summoned, shall be prosecuted by force before their day of appearance at Parliament, then they may well by course of these laws reduce the judgment and forfeiture "denunced" therein. Besides, it was said that some noblemen and many barons well affected "had no good lykinge" to adventure themselves in company of so strange a guard of mercenary soldiers as should attend on the King on this journey, and whose captains and leaders were known so affectionate to the Earls to be pursued.

I answered that the matters mentioned to stay the King's indelate prosecution of the rebels had been before in consideration, and were overruled and thought insufficient to delay the pursuit of the rebels by force before the Parliament. And whereas I had alleged before the King and Council in Zouche's hearing that those rebels, being summoned to Parliament, might not lawfully be now prosecuted by force before their appearance (whereupon I noted that the offer and promise then made for the speedy prosecution of the rebels by force, in manner accorded, had no good ground or meaning, and would work little profit to the cause), the King and Council then directly affirmed that the King might thus lawfully pursue them by force, notwithstanding that they were summoned to Parliament, and also that their forfeiture pronounced by Parliament upon their non-compearance was good in law; which is now denied. Besides, I laid before them the novelty and unaccustomed manner of the prorogation of this Parliament, whereby the summons and judgment growing thereon against the offenders were now questionable, and I concluded that her Majesty now could not but deem that these continuations and delays, after such firm promises and assurances, should tend wholly to protract time for the safety of the traitors, whereby religion and the estate shall

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1594. be endangered. By their reply they fortified their reasons for forfeiture of the rebels before further prosecution, affirming therewith that the reasons and causes recited had not been sufficiently and seasonably foreseen and weighed. Further, Sir Robert Melvill and the Provost (present at the last prorogation of this Parliament) assured confidently that it was done agreeable to the accustomed order, and to be plainly warranted by record, so that the forfeiture of these parties by the next Parliament shall be clear and perfect in law. After long debate, I differed in opinion with them; whereupon they prayed me, according to their commission, to weigh well these matters and on the 29th to give my advice herein to the King.

Yesterday afternoon I again had access to the King, who, first, "remembred" to me how he had showed his own readiness to accomplish the prosecution of the Earls; nevertheless his Estates and Council, presently convened and moved with sundry weighty reasons, have advised him first to forfeit them by the next Parliament. Hereupon he recited the reasons before alleged by the four commissioners. All which reasons, except the last, he repeated and amplified much, with persuasion that it was most profitable and necessary that the forfeiture of these Earls should go before the further prosecution of them. They might be easily prosecuted (he said) after they were forfeited; and therein he called for my advice. For answer, I put the King in remembrance that in the first and second articles in the writing delivered to the Secretary by me (and which I saw then in his hand) her Majesty had signified that she liked very well the course which the King promised to take in hand to pursue the lords (*etc.*). I stood firm both upon this course approved by her Majesty, and also on my former opinion showed to the four commissioners, letting the King know that these manifold and sudden changes will be thought very strange to her Majesty. He travailed to prove the necessity of this change and stay of his raid. But without any approbation of the advice given to the King by the Estates and Council, or of his own disposition to incline to the same, and with "memoriall" of former defections and changes, I showed myself ready to receive from the King and to send to her Majesty these matters thus propounded to me, that they might be considered and allowed as she best liked.

Afterwards the King, seeming not satisfied in sundry parts of the articles delivered to the Secretary, desired to know whether her Majesty's meaning at the end of the third article is to provide only that none of her subjects shall aid Bothwell in the behalfs "remembred," or whether she will restrain and detain him, agreeable to the request delivered to Lord Zouche, and according to the King's desire to be signified by the Laird of Easter Wemyss and Mr. Edward Bruce. I "referred" the declaration of her Majesty's meaning herein to her own answer to be given to the ambassadors, adding that her Majesty, by the usual custom of Borders and Marches, could not arrest and detain Bothwell (or any of his degree and quality) before they should be orderly called for by the King's own ministers, and that a demand for things not seen in practice before ought to be well considered before it be granted, chiefly when the honour of the prince is interested by the same. Nevertheless he prayed that he might understand by me her Majesty's full mind herein, which he trusted to receive shortly by his ambassadors, to whose report I left the same. I told the King "as of myself" and without warrant that if Bothwell with good advice shall be persuaded to attempt nothing to endanger the King's person or impeach his prosecution of the rebels, then the King should avoid all particular prosecution of Bothwell's friends for the time, lest they shall be drawn to stand to their guard for their own defence, which

1594. may be a colour for other purposes and a disorder to the King's affairs. This I did in the execution of the direction given by Sir Robert Cecil's last letter, and to prevent the inconveniences likely to fall on Atholl by the King's forces, suspected to be shortly bent against him. But the King readily rejected my advice, saying that thereby he would show himself no King, and further that he would follow the course lately taken by the French King, who, when the Duke d'Aumale sought to treat with the King for his peace, answered "that uppon his [James's] sute to him as his kinseman he would give eare to his requeste*; and the King (as me thought) semed pleased to doe to th'Erle Bothwells frindis."

Secondly, he pressed much for some certainty as to what aid in money her Majesty would give him to prosecute the rebels, and at what time he might trust to receive the same, marvelling that in the fourth article no perfect offer and order were expressed for his satisfaction herein, and alleging that the aid ought to be with him before his return from the pursuit of the rebels. I told him that, when her Majesty shall see his prosecution against the Earls thoroughly prosecuted in due season to their suppression, and their lands and livelihoods forfeited, without hope of their recovery to breed more troubles in the two realms, she may in reason be moved to yield to him some aid for his charges. I earnestly persuaded that the prosecution might be sincerely and seasonably executed, which the King agreed to do, on condition that he might be enabled by her Majesty to accomplish it, and still urged some certainty for the portion to be granted by her; and offered to leave to her Majesty's own pleasure the disposition of the sums and the choice of all captains and their officers serving in this expedition, as by the articles delivered to Lord Zouch he had, he said, already promised. I have also left this to his ambassadors, who have instructions to solicit the same. Yet the King very earnestly pressed me to procure speedy advertisement of her Majesty's resolution therein, which I wholly commend to her pleasure, chiefly in regard that the King's present expedition against the rebels is "put over" until new occasion and warning.

In the fourth article he noted that albeit his people are bound to serve him in martial services without wages, yet he ought to be supplied with aid in this behalf because his charges will grow most in keeping the houses and possessions of the rebels after he has taken them, which charges his subjects are not bound to bear.

Secondly, in the same fourth article he said her Majesty was not well informed, for he affirmed that he gave no commission to Huntly or his friends after Huntly was published traitor. But he ackn[owledged] indeed to have given commission in nature of lieutenancy to the Laird of Pitlurg to preserve Huntly's tenants from the slaughter of Mackintosh. This commission was granted before Huntly was denounced traitor, and has been revoked.

Thirdly, [to] the fifth article the King said that he expounded the necessity of his case, and that he did not suit for aid, but made it known that without it he could not prosecute the Earls with good effect, wherefore he sought that the blame, then coming without his default, might not be imputed to him.

Because I saw that the King laboured to excuse himself and his actions in these behalfs, I made several answers, fortifying the effects in the articles; and so, as he was in haste to confer with his Council then assembled and tarrying for him, I left him, wrapping up all things with this note, that if her

* The sentence is cryptic. It seems to mean that the French King would listen to the intercession of the King of Scots on behalf of d'Aumale, James's kinsman; and James would be pleased to proceed thus with Bothwell.

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1594. Majesty should see his proceedings to be sincere and without delay, she would perform all reasonable offices of love and friendship to him.

The Parliament is appointed to begin at Edinburgh on the 27th of May next. Sundry persons of good experience think it likely to get further prorogation, and some look that Angus and Errol will yield to enter ward upon secret conditions, and that Huntly will pass by sea to foreign parts, whereby the Parliament shall not need to be holden. Missives of [summons for] the lords and others are presently in writing and to be sent forth with speed. The charge against Atholl and process to put him to the horn proceeds speedily. The Master of Gray is directed and has passed in great haste to Atholl, to persuade him (as I am told) to enter ward in Edinburgh Castle, the Isle of Bute or in Galloway with the Laird of Garlies (Garlishe). Atholl's servant departed towards his lord some time before the Master of Gray, whereby it is deemed that Atholl will not agree to enter ward. Many think that the King will turn his forces from the Papist Earls and send them all against Atholl. It is said that Montrose has showed the King Atholl's letter requiring him to meet Atholl and Bothwell at Leith at the same time that Bothwell came hither with his forces. But Atholl still stands on his former ground that he agreed to "partye" Bothwell against Huntly, and not for other causes "objected" against him.

Upon some bruit that Colonel Sempill and the brother of the Laird of Beltries (Baltres) had arrived in Scotland, I made search and found that Beltries has indeed arrived without any great matter or credit of importance, but Colonel Sempill (as I am informed) remains in Spain with his wife, having lately married.

It is said here that Anderson, Scotsman, late preacher at London, has been sent hither to entertain some secret intelligence and course for England, and his coming hither and behaviour "occupyethe manye with great jelousyes." Huntly (as I am informed) has lately made a great raid against Macintosh, and with slaughter of many people has burnt many houses and carried away great prey of cattle. This fact is passed over hitherto without provision for redress or punishment. The King sends forth nightly some bands of horsemen of his guard to apprehend and surprise such of Bothwell's servants, friends and followers as have "partyed" him in his actions. They have taken Lawrence Wardlaw (Vardlawe), James Murray, brother of John Murray, one poor man of Kirkcaldy and two or three more, whereof the poor man of Kirkcaldy has been executed in Edinburgh, because, contrary to the King's proclamation, he received imprest* and entertainment to serve Bothwell. It is verily expected that sundry of Bothwell's friends shall shortly suffer great extremities, and it is much noted that the rebellious Earls with all . . .† together with their own great outrages are thus let slip without any correction or check. Cessford has been with the King, and after long and secret conference was dispatched home with great speed. Buccleuch is presently here, and to be returned with the King's favour upon his promises to serve faithfully against Bothwell. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the writing hereof I was advertised that some of the King of Spain's instruments have arrived at Montrose and passed to Huntly with good store of Spanish gold. I enclose a copy of the letter advertising the arrival and doings of these Spanish instruments.

7 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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* Imprest. An advance of money, particularly to public officials; compare the impressment of soldiers who are waged with the King's money as a token of enlistment.

† Page torn.

1594. First enclosure with the same.

(Answer by Elizabeth to a writing subscribed by the Secretary of Scotland.)

Copy of No. 251. *Against that part of article* 3 *commencing :* "And thoughe her Majesty cannot restrayne him within the boundes of his owne countrye," *there is the marginal entry :* "All this clause is omitted in the writinge subscrybed by me and delivered to the Lord Secretary at Edinburgh 27° Aprilis, 1594, and I have done the same by derection in Sir Robert Cicills letter of the xxth of Aprill foresaide to me."

Opposite the last sentence in article 4, *there is also a marginal note thus :* "This addition is inserted to manifest the certentye of the Kingis graunt alleidged."

2½ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Another copy of the first enclosure as revised by Bowes, omitting the words with regard to assistance to be given to the King of Scots against Bothwell. There is a note at the end as follows : "Memorandum that I subscrybed the double hereof and delivered it to the Lord Secretary, at Edinburgh, 27 Aprilis, 1594."

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk :* "1594. Aunswere to the writing delivered by the Scotishe Kinges Secretarie," *and by Burghley :* "27 April."

Third enclosure with the same.*

(—— to Robert Bowes.)

"Remembring our last conferance how Sir James shewed you gif it was trew the Papiste Lordis for (*sic*) they wald get eyther men or money before May, and trewly I suppose they are satisfyed with ane ;† for upon Saturday the xxvjth of this instant, about x or xj houres at even, and arrey[vit] ane Flemming bark on our watter, wha comes one grownd upon Langanners and incontinent, after she was on ground, their landit thre men, one Scottis man and one French man, and ane uther Inglish spokin, wha came to John Wilsones house, and tymelye in the morning, before we knew any thing, departit with ane hyred horse, whairupon they laid ane pakit of great weyght, which we juge to be gould, and past to Aberden. The Scotis man only accompanyed therewith. The other two we suppone to come south. I examined the skipper, wha sayes he is ane man f[rom] Midlebourghe, and that he was fraught be ane French merchant to Aberden or Montrois ; wha hes na coket bot ane writting sett downe bet[u]ixt him and the merchant, wha bears to be suggit to Dundie, and fra thence to Callis, New Port to Domkirk or Grienling, but na mentione what lodeing she tooke in, which I trow be but feyned, as I beleif the skipper to be ane Dunkirk man. But I shall stay him whill I be better informed. They are not lyke to be merchantis wha left their shipp sa suddenly, nether wald they rest them selves after they came on shore. They had nether kist nor clathes in the shipp mair nor was upon their backes. They past furth in the morning fra John Wilsones house, in the morning upon Frydaye [*sic*], and promissed to come again to their diner, but are nocht yet seene. They left ther toome bulgetis [empty bags] and surdis behind them. They left ane peace of gould avaid to xxx^{li}. They had na small money. They gave to ane fellow they take in at the May two peaces of gould to be their steirs man, wha sayes they wald nocht land whil nyght, and they might have gane in to Dundie

* Bound separately as vol. 53, No. 43.

† *i.e.* with one of the alternatives, namely, the coming of money before May.

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or ony towne with fair day, and wald not suffer the skipper while night. Thir thingis are suspetious, and I trow I may assure yow is lyklie to be money to the Papistis Lordis, for merchandis wald nocht have left their shipp sa sudenly. Their money is of the King of Spaines straik, his armes on the one syde and his face on the other syde, ane crowne upon the head. I thought good to advertyse yow of this inconvenience, quhilk may informe you of the estat of thingis to fall out. 29 April 1594. Montrose."

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* "The letter to Mr. Bowes concerning the money sent to the north. 29 of Aprill."

[Before April 13.]

258. BOTHWELL, OCHILTREE, ATHOLL, GOWRIE, MURRAY, THE MASTER OF MONTROSE, FORBES, INNERMEATH AND OTHERS TO THE PASTORS CONVENED AT DUNBAR.

"In respect your daily sermons declare your grief in beholding the deplorable estate of this realm and the danger that religion, his Majesty's honour and person and the amity betwixt the two crowns are cast into, if these lewd practisers for embracing the Spaniard with impunity be suffered to practise and negotiate, it were superfluous prolixity to inform your wisdoms herein; but perceiving by many arguments (as by the late sending away of pledges and other messengers to the Low Countries and using of mass in sundry corners of the realm) the approaching arrival of the Spaniard (a matter to no estate more dangerous than to yours), we were forced (not without testimony of upright conscience) to put ourselves in arms for pursuit of the said lewd persons "ther inbringers," to the end that the said Spaniard, hearing his agents [were] either apprehended or thrust from his Majesty, may be discouraged, if not altogether "impeshed" to make his descent amongst us, and his Highness, being freed of such pernicious company, may, according to his natural sincerity, "utter" himself religious, just and clement; and, therefore, as you are the persons within this realm, next his Majesty, having most interest in this matter, inviting daily from your pulpits all men to this christian service, we implore your christian concurrence, with offer to hazard our lives and all our "moyens" therein, protesting that no particulars move us hereunto, but only the respects aforesaid, insofar as we forgive all our enemies as we would be forgiven, bearing no enmity but against such as would bring in the enemy of religion and amity aforesaid. For declaration whereof we require that some of your number may remain with us to bear record if our actions do not agree with our protestations, and suitably to comfort us who are called by God of His mercy to this dutiful, necessary and christian service. We were indeed "mynded" in peaceable manner and by way of admonition to have implored his Majesty for prevention of these inconveniences, but your wisdoms know into what peril we should cast ourselves if we should, unarmed or unprovided, fall into the hands of the said abusers now guarding his Majesty in great troops, and seeking our blood day and night in such barbarous form as heretofore was never heard within this realm; and therefore their cruelty on the one part, and on the other the present approach of the stranger, shall excuse the extraordinary form which this inevitable necessity has compelled us to. And whereas we are enforced, for our safety, to admit into our company some borderers, which perhaps might be a cause of slander to us and of fear to the common people where we travel, we promise upon our honour, that none of them shall plunder any person that can clear himself of

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1594. the imputation foresaid; and if they chance to transgress it shall be on the hazard of their lives. We specially desire to know your mind by this bearer or some of your own.

"*Sic subscribitur:*

Bothwell for my selfe and my Lord Ocheltree with the remnant of all our societye on this syd Forth.

Atholl for my selfe and for these Erles, Goury and Murray, Master of Montrose, the Lords Forbes and Innermeth and remanent of our societye on the north syd of Forth."

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.* [Originally enclosed with No. 245.]

May 1. **259.** JAMES VI. TO THE LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS.

Whereas complaint has been made by the Laird of Edmonstone of Richard and Matthew Forster, Englishmen, who with forty persons armed came to the lands of Blackburn (Blackborne) and took five score of horses and mares by daylight and took them into England, placing them in Sir John Forster's grounds with his own goods; whereof redress cannot be had through default of ordinary meetings betwixt the Wardens of the East Marches, and although the authors dwell within those Marches, yet there is no common redress, as they are dependers of the name of the Warden of the Middle March of England, therefore "they" * travail earnestly with the Queen or Council that redress may be had, lest by the delay thereof they be stirred to further mischief, to the disturbance of the peace and amity.

½ *p. Copy. Unfinished. Headed:* "Edinb., 1 May 1594." *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "1 May 1594. Copie of the Kingis letter to the Lord Wemes, his embassadour."

May 8. **260.** INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR ROBERT MELVILL AND ALEXANDER HUME.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 175.

"[Artic]les propo[unded in his Ma[jesty's name] to the said Assembly holden at Edinburgh 8 May, 1594."

Transcript in Harl. MSS. 464S, p. 213.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 323–5; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, 836–8.

. . . protest that his Majesty's royal privilege newly set forth by Act [of Parlia]ment be not prejudged in the convening of the next General Assembly, and to that effect that before their dissolving at this time they direct some of their number to his Majesty to be resolved by him upon the time and place of the next meeting, according to his Majesty's proposition and their promise in the last General Assembly at Dundee.

That they will ratify and approve by act of this present Assembly their promise in their last Assembly that any of the ministry having a complaint against his Majesty should make it by particular conference with himself and not utter publicly in pulpit any unreverent speeches against his Majesty's person, council or estate, under the pain of deprivation. And that for this cause they will presently try and censure any of their number who has contravened the aforesaid act.

"In speciall" that they will examine those who were present at the last synodal assembly at Perth, and charge them first to declare what treasonable and unreverent speeches of his Majesty they heard John Ross utter publicly from pulpit, and next, whether they censured him for the same or not, and

* *Sic but?* you. *Read:* therefore [we wish that] you . . .

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will desire them in his Majesty's name that, according to the same synodal censuring of him, they will judge him as he demerits, on the one part, and as his Majesty's moderate behaviour ever since the beginning of that [turn] hath deserved, on the other part.

That they will excommunicate Andrew Hunter for bringing in a scandal upon their profession, as the first open traitor of their function against a Christian King of their own religion and their natural sovereign.

That they will by act of Assembly ordain every particular minister to dissuade his flock by public and private exhortation from concurring with the treasonable attempts of Bothwell or any other traitors against the lawful authority placed by God in his Majesty's person, and especially that they shall not suffer any of their flock to be seduced, under colour of religion or whatsoever other false pretext, to receive wages and become soldiers for service of any persons, unless they see his Majesty's commission and warrant therefor, and "namely" of Bothwell, who has presently in divers parts of this realm attempted the same.

That in respect that the Parliament is at hand and the occasion will very suddenly serve for declaring of his Majesty's intention in prosecuting of the Papist excommunicated lords both by law and otherwise, therefore they will select one or two commissioners of every principal presbytery to attend upon his Majesty at this time, as well that he may have their good advice and assistance in this great turn, as that he may by their means direct and inform what he would wish to be done by the rest of the ministry as occasion shall be presented.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Burghley's clerk.*

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 184.

Another copy of the same.

[Another copy appears as enclosure in No. 266.]

May 10. **261.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have deferred these presents in expectation of being informed with certainty by the ministers and officers in Montrose and thereabouts, repairing hither to the General Assembly of the Church, of the result of the examination of the persons remaining in the Flemish barque-hoye arrived near to Montrose on 27th April last with gold, as it is here verily believed, sent to the rebellious Earls. Yet hitherto I can get no further or sure information than that this barque-hoye, [which] sailed with three Flemings and one Scotsman, took on board at Dunkirk four passengers unknown to the Flemings, to be set on land at Montrose or on that coast. This barque was not "fraughted" with any merchandise other than a small "poake" of hops, the rest of the loading being "ballaunce," hay, serving for the passengers' beds, and sundry "budgettis" trussed with cords, in small packs. They had no cocket, store of victuals, armour or weapons other than their swords and daggers. At their coming before Eyemouth (Heyemouthe) they put on land one of the passengers called Towye, a Scotsman, who (as I am told) first repaired to Lord Hume at Dunglass, and afterwards to the Earl of Angus. Whereupon warning was given to the rest that this barque had come with those passengers and freight, and would arrive at Montrose. On Thursday or Friday, the 25th and 26th April, one gentleman came to Montrose and enquired for it, which had not then come in. But on the Saturday following, this barque, meeting with a fisher-boat of St. Andrews, took one of the fishermen to be their pilot for Montrose, giving to him two Spanish pieces of gold for his pains. The pilot brought the barque before

1594. the port at Montrose to have landed there that day about 3 or 4 p.m., but the company would not suffer him, and caused him to bear off until the night had come and the tide past. Then they willed him to put the barque on the sands without the pool, providing that the men and their packs might be safe, without care for the vessel, which they said was well paid for. Running on the sands they found three horsemen awaiting their entry, one whereof was thought to be Mr. Walter Lindsay. The three passengers came on land with their packs and baggage, and after conference with the horsemen resorted to John Wilson's house near that place, being a common inn or "hosterye." One of these three passengers seemed to be a Scottishman, another a Frenchman, and the third an Englishman. They all broke their fasts together at Wilson's house early on Sunday morning. The Frenchman and Englishman, pretending to be merchants, prepared themselves to hear the sermon, with purpose to return to their dinner at Wilson's and in the afternoon to pass to Dundee. They left their swords and "budgettes" with their shirts and gave a piece of Spanish gold to provide their dinners. But departing with this pretence, they returned no more, and being met by some horsemen were carried away to places not known. The Scottishman hired a horse and a stabler to carry his pack to Aberdeen. The pack was a "budgett" or little "masle" [*i.e.* trunk] stuffed with gold, silver or other metal, weighing, as the stabler esteemed it, about five stone weight, and it was packed with cords in a pair of old breeches. The Scottishman willed the stabler to say that he was an English merchant going to Aberdeen on his affairs there. By the way the stabler saw that the Scottishman wore, privily bound about his neck and on his breast, a long case or bag of red Spanish leather wherein were letters and gold, and the Scottishman was in great fear that the letters might be taken from him. They baited at Cowen, and afterwards passed to and lodged in Andrew King's house in Aberdeen, where the Scottishman bought for himself new and fine apparel, and so taking his journey northwards (and, as the stabler thinks, to Huntly at Strathbogy) he left the stabler, who returned home and was examined by Mr. John Fullerton and others in all these things.

This much out of the reports of the examinations of the stabler, the pilot and the Flemings remaining in the barque. It is believed here that some portion of treasure has been sent to the Earls, who rejoice and are comforted exceedingly, and it is expected that foreign forces shall shortly follow this gold. It is thought that Mr. William Crichton, the Jesuit, and Captain William Forrett, two notorious instruments for Spain, have returned hither "under the clokes of" the Frenchman and Englishman before specified. Some little time will better reveal these mysteries, occasioning the well affected here rather to prepare themselves to suffer than to arm to prevent the inconveniences threatened to religion and both the realms in this isle.

It is thought by many that Angus and Errol will agree to enter ward on secret conditions, notwithstanding that the King has agreed to give them no conditions but publicly and with the advice of his Estates; yet they are in great fear (as I am informed) that her Majesty and the Kirk here shall draw the King to proceed so sharply against them that in regard thereof (and of other helps and comforts) they purpose to expend and try some time before they will adventure their bodies in ward. If they shall be warded, then it is looked that they shall be brought to the Parliament in the custody of this great guard, which the King purposes to increase, and many think that their case shall be handled for their relief and contentment either before or at the Parliament; wherein the King can bear no blame in regard that it will be then done by plurality of votes and not with his privity and means. I am told that

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1594. Angus and Errol, lately at Brechin (Brighten), intended to go from thence to Dunblane (Dubleyne), where the King is, to get some resolute order for them and Huntly in all these causes.

It has been generally reported here that Huntly came quietly into Janet Curle's house on the Castle Hill in Edinburgh, was conveyed secretly into the castle, and kept there some days. I cannot find any probability of this report. I hear that Huntly suspected Angus to have banded with Bothwell, but now that jealousy is quenched and the dryness thereby conceived is clean removed. It is given out that Huntly and Spynie are reconciled, whereupon Spynie has lately obtained the King's remission, a matter requisite to be well looked into by Bothwell and his friends; and therewithal it is said that the Master of Glamis is not a little displeased both with the pardon to Spynie and also that he cannot indelately obtain the portion of the dowry promised him for the maintenance of three cornets of horsemen to have been levied and led by him, as is done by Lord Hume and the Provost of Edinburgh. Mar has returned from Argyll and has prevailed to stay his personal invasion of Huntly. Nevertheless MacConochie (MacKonnoquhy) gathers Argyll's forces, with purpose (as it is thought) to ride against Huntly, and [it is thought] that the Clan Gregors will "partye" Argyll's forces, "yet not that they will sett themselves, who nowe is doubted to be so forwardis in the revenge of th'Erle of Murray's deathe as before he hathe shewed himself" [*sic*]. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 11. **262.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Coville's *Letters*, p. 103.

This 11th, finding the young Baron of Fingask (Fingas) come through Newcastle, I followed him to Durham. He carries a letter to our ambassadors declaring that the King's stay, "ungoing" against these Papists, is on the ground that they will enter into ward if there [*i.e.* in England] it be thought sufficient; and next "the bruit of the letter delyvered be Nicodemus Scotus is cum to his earis," and he mistaking the matter alleges that I have given in to her Majesty a counterfeited letter under his hand; which he would have his ambassadors see "tryed," and, if it can not be exhibited, to give the "mentir"* to any that will affirm he ever wrote any opinion concerning the incoming of Spaniards. These are the two points he carries. For the former [*i.e.* the warding] Huntly can be content to ward in Dumbarton, whereof his uncle is captain, or in the castle of St. Andrews, where Sir John Lindsay, a conjured enemy to religion and your estate, is captain; Angus in Edinburgh with M[ar], who is "confederat" with Huntly; and Errol in Blackness with James Cochrane, who is Glamis's depender. If they so ward, they are in no danger; and ward they not, when the King shall send to search Huntly, than he shall be "closed wp" in his Majesty's own cabinet, as at the last raid of Aberdeen. For the second [point], I pray God her Majesty hold back the letter at first till the ambassadors "deborded"† in brave language, according to the King's command. And for me, let me be delivered if I have done any such matter as is alleged. Her Majesty has many of his letters, and the ambassadors know his hand well enough, and therefore the matter is clear.

Your proclamations are made, and we shall in all humility obey. Ochiltree, as I wrote in my last, has gone to Scotland, and Bothwell shall keep quiet till this day expires, or longer, as pleases her Highness. They expect after

* Give the lie; deny. French: *mentir*, to lie.

† *debord:* run to excess.

1594. that day to know her pleasure, what to do; and that, if they be not employed, they may be sustained, since they are wholly dedicated to her service.

"O,* B. and 3, with more, shall be keped fast by Ochiltreis and me," but you can judge if such matters be easy. The King lies at Stirling. Hume is in the Merse. The Flemish barque, for truth, has arrived, and has brought some gold. My cousin Wemyss, as he has a recommendation from the King for Mr. Douglas to her Highness, so has he another to the King of France for the old Bishop of Glasgow. It would be well done that Wemyss "on his honestie," and not Bruce, for he has none, were "required" if the King means truly to pursue Huntly or not, and I think he will grant he carries a commission against his conscience. In all other matters I pray you do as I wrote in my last concerning N. and Ochiltree, and let your letters for some few days be addressed to "Waulis" in Durham, to be sent to Mr. Anderson, that they may fall only into my hands. *Signed:* "Y."

Postscript.—Let me know if Mr. Dean is there, and if he is, you know my meaning. "God, if I had moyen to my goodwill, bot as I am yow will, I trust, have sum cair of me."

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To Mr. Henrie Lok, esquyer, to be opinned by my honorabill Meçenas."† *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "11 May 1594. Mr. Colville to my master."

May 16. **263.** MR. EDWARD BRUCE TO BURGHLEY.

It pleased the Queen's Majesty yesterday to grant me new audience upon some advertisements I had received from the King. Amongst other things I showed that my master could not believe that the Queen would refuse him "that benevolence and small portioun of releiff" which she had given him during his days, but did ascribe the refusal to my evil service and indiscretion, which moved me to renew my suit to her Majesty more instantly than before; wherein I found her of so kindly and gracious disposition towards him in all things that my heart could wish no more. Her Majesty assured me that no avarice restrained her liberality in his "adois," and that she would grant him freely some relief, and yet deferred the delivery thereof for a short time upon "apparent gud respectis." I must, therefore, entreat your honour to give her Majesty your good counsel and advice to the present furtherance of this matter. I might lay before you my master's present necessity and what inconveniences may ensue to him by such delays, but my duty and the present condition of my service do not permit me so to do. It is not the smallest part of your honour to have done so many good offices for the continuance of the amity and I pray God you may carry that glory to the grave with you. If you "effectuat" this my request, I shall recommend it to his Majesty as it merits. Pardon my importunity, since it proceeds from an entire affection to the prosperity and quietness of both the estates. *Signed:* E. Bruce.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 17. **264.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

By reason of my father's great business at this time, he has commanded me to acquaint you with the state of things since the coming of the ambassadors, so that you may govern yourself accordingly. You shall therefore under-

* "O" is deciphered as Lennox in Colville's *Letters*.
† His usual form of complimentary address to Sir Robert Cecil, his patron.

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1594.

stand that Wemyss and Mr. Bruce, joint commissioners, brought a letter from the King under his own hand, containing, first, a declaration of his exceeding grief that her Majesty was misled so far as to doubt him, who held nothing so dear as the preservation of the amity; secondly, that she was content to favour his rebel, the Earl Bothwell. Of this he had many arguments, noting his open "receipte" on the Borders and in the Queen's own house, his beginning of his journey from Wark, when he came last to Edinburgh, his proclaiming of pay for his soldiers in English parish churches, with many other circumstances, which he protested to be so odious to his nature that nothing could more torment him, and therefore desired the Queen to yield him some satisfaction therein as to a King who had lost all his friends for her cause and had made her enemies his own, adding further that saying of the poet: "*Si superos flectere nequeo acheronta movebo.*" These were his two griefs: the latter part contained only a promise resolutely to proceed against the Popish Earls, referring all things else to the report and credit of his ambassadors.

This letter being received, her Majesty referred them some three or four days after to her Council, where my lord [Burghley], my Lord Admiral, Lord Bathurst and myself were present. They began by complaining of the matter of Bothwell. Secondly, they assured the pursuit of the Earls upon condition that her Majesty would assure the King of support of money, if not before, yet after he had driven the Earls from their country, etc. To all these points they were answered shortly and substantially by Burghley, who was best acquainted with the great affairs concerning both realms.

For the matter of Bothwell, he denied that the Queen had any way favoured him in any course against the King; nay, rather she abhorred his presumption in approaching so undutifully to his sovereign's person. For proof the King has her own letters whereby she condemns the fact, and offered him the best help she could afford. Whereupon, the next news she heard was that the King by his own letter commended him, desired her to esteem him as one in his favour, and for demonstration thereof the Earl came into her Borders, showing the King's general pardon under the seal of Scotland, and free reception into his grace. This so drew on the minds of her people on the Borders, who naturally favoured him for his neighbourhood, that notwithstanding many commandments and punishments they (who had found redress of so many injuries at his hands) had haply received him since or harboured him out of common charity, without any other ill meaning, as being a nobleman and one whom they had heard the Church and the well affected persons in Scotland esteemed as being opposite to that party who had vowed themselves to Spain. For the Queen having given him money or having helped him in this his enterprise, it was answered to be merely false. For confirmation whereof it was "remembred" that if the Queen had ever meant to have nourished him in any unlawful action, policy would have taught her not to have abandoned him when he was on foot, nor to have stayed all her subjects from going in with him; and in this sort, with divers arguments, my lord concluded that, before their coming, solely for the King's satisfaction, the Queen had sent order to her three Wardens by open proclamation to forbid his "receipt" upon pain of her heavy indignation.

For the second point, it was "remembred" how many promises had been made and none performed, how many shows and no effect following; alleging further that the King need not require foreign help if he would take such courses as are used in like cases; and therefore till the Queen saw his deeds she could do nothing upon words. But if it appeared that he soundly proceeded in suppression of the Earls (leaving matter of life to his own mercy

1594. and justice), she would then do for him what in reason could be demanded. But otherwise no threats or devices should move her.

Hereupon they urged the Queen's promise by a letter of her own hand, which they would not shew, but declared that it contained these words: "For a token hereof we have sent you a portion, which as we shall hereafter have oportunite we will contynew, wherof we wold have yow mak accompt as long as your present kyndnes shall appeare to contynew towardis us." The promise with the letter was thus conditional, and therefore having found since that time such favour showed to those who sought to bring in strangers to the disturbance of her kingdom, her Majesty had no reason to think there was continuance of his kindness; whereof, when she saw fruits, she would show the like.

To this they replied they doubted not but it should quickly appear, and desired that they might be despatched with as favourable answer and as speedily as might be. This being promised the conference broke up for that day, and they were referred for their despatch some three or four days till her Majesty's pleasure was known.

In the meantime your letter of the * of * arrived, wherein it appears what a new delay the King used and how well you had comported yourself in "remembring" him that you had before prophesied of such an effect, though then you could not be believed, but were overruled by arguments. This accident gave new occasions of distrust and good reason to deny. Whereupon, at their coming to take their leave they were charged with this new delay. They were content to answer that they heard as much, but that it was assented to by you. This was flatly denied by us, so that if part of your own letter, being wisely and sufficiently written, had not been showed, that answer "must have ben taken for payment." But, in conclusion, this was the end: that when the King had performed what he promised the Queen would be as kind to him as she had been. Yet hereon they began to move a new question, desiring to be thus far satisfied whether her Majesty meant "to conclude in that support" her former annual gratuity, of which they made no question. But herein they were answered in general terms, without any yielding to such a distinction, that the Queen "ought nothing but of kyndnesse," and as she saw cause so should they find at her hands. With this answer they are dismissed, though little contented.

Since the writing of this letter one has come to the Scottish ambassadors from the King to will them to "expostulate" with the Queen the report that is blown abroad of a writing under the King's own hand discovering some practice with Spain. They affirm that if there be any writing showing any ill meaning, it is counterfeit. If otherwise there be any under his hand, it is no other than may be justified, and therefore they desire to see it. To this the Queen answers that he has done nothing for a long time "in matter of practise" which is unrevealed to her; and as for any writing, she heard that in one of the gentlemen's trunks that passed by into the Low Countries with Geddes (Gaddy) some writing was found cast up on the shore, but as yet she does not know what it was. But this was her conclusion, that whatsoever ill she heard or might hear, she would judge him only by his deeds, let them malign him who list. Then Mr. Bruce pressed the Queen for money. Her Majesty said that, as for that, if the King did what he promised she would help him, but, upon his message, now of all times she would least do it, because it was reported that he had threatened her in his letter, and with such courses she

* Blank. *Last of April* in copy vol. lii, p. 75.

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1594. was little moved. She has thus left her answer uncertain, but not so that he shall despair of her help, which I find she means to give him indeed, after this man has gone, upon the first good proof of the King's resolute course against the Earls.

5 *pp. Draft in the hand of Burghley's clerk. Corrected by Burghley. The latter part in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* " 17 May 1594. Copy of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes."

Fair copy of the same (Vol. lii., p. 75).

May 17. **265.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Before this letter at 2 o'clock this day I have written another from which this is somewhat " various," though not contrary to it. The Queen entering into consideration that time is very precious in these actions, and that the King will make his advantage of a denial, has commanded me to tell you that although the Scottish ambassador " be denied " and has this day kissed her hand and goes away to-morrow with no better answer than my former letter purports, yet she has now sent him a message that whereas she has understood by your letters this night that the King is determined to proceed with roundness and integrity, and that you have assured her that you believe it is only want of means which hinders his intention, her Majesty upon this advertisement, and to see whether kindness will do what she desires, is determined, if she may know by you with speed, whether or where she shall deliver the money, to cause it to be paid immediately upon any authority sent for it by the King's direction. Her Majesty takes this course to make you more acceptable, it coming from your advertisement, and to make him know that it is not his ambassador's message nor his own sharp style in his letter which moved her, but your advertisement and word given for it, and so much word she sends the ambassador himself, who departs to-morrow. The Court, at 12 o'clock at night.

Postscript.—This you may tell him, for so the Queen has commanded me, and for it this shall be your warrant, which you must not deny. For your own return, my Lord has done what he can, and I hope when the ambassador shall come to christen the young Prince some one shall accompany him to supply your place. You may see that the Queen's promise is of no particular sum, though they would have both a gratuity and a portion and I know not what. You may, therefore, without any such distinction speak of it.

1 *p. Draft in the hand of Cecil's clerk, except the last sentence; which is in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Endorsed.*

Copy of the same, except the last sentence, which is omitted. (Vol. lii. p. 80.)

May 18. **266.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since my last, of the 10th instant, the master of the barque arrived at Montrose has been brought hither, committed to safe custody, and slenderly examined by the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvill and the Provost of Edinburgh; whereupon he confessed to be a Fleming, named Henry Makgelson, dwelling in Middelburg; that, using secretly to trade at Dunkirk and Neuport, Barnardine Cossyo, an Italian in Neuport, contracted with him

to carry into Scotland the three persons landed at Montrose, giving him 37*l.* Flemish for the freight; that he should have discharged at Aberdeen and there taken in fish or other merchandise for Neuport, but the passengers compelled him to set them on land near Montrose. He produced a letter written by one of the passengers and sent to him after their arrival with order that he should deliver it to the Italian. Albeit this letter was written in such sort that it could not be read by the examiners, yet I have caused it to be explained and send a copy thereof to your lordship, who by view of the same will well perceive the readiness of the Spanish faction to proceed in their course intended. By evident circumstances and reports it appears that letters and some portion of treasure are brought by this barque into this realm; but hitherto I cannot perfectly learn what the sum is, who brought it, or to whom it is delivered. Besides my labours "to" the examiners and many others I sent to Aberdeen and Montrose to search out this mystery. Some letters sent to give me further intelligence have been intercepted by persons unknown; wherein, for the safety of the informer, and at his request, I forbear to make curious search.

"It is informed me" by an old intelligence that in this barque there is an especial person sent by the King of Spain to understand the resolute minds of the Earls and their parties, "for Spayne suspected them untill they receaved understandinge of ther constancyes"; [and] that if they resolve to proceed effectually, according to their former intention, then the gold brought hither shall be divided and employed according to the instructions given to this person of credit, who thereon shall return with report, so that all things may be done with expedition as shall be accorded. In the meantime it is advised that these Earls or their parties shall not move or take arms but only in their own defence: that, moreover, since the arrival of this barque, another ship of great burden, and sailing northwards, on the 8th instant put on land at Usan (Owsen), four miles from Montrose, a gentleman with a trunk naming himself the brother of the Laird of Glaswell (Glaswall). This gentleman was met by some horsemen and he and the trunk [were] carried to places unknown. This matter is lightly passed over, as all others are, without any search; and I am so watched and barred from intelligence that I can little prevail in discovery of these mysteries.

The King seems to be much disquieted and endangered by the bringing in of this gold, and has firmly protested to punish severely as well the receivers of the gold as also their friends in Court and about him, yet most men think that these persons shall by the accustomed means escape punishment without loss of life, member or liberty.

It is confidently reported to me that the three Earls at their late convention at Brechin all resolved to take one part, [and] that Huntly, offering to enter ward upon condition to have the King's favour and safety of life and body, was dissuaded; and it is thought that Thomas Erskine (one of the King's chamber and in especial credit with the King) was sent to travail with Huntly and the rest therein. It is thought by some that in some sort they will offer to enter ward and answer at this Parliament, wherein, if their offers shall be received, strange effects and troubles are expected to follow; that some noblemen have met with them at Brechin; that their agents are sent and returned to Court; that Mar met with Huntly on the 2nd instant on the farther side of Forth, near Stirling; that they have their friends, followers, and forces under warning; and that Huntly has levied and waged many soldiers not only in the country adjoining, but also in Edinburgh, to serve him, and presently these Earls show great hope of success.

James VI.
1594. The General Assembly presently convened at Edinburgh have sent four commissioners to the King both with the declarations in writing of the dangers imminent to the true religion, *etc.*, and also with information by credit and word that the people now think these perils grow by the King's own omissions of the remedies. To all which the King has given his answers, and has sent sundry articles to be propounded in his name to the Assembly. I enclose copies of the declarations, the King's answers thereto, and the articles to be propounded in his name. Besides the King's answers in writing, he has "fraughted" the commissioners with many fair verbal promises for the full performance of all things required by the Assembly, who attend for the accomplishment of these effects at the next Convention of the Estates, to convene at Edinburgh on the 22nd instant, and at the Parliament beginning here on the 22nd [*sic: rectius* 27th]. If these two councils and diets shall pass over without fruit, as others have done, then this Assembly of the Church are of opinion that they shall not obtain reformation by the help and hand of man, but by the mercy and grace of God, to Whom they purpose to humble and submit themselves with general fast and prayers, and afterwards, in case of necessity, and with all loyalty, to seek means for the substantial prevention of the threatened alteration of religion and ruin of the state by foreign forces and intestine troubles. The fear of prosperous success at this Parliament is increased by the King's answer to the 7th article in the remedies propounded by the Assembly,—an answer which (as I hear) much pleases the confederates for Spain.

This General Assembly, ready to dissolve, are purposed to make choice of two or three commissioners in every presbytery and to leave them to solicit the causes of the Kirk at this Convention of the Estates and Parliament, whereat they look for "indelate" reformation or utter despair.

The King has written to Lord Hamilton (as I am informed) to be present at this Convention and Parliament, but Hamilton excuses himself, alleging that before this he received "a ratchless shott of hackbuttes" from the King's guard without any cause or quarrel and whereby a gentleman speaking with him was slain at his elbow. Nevertheless he will take the advice of his friends for his full resolution herein; and many other noblemen and others are loth to come hither whilst the King's guard is so extraordinary and strong and governed by persons suspected to favour overmuch the excommunicated Earls. I have seen a letter by the King calling a nobleman to this Convention to deliberate for matters touching the renewing of the old league with France, a matter thought strange by many to be handled at this time.

Mr. John Ross,—preaching at St. Johnstone and taking for his text Jeremiah vi. 28, was accused that he had affirmed the King to have been a reprobate, a traitor and rebel to God, and a fine hypocrite and dissembler, and that the house of Guise had been persecutors of God's Church and would never do good in this realm, unless it be the young Prince,—was sharply checked by the synodal convention then present and admonished for the same. Now, before this General Assembly of the Kirk, to whose censure [*i.e.* judgment] he was referred, Ross has pleaded (and, as it is said, proved) that he did not resolutely affirm the King to be a reprobate, a traitor, a rebel to God and a fine dissembler, but that he was in the way to be such, if he do not amend and reform his course. I hear that the Assembly will ratify and approve the act of the synodal convention at St. Johnstone and declare Ross's words herein to be without due regard of the condition of this time, estate and matters, notwithstanding that by the ground of his text he might affirm all such as fall within its compass to be in the way of reprobation, treason, re-

1594. bellion to God or hypocrisy, and that he is like to be left to the order of the King and civil judgment herein.

The Lord Hume being warned that the commissioners for the General Assembly had informed the King against him, re-presented himself speedily before the Assembly, and there with great and open humility has submitted himself and sworn to perform the order enjoined on him, as will appear by the copy enclosed.* Sir George Hume and Patrick Murray, noted to be especial instruments for the rebellious Earls, were likewise charged by the commissioners. Sir George has not appeared as yet, but Patrick Murray has been before the Assembly and frankly submitted and received their order, which with great oaths and protestations he promises to perform. Nevertheless I am credibly informed that he has got all the articles sent by the Assembly to the King, and those returned by the King to the Assembly, and that, having this day returned to Stirling, he purposed to carry or send them to Huntly, together with the state in Court. The like offices and effects are likely to be found in the others.

John Hume of Crumstane, captain of fifty horsemen under Lord Hume, has obtained place before Sir John Carmichael, notwithstanding that he is a councillor, and has the King's patent under the great seal to be captain of his guard. Therefore Sir John has departed from Court malcontent. He was once appointed, as I am informed, to pass with his forces into Annandale to assist Johnstone for the surprise of Bothwell. How this shall now proceed is not known.

Argyll and Montrose, the Sheriff of Ayr and others of Argyll's friends have lately convened to find out the authors and executioners of the murder of the Laird of Calder. It is discovered (as I am told) that the Earl of Huntly, the Lairds of Ardkinglas, Glenorquhy, Macaulay (Mackalla) of Ardencapel, with others, had subscribed a band for this slaughter; that this band is found and now in Argyll's possession; that John Ogg, brother to Lochenzell [*i.e.* Campbell of Lochnell] (being one of this conspiracy and to have been an executioner) confirmed all these informations; and it is thought that Glenorquhy has secretly confessed the same and promised his service to Argyll and to leave Huntly. It is much noted here that after the slaughter of Calder, the King and Court, especially Huntly's friends, showed extraordinary favours to Ardkinglas and Macaulay, and it is commonly said that Huntly durst not have slain the Earl of Murray in the life of Calder, who was murdered eight days before Murray; so that all the murderers of Murray are now suspected with the murder of Calder.

I am given to understand that Lord Slaynes, in Ireland, has employed Gerard Fleming, Scottishman, to procure the King's commission that Slaynes may embark in Scotland for Spain to require aid there against her Majesty. Hitherto I cannot learn of any such suit, but I shall be watchful herein and await your lordship's direction.

Anderson, Scottishman, and late preacher at London, upon suspicion of evil behaviour, was charged to appear before this General Assembly, but suddenly and in great fear he departed to the north with the advice and privity of Patrick Murray (as it is said) and thereby thought to be gone to Huntly. He has intelligence with councillors and courtiers, and is deeply suspected to practise sundry offices here. He has been seen furnished with 280*l.* in gold sterling, and pretends to have great sums at his disposal. The Master of Glamis seems to have good intelligence in England and to have more speedy

* See Third enclosure.

James VI.
1594. advertisement from the Court there than I can obtain. He promises to do good offices, which, if he shall accomplish them, may turn to the benefit of both nations. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After the writing hereof I received the King's letter requiring me to be a means to her Majesty or to your lordship that the two persons apprehended in England by Captain Selby with jewels appertaining to the Queen here, which they have stolen and carried with them, may be delivered here with the jewels, and that I would also give convoy of the King's letters to his two ambassadors at London and to Thomas Foulis; in which I have written to Sir Robert Cecil.

4½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Instructions for Sir Robert Melvill and Alexander Hume of North Berwick.)

[This is already calendared as No. 260.]

1¼ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(Dangers to the King's person and crown.)

Printed in Calderwood, v. 310–15; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, 829–31.

"The daungers which throughe th'impunity of excomunicate Papistis, trafiquers with the Spanyardis and others enemyes of the religion and estate, are iminent to the trew religion professed within this country, his majestis person, crowne and libertye of this our natyve country."

The same dangers which were threatened before [*i.e.* in 1589] by the practices of Jesuits and conspiracies of Huntly, Errol and Angus, with their accomplices, at this time are imminent, still more urgent and more to be feared, as may evidently appear by the reasons following. (1) It is certain that the Spaniard, who in 1588 enterprised the conquest of this isle, remains as yet of that same intention, as appears clearly by his continuing in intelligence and trafficking with the aforesaid excommunicates ever since the dissipation of his navy. (2) The manifest rebellion of the aforesaid excommunicates after the clemency in pardoning their treasons at the Brig of Dee and Falkland declare that they cannot leave off their unnatural conspiracies so long as they are not punished or restrained by justice and execution of laws. (3) Whereas the Kirk on all occasions has insisted to declare evident dangers and to crave convenient remedies thereunto, yet in effect nothing has been obtained notwithstanding promises, proclamations, raids, *etc.*; wherethrough they [the Papists] have been put always in greater security and take liberty to practise further.

Notwithstanding that it was prohibited by act of Council to traffic or speak in favour of the said excommunicates, yet now their chief favourers are advanced into greater credit with his Majesty, and they cease not as yet, contrary to their promises, to procure them all favour, oversight and impunity, as appears in effect, whatsoever they pretend. The erection of the idolatry of the mass in divers quarters of the land, as namely in Mr. Walter Lindsay's house in Balgay in Angus, in the young Laird of Bonniton's house of Birnes (Birnis), in the Earl of Angus's house of Bothwell in Clydesdale and the places of his residence in Douglasdale, in Huntly's house in Strathbogie and Old Aberdeen, in Errol's houses in Logiealmond and Slains, proves clearly that they either find themselves sufficiently assured of such favour and assurance within the country as may plainly entertain their cause by force, or else that they are persuaded of the aid of strangers for their relief. The refusal of the act of Abolition proves the same sufficiently, for they would never have refused

1594. so great a benefit except they had thought themselves fully assured of a better either by favour of "remit" and assistance within the country or by the concurrence and aid of strangers without. Their refusal to enter into ward proves the same. The late arrival of the barque at Montrose evidently shows that their dangerous practices are presently at the point of execution against the religion and country, and must hastily bring some great inconvenience unless they be prevented and resisted by a present remedy. The open conventions of the beforenamed excommunicated Earls at Brechin and other places since the arrival of the said barque declare that they esteem their causes now to be so "substancious" led that they do not regard what may be done for resisting of them. The diligence of the said excommunicates in putting of their whole forces in the north in arms and readiness upon advertisement shows that they have some present enterprise and attend only upon concurrence, which apparently they are very much "animate" to look for since the arrival of the aforesaid barque.

Whereas his Majesty and Estates at the first discovery of their conspiracies apprehended a very great danger, yet now, notwithstanding that the same causes of danger as yet remain wholly unremoved, there is no apprehension of any danger or earnest care to withstand it. It is evident that either there is an inclination and purpose not to see this evil cause, or else the Lord in judgment has blinded and hardened the hearts of all estates so that they grope in mid-day, and, seeing, cannot see,—which is the greatest danger of all, and a most certain argument of the wrath of God and His heavy judgment hanging over the land, and so much the more to be feared, because no fear is apprehended. The King acknowledged all these matters and dangers aforesaid to be worthy very good consideration, and, giving allowance of the same, he promised to have regard to them.

(Remedies against the aforesaid dangers.)

For remedy of the aforesaid dangers the Assembly ordains the commissioners to deal earnestly with his Majesty that he may apprehend the peril and proceed against the aforesaid excommunicated traitors as follows.

First, that the aforesaid excommunicates be "forfalted" without favour, and to that effect that the Parliament appointed for the 27th instant be holden precisely without any kind of delay, the Advocates sufficiently instructed in every point, that the summons may be found relevant, and sufficient probation in time provided. (2) That none suspected in religion be chosen upon the Articles. (3) After the "forfaltry" that they be pursued with all extremity and their lands and rents annexed to the Crown for ever, and no part thereof "disponed" to any in favour of the persons forfeited. (4) That in the meantime his Majesty's guard be employed for apprehending of Mr. Walter Lindsay, the Abbot of New Abbey, Bonnington younger, Mr. George Ker (Carr), Mr. Alexander Leslie, and Thomas Tyrie (Tyrye) with all other traffickers, Jesuits and seminary priests not contained in the summons of forfeiture. (5) That the rebels be named,* taken and charged, and their livings intromitted with to his Majesty's use without favour, and no part thereof "disponit" for their commodity. (6) That all persons be prohibited under the pain of treason and "tinsall" of life, lands and goods from resetting, assisting or intercommuning with the aforesaid excommunicates under whatsoever pretence of vassals, dependers, *etc.* (7) That the "haill subjectis" be charged to put themselves in arms to pursue or defend as they shall be certified by his Majesty

* In Calderwood and the *Booke of the Univ. Kirk* this reads: "that the rebells' houses be taikin, charged and manned."

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or otherwise find occasion urgent. (8) That the barque arrived at Montrose be apprehended and the persons who were within her, together with such others as have had a dwelling with them, according as they shall be given up "in tickett," be called and diligently examined for discovery of the practices and purposes they have presently in hand. (9) Forasmuch as Lord Hume has contravened sundry of his promises to the Kirk of Edinburgh at the receiving of his subscription, as namely in not satisfying the Assembly of Fife, in not receiving a minister in his house, in not removing Captain Andrew Gray and Thomas Tyrie out of his house, as also by his "sclaunderous" life since his subscription, whereby he has given just cause of suspicion to the Kirk and all good men that in his heart he is not as yet truly sanctified and converted to the religion, therefore that his Majesty would take earnest trial of the premises and, if sincerity be not found, remove him from his company and all public office and commandment. (10) That the guard and their captains be tried in regard of so many complaints given in against them to the Assembly.

The Assembly directed their brethren Mr. Patrick Galloway, Mr. James Melvill, Mr. James Nicholson and Mr. Patrick Simpson to present these dangers and remedies to the King's majesty, and they returned the King's answers.

The King's answers to these remedies.* (1) There shall be nothing in that turn left undone upon my part, as I have at length declared to the bearers. (2) "Good reason and farder," as I have showed to the bearers. (3) Great reason, the "forfalture" being ended. (4) How willing I am to be employed in apprehending practising Papists I "remit me" to the bearers' consideration.† (5) Great reason, as soon as they are forfeited, and I thank them for their counsel. (6) Great reason, their forfeiture "alwayes" preceeding. (7) To be ready at my charge is very meet, but I do not understand the last clause of urgent occasion.‡ (8) I shall omit no occasion in what can be required at my hands as I shall answer to God. (9) *Distingue tempora et concordare scripturas.* The meaning of this the learned will open to you. (10) These complaints do not belong to their office: "always" I have satisfied the bearers herein. These answers on the margin were made and written by the King's own hand.

3 *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley:* "xj May, 1594."

Printed in Calderwood, v. 318–20; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, 840–1.

Third enclosure with the same.

(Conditions proposed to Lord Hume by the General Assembly of the Kirk.)

"Conditions proponed to Alexander, Lord Hume, by the Generale Assemblye of the Kirk convenit at Edenburgh the § daye of Maye, 1594, and cravit to be performed of him to testefye his trewe and unfeygned repentaunce and conversion to the trew religion openly professed within this countrye."

(1) The General Assembly craves that he renounce all Papistry and that he ratify his subscription of the Confession of Faith given at Edinburgh the 22nd of October last. (2) That he remove from his company Captain Andrew Gray and Thomas Tyrie and all other Papists and traffickers against the religion and those who are suspected thereof. (3) That he receive within his house Mr. Alexander Oswald (Osvall) as his ordinary pastor, and, failing him, some

* These answers are written in the margin, opposite their respective "reasons."
† "declaratioun," in Calderwood.
‡ "diligence," in Calderwood.
§ Blank.

1594. other discreet and godly minister by the advice of [the Presbytery of Dunbar],* and that he provide him a sufficient stipend for his entertainment and make his whole family subject to the Word and discipline to be exercised by him. (4) That he resort to the public sermons in all places where he shall happen to be, and that he communicate. (5) That he make all his servitors and tenants subject to the discipline of the Kirk. (6) That he repair all the ruinous kirks within his bounds and provide sufficient livings for pastors thereat, and "namely" to the kirks of Coldingham, according to the act of Parliament. (7) That he make thankful payment to the ministers of Chirnside (Chirnesyde), Swinton (Swenton) and Merseks† (M'seks) of their stipends, "conforme" to their "asservations" and decreets passed thereupon. (8) That he concur by his counsel, credit and assistance for maintenance of the established religion and the maintainers thereof against all and whatsoever that would invade the same within the country or without. (9) That he do not receive, maintain, assist, intercommune or have intelligence with the excommunicated Papist lords, Jesuits, seminary priests or trafficking Papists, or solicit for them or show them favour directly or indirectly. (10) That he neither reason nor suffer any reasoning to be where he may inhibit the same against the true religion or any point thereof. (11) That he employ himself carefully to apprehend and present to justice Mr. Alexander MacQuhirrie (Mackquharry) and all and whatsoever Jesuits, seminary priests and trafficking Papists who shall resort within his bounds; that he do nothing that may be found by the ministers appointed for the trial of his behaviour to be prejudicial to the religion; and in case he shall be found to contravene any point of the premises that he consent to be summarily excommunicated upon the notoriety of the fact.

1⅓ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley:* "x May, 1594. Articles propounded to the Lord Hume by the Mynisteres."

Copies of the first two enclosures in Calig., D.ii. fol. 185 ff.

May 18. **267.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

After I had finished my letter to Lord Burghley, I received the King's letter enclosed. One Jacob, a Dutchman and a goldsmith, and another, called Guilliam, a Frenchman, the Queen's footman, lately broke up some of the Queen's coffers in Holyrood House and carried away divers of the Queen's jewels, wherewith they are apprehended, as the King writes, by Captain Selby, in England, and the King has required me to be a means to the Queen of England or the Lord Treasurer that these two persons, with the jewels, may be delivered with all convenient diligence. He has also required me to cause his several letters to be delivered to Wemyss and Bruce, his ambassadors, together with his letter to Thomas Foulis, presently at London. I have therefore thought good to acquaint you therewith and enclose copies of the King's letter to me and the three letters mentioned. I beg that Lord Burghley and yourself will procure direction to be sent for my answer to the King and for the course to be taken herein, and also cause the three letters enclosed to be delivered. [Requests that his relief may be provided for at the end of this next Parliament.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

* Blank: supplied from Calderwood, and *Booke of Universall Kirk.*

† The penultimate letter of this name has been altered and is indistinct. It reads "Fischak" in Calderwood, and *Booke of the Univ. Kirk.*

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1594. Enclosure with the same.

(James VI. to Robert Bowes.)

Hearing that Captain Selby has of late apprehended, in Newcastle, " twa limers deuces," who " thefteouslie " passed away with some jewels belonging to the Queen, we therefore request you to procure at the hands of the Queen, your sovereign, or the Lord Treasurer of England, that these " twa lymers," with the jewels and other things, may be delivered to us with all convenient diligence, wherein you will do us thankful and special good pleasure. We also request you to " derect awaye " these our other two letters to our ambassadors at London. Stirling Castle, 17th May 1594.

⅓ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

May 23. **268.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Yesternight and this day I have received your two letters of the 17th instant. By the first you have seasonably acquainted me with the state of things since the coming of the ambassadors for Scotland, by which advice and advertisement I shall diligently govern my proceedings with this state. By the second I find further direction as well to give better contentment to the King, as also to nourish a good opinion in him towards myself, " and my reporte of his intigrity to be approved at this Parliament " ; which direction I shall duly execute, and of all my doings and success in the same you shall be shortly advertised.

The King has returned to Holyrood House for this Convention of the Estates, which hitherto is " verye sclender and fewe." It is looked that the number of the nobility shall be increased on Saturday next, or at the farthest on Monday, 27th, being the first day of the Parliament, which the King still firmly promises shall proceed, and that therein the Papist Earls shall be forfeited and afterwards prosecuted with effect, a matter heartily wished, and yet much doubted ; and it is so sued and called for at this time that the longer delay thereof shall utterly quench all further expectation of good success or better performance of the King's promises, like as in pulpit I have heard plainly affirmed. Some few days will give proof in this behalf and either work some reformation or else increase these storms by open actions.

The Queen is purposed, as it is told me, both to come and remain here during the Convention of the Estates and Parliament, and also to give order to her own council to inform themselves well of the true condition of this estate and progress of matters in Convention and Parliament, that with their information and advice she may persuade the King and do her endeavour to " expeid " the reformation wished and requisite.

Albeit Lord Hamilton intended to have been absent [from] this Parliament, as before I have signified, yet the King calling him earnestly and offering to give him the erection of the abbacy of Arbroath, for which he has long sued, he will (as I hear) come hither at the King's pleasure and appointment. By his presence the number of the nobility will be increased with the others willing to follow him. Otherwise it is hitherto thought that the assembly of the noblemen shall be little. Thomas Tyrie, purposed to have passed into France before this, has now taken farewell of Lord Hume (as I am informed), and, having sent his furniture for that voyage to Eyemouth, he intends with the next wind to convey himself and furniture by boat to some ship bound for Flanders and sailing by Eyemouth. He fears to be awaited upon, and therefore " he will not be known " in what vessel he will pass before he shall enter into the same on the road and in secret manner. It is told me that Mr. Alexander MacQuhirrie, the

1594. Jesuit, and others of like stamp shall accompany him. Whilst Mar shall remain here at Court the custody of the Prince shall be committed to the Abbots of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, and the Bishop of Glasgow, Mar's kinsman. On Monday, the 20th, the summonses in Parliament against the three Papist Earls and Auchindoun, and against Bothwell, Ochiltree and their friends were renewed, whereby it is pretended that they all shall be forfeited at this Parliament, and it is verily thought that the King's desire for the expedition of the forfeiture of Bothwell and his friends shall draw hither a great number of the nobility, without which the other Earls could not be forfeited. The King caused Spynie to be put out of the summons.

The Earl of Argyll, discovering MacAulay (Mackalla) of Ardencapel, in Lennox, to be one of the conspirators who subscribed the band with Huntly for his slaughter, thereon took the house of Ardencapel, putting in men for the custody thereof. Whereupon the Duke of Lennox, thinking this to be done to his prejudice, wrote in high style and words to Argyll to deliver the house. But Argyll calmly, and without any salutations or titles of honour, denied by his letter to the Duke to deliver the house, and now prepares to go against Huntly in revenge of his own quarrel, and chiefly for the murder of Murray. It is looked that Argyll and Atholl shall join against Huntly, and the King seeks by all means both to "laye them of Huntlaye" and also to draw Atholl to "leave the societye with Bothwell." In which behalf it is said that Montrose and the Master of Gray are employed to offer Atholl in convenient order the erection of the abbacy of Coupar. The practices devised to have snared and surprised Bothwell, with all other matters touching him and his affairs, I leave wholly to the report of others.

Lastly, I humbly thank your father and yourself for your great goodness in furthering my suit for revocation or licence to repair to her Majesty's presence. Since she is pleased to send with the ambassador coming to the baptism of this Prince a fit person to supply my place and service, and since my longer residence here after the end of this Parliament will not so much profit as my personal information at Court before the departure of the ambassador, therefore I humbly beseech you both to present the same to her Majesty's consideration and also to give me timely advertisement of her pleasure, so that I may in due time wrap up all things in best order for the benefit of her services in my charge and for the disposition of my own affairs. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

May 27. **269.** MR. EDWARD BRUCE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have received direction from his Majesty to request the Queen, your sovereign, for the delivery of a goldsmith and a lacquey who have escaped from Scotland after the robbery of some jewels belonging to our Queen. They are now apprehended and in the hands of Captain Selby, in Newcastle. "Heirfoir" please you to acquaint the Queen and Lord Burghley herewith, that after some trial and inquisition these persons may be delivered to his Majesty for condign punishment, and that the jewels robbed be restored to her Majesty. Durham. *Signed:* E. Bruce.

$\frac{1}{4}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

May 29. **270.** JAMES HUDSON TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

I find some jealousy "loussayt" has entered the ambassador's head since I delivered him a message from Sir Robert Cecil; for though he bore me very

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1594. good countenance, yet he said that he thought it strange that I should have delivered the Queen's letter with those terms which (though he could not gainsay but they were good and agreeing with that he had received from her Majesty and her Council) I, being his King's servant, ought not to have delivered, though he most earnestly required my diligence in hasting her Majesty's letter to him, and so his despatch. But he has "kept up" divers things from me, whereby also I discover his mind to me. Also I understand how he intended to have discharged me from meddling any further with his King's affairs, but he was not so happy as "to performe me so good a turne." But of these and other matters I leave writing till meeting, which I was in hope of at your house, where I hoped to have seen you, because James Forett was going thither but lacked a direction how to find it "til I instructid his gyd to your howsse, whence I comend me most kyndly to yow." *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

Postscript.—I perceive that he has already entered into great friendship with Mr. "Arche" [Douglas] and has given great praise of his wit, "and the other lykywysse of hime." What their mutual goodwill will breed in effect at home in his country I leave to time, for I see he monstrously bears in heart my Lord Chamberlain's words to him, though to me he lets nothing fall. I hope you have acquainted Sir Robert [Melvill] with that I willed you to do touching the Master of Glamis and Mr. Archibald [Douglas], which, I think, if it be not crossed, will take effect; for this man reprehended Wemys for overmuch familiarity with him, and now "exseidith hime for him self."

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal.*

May 30. **271.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since the receipt of your letters of the 17th instant the King has been so occupied with the Convention of the Estates, and with the preparation of the matters for Parliament, that I could have no audience before Monday last, the 27th, on which day the Parliament should have begun, but it was continued from day to day until this Thursday, 30th instant, whereupon it has now taken beginning and entrance; and that I might write certainly of the same to you, I have delayed thus long to send advertisement of my doings and success with the King after the audience given me.

At this audience I shewed to the King that his ambassadors had been sundry times and severally heard by her Majesty and Council and received answers; that Wemyss had passed into France, and Mr. Bruce had kissed her Majesty's hand on the 17th, without receipt of any money. Yet her Majesty soon after his departure had sent him message that when she had understood by my letters that the King is determined to proceed with roundness and integrity against the Papist Earls [etc., as in No. 265], and that only want of means hinders his intention, if she may know by me where or when to deliver the money,* she will cause it to be paid immediately upon any authority sent for it by the King's direction. In this I have not spoken of or distinguished any particular sum for gratuity, or other cause whatsoever, agreeable to your own direction given me therein; and upon apt occasion I wished him to consider that not the message of his ambassador nor his own sharp style in his letter has moved her to show this favour, but her good opinion now received by my letters, and hereupon I pretended the greater boldness to press him to perform by actions that which he had many ways promised by words, and for which I had thus engaged myself and credit. To these he answered that

* Page decayed.

1594. his ambassador by short letter had acquainted him with her Majesty's message, and he desired heartily that the money to supply his present necessities might be speedily given to Thomas [*sic*] Foulis, burgess of Edinburgh, and presently at London, with commission and authority to receive the money for him. Hereupon he recounted to me how deeply he had of late and at this Convention bound himself to the Kirk and to his people to prosecute the Papist Earls by all means in his power, protesting to me by many liberal and pithy words that he would give good and indelate proof that he would proceed against them with all severity, and that he would procure their forfeiture at this Parliament, which forfeiture or attainder is now looked to take effect indeed. [*In the margin, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "Credo in Deum."] Hereon I prayed him to beware that they be not forfeited for contumacy only (as some crafty heads would seek to be done, to the intent that the persons forfeited only for contumacy might readily reduce the forfeiture), but that they be forfeited for the treasons libelled in their summons, which he well allowed.

Next, he asked whether I knew what answer her Majesty had given to his ambassador touching the letter falsely forged (he said) to persuade her to think that he had embraced a course with Spain, which utterly and with deep protestations he denied. I answered that her Majesty had heard that in one of the trunks of one of the gentlemen passing by sea with Mr. John Geddes (Geddye) to the Low Countries some writing was found cast upon the shore. She did not yet know what it was, but she would judge him only by his deeds, as his ambassador will satisfy him at more length; wherewith he rested pleased.

Further, he noted to me that in the late proclamation prohibiting all her Majesty's subjects from receiving or entertaining Bothwell no mention is made of his accomplices, who may still remain and be received in England; wherewith he seemed grieved. I answered that, seeing the Earl cannot abide in England, all his followers will accompany him, and that her Majesty's great care for the King's satisfaction herein is evidently declared by the award of this proclamation and order given to all her several Wardens before the coming of his ambassador, to whose report I left this matter.

I moved him in some matters for the Borders, chiefly for redress to be made to Sir John Foster for 14 score head of kyne and oxen taken in the East Marches of England by the young Laird of Edmonstone, some of the King's guard and some of the household servants of the Justice Clerk. I wished him to mark that some of his own guard had been at this outrageous and open attempt, and also that Edmonstone had said to young Cessford that he did nothing but with the King's warrant. Whereupon the King, seeing Cessford present, enquired whether he heard Edmondstone say that he did nothing in this attempt but with the King's warrant. Cessford witnessed that Edmonstone said that he had done nothing but that he trusted the King would allow upon knowledge of the equity and justice of his cause. In the end the King gave order that young Cessford and the Justice Clerk should confer with me. Whereupon Cessford has undertaken to give Sir John Foster contentment by composition, or else by justice, provided that Edmondstone may receive redress for the wrong done to him, agreeable to the laws of the Marches.

That you may know the names of the Lords of the Articles in this Parliament I enclose a note thereof. Albeit sundry noblemen, called earnestly by the King's letters, have absented themselves that they should not vote for the attainders of the Earls, and some present are ready to stay the forfeiture as much as they can, yet the King appears so resolute and has so far wrought

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1594. sundry of the noblemen and others that it is surely expected that both Bothwell with his friends and also Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun shall be forfeited by this Parliament; but what further prosecution shall be made against them, except Bothwell and his friends, is still doubted, and many look that this current Parliament shall run on till the Papist Earls be restored, which matter is thought likely to be broached at the baptism of the Prince.

[*In the margin:* In the choice of the Lords of Articles the King and Chancellor have been crossed, as I hear, therefore this breach of the course intended may draw on the issue variant to the effects promised.]

Because I received yesternight letters from your father and yourself, wherein I have had no opportunity to speak with the King as yet, therefore I shall write again soon after my audience. Mr. Edward Bruce and the Baron of Fingask (Fynzeis) returned yesternight to the Court, giving account to the King of the success in their late negotiation in England. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Names of Lords of Articles chosen at the Parliament, 30th May 1594.)

1 *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

See *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 56 .

Second enclosure with the same.

(Names of nobles, etc., called to the Parliament, 30th May 1594.)

The Duke of Lennox (present), Lord Hamilton (present), Earls of Argyll, Marishal (present), Crawford (present but kept close), Glencairn, Montrose (present), Mar (present), Morton, Menteith, Rothes and Gowrie. Lords: Lovan [*sic*], Altrie, Innermeath, Ogilvy, Gray, Drummond, Lindsay (present), Sinclair (present), Livingston (present), Fleming, Master of Elphinstone, Seton (present), Newbottle (present), Borthwick, Yester, Hume (present), Sempill, Ross, Boyd, Cathcart, Urquhart (present), Herries, Glamis (present). Bishops: Aberdeen (present), Brechin (present), Argyll, Dunkeld (present). Abbots and Priors: Cupar, Lindores, Inchaffray, Balmerinoch, Culross, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, Melrose, Jedburgh, Glenluce, Dundrennan, Holyroodhouse, Blantyre, Tongland.

Burghs: Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Stirling, Glasgow, Linlithgow, Cupar, St. Andrews, Montrose, Haddington, Aberdeen, Jedburgh, Ayr, Irvine, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Inverness.

Barons—in Edinburghshire: Edmonston, Bass, Wauchton. Berwick: Wedderburn, Cowdenknowes, Manderston, Huton Hall. Roxburgh: Cessford, Littledean, Mackerston, Buccleuch, Bonjedburgh. Peebles: Traquhair Skirling, Black Barony. Lanark: Dunrod, Minto, Sir James Hamilton, Dalzell. Dumfries: Drumlanrig, Closeburn, Amisfield. Kirkcudbright: Lochinvar, Garlies. Wigton: Garthland, Barnbarrough. Kyle, Carrick, Cunningham: Bargany, Sheriff of Ayr, Caprington, Hesleheid, Leifnoreis. Renfrew: Caldwell, Houston, Craiganis, Wester Pollok. Dumbarton: Luss, Buchanan. [? Inverness]: Balmey, Inverness, Mackenzie, Sheriff of Cromarty. Elgin and Forres: Sheriff of Moray, Grant. Banff: Findlater, Boyne, Dunlugus. Aberdeen: Towie, Frendraught, Drum, Tolquhon. Kincardine: Lowriston, Pittarro, Thornton. Forfar: Edzell, Bonyton, Constable of Dundee. Perth, Strathearn and Menteith: Inchmartin, Baltheock, Pitcar,

1594. Tullibardine. Fife: Abbotshall, Colluthie, Hallhill, Largo. Clackmannan: Sauchy. Stirling: Kilsyth, Airth, Kerse, Toughe. Linlithgow: Dundas, Barnbogle, Ballenheard.

The names of the Lords of the Articles were sent before to Sir Robert Cecil.

1 *p.* *In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* "The naymes of the Erles, Lordis, Byshops, Abbottis, Priors, Barrons and burgesses called by letters to the Parliament begoun att Edenburgh, 30 Mary 1594."

Another copy of enclosure, Cott. Calig. D.ii. fol. 187 (b).

May 30. **272.** ROGER ASTON TO JAMES HUDSON.

On Wednesday the 29th instant I received your letter by the Baron of Fingask (Fenes), who came hither that afternoon. Mr. Edward Bruce came a quarter of an hour before him, not before he was looked for. He conferred that night long with the King. So far as I can perceive he has made good report of her Majesty and speaks very honourably of her. He has said some hard speeches of some others, chiefly my Lord Chamberlain [Lord Hunsdon], who (as he says) said they might pull the King out of Edinburgh when they pleased. The King takes this in evil part, as also my Lord Zouche's proceedings. I fear he [Bruce] has informed the King of something against yourself, for he continues very angry with you, and, as it appears, worse since his coming than before. The time is so short that I cannot try out the truth of matters, but by my next you shall know all. I mean this night to deal with the King about you, and the Chancellor is minded to do likewise at length. I fear your great enemy and mine there has been an informer both against you and me. I perceive they have had daily conferences, which I believe was more than he had commission for. But in that and other things you shall be advertised in my next.

I am sorry you wrote the letter, unless it were done by commandment. It is interpreted to the worst, but I hope we shall mitigate the matter in time. We are now so busy that we can do nothing as yet. This day our Parliament began. The "forfatry" goes forward; thereafter with all speed they shall be pursued. The King and the Kirk are all one. All our matters here will go right. The Kirk has given out an act to be preached against Bothwell throughout all the kirks. I am dealing for my Lord Ochiltree. If he will leave Bothwell I hope to get some good way for him. His Majesty is determined to despatch Mr. David Foulis with speed to her Majesty, with whom he will write for the payment of such sums as shall be allowed for the present. Where you wrote that Thomas will not be able to pay any sums in respect of his great "adoues," so far as I charge him it will not be great. I know he will disburse that and more. If his Majesty's warrant be not sufficient he has warrant in his own hand, so that I know my turns will not be left undone. Therefore be careful to see such things sent me as I wrote for. I know you will not want money. First pay yourself 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* which I received from "Berne" Lindsay. The like I will not do again. I have lost by that bargain 20 shillings Scots. For my "suite metes" [? sweetmeats] send me rather more than less. I would bestow 5*l.* for the rogues. I understand there is enough to serve my turn. Send me the fewer . . . * the ordinary sort. I shall write at length by Mr. David. I hear it is reported that the King has got some of the Spanish gold. I can assure you the contrary,

* . . . a word blotted out here.

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1594. as also that Mr. John Geddes had commission only to the Scots of the Low Countries, whatever is reported of his coffers. The names of the Lords of the Articles (*Gives the names of the Lords of the Articles*). Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address:* "To his loving brother Mr. James Hudson, servant to the Kinges Majesty of Skotland, good Mr. Sheperson deliver this letter according to the derection."

May. **273.** ARTICLES BY THE CATHOLIC CLERGY, NOBLES AND COMMONS OF SCOTLAND TO BE ANSWERED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE REFORMED KIRK.

We desire the ministry of our Reformed Kirk to answer directly to the articles under written, propounded by the Catholics, and to give the same in "writ" at this next Parliament, that we, the Estates thereof, may judge thereupon both the parties *secundum allegata et probata*, whether it be more "lesum" [lawful] for us to grant the Catholics their liberty, as they crave, or to esteem them and their resetters as traitors guilty of *lese majesté*, and to punish them accordingly, as our ministers daily urge us to do, it being "not manifest" to us and all men how the glory of God, the assurance of his Highness's person, and quietness of our commonwealth have been troubled under pretence of religion. For remedy whereof in time coming, we remit both the parties to the trial of God's Word, "without all subterfuge to our actis of Parliament," which we mean always to be without partiality to any person.

The articles follow:

And first in the name of the Catholic clergy we accuse the Calvinists, seeing they confess that that was Christ's holy Catholic Kirk, wherein Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Cyril, Ambrose, Jerome and the like venerable, ancient saints and fathers were approved pastors and doctors, how can they exempt themselves from her judgment, doctrine and discipline, as they do, unless they would be esteemed as "ethnickis" or publicans, the Scripture being so plain to this purpose? [*In the margin:* The 9 article of our Creed, "I beleif the Holie Catholicke Kirke." St. Math., *cap.* 18, *v.* 17, 18: "and gif he will not heare the Kirke, let him be to the[e] as the heathen and the publican. Amen. I say to you 'whatsoever ye sall bynde uppon erde sall be bounde alswa in heaven, and whatsoever ye sall louse uppon erd salbe loused also in heaven.'"]

The second article for the aforesaid clergy.

Seeing the controversy betwixt our adversaries and us does not consist in any undecided article of faith, but only in such [articles] as are already defined by the "decreit" and General Councils of the said Holy Catholic Church, especially when the holy saints above written were counsellors thereof, and seeing we affirm the same in all points, and our adversaries pretend to reform them, how can they deny but we are justified hereby as true members of that Church, and they condemned as rebels and heretics to the same by their own confession? [*In the margin:* Calvin, *Insti. cap.* 8, *sect.* 13, 161, 162, 163; *cap.* 18, *sect.* 16. Esay., *cap.* 60: "The nation or kingdome that serves not the[e] shall perrishe." *Also in the margin, added higher in the page:* (2) Calvin. *ca.* 8, *sect.* 161. Esay. 54.]

The third article for the Catholic Clergy.

Seeing these prophets, who had power to give Scriptures, had power also to work miracles for their approbation, and others since, who have but place to

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1594. "expone" the Scriptures already given, are known true by the unity of doctrine, according to the rule of faith, which comes to them by hearing and is not made by their own privy interpretation, we demand of our competitors, the Calvinists, who style themselves after the first degree extraordinary prophets, how they can for shame be so vain, the world seeing them utterly without miracles, or how they can pretend any appearance of the second kind of prophets, "quhilk is ordinarie," when they profess an extraordinary revelation of an invisible Kirk, not meaning to keep unity in the rule of faith with that which has been heard before them, but to reform the faith thereof by a new light never known to them or to any man before Calvin, who being in that respect the author thereof within these forty years or thereby, it needs must come by his privy interpretation of Scripture consequently proven false by the mouth both of St. Peter, *Ep.* 2, *cap.* 1, *verse* 20, and St. Paul, *Col. cap.* 2, *ver.* 18. *In the margin:* (3) Deut. *cap.* 18. d. Corinth. *Epi.* 1, *ca.* 14, *v.* 32, 33: "and the spirittis of the prophettis are subject to prophettis: for God is not the God of discension, but the God of peace, as also in all the books of the saintis I teache." Ephe. *cap.* 4, *v.* 3, *etc.:* "carefull to keipe the unitie of the spirit in the band of peace, ane bodie, so ane spiritt." Rom. 12, *v.* 17: "Prophettis according to the rule of faithe." Rom. *ca.* x, *v.* 17: "Faithe is then by hearinge." Collo. *ca.* 2, *v.* 15: "Let no man seduce you willing in the humillitie of angells walkinge in the thingis quhilk he hes not seene, in vaine puffit up by the sence of his fleshe." St. Peter, *Ep.* 2, *ca.* 1, *v.* 20, 21: "Understandinge this first, that no prophecye of scriptour is made be private interpretacion, for not by mans will was prophettis brought at onye tyme, but the holie men of God spake in spirit with the holie ghost." "Ather latie [*sic: read* let] Calvinistis proove ther unitie with some kirk that hes teiched as they do in all pointis that they excommunicate for, or ells theye cannot avoyde to be inventours of sike headis themselves.]

The fourth article for the Catholic Clergy.

Seeing our enemies can neither prove the Word of God to proceed from them nor to have come to them only, as we shall "clearlye quallifye by the plaine prophettis" and promises of God that the same pertains only and always unto Christ's Holy Catholic Church, whereof we being the members now maintain the cause, we demand by what authority these false prophets with violence and force of arms without any lawful cause or form of justice, in open contempt and despite of both the temporal and spiritual magistrates, following their kind—(S. Peter, *ca.* 2, *ver.* 10. S. Jude, "*Ipi.* 8, ii *v.*" S. Paul to Timothy, *Epi.* 2, *cap.* 3, *v.* 1, 2) express against the Word of God, the order and custom of Christ's Church which is to be observed—have deposed us from our offices, livings and liberties, whereunto we were lawfully called in our native country, whereof we crave the possession, at least of our offices, liberties and livings, so far as our enemies, the pretended ministers, possess [them], and crave judgment of his Highness's Estates, whether we in seeking this our right, or our enemies in the "wrangous" withholding thereof, by the same weapons that won it (that is to say, the sword), should be most accused for all the inconveniences that may fall forth thereby.

[*In the margin:* (4) Cor. *Epi.* 1, *ca.* 14, *v.* 36: "Or did the Word of God proceid from you, come it unto you onlie." Esay. 59: "When the Redemer of Zion cometh." 28: "This is the league quhilke I will strike with them, sayth the Lorde. My spirit quhilk is in these my wordis quhilk I put in thy mouthe sall not departe from thy mouthe nor fra the mouthe of thy posteritie fra this tyme forward for evermore." *Added lower in the margin:* "Forzet in the 4 article."

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Peter, *Epi.* 2, *ca.* 2, *v.* 10: "And speciallie them quhilke walke after the flesh in concupiscence of uncleanesse, and contem dominion, bolde selfe pleasures, they feare not to bring in scottis blaspheminge" [*sic*].

Jude, *v.* 8: "In lyke manner those also defyle the fleshe and dispyse dominion, and blaspheme majeste, etc. *v.* 11: "Woe unto them quhilk have gone in the waye of Cayne, and with the errour of Balaam."

Timo. *Ep.* 1, 2 *cap.*,* *v.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5: "And this know you that in the last dayes sall approche perrillous tymes, and men sall be jowrie of themselves, covetous, saucie, proud, blasphemous, not obedient to ther parentis, unkind, wicked, without affection, without peace."]

The fifth article, in the name of the nobles and Catholic gentlemen.

We demand of the pretended ministers of our reformation why at the beginning they preached and promised liberty of conscience, persuading thereby the congregation, their followers, on the one part, without scruple to take arms against their lawful magistrates for executing their own intended "particulers" under colour of this new erected religion, moving the old Catholics upon the other part in hope of this liberty to "ly by" as indifferent, and now having the prince or temporal power persuaded to their opinion, they are so far from admitting such liberty to us that the profession of our religion, though innocent of all crimes against "the majeste," must be "impute" to us as crime of *lese majesté*, to be condignly punished. Now this liberty grows in their own favour against King, country and commonwealth to bring all under their obedience.

The sixth article for the same nobles and Catholic gentlemen.

Seeing they have by their reformation condemned the authority of the Kirk, not admitting the authority of the King, but referring the whole authority to the written Word, which they grant alike free to all men, we demand by what authority we are bound "to those punishinge that they are free of,"† and why they persuade the King to use an execution upon excommunication "farther nor the selfe importes," to transfer upon his Highness the cruelty whereof they would not themselves be seen open authors, but subtle and privy procurers. Except in cases of necessity, when the King seems slower in execution than they would have him, they care not to "trye this quhilk is so contrar to ther former doctrine." [*In the margin.* Joa., *ca.* 14, *v.* 15, 16, 17: "And I will aske the Father and he will give you ane other paralleat [*sic*], that he may abyde with you for ever, the spirit of truthe whom the warld cannot resave because it sees him not nether knaws him, but you knaw him because he sall abyde with you and sall be in you." *v.* 26: "But the paraleat the holie ghost whom the Father will send in my name, he sall teche you all thingis and suggest unto you all thingis whatsoever I sall saye to you." *Cap.* 16, *v.* 7, 8, 9. 10, 11, 12, 13: "Yet manie thingis I have to saye to you, but you can not heare them nowe, but when the spirit of truthe comes, he sall teche you all truthe." *Ca.* 17, *v.* 8: "Because the wordis quhilke ye gave me I have given them and they receavit." *Ca.* 28, *v.* 14: "I have given them thy worde and the warld hes hatit them." *v.* 20, 21: "And not for them onlie doe I praye, but for them also that by ther worde sall beleive in me, that they all maye be one." *Cap.* 20, *v.* 22: "As my father hes sent me I also doe send you." *Acta, cap.* 2, *v.* 3, 4: "And ther appearit to them partit tongis as it were of fyre, and ite sat uppon everye ane of them and they were all replenished with the holie ghoste."

* *rectius*, 2 Timothy 3, 1–5.

† Why should we be bound to the Calvinists who grant that the written Word is free to all men, and yet punish for it?

1594. S. Mat., *ca.* 13, *v.* 2: "Because to you it is given to knowe the misteries of the kingdome of heaven; but to them it is not given." Titus, *ca.* 3, *v.* 1: "Admonishethe them to be subject to princis and potestatis, to obaye at one worde and to be redye at everye good warke." Roma., *ca.* 13, *v.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7: "Let every soule be subject to the higher powers, for ther is no power but of God, and those that are, of God are ordained, therfore he that resistis the power resistis th'ordinance of God, and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation." Heb., *ca.* 13, *v.* 17: "Obaye your prelatis and be subject to them, for they watche as beinge to rander accompte of your sauls." Corin., *Epi.* i. *cap.* 14, *v.* 14: "But let all thingis be done honestlie and accordinge to order amange you." *Cap.* i. 2, *v.* 16: "Gif onye man seme to be contencious, we have na sik custome nor the kirke of God."

Also in the margin: (5, 6): "We refer the prove of ther two articles to th'experience of ther discipline with Calvin his auctoritie to this purpose." *Lib. Instit., cap.* 8, *sect.* 170, 171, 172.

The seventh article, for the aforesaid nobles and gentlemen.

We demand what civil or familiar discipline that has so much as the appearance of piety or godliness in their Kirk is not "counterfait" by apish imitation of the Catholic Church? "Counterfett," we say, because they deny the virtue thereof. Again, we demand, "what they condempne in the Catholick Kirke for tirannie, to appeare more simple and inocent at ther first entrie, so coming, as it were, clad in sheepskins, quhilk they usurpe not in end," converting the same to tyranny indeed against the Catholic pastors and flock wherein they were "placit bishopps and rulers," showing themselves thereby to have been covertly raving wolves or heretics. By their fruits ye shall know them. [*In the margin:* (7) Timo., *Epi.* 2, *cap.* 3, *v.* 5: "Havinge no appearance in deid, etc."

Acta, *cap.* 20, *v.* 28, 29, 30: "Take heid to your selfs and to the hail flocke, wherin the hollie ghost hes placit you bishops to rule the kirke of God quhilk he hes purchast with his awne bloode. I knawe that after my departure ther will ravening wolfs enter in amange you, not sparing the flocke and out of your awn selfs sall aryse menie speikinge perverse thingis, *etc.* Mat., *cap.* 7, *v.* 15: "Take ye great heid of fals prophettis, quhilk come to you in the cleithing of sheip but inwartlie are ravininge woolfs. By ther frutes ye sall knowe them."]

The eighth article, of the aforesaid nobles and Catholic gentlemen.

We demand why should we be transferred to another Gospel by these men who trouble us, "invertand" the Gospel of Christ's Evangels to us otherwise than we first received it, making dissensions and scandals contrary to the doctrine which we have learned and which was once delivered to the saints. The very Word of God warns us to mark such men and avoid them, and "by consequence," why * are we not warned by the same Word to continue in the unity of our first faith with the Popes of Rome, from whom we know by record of our ancient chronicles, ecclesiastical and historical, that we received or learned the same at the beginning, by whom we were then converted from paganism to the profession of Jesus Christ within two hundred and three years or thereby after His glorious Ascension? Whom therefore we obey and remember as our prelates who have spoken the Word of God to us. [*In the margin*: (8) Gala., *ca.* 1, *v.* 6, 7, 8, 9: "I marvell that thus sa soune ye are rauffered from him that callit you to the grace of Christ unto another gospell, quhilk is not another unles ther be some that trouble you, and will

* Apparently the meaning is that by inference we are warned . . .

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1594. invert the gospell of Christ, but although we or an angell fra heaven evangelyzed to you besyde that quhilk we have evangelyzed to you, be he athathema [*sic*]. As we have said before, so nowe I saye againe, gif onye evangelyzed to you besyde that quhilk we have receaved, be he anathema."

Roma., *ca.* 16, *v.* 17, 18: "And I desyre you brethern to marke them that make dissentions and scandalls contrair to the doctrine quhilk ye have learnit and avoyd them, for sik doe not serve Christ our Lorde but ther awin bellies. Hieroni, *ca.* 6: "Stand in the wayes and behauld and aske for the auld waye quhilk is the good waye and walke therein, and ye sall finde reste for your saullis" [verse 16].

Psalme 47: "As we have harde sua have we seene in the cittye of the Lorde of vertues, in the cittie of our God, God hathe foundit hir for ever." * Thesso., *Ip.* 2, *cap.* 2, *v.* 15: "Therefore brethren stande and hauld the traditions quhilke ye have lerned, whither it be by worde or by our epistle."

Timo., *cap.* 2, 3, *v.* 13, 14: † "But ill men and seducers sall prosper to the wars [worse] doing and dryvinge into error, but you continewe in those thingis which thou hast learnit are comitted unto you, knowinge of whom thou haste learnit." Collo., *ca.* 2, *v.* 5, 6, 7: "For thoughe I be absent in bodye, yet in spirit I ame with you, rejoysinge and seinge your order and the constancye of that your faithe quhilk is in Christe, therfore as you have receaved Jesus Christe our Lord, walke in him; routed and builded in him, and confirmed in the faithe, as also you have learned."

Joa., *Ep.* 1, *ca.* 2, *v.* 24: "Yond [*sic*] that which you have hard fra the begininge ‡ abyde in you. Gif it abyde in you quhilke you have hard fra the begining, you allso sall abyde in the Sonne and in the Father." Joa., *Ep.* 2, *v.* 6, 7: "And this is charitie that we walke accordinge to the comandement, for this is the comandment, that as you have harde from the begininge you walke in the same, because mony seducers are gane out into the warld, quhilk doe not confes Jesus Christe to have come in to fleshe. This is a seducere and an antechrist." Jude, *v.* 3: "My darest, takeand all care to write unto you of your comon salvacion I thoght it necessarie to write unto you, beseikinge you to contend for the faithe and deliver it to the saintis."

Hebr., *cap.* 13, *v.* 17: "Obaye your prelattis and be subject to them, for they watche as beinge to rander ane compte of ther saullis" *and* 7 *verse*, "Remember your prelates which have spoken in the worde of God to you, th'end of whose conversacion behauldinge, imitate the faithe, etc."]

The ninth article, of the nobles and Catholic gentlemen.

We demand whether it be upon authority of God's Word or their own that the ministers stand so precisely, it being known that they destroyed God's Word when they burnt our Bibles of the vulgar Latin edition translated by St. Jerome, authorised altogether, without exception, for canonical and authentic Scripture by the authority of the holy ancient saints in the third General Council of Carthage, and now admit only their own English Bibles, whereof they alter the translation every year at their pleasure, changing words and phrases to make them half apocrypha and the other half subject to their "inventit" catechisms or books of discipline, which they call the only truth whereby men may be saved, and the true touchstone to try a Christian profession.

The tenth article, for the nobles and Catholic gentlemen.

We demand whether the ministry served Christ our Lord or their own bellies when they spoiled our churches, the livings, lands, houses and goods

* Authorised Version, Psalm 48, verse 8.
† 2 Timothy, iii. 3, 14. ‡ Space left here

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1594. thereof, even to the "ground stone," making a bait or "buttinge" of the same in the beginning to their covetous congregation, now craving to convert "all peace" * to their own use, against all order, right and reason, in plain contempt and prejudice of us and our worthy progenitors, who upon our proper patrimony founded this for the same service of God that now we profess. And yet, not satisfied with so much "spulzie" of both our spiritual and temporal benefices, they would banish us from the rest, or else [cause us] to admit them *nolens volens* for our lawful pastors with this much of our heritable possession. "Hearfore" we beseech his Majesty with the Estates of our country to consider our humility in bearing with their intolerable exactions, only for his Highness's obedience. Whereupon it is easy to judge whether we or they are organs of those imminent evils that are thought to disturb this realm, especially for pretence of religion. [*In the margin:* (9, 10) Roma., *ca.* 16, *v.* 17, 18: "Written before in the eighth article."]

The eleventh article, in name of the common, vulgar Catholics.

We "demaund" the ministers of this new law when we shall look for our teinds free, as they promised us for our part of the "comiting" at the destroying of our Kirk; and at least since we got none of their "spulze," why do they force us to reform, upon our expenses, that which they "deformit" for their own greedy gain? Why do they force us upon pain of "pecuniall summs" to keep their preachings, which we perceive to be more hurtful to the hearers, being so repugnant "in the self" that their doctrine and discipline agree no way, nor one word that they teach with another, whereby more are drawn to doubt of all religion than to assure themselves in any? As, for example, if the Kirk had not power to loose and bind sinners, as they teach, why are we forced upon mere suspicion either "to procure, or to confesse openlie" our secret sins, paying therefore sums of money, besides the "pause" that we must play upon "ther place of repentance," which we repent, indeed, more for the force used against us than for the fault we commit (as may appear by the form used in such cases), and most of all for the "feid," infamy, sin and shame that proceed from these, both to men, maidens and men's wives, who, being once accused, albeit "sackles" (guiltless), are never purged of the slander? So, in our conceits, the old sacrament of penance was better when our contrition, confession and satisfaction were all "voluntar, without sclander," known only to ourselves and the priest, who gave us absolution according thereto. If neither our good works help to save us nor our evil works to condemn us, but all things come of absolute necessity, as we think the ministers mean by their justification, reprobation and predestination which they preach commonly amongst us, what can we think thereof but that all this doctrine and discipline of theirs (that we must be subject to for the "fassion") have been "over deare coft,"† and [? that men] might have been better bestowed both for profit and pleasure in this world to have followed their own example, as the greatest number do, whose works give witness that they hope [for] no world after this. So that, "to our appearance," who are but poor "comons," the world was far better in our forebears' days of the old law when such questions "was keipit amangst schollars" and we "taucht to the knawledge of" the Holy Trinity, the seven deadly sins, "which the concewid, to them repugninge the warkes of charitie, spirituall and temporall, with the lyke," whereby we were moved to do good for the reward of heaven, and eschew evil for fear of the judgment that should come after. If it be true, as they teach, that charity, which consists in the love of God and our neighbour, fulfils the whole law,

* ? every piece.

† Too dearly bought.

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why do they blame us for thinking the old law to be better fulfilled than this new, seeing more charity in the one than the other? We have heard ministers grant the same, saying the zeal of ignorant Papists was greater than theirs, who saw the clearer light of the Evangel. If the old Kirk be better than the new, as we have heard them teach, why are not Papists best, the antiquity whereof, aye since Christ, is witnessed by the father to the son from one generation to another, whereas the beginning of their profession is known to our sons, "nether are they able to trye other, * sometyme alleidgand it was, but they wote not where, othertymes that it might be true, albeit it was not professit," as if men might dissemble God's religion to believe with the heart and not confess with the mouth. Seeing we must believe some Church, who can "wyte" † us according to our creed to believe the Holy Catholic Church rather than theirs, which they confess may err (so not holy) and may be invisible (so not catholic) by their own doctrine, "grauntinge that it is catholicke be reason of the persons whom of she consistis," professing unity of true faith through the universal world? Seeing the ministers do not deny but our forebears "zid" to heaven by way of the same old Kirk that we call holy Catholic, what needs us to seek their new way that so many doubt of, specially since our pastors tell us plainly that there are not two ways to heaven? Therefore we beseech God and the King's majesty, for God's sake, to keep us from the violence of these thieves and robbers whose voice we know not, "it beinge strange to us that can nether reid nor wryte to heare th'auctoritie of the written Worde occupye the place of our pastours of Christis holie Catholique Kirke, who we doubte not had Godis spiritt and worde better, and before them, not onlye written in paper but in ther hartis and myndis, for ever to remaine and never to depart from ther mouths to th'end of the warlde, as we are informit and hes partlie baithe harde and sene performit be signes and wonders, albeit the ministers deny it, not beinge able to doe the lyke." The rest we refer to the sufficiency of our pastors and prelates, who, watching for us, are able to render account of our souls whenever it shall please God to move his Majesty to grant them indifferent audience, which we crave with daily prayers for the quiet estate of our Church, King and country, now troubled through the profane novelties of these proud Protestants, enemies to the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, and whose folly shall be some time manifest to all men. God grant it be soon.

3½ *large pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "1594, Scotland"; *and by Burghley:* "x articles in the name of the Catholicque nobles and gentlemen, and the xjth of the commen vulgar people, to be answered by the ministers of the Reformed Chyrch in Scotland"; *and* "I wold know whyther thes wer ever answered by the Reformed Chyrch in Scotland." *Signed:* W. Burghley.

June 7. **274.** Sir Robert Melvill to Burghley.

By your letter it appears that you are satisfied by my former answer made to that part of my commission from her Majesty touching the Papist lords. I wrote the very truth at that time to your lordship, like as hereby I may give you full assurance that his Majesty was neither "brocht" to have intelligence nor to hear of their offers before the unnatural behaviour used by Bothwell, at whose coming two of them, being long before straitly joined with him in league, having "place" by his means to send to his Majesty, assured themselves of favour. His Majesty's estate being "thus wayes" distracted, he, thinking to

* *Trye other: prove otherwise.* † *wite:* blame, accuse.

1594. win them by clemency, was moved to hear of their offers, albeit no ways of intention to conclude anything until the Queen, your sovereign, and his own Estates had been made "foirseen" thereof. Your lordship may easily consider if I have now good occasion to confirm that which I wrote before concerning his sincere and upright meaning in this work. For his intention (which, as I showed, was first to convict them by law, and thereafter to prosecute them by force until they were either apprehended or expelled the country) is now in this Parliament so effectually uttered, that his zeal, I may say, is known to have been above all his subjects', being so forward and earnest that by his own wisdom and presence "*condamnatour*" was moved against them, and that not without straight reasoning and controversy of votes. This I have thought meet to notify to your lordship to the effect that false reports and slanderous speeches of his Majesty "tak na place," and that the Queen, having good proof on all occasions of his loving affection to her above all other princes, might be moved to embrace at this time his honest and "fettfull desinct," * tending to both their weals. It were meet that he should be encouraged to proceed to the overthrow of them and their associates. The time is proper and should not be delayed, for since the arrival of the "Flanderis pincke" at Montrose they are so puffed up that they have disdained either to "sute" his Majesty's favour or the benevolence of any who had credence in Parliament. Thus it appears that dangerous practices are in hand, and for preventing the peril which these may breed I beseech your lordship to entreat her Majesty for the advancement of such sums as the bearer has by mouth to crave, or at least of what is owing of the annuity. I am directed to "sute" your assistance to present him to her Majesty that he may declare what he has further to speak by tongue. My "auld familiaritie" with your lordship and the dutiful affection I bear to the continuance of sincere amity betwixt our sovereigns have moved me thus to "inquiet" you by letter, being well assured that you will "lay to sic helplie offices" that the King may be encouraged to follow forth this good and godly course. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Melvill.

Postscript.—I doubt not but your lordship will take care to give her Majesty good advice to prevent the dangerous practices in due time "quhill honester will not be so easelye quenchit; and seyng the Kinges Majesty my mester hes syndre his particular tourns of importance to be done, quhilkis now concernis hym forder in honour thene at oneye tyme heirtofore," induce her Majesty to advance the whole annuity as well of all "bygane restis" [*i.e.* debts] as of this year.

2 *pp. Postscript holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

June 9. **275.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At my last audience, on the 5th instant, I let the King understand, according to your letter of 24th May, that the two thieves who stole the Queen's jewels came secretly to Shields, and that Bothwell coming thither to them took away part of the jewels, which Mr. Power, Constable of Tynemouth, misliked, and nevertheless left them in his hands in regard that the Earl said that he would send them to the King and make his peace by them. The rest of the jewels, found afterwards remaining with the prisoners, the Constable received, and sent the prisoners to Newcastle. Her Majesty, greatly offended with this fact, has commanded that the prisoners and jewels should be sent to Mr. John Carey at Berwick, and by him delivered to such as the King shall appoint; for

* *i.e.* faithful design.

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1594. the receipt of which two prisoners and jewels the King has appointed John Hume of Hutton Hall. In this I signified that her Majesty, finding hereby that Bothwell had been in Newcastle since the proclamation against receiving him, had given order to punish sharply the receivers of him and the owners of the house, which order was duly executed. Therewith the King showed himself well pleased, wishing that her Majesty would continue that course.

Secondly, when the King recounted to me the negotiation of Mr. Edward Bruce, and took occasion thereon to speak of the money wherewith he trusted to be furnished by her Majesty for the gratuity and to enable him to prosecute his rebels now forfeited, I answered that upon sight of his sincere progress in this action her Majesty might be moved to yield him reasonable support, wherein her mind was that the money should not be reckoned for gratuity or support for the prosecution of his rebels or other "distinguished" [*i.e.* specified] use, but should be employed by him in the common affairs for suppressing his rebels, Papists and Spanish factioners. In this he opened his present great necessities, trusting only to be relieved therein by her Majesty. He protested solemnly that he had never consented to or entered into any course with Spain, and that he would never do it without extreme cause first given by her Majesty,—*quod absit omen.* In which case also he vowed deeply that he would first acquaint her Majesty with his cause and purpose, that he might receive remedy by her own hand and address, like as he had written (he said) to her Majesty by his own letter to be sent with Mr. David Foulis ; and he concluded that her support at this time should come in best season to enable him to follow forth his course against his rebels and for the advancement of the common affairs, and most deeply bind him to her Majesty. In like manner Mr. Edward Bruce severally by himself and sundry ministers (commissioners here for the Church) have earnestly solicited me to recommend this money matter to her Majesty's gracious consideration. Whereupon I have laid before them the great and continual charges sustained by her Majesty in France, the Low Countries and on the seas for defence of religion, proving the burden to be "importable" by her own power or with supply of her subjects ; and yet if she withdraw her aid therein thereby the weightiest causes shall fall and perish. Nevertheless, if the King shall now sincerely proceed wisely to dispose the possessions of the Earls forfeited, duly prosecute their persons, timely cut off the Spanish faction and Papists, with seasonable reformation in the state, and establish such perfect order for the execution of all the same that the surety of the good success thereof may be evident to her Majesty, then she might be well moved to strain herself to bestow on the King for the uses and in manner before mentioned such convenient portion as might be provided without excessive prejudice of the other weighty affairs in France and the Low Countries. To this they alleged that the King's actions at this Parliament put them in good hope of his sound performance of all these things mentioned by me. They remembered many benefits growing thereby to both the sovereigns and realms in this isle, and they heartily wished her Majesty to be bountiful to him at this time, as she had been before. This matter will, I think, be further solicited by Mr. David Foulis, and therefore I leave the same to her Majesty's good pleasure and Mr. David's travails.

Thirdly, I sought "indelate" redress to be made both to Sir John Foster for his own bill against the young Laird of Edmondstone, and also to Sir John Selby for the three bills of West Newton, Wark and Tynemouth. He readily granted his letter commanding his Warden of the Middle Marches to satisfy Sir John Foster. This letter I have sent to Sir John that he may take the best order for his own satisfaction. And albeit he [the King] alleged that West

1594. Newton and Wark had received and entertained Bothwell, giving him just offence and transgressing her Majesty's commandment, yet he likewise directed his letters to his Wardens of the Middle and East Marches and to their deputies with commandment "indelately" to appoint and keep their meetings with Sir John Selby for administration of justice, and also to give him full redress in the three bills of West Newton, Wark and Tynemouth. This letter I have likewise sent to Sir John Selby.

In the end he showed me that, as her Majesty misliked some parts of his last letter,* presented to her by Wemyss and Bruce,—especially in that he had noted her to be a seduced Queen and had inserted Virgil's verse, viz., *Flectere si nequeam superos, Acheronta movebo,*—he thought it meet, for her satisfaction, to explain his true meaning by his letter with Mr. David Foulis. For the first point, he told me that, forasmuch as her Majesty's commandment prohibiting the reception of Bothwell in her realm had been many ways broken against her will and ordinance, and that the same was still kept from her knowledge, therefore he might well think her seduced, and therefore he used that term in his letter. Next, he recited the poet's verse as spoken in the person of Juno and in passion, and he did not intend to try such violent remedies in his distressed case, chiefly towards her Majesty. He would, he said, satisfy [her] more largely of this by his own letter, and nevertheless required me to certify also his declaration of his meaning in the behalf recited; which I wholly leave to the view of his letter to her Majesty, by Mr. David Foulis, who has already entered on his journey towards the Court in England.

Being informed confidently that Mr. John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, has returned into this realm, I have made diligent search to try the same, and by many circumstances it is confirmed that he has returned and has lately been in the house of Lindores, as some of the chief in that house have signified to their near kinsmen. Nevertheless the Bishop's being in this realm is not only flatly denied, but also it is alleged that if he has come hither, then necessity only, and not practice, has constrained him to seek refuge amongst his kinsmen and friends in this nation. Yet many of experience and good affection are fully persuaded that his return and lurking here (being true indeed) are full of practice and treachery, which short time will evidently discover.

I have heard that the rebellious Earls had prepared a ship to be in readiness as they shall direct, and that Thomas Sutherton, an aged man, should take the charge thereof, and that Sutherton, in regard of his weakness, is loth to undertake the burden, craving to be assisted by some able and skilful person. Therefore I have found means that an expert skipper (and ready to do good offices) should be commended by a brother of their own stamp to assist Sutherton; and it has so far proceeded that this skipper is directed to provide another ship to be ready at Banff or Cromarty upon warning. This skipper is told that the Earls will either thus pass themselves into Denmark to sue the King and his mother to entreat the King he[re] to be good to their wives, children and friends, or else they send back in one of the barques the persons lately arrived at Montrose with letters and gold. If the Earls shall entertain this skipper then I shall be acquainted with their preparations and diets, and the skipper may be drawn to perform as he shall be directed. Therefore what shall be further done in this matter and what course taken with the skipper may it please you to give me speedy and perfect order and advertisement.

I cannot yet certainly discover the effect of the letters, the sum of the treasure, and the names and qualities of the persons brought in at Montrose

* See No. 248. The *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.* print the text of the letters exchanged upon the subject, Nos. LIV–LVI.

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1594. and carried to Huntly and the other forfeited Earls. Angus has written that some honourable priests have come with only such portion of money as may serve their own expenses.

Whereas some Irishmen have made suit to have licence to be transported out of this realm for Spain (as before I have advertised), I am informed that one gentleman, one priest and their three servants of Ireland have remained some time with Huntly, seeking passage to Spain or to the Low Countries, but finding that they could not obtain the King's licence (for restraint whereof I had laboured with the means of the Chancellor and Secretary), and that none of this nation would transport them without leave, therefore they are now purposed to pass by sea to Denmark either with or before the Earls, and thence by sea or land to Spain, to seek aid for the rebels in Ireland against her Majesty.

The Parliament, continuing for three or four days, for particular causes, against the King's pleasure, and with suspicion of evil results, is now ended yesterday and fully dissolved. By it Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun are forfeited by the King's labour and means only, and notwithstanding that sundry of the nobility (as I am credibly informed) had given their hands and promises to oppose the forfeiture, against which some of them have not only voted but also busily and secretly travailed to stop it. It is ordered that the Chancellor, Treasurer, Vice-treasurer, the Prior of Blantyre and the Provost of Edinburgh, or three of them, with the Bishop of Aberdeen, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. Patrick Galloway, ministers, or two of them, shall take order as well for the disposition of the lands, livings and possessions of these traitors forfeited, as also for the provision, time and manner of the King's prosecution by force against them. It is presently alleged that for many urgent reasons the King cannot enter into his raid before the baptism of the Prince, and some think that at that time the King shall be pressed earnestly with the requests of the ambassadors in favour of the rebels; wherein the King seems greatly resolved to grant no greater grace to them than the nobility, Council and Kirk shall allow, and than her Majesty shall well like of. It is likewise thought that the Earls will make some fair offers before the baptism, and that if they cannot prevail by their offers nor by the requests of the ambassadors coming to the baptism, then they will retire and depend upon the aid and support of Spain, and in the meantime reserve themselves in Denmark or elsewhere. Yet they remain in great bravery and comfort, as the Countess of Angus's speeches lately in this town have well verified; and some of their own crew have secretly assured some of their especial friends that the Earls are not comfortless, and that surely this whole isle shall be mightily troubled with flame and fire in every corner, as one very religious and honest has confidently affirmed to me.

By the King's forwardness in this Parliament and open discovery of the hidden secrets of the rebels disclosed by their letters, solicitors and their own confessions, the Kirk and well affected have conceived great hope of his sincere purpose to proceed effectually against the Earls, Papists and Spanish factioners, and for the good reformation of the estate. They think that he has so openly and strongly bound himself by all christian means and outward profession that he cannot retire or be negligent without the uttermost dishonour and shame that may fall upon a prince, so that now the pulpits sound with his renown. Nevertheless the Kirk and well affected still earnestly persuade and attend upon the King's further progress by action to ratify and approve this honourable and happy beginning, and upon experience of defection herein they shall be occasioned to change their opinions and in time to provide for preservation of religion and the realm from violence of foreign forces.

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The Earl of Huntly convened the other day with his friends to deliberate for such course as should be best. It was advised by Gight (Geythe), Clunie and others to enter ward and submit himself to the King and Kirk, but Auchindoun and Mr. Walter Lindsay persuaded him "to be loose and livinge," that he might have the benefit of his friends' help. It is generally believed that all the three Earls have made infeftments and conveyances of their lands and possessions, with the King's allowance and confirmation, to their wives, children and friends, so that their forfeitures shall strike only on themselves during their lives. Yet it is alleged that by act of Parliament all the feftments are void. Suit has been made severally for their wives and children, but hitherto no ear is given. Many courtiers seek sundry parcels of their livings, yet these suits are stayed for a while. Errol made means [by] his friends in Court to stay the forfeiture against him for twenty days, in which time he would either satisfy the King and Kirk or else yield that the forfeiture should proceed. But his friends thought it not meet to move the King therein. Huntly has also written (as I hear) to the King, the Duke and Mar; the King would not receive the letter, yet it was delivered to a courtier.

Lord Hamilton, understanding that the Laird of Johnstone had come and lodged near this town, rode forth in the night to have surprised him. But the Duke gave Johnstone warning thereof, whereby he escaped. Nevertheless Hu[me] would have followed Hamilton with part of the guard in the aid of Johnstone. On the next day Johnstone came into this town, where the Duke, Hume, Carmichael and Dunipace (rising from the Parliament) met and conferred with him. Hamilton was advertised not only of these doings, but also that his life was sought. Whereupon he departed in the night before the end of the Parliament, being malcontent in all things in this Parliament touching his own particularities. Nevertheless he tarried to advance the forfeiture of the Earls and the good causes, wherein he showed great goodwill and forwardness. He thinks that Dumbarton Castle shall be called for, which he purposes not to render up hastily; and by this occasion his former request for the supply of gunpowder has been renewed to me, and I perceive that a letter from her Majesty with some comfortable words will be very acceptable to him, and bind him and all his friends to remain steadfastly at her devotion. He desires to understand her Majesty's pleasure with speed, and at furthest with the ambassadors coming to the baptism. I therefore pray your lordship to direct me in my further course and proceedings with him.

Lord Forbes has compounded with Sir George Hume for the slaughter of Sir George's wife's ancestor, and thereby Forbes is received to the King's grace, and yesterday, before the end of this Parliament, presented himself there and voted to the bills. Atholl and Ochiltree shall also be received to the King's favour upon conditions. The former forfeiture against Bothwell and his friends is ratified and no further forfeitures are proceeded with against his other friends. I enclose the notes of such bills as are passed in this Parliament and touching some causes of the same.

The Chancellor, having done many good offices in this Parliament, promises his uttermost endeavour for the further prosecution of the rebels and for preservation of religion and the amity, which he affects to nourish and advance with all his power, and with best concurrency and intelligence, especially with your lordship, like as I have partly touched in my particular letter sent to you by Mr. David Foulis, to whose report and sufficiency I recommend this matter.

Lastly, my service is "worne out at the croune and elbowes" now that

James VI. 1594. this Parliament has ended, the Papist rebels been attainted, *etc.*, and the estate is to be reformed with her Majesty's advice for preservation of religion and the amity. I can neither serve with profit nor live with comfort until I shall see her Majesty's gracious face, therefore I pray her to have compassion upon my long suit for my return, and for your lordship's favourable furtherance thereof, together with pardon for this tedious letter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[June.] Enclosure with the preceding.*

(Acts of Parliament.)

Printed in *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, iv. pp. 56 ff.

"A shorte note of th'acts passed in this Parliament at Edenburgh, 1594."

1¾ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed.*

[June.] **276.** THE FORM AND PROBATION OF THE SUMMONS OF TREASON AGAINST HUNTLY, ETC.†

Printed in Calderwood, v. 332–6.

"The forme and probacion of the sommondis of treason *contra* William Erle of Angusse, Georg Erle of Huntley, Francis Erle of Erroll and Sir Patricke Gordoun of Auchendowne knight, quhilk sommondis conteynes three severall reasons sufficiently proved and verefyed in manner followinge."

"*In primis*": the King's Advocate produces eight Blanks in paper; two subscribed by Angus, two by Huntly, two by Erroll, and two by all three and Auchendoun.

Item: they produce sundry seals of the said Earls "imprent in paper."

Item: an act of Parliament, subscribed by the Clerk Register, anent punishment of those who traffick against religion.

Item: sundry depositions of Mr. George Carr, noted by letters.

Item: sundry depositions of Fintry.

Item: the process and doom against Fintry, which contains the first reason of the said summons, and verifies that trafficking against the religion is treason.

Item: to produce a letter of commendation written by Mr. James Gordon in favour of Mr. George Carr, together with two obligations of Gordon and Abercromby to prove their "feyned subscripcion" to be their own hand writ, and to prove that Carr was to sail to Spain with the Blanks, as he himself also confessed.

Item: they produce the interlocutor given by the Lords of Session, finding that infamous persons, bairns, or fellows or companions in the same crime, may be witnesses in the cause of heresy or treason.

Item: they produce sundry letters written by Gordon, Abercromby and Fintry under feigned names.

Item: they repeat the depositions of witnesses both anent the principal summons raised for recognoscing of the hand writ and subscriptions of the Blanks and of the seals, likewise of "mutacion" and alteration of the feigned subscriptions.

They repeat the third reason of the summons *in modum probacionis* of the first reason thereof, because the said Earls and Auchindoun, being suspect of treason and disobeying the charge to enter ward, have incurred the pain of treason by reason of their contumacy.

* The enclosure has become detached, and is bound separately, Vol. 53, No. 67.

† Perhaps also originally enclosed with the preceding.

1594. They repeat the act of Parliament of 5 June 1592 against Jesuits, seminary priests, etc.

They produce the sentence of excommunication against Mr. James Gordon, Mr. Walter Lindsay, Mr. Alexander Leslie of the Peile, umquhile David Graham of Fintry, reset and maintained by the said Earls and Auchindoun, to prove the said Mr. Walter and others to be Papists.

They prove * the said Mr. Walter and others to be traffickers against the religion. The Advocates produce letters of horning, whereby the said Mr. Walter and Mr. Alexander Leslie are put to the horn for not finding caution to underlie the law for trafficking against the established religion. Likewise they repeat the doom of forfeiture against Fintry.

They repeat *in modum probacionis* the act of Parliament of James II. anent warding of persons suspect of treason.

They repeat the King's letters charging the Earls and Auchindoun to enter in ward.

They produce the decreet of the Privy Council, published on 12th May, ordering the said three Earls and Auchindoun to be pursued as traitors.

They produce the doom of forfeiture pronounced on 5 September 1598 [*sic*] † against umquhile Archibald Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas and Archibald Douglas for not entering their persons in ward at the command of James V.

They produce the old summons of treason to prove that the accused were delated and suspect of the treason libelled.

Item : the said Advocates repeat all and sundry the writs above mentioned for probation of the summons, and the manifest notoriety of the crimes libelled, and that of the law *sufficit allegare notorium et non probare,* together with the public voice and fame which by the law of this realm is a sufficient accusation and probation in the quiet and high ‡ crime of treason. Also they repeat all and sundry depositions, probable conjectures, and suppositions and presumptions which are manifest in this cause, and are relevant probations. For verification of the said presumptions there is herewith produced a catalogue of feigned names of these traffickers.

Item : they repeat the second reason anent the receipt of traitorous Papists and the third reason anent the contumacy of the accused for probation of the said summons. Moreover they repeat the notoriety of the treason committed at the Brig of Dee and in the resetting of certain strangers lately arrived at Montrose and who are raisers of sedition against the state and religion.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

June 20. **277.** ROBERT BOWES TO [BURGHLEY].

Having occasion to move the King the other day for redress for the late outrage done at Mindrum, in the East Marches of England, by Liddisdale and other broken and fugitive Scottishmen, he agreed to address his letter to Buccleuch and Cessford to redress this bill speedily. Hereon he told me that, hearing the Countess of Huntly had come to Kinghorn with purpose to pass over the water to Leith to seek access to him, he sent the Laird of Dunipace to stay her; but she, being on the water before the coming of Dunipace and passing him without knowledge, came to Leith, whereupon he

* *To prove* in Calderwood.
† 5 *September* 1582 in Calderwood. See *A.P.S., ad indices.*
‡ *hid* in Calderwood.

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1594. sent her new direction to retire. I hear not of her retreat as yet, and it is given out very confidently that on the next day, after the King rode to see his buildings at Stirling, the Countess was seen passing out of the Court gates in base array and alone until she came to one man attending on horseback for her, who took her behind him on horseback to Leith. At this time the King seemed to intend to send shortly to her Majesty some person known to love the religion and the amity, to be free from faction and particularities, and so well acquainted with the true state of the King's affairs and present proceedings that he may sufficiently inform her Majesty in all the same. For this service and at that time Sir Richard Cockburn, the King's Secretary, was named. But the matter rests upon the advertisement of Mr. David Foulis, presently at London.

Further, the King let me understand that the day of the baptism of the Prince was to be prorogued from 15th July until 1st August, at which time he now looks for the coming hither of the ambassadors, on whose assembling the baptism will be prescribed with certainty; whereof please advertise her Majesty's ambassador. It is here looked that Mandropius (now one of the four Regents in Denmark) shall be sent hither by the King of Denmark, and that he and his company will be ready to embark at the end of this month, or before.

Bothwell has been moved lately, and very earnestly (as it is pretended) to join with Angus, Huntly and Errol, wherein my advice has been sought whether he shall directly reject the offer or else entertain it for such purpose only as may yield advantage both to the good cause and his own relief at the King's hands. For it is verily thought that if those Earls shall be certainly known to the King to be banded with Bothwell thereon the King will readily and surely withdraw his goodwill and shake them from him, and that by wise and fit means his wrath against Bothwell may be abated and place given for intercession for him. But because I have often written for direction touching Bothwell and have not received any answer, I deem the delay to be meant for a restraint of my meddling in those causes, and therefore I have forborne to deal therein until I may do the same with warrant and order, which now (I trust) shall be addressed to some other in regard that my abode here shall not be long. The King has been informed that Bothwell came lately into Edinburgh with a burden of bricks on his back and disguised, attending for advertisement from Atholl by Mr. Jeromy Lindsay, and that he speedily departed and passed over the water to Atholl. The King seems to be thus informed by one of the two persons who only accompanied the Earl at this time. In this I have also been confidently advised that he was here indeed, but I have not been very inquisitive, for the causes "remembered," and chiefly that others can best report the same.

By some councillor and credible means I have been warned that Dumbarton Castle shall be taken out of the hands of Hamilton, unless very speedy and good provision be made for prevention of the same, whereof Hamilton is not unadvised. Because he had heard that the King was partly privy to the late proceedings of the Duke, Lord Hume and others against him, therefore he sent Captain Hamilton (as it is told me) to open to the King the great discomfort and griefs that he has conceived thereby; wherein the King has not only denied to have been any wise privy therein or liking of these doings, but also for his "recomforthe" has put him in hope to receive contentation in his desires, and therewith he is made to think that the King will charge him with the office of the lieutenancy of the Borders. This office will be full of troubles, pains and charges; nevertheless he will accept it,

1594. that he may do service to his own sovereign, to her Majesty, and for the peace and amity of both realms. In this, and as occasion shall require, he desires to find concurrency in all her Majesty's Wardens of the three Marches, and wishes her Majesty to yield him support for the entertainment of some forces for a short time; with which he offers great services and effects as well for the surety and quietness of the Borders, which presently are many ways threatened, as also against the Papist Earls, Spanish faction, flatterers in Court, and otherwise. He looks to receive her Majesty's good pleasure and disposition by her ambassador coming to the baptism; and because I have written oftentimes in his behalf and am still left without direction or answer, therefore I hold the same sufficient warrant to me to cease to renew those matters, trusting that these presents shall be favourably accepted and the nobleman and his good devotion duly considered.

The King and Council have resolved and put in readiness several charges to be given to the ordinary officers for delivery of the houses of Angus, Huntly, Erroll and Auchindoun, forfeited for treason, and of Mr. Walter Lindsay, the Laird of Bonnington and Mr. Alexander Leslie, excommunicated for Papistry. On return of the officers certifying the success of their labours, further order will be taken for the keeping of the houses delivered; wherein it is thought at this present that little further will be done before the baptism of the Prince and the King's raid to Aberdeen. It has been advised (as I hear) that the King will come into the north in September and remain there for three months and pass through Caithness and Sutherland to subdue all rebels and Papists in those parts, a matter to be found painful to the King's person (as many think), and not void of great danger to arise by many means.

Order is further taken that persons in the north, suspected to be aiders and assisters of these forfeited Earls or known Papists not excommunicated, shall be charged, *super inquerendis*, to appear before the King and Council, and to give caution for their good behaviour. It is accorded that the parties guilty of the murder of Murray shall be called upon and "put at," wherein the King promises his assistance in regard that this cause is chiefly to be prosecuted by the kinsfolk and friends of Murray.

Huntly has lately convened his friends as well to resist Argyll's forces, suspected to intend to invade him and wreck his friends and tenants, as also to provide for their future defence. In all these matters, and in their resolution for their abode [in] and departure out of this realm, they depend wholly (as it is told me) on the success of the Countess of Huntly, sent to entreat the King to take into his protection the friends and tenants of the Earls and of others following them. It is said that if the King will agree to receive into his protection and defend, in their absence, all their friends, tenants and followers, then the Earls and sundry others with them will depart out of this realm, and that for this purpose they have a ship already in readiness (as I have already certified).

Mackonoquhy, in Rara [Campbell of Inverawe], with some of Argyll's forces, has come into Huntly's bounds and taken some prey of cattle, which was rescued, as is newly reported. It was an exploit of no such importance as had been reported for some days.

Upon bruit of the wars betwixt the Emperor and the Turk some captains here (living without pay) have "motioned" to levy bands of footmen to serve the Emperor. The number spoken of, far exceeding 5000 men, will be hardly raised or transported without greater imprest than wise men here think that the Emperor will send, and some say that one Lindsay is sent to Duke Ernastus with offer of this service. Colonel Stewart seems to hearken to

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this motion, and by some is thought meet to govern a regiment. Some wish that Crawford may be the general, and others think that Errol is fit for the chief government. It is not openly known that this matter is broken to the King and estate, but rather begun and affected by captains and soldiers seeking pay. Yet what may be hidden under this strange device many well affected much doubt and little like. This estate for the present is calmed, pretending to yield much to her Majesty's advice for their further progress in important matters, wherein they say that they depend most on her support. What the end or satisfaction of their expectation or desire either is or shall be, I leave to better judgment than my own. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. No fly-leaf or address.*

June 24. **278.** DAVID FOULIS TO BURGHLEY.

Being of mind to have written before to your lordship for a further supply after so hard a resolution, of which I accepted more for continuing of the amity and to please the Queen (whom I understood to be grieved at my first refusal) than for any hope I had to content my master, I am forced to add to my former " thame " [theme] my just griefs and great astonishment at the staying of your lordship's precept to proceed for the sum specified therein, as the bearer who should have delivered the same will testify together with his letter. Therefore I earnestly desire that the sum granted may be with speed delivered for his Majesty's most necessary " adois." Consider that his Majesty's satisfaction in some measure will be in the receipt of such sums as your own note will testify to be " resting " [owing]. If I may obtain this by your lordship's means together with the copy which you promised me of the receipts preceding, it will doubtless bring forth a greater joy and contentment to the best affected and no less profit at length to both our sovereigns than the manifold doubling of such a sum can reach to. What arguments can be used for this effect, you know better than I. " In end I am forced to latt the cause procuir for it selfe, vho promeises yet sum more confort rather than any diminissing of that vhilk is allreadie granted." London. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

⅔ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

[1594, ? June.] **279.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

May it agree with my deserts that what hath been should ever be so forgotten as not to be acknowledged, or so neglected as if aught were foreshown that were [? not] meet for the season ? Was it my guilt or your error that your rebels had so strong a hold in your favour that for many months you so dandled them that just merits could scarce crave more ? What needed an army to pursue such as might so soon be had ? Why put your person to such a laborious voyage when many a day before you might with less pains and more honour have had them ? Who was then in deep lethargy and bred doubt by his plain " oversight." And I must for all my warnings, for all my presents, for all my watchful, hourly care be rewarded as one that " overslipt " matters. For the first, I never knew you at other need than what your will made you, and so shall their * might easily be borne with less than what I sent you to neglect causes. Would God that you cared for your diseased

* *i.e.* the power of the rebels.

1594. state as much as I have watched to see it preserved. That many months have passed since my letters visited you, lay not the burden on the shoulders that deserved it not, but remember what courage was given to proceed further when no thanks were given for what was last bestowed; and well it were if that were all. Do you suppose that such a long reign as mine hath so few friends or such narrow intelligence that complaints and "meanes" to foreign states, made by such as ought most to have helped you, could be kept secret from my knowledge? But if you should be asked what you would have done more than pursue them to your confines, I think you would have answered them at leisure to make them suppose more than could be said. Now, dear brother, think with yourself what way this is to get a new or keep the old. I am sorry that they [the rebels] may have cause to doubt your true measure to them, when by my example they see that better and firmer [persons] have had so ill requital. There is no king or potentate to whom I need yield account of my actions; yet they shall ever be known as sincere and honourable. Judge, then, whether my silence have had just ground, or whether any of my rank, if I had used them so, would have forgotten so unseeming a past. And yet, for all this, if I may perceive that you regret such a treatment and will abide such a one to me as you affirm, you shall be sure that if any of your traitors with their combined faction shall any way assail you, you shall find me awake when your affairs need speedy assistance. At your enemy's hand I expect no less than the most and worst they can do. If you also had believed this your lords would not be "in place for ayde" nor out of your control.

$1\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Copy with a pencilled note that it is in the hand of the Earl of Essex. Endorsed in the same hand:* "Her Majesties letter to the King of Scotts sent by Fowles."*

July 3. **280.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

My good brother, you have so well repaired the hard lines of menacing speech that I like much better the "glose" than the text, and do assure you that the last graces you far better and fits best our two amities. You may make sure account that what counsel, advice or mislike my writing can make you, ever proceeds upon what is best for you, "though my interest be least in them"†; and therefore, having so good foundation, I hope you will make your profit of my plainness and remember that others may have many ends in their advice, but I think only of yourself.

I render you many thanks for your bond of firm and constant amity, with assurance of never entering into treaties or goodwill with my foes until I myself cause the breach. This assures me a perpetuity, for never shall my act deserve so foul an imputation. "But I muse what such an Horace his but should need to me, whose solyde deedes have never merited such a halfed suspition." Put out of your breast, therefore, so unfit a thought for a royal mind; think instead of the unfeigned love that my deserts have craved, and make a great distance betwixt the untried love of others and mine, so long approved. It gladdeth me much that you now have falsified such bruits as "forepast" deeds have bred you; for tongues of men are never bridled by kings' greatness, but by their goodness; nor is it enough to say they will

* A modern endorsement in pencil has "Scotland, Royal Letter, about October 3, 1596"; and the document is bound among those of August 1595. But the tenor of the letter indicates the period when, in the summer of 1594, Foulis was sent to the English Court for money and support against the Papist Earls.

† *i.e.* apart from my own interests.

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1594. do well when present acts gainsay their belief. We princes are set on highest stage, where all beholders pass verdict on our works; neither can we easily dance in nets so thick as may dim their sight. Such, therefore, our works should be as may praise our Maker and grace ourselves. I trust you will make a prince whose facts shall tend to strengthen yourself, "who so you feeble, and count it best spent tyme to governe your owne and not be tuted" [*sic*]. And since no government [can] last where pain and grace be not duly inflicted, I hope no partiality shall sway you. Stand princely to your own estate, without "prising" others' lewdness, and comfort yourself with this laud, "that so much the more shyneth your cleernes thorough the foyle of dimer clowdes, as their spot will hardly be blotted out when your glory remaines"; and by this dealing you shall ever so bind me to be your faithful watch and staunch sister, that I will both warn and ward in such sort that your surety shall be respected and your state held up.

Postscript.—Such remembrance of my affection as I send, take in good part as being worth more in the present state of my affairs than millions sent from a richer prince and "fraughted" with fewer foes.

1⅓ *pp. Copy. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "June, 1594. Minute of her Majestes letter with her owne hand to the King of Scottis."

July 3. **281.** HENRY LOCK TO MR. J[OHN] CO[LVILE].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 260–1.

I received your letter of the 24th ult., with which I acquainted your Mecænas [*i.e.* Cecil], by whose favourable relation her Highness has notice of your constant care of the amity and preservation of the good cause; and your continuance in this course, with frequent letters to give mature notice how things pass, is nothing doubted of. As for N. [Bothwell's] courses, howbeit by sundry rélations they might be suspected, yet her Majesty does not look for any action from him prejudicial to the amity (however his private estates compel him to embrace different means for his relief), since her carriage towards him and his has not been altogether unfriendly; much less does she think he will join in amity with the King's rebels and God's enemies, from intelligence with whom in former more extreme necessities his own honour and Murray's particular had so precisely restrained him. Your Mecænas has now bestowed on you 40*l.* sterling, which Mr. Deane or some there shall forthwith convey to you. From Court. *Signed:* Henry Lok.

Postscript.—Mr. Governor will convey your letters, being discreetly conveyed to him; for furtherance of which I will crave Sir R[obert] Ce[cil] to give him further direction for receipt of this money. I pray you by the next after the payment thereof give notice.

1 *p. Holograph. Copy. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed by Henry Lock:* "My letter to J. Co. the 3 July, Grinwich, 1594."

July 6. **282.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

At the hands of Christopher Sheperson, I have received your letter of 24th of June, and perceiving that by your lordship's favourable means her Majesty is purposed to send hither with the Earl of Cumberland (coming to the baptism of this Prince) Sir William Bowes, or other meet person, to succeed me in this service, I shall, therefore, with all diligence provide to leave all things in the best order and for the most profit I can, humbly thanking your lordship for your goodness, and praying you to send to me her Majesty's further pleasure and order for my discharge.

The King returned hither from Stirling on Monday last, 1st July, being still occupied with such weighty causes in Council that I could not obtain audience before yesternight at 9 o'clock, and thereby I have been occasioned to delay these presents thus long. This day the King has departed towards Stirling, leaving here the Lord Chancellor and Council to dispose of the affairs of the state and Borders and to provide all things requisite for the baptism of the Prince, which (as he told me) he intends to solemnize on the 11th of August next, wishing that the Earl of Cumberland may be here on the last hereof, and that the ambassadors of France, Denmark, the Low Countries and others may meet about the same time. He has by his letters directed Sir William Keith to acquaint them severally and speedily with his mind therein.

Upon this audience he promised to give order to the commissioners for Border causes to confer with me for the expedition of the redresses demanded as well for an old and new bill called on by Mr. Ralph Gray for the two several attempts done against his tenants at Mindrum (wherein the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council have written to me) as also for the bill of Gilbert Park, of Warton, complaining against William Ellott, of Hartscarth, as by Sir John Foster's letter I am advised. For the last bill of Mindrum, he had commanded young Cessford to give redress to Sir John Selby, to whom I sent the King's letter in that behalf, as I have certified the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council.

Upon discovery of the outrage done by William Ellott against Gilbert Parke on the 1st instant, he said Ellot durst not attempt any such enterprise in England against the will and privity of Bothwell, and that William Ellot and all the clans in Liddisdale had aided Bothwell to put the King out of his palace, and did still so " partye " him and offend England that he should be compelled to ride [*sic*] both secretly and in public, whereupon he must require the concurrency of the English Wardens. He added further that now he saw plainly that her Majesty had dealt very kindly and sincerely with him towards Bothwell. He looked that Bothwell shall be found unthankful to her Majesty, and still threatens (the King says) to pull him out of the castle at Stirling.

He took occasion to speak of Mr. David Foulis's doings at the English Court, affirming that he did not employ him as his ambassador, but sent him with a letter wherein were set down such arrears as he and some of his Council thought to be payable by her Majesty to him, and he directed Mr. David only to move her to help him in this time of his distress. I told him that I marvelled that he would take that course, or forget the sums delivered indeed to him, as myself could well witness, thinking that he would have regard as well for her Majesty's great charges at this time for the affairs in France and honouring the baptism of his son, as also for the friendly and liberal portion offered by her Majesty to answer his necessities. He seemed to allow of my answer and to depend on the next advertisement from Mr. David, whereon he would send the Secretary to inform her Majesty of his own estate and of his purpose to prosecute the traitorous Earls ; in all which he intends (he says) to take and use her Majesty's advice. He noted to me some hurts arising by the emulation and differences betwixt sundry of his Council and others of the Queen's council, and that by evil advice the Queen was drawn lately to give over-great countenance to the Countess of Huntly, who, he thought, should retire on the morrow. He regretted much the slackness in his nobility and Council to assist him in the execution of important matters.

By my letter of 9th June, and partly touched in that of the 20th, I advertised your lordship of the intention of the rebellious Earls to sail for Denmark, and also of the readiness of their skipper, for reward, to give me knowledge of

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1594. the certainty of their embarkment and voyage, and to agree and be directed for their surprise on the seas in case the same shall be thought meet to be attempted. Since this time their ship has departed by order of the Earls, who have sent away (as I hear) the three persons who arrived with the gold at Montrose. Nevertheless Huntly has called again this skipper to be employed for them, pretending still to pass to the seas. This skipper thinks, and will undertake, that any of her Majesty's pinnaces or other fit vessel furnished with forty men and two "caste" pieces shall suffice to take them. Therefore direct me speedily whether I shall entertain this bargain, or let it slip without further dealings.

The Provost of Edinburgh being at his house at North Berwick was advised (as it seems, by some "familliar" of Bothwell's) that Bothwell, Ochiltree, Colonel Boyd, Josias Stewart, Captain Forster and others had been fourteen days together, and were presently in Edinburgh, and that their horses were kept in a house at Deane Mills, a mile from the town. Hereupon the Provost returned on Sunday, 30th June, and first he took six of the horses of Bothwell and his company, and after closing the ports of this town sought to apprehend themselves; but, being warned, they withdrew secretly from their accustomed lodgings and haunts to other quiet places in the town, tarrying there all that night and the next day, and on Monday, at night, escaped and passed, some over the walls and some out of the ports of the town. Many gentlemen, gentlewomen, lawyers and burgesses in Edinburgh, Leith and other places adjoining are discovered to have received and accompanied Bothwell and his company. Some of them have fled; others upon examination are committed to prison; some to free war[ding]; and some bound to be answerable. Before this accident some councillors intended (and my advice was partly asked therein) to move the King to grant some ease to Bothwell that thereby he might be drawn out of this realm, and the state during the abode of the ambassadors for the baptism of the Prince might be peaceable. But because the King is given to think that Bothwell had intended to have surprised him on Saturday or Monday last in the way betwixt Stirling and Edinburgh, and because his wrath is thereby increased, it is thought meet to suspend this motion touching Bothwell to better opportunity. Yet I hear means shall be made in favour of Ochiltree, and that there is good hope that his peace shall be obtained, with condition that he shall abandon Bothwell and depart some while out of this realm.

It is commonly given out, but with what truth I know not, that, with the advice of Mr. Walter Lindsay and the privity of Huntly, the Abbot of Inchaffray has been sent to Bothwell to work reconciliation betwixt Bothwell and Huntly, at least until the Prince shall accomplish the age of fourteen years. But how far Bothwell has embraced this motion I know not. Neither has he nor any for him acquainted me with any of his proceedings, nor further dealt with me in the matter in which he before required my advice touching his joining with the three Earls, whereof I have advertised your lordship. I hear that he does not use Mr. John Colville's advice in wonted manner, and that he had cast himself into the guiding and company of such as will hazard to endanger him and his life, as before these late troubles I prophesied and warned some of his near friends. Yet I forbear to seek to deal with him, trusting still that by others privy to his course and doings your lordship shall be best advertised.

Albeit the Duke has been very unwilling to resign the lands and possessions of Bothwell, which the King gave him and seeks again, yet now the King has drawn him to agree to this resignation, with proviso that these lands shall be kept only in the King's hands and for his own use. Nevertheless the King

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1594. (as I hear) intends to give liberal portions of these possessions to Lord Hume and the Lairds of Buccleuch and Cessford, with condition that they shall either take and bring Bothwell quick or dead to the King, or else chase and keep him out of the realm. But many think that Bothwell's storms are not yet clean "overblowen."

The Earl of Montrose and Mr. Patrick Galloway, employed to offer fair conditions to Atholl to leave the society of Bothwell and Ochiltree, have drawn him (as I hear) to agree to enter into free ward in Fife and Strathearn and to promise to take no part with Bothwell or Ochiltree. He was very loth to be drawn from Ochiltree, yet for his own peace and surety he has received the conditions offered, and this will work (as some think) advantage to Huntly, in that Atholl shall not come against him, as was looked for.

The Earls of Glencairn, Mar and others have gone to the Earl of Argyll to reconcile him and Glenorquhy. It is told me that they have compounded the variances betwixt these two for the murder of Calder and the practice of the murder of Argyll himself by Huntly and others; that Glenorquhy shall be at liberty, whereupon he will wholly "partye" Argyll and utterly abandon Huntly; and that Argyll's forces have slain and spoiled Huntly's tenants in Lochaber, and have retired home. It is said that Mar labours to persuade Argyll to stay from prosecuting Huntly further, yet he is esteemed to be of such courage, constancy and mind to seek revenge, that Mar's persuasion shall little prevail.

Angus, Huntly and Errol, convening together at Towye, Errol's house, on Midsummer even last, there made great bonfires, drank so deeply and danced so long that it is reported the wine showed "the force in ther bodyes and openlye in ther tryumphe." I am informed that Huntly, hearing that the minister of Elgin had newly excommunicated him, sent a gentleman to await on the minister and revenge his quarrel. But the minister let the gentleman know that he had before excommunicated Huntly by order of the General Assembly only, and had not published any new or other excommunication, whereupon the matter was stayed. Angus counselled Huntly and wished that they all (as I hear) should take away some of the ministers to put them in fear of crying out of them as they do. These Earls wholly depend on the advertisement of the Countess of Huntly, as yet "resyant" here, and who has lately written at great length to her husband. Whereas the Papists excommunicated and sundry aiders and abettors of these Earls, especially of Huntly, were charged to appear before the King and Council on the 4th instant, now further time is given "to him," but upon what ground or cause it is not commonly known.

The other day the Countess of Huntly exhibited her petition to the King and Council seeking possession of her husband's lands to herself and her children, and for their uses, as has been used and granted before in like circumstances. She fortified the equity of her petition in respect that the King had given her in marriage to Huntly as the King's own daughter and with promises for advancement of her and her children. Yet she was answered that the King would not hear or take consideration of her suit before her husband had given full obedience to the King and his laws or had departed out of this realm. It is credibly told me that she caused two signatures to be made for the King's grant of her husband's lands to herself and children, and that the Queen offered one of the same to the King, pressing him to sign it; and when the Queen could not obtain it for the Countess and her children she sought it for herself, with what intent I know not.

Lord Hume was ready to have left this realm, whereupon many thought

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1594. that he was "layde of Bothwell" and would not be charged with any of his actions. But the King has now so satisfied and won him that his mind to travel into foreign nations is changed. I hear that Thomas Tyrie still remains in this country, and that one Sutherland has gone into Flanders with the errands before committed to Tyrie. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—After I had closed up these and delivered them to the hands of the post, and before his departure, I received a letter from Sir Robert Cecil. But the King had departed, and thereby I am occasioned to suspend my negotiation until I shall have better opportunity, whereupon I shall give advertisement to Sir Robert.

$5\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by clerks of Burghley and Cecil.*

July 6. **283.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I received your last letter, of 30th June, this day, having then closed up my letter to Lord Burghley, wherein I have advertised him of my last negotiation with the King and of the present state of this realm, which letter shall (I trust) come to your view; and therefore I forbear to trouble you with needless report. Before the receipt of your letter the King had the same day departed to Stirling, whereby I am occasioned to defer my travail with him until I shall have access to his presence, whereupon I shall advertise you of my success with him. He wishes the Earl of Cumberland to be here on the 31st of this month, and has appointed that the baptism shall be solemnized at Stirling on 11th August, whereof I have given notice to Cumberland by the enclosed letter which I beseech you to cause to be delivered. I heartily thank you for your last advertisement of her Majesty's pleasure to send hither with Cumberland Sir Thomas Parry or other to succeed me in this service, which gladly I shall render to him and put all things in readiness for his coming. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 6. **284.** ROBERT BOWES TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Upon receipt of your letter of the 23rd June directing me to move the King for redress to be made to Mr. Ralph Gray in his two several bills for Mindrum, I have, at my first access to the King, sought "indelate" justice and satisfaction for same. The King has promised to give order to his commissioners (appointed and left here for Border causes) to confer and agree with me for the expedition and best means to be made in the old bill; wherein I shall with the next opportunity and all diligence travail with the commissioners for the timely execution of this redress; and before the receipt of your letter I had obtained the King's letter (which I sent to Sir John Selby) commanding young Cessford, Warden of the Middle Marches, to give "indelaite" justice and contentment for the new bill and last outrage done by Scottishmen at Mindrum. The King trusts that Sir John Selby and Mr. Gray shall be timely satisfied therein. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$\frac{1}{2}$ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 13. **285.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. iii. p. 84. Lord Scrope has sent word to the Queen that Lord Herries has been sent from the King to be Warden of the Borders and that he importunes a meeting on 20th instant. What the Queen has willed me to write you may see, and

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she also requires you to negotiate with the King, letting him know how little hope she has of this man's sincerity towards her country, since he had been the instrument of such practices before. She was and is persuaded that, if the King did but remember, he himself confessed to the Queen by his letter, when she expostulated with him for sending one to the Low Countries and named Hume as the "doer," that what was done was contrived by Herries. These reasons, therefore, make her much worse disposed, for she cannot think that the King means so kindly to her as he professes, if he suffer him to come so near and in an office of authority. You must inform the King hereof and send word what is his answer; and her Majesty requires you to continue your course of writing until another comes to you, which shall be very shortly. The Queen, nevertheless, you may tell the King, had commanded her Warden to meet with him on the 20th, hoping he is but a commissioner appointed "for the sodayne," and shall not be established a Warden. The Court.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my masters letter to Mr. Bowes uppon the nomynation of the Lord Harrys to be Warden of the Marches."

July 13. **286.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO LORD SCROPE.

Vol. lii. p. 85.

I have acquainted her Majesty with your letter concerning your meeting with Herries on the 20th of this month about the causes of the Borders. It seems he pretends some purpose of reformation, of which her Majesty's expectation is very slender in regard of the experience she had of him when he passed through her country into the Low Countries, pretending to do good offices, and contrariwise was a principal instrument in the practices of the Duke of Parma against England. Of all this her Majesty needs no better author than the King himself, who, to excuse another whom she charged withal, confessed that it was none but he. Out of these just occasions for dislike of him her Majesty has written to the King to stay him from having the commission, but only to meet you (if it be so obtained) about some matters, but not as a man in whose choice she takes any great contentation. Therefore hold your day appointed, for so it is her Majesty's pleasure, that thereby such disorders may be timely redressed and the Queen receive the King's answer in what sort he means to establish Herries, whether for the present or further time. The Court at Greenwich.

1 *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my masters letter to the Lorde Scroope concerning the same matter."

July 14. **287.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 105–106.

I have received yours of the 4th, with signification that Cecil (Mycenas) wishes me to continue intelligence and sends forty pounds as token. I shall strive to deserve this undeserved bounty, if my hard fortune suffer me not to repay the same. I am presently to ride to Liddisdaill, as this morning early N. [Bothwell] did send for me to come to him with all diligence. What his errand is, and what new action he is upon, till I see him I know not. My abode with him shall be two or three days at most, and certainty* shall be sent up immediately thereafter. He is in great poverty, which leads him to great impatience; yet he must not be lost, for he is the best enterpriser among

* *certenly* in Colville's *Letters*.

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them, and he frets the more that this realm is closed on him. I ever assure him that if he would be contented to live privately, as his uncle the Earl of Murray, and Morton, did, when restrained in this same sort, he would have connivance. If I may say this safely or not let me know by your next, and it shall be offered to him as upon my hazard and upon no assurance from you.

He is not agreed with the Papist lords, but some crafty men travail therein, only for his perdition, that the Church, seeing him go that way, might be irritated against him; neither is it to be thought that they will lose the King's favour for him, or that we shall lose our conscience for them. The Church begins to speak out again. There is no better thing than to behold us a little, for there are so many contrary tides among us that of necessity there must be some shipwreck. But if I durst, I would still insist that some mean thing might be impetrated for holding N. [Bothwell] "in good tremp," leaving this to your own travail and discretion. The other day, in presence of some that love neither you nor me, N. spoke very honestly of you and of your labours, to their displeasure; whereof Whitelaw (Quhyitlaw) advertised me. I think, if you could get licence, you would do well to come down once again—if not before Cumberland (as I should wish) then at least with him; and I, knowing your "dyat," would bring Ochiltree to you. He, assure yourself, with Atholl and the rest, remains honest, albeit outwardly they entertain Q. [the King] with fair speeches and show of quietness. The Baron of Fingask is again to come up. I cannot advertise his errand, because I shall be absent at his bygoing. Let me know of Wemyss's return. Mr. Forret has been in the north trying what he can. He is to be there within two or three days. Some bruit begins to rise that Huntly and his crew look for more Spanish money. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Most of seal remains.*

July 14. **288.** Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

Like as by my letter of 20th June last I advertised that Bothwell was dealt withal to be reconciled to the other party, so the same is again confirmed both by the former informer and also by others of credit; yet it is confidently assured me that he has not entered into any band or reconciliation with that party. Wherein, by the occasion given me by your own letter of 30th June and by the late conference with the same party, who, for the Earl, sought my advice in that motion of reconcilement, I have let this party understand that if the other party shall still press for agreement, and if the matter shall be only entertained by the Earl without purpose to bind with them, then his progress in that sort cannot be disallowed. But if it shall be otherwise, then he and his proceedings shall be justly condemned and turn to his shame and utter wreck, as I proved by many reasons which this party conferring with me well approved, concluding that only this course thus advised ought, and, so far as he could, should be embraced and followed. This party sought to understand whether I knew if her Majesty would give order to the Earl of Cumberland to intercede for Bothwell, and prayed in Bothwell's name and by his direction (I saw the letter), that if her Majesty had not directed Cumberland to intercede for him at this time of baptism, she would give him order and power to do so. Hereupon I showed him that means were otherwise made to persuade the King to give some ease to Bothwell, provided that he would depart out of this isle without any condition; and it was likely that the King would either thus favour him upon this motion to be secretly pre-

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sented to him, or else that he would not hearken to any intercession at all. Further, I added that if by this secret means Bothwell might obtain this grace and therewith depart out of this isle, then her Majesty's intercession, upon view of his obedience and submission, might prevail and restore him to the King's favour and the realm. This was well liked and allowed, yet it is still required that if the King will not be won to grant Bothwell this favour by this secret travail, then her Majesty will authorise Cumberland to intercede for him. For my warrant that the King would be moved in favour of Bothwell, I was informed very credibly that he had given leave to one of his servants to speak with Ochiltree, and that it appeared that he would in time be gracious to him, if he would leave Bothwell's society and immediately depart out of this isle without condition; [and] that Ochiltree agreed to depart as enjoined, but he wished that the like favour might be showed to Bothwell that they might both depart. With this answer the party employed has returned with hope to work good effects for both these two noblemen. But I doubt partly of the wished issue herein, for the Chancellor lately sounded the King's mind in favour of Bothwell, in sweet terms and offers, but the King sharply answered that his wounds were still green and his anger against him should not cease. It is still thought that Bothwell shall find friends, and that albeit Atholl has accepted the conditions offered to him and has entered into his free ward, yet his goodwill towards Bothwell and hatred against Huntly are not dead.

The Duke is earnestly pressed to resign Bothwell's possessions in his hands simply to the King, and without any condition; for whereas the King purposed to entertain Buccleuch and Cessford with the gift of parcels of Bothwell's lands, they refuse (as I hear) to accept the gift unless the Duke's resignation be made simple and without condition. Buccleuch, being sent for to take Bothwell's lands and the office of Liddisdale, has answered that it shall be in vain, and not good for the King that he shall farther deal in that matter unless the Duke will make his resignation without condition. Some think that some new emulation and dryness is rising betwixt Buccleuch and Cessford, promising no disadvantage to Bothwell.

Since the receipt of your last letter I have not spoken with Lord Hamilton nor opened to him any part of your letter to me. He has now plainly discovered the intended surprise of Dumbarton Castle, which he alleges to be utterly unfurnished with powder, shot, armour or weapon, and for which some portion of powder was once offered to him by me (as Lord Burghley, I trust, remembers), and thereon he presses me daily, opening his great charges and his present dangers. He seems to depend wholly on her Majesty's support, for which he intended to have written expressly to her, but herein I dissuaded him; whereupon he has written to myself.* Some favour in this necessity and in his earnest desire may retain him and his devotion to do many good offices. The office of lieutenancy of all the Borders will not be offered to him as he expected. But the lieutenancy and wardenry of the West Marches are proffered to him, and albeit he is contented to accept this, yet he demands it with such additions that the King hitherto is loth to grant it. I have written to Lord Burghley to remember the good services of Mr. James Murray. Please you to refer to that letter and to tender the estate of the honest gentleman. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

* The enclosed letter is now amissing.

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289. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

After the King's departure to Stirling on the 6th, I sought conference with the Chancellor, Clerk Register and other commissioners for Border causes to receive their order for redress for sundry attempts done by Scottishmen in the English Marches, the particularities of which attempts I put in writing and delivered to the commissioners, as they required. In the end they have let me understand that Lord Hamilton [*Note in the margin in Burghley's hand:* "He is a good man for the place"], being chosen lieutenant and Warden of the West Marches of Scotland, is not yet sufficiently established in those offices, and that they will send the Secretary to the King to provide that both Lord Hamilton, upon the perfecting of this commission, may give redress for all offences done in the West Marches, and also that the Wardens of the Middle and East Marches may be directed to satisfy the other opposite Wardens in England as well for the bills exhibited by me as also for the general administration of justice for preservation of the peace of the Borders. As they shall proceed further herein with me I shall advertise the Privy Council and also your lordship.

The Countess of Huntly, on the 6th instant, was charged (as I am informed) by Sir Robert Melvill in the King's name to depart out of Edinburgh beyond Forth, within four days. Hereon she resorted to Seton, and on the 10th passed the water into Fife, showing to some conferring with her great hope of success. Some would make me think that on the 6th, before the King set out for Stirling, he signed the gift of her husband's lands and livings to her and her children. Yet having made search at the privy and great seal I cannot find it "comed thither." She has called for the skipper before notified, pretending to intend to "carye" him with her to Strathbogy, where he shall receive further directions. It is told me that these Earls have, besides this skipper, put David Hay in readiness with a ship to serve as they shall direct. I therefore expect your lordship's timely advertisement in these behalfs. [*Note in the margin in Burghley's hand:* "He may without direction do his best to have the passyngers known."] The traitorous Earls continue in "exceidinge jolytye" and show of comfort, "bostinge" the ministers with no little cruelty and pretending to care "small" for the King's threatenings. They have made (as I hear) disdainful and scoffing proclamations, shaking off the Laird of Findlater, and rent his arms openly in despite (and after all his travails for them), and have stayed the Gordons from appearing before the King and Council, and they surely look for foreign aid. In the meantime Huntly proceeds in his charges and hastens the building of his hall and gallery at Strathbogy. Findlater and others (thus shaken off, as they pretend) say that before the coming in of the gold at Montrose they were careful and humble to have provided for their peace, but now they feel assured of their hearts' desire. William Leslie, a Popish priest, giving himself out to be a gentleman and a soldier, came lately out of France and Flanders and passed hither through England. He has brought to these Earls *in screnio pectoris* (as it is told me) full answer and advertisement in all things.

The Laird of Pollard lately moved the commissioners appointed for disposition of the rebels' possessions to have their consent for the King's grant to be made to him of the castle and lands of Tantallon (Tomptallon), parcel of Angus's inheritance. But it was considered (as I hear) that it would not be meet to dispose of any part of the Earl's possessions before they had resolved for the order to be taken for the whole, and, further, because the disposition of the Earl's lands touched earls and noblemen of higher degree than any

1594. then present saving only the Chancellor, it was thought meet to refer this suit to the King and such noblemen as he would add to these commissioners.

Argyll has lately taken and executed Patrick MacAulay og (Mackalla ogg) and Patrick,* his brother, the murderers of the Laird of Calder. One other of their companies is slain. Glenurquhy " is tryed cleane " of this murder, therefore he is set at liberty upon caution. But Ardkinglas (Arkinlace) is found to be foul, and therefore shall be brought hither that the King's pleasure and the penalty of the law may be executed against him. The band for the conspiracy of Argyll's death is now smothered and suppressed, whereby many suppose that the same matter touches persons of good quality and not meet to be discovered. The Earl of Mar has (as I hear) travailed earnestly to bring Argyll to the Court, and Argyll is contented for the present to come.

On the 11th instant Adamus Crusius, ambassador for the Duke of Brunswick, and Joachimus Kesswick, ambassador for the Duke of Mecklenburg, with twenty-six men in their company, arrived at Leith, and the next day Hans Birnego and Steno Belde, ambassadors for Denmark, came to the road there. I hear that Sir William Keith is purposed to return through England,† and I think he is there before this. He can inform your lordship better than I can of the diet of the ambassadors to be sent hither by the States and Count Maurice.

The Presbytery of Duns (Dunce) have again informed the Presbytery of Edinburgh and complained against Lord Hume for sundry faults noted in him since his subscription to the articles of religion. Whereupon Hume is to be cited to appear again before the Kirk to answer to this information.

Mr. James Murray continues still in free ward for Bothwell's cause. He prays her Majesty to give order and warrant to the Earl of Cumberland to move the King in her name for his liberty and deliverance upon trial of his innocency, and also for his restitution to his office of the King's Wardrobe upon the like trial of his right to the same and his faithful services many ways done to the King. Your Lordship knows so well the good services and deserts of this honest gentleman (always devoted wholly to her Majesty and her service), that I shall not need to trouble you with further commendation of him and his suit to her Majesty. Advertise me what comfort I shall give him in this behalf. Because Sir Robert Cecil has written to me on sundry matters touching Hamilton and Bothwell, therefore, in answer to his letter, I have commended to him the occurrents concerning these two noblemen, whereof he will acquaint your lordship.

The King on his way towards Stirling on the 6th was credibly informed that Bothwell lay in Pentland Hills with 100 horsemen, intending suddenly that day to surprise him. He thereon took occasion to make some stay in Linlithgow and to send for Lord Livingston and others. Yet Bothwell was that day in Liddisdale, from whence he has written to Mr. John Colville showing his readiness to be advised by Mr. John, and promising deeply to remain faithfully at her Majesty's devotion. By the good means of Mr. John, and by his travail and charges, many good offices are done, and sundry personages of quality kept bound to her Majesty, as at my access to your lordship I shall further signify to you. In the meantime may it please you by some comfortable means to cherish and encourage the gentleman. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

* Gillimartin in *Warrender Papers*, ii, 248.
† From embassy to United Provinces. *Ibid*, 242–5

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290. Mr. John Colville to Mr. Henry Lock.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, 106–108, with textual variations.

On the 17th [*i.e.* day of writing], I am returned from my Lord [Bothwell]. I found that men, as Hakerston and Cranston, had been busy with him for the Papist lords; but one, Dickson, now secretary to Errol, whom I think you know, advertised him not to trust them. He has some intentions, both ordinary and extraordinary, as a dealing with the Chancellor, which can take no effect, both because the Queen has "inhibit" it, having conceived a new hatred against him, and also because in the said Chancellor daily some one or other "schifit" appears to trap my lord. "The extraordinar formes ar sum houses he hes about Edinburgh and Lythgo, wharin to plant men and tak sum occasion be the vay of his Majestis passage." But his Majesty, for avoiding all shame that might fall to him that way so long as the ambassadors are in Scotland, permits the Chancellor and some others to hold Bothwell in hope of favour. Nevertheless, he is determined, if it be her Majesty's pleasure, to take no peace but by her mediation, for he had already what security his heart could wish, but, lacking "vadimony" of a foreign prince, all his security "hes provin nocht."

The misery of this country still increases by the poverty of the prince and quarrels among the subjects. The "moyens are so meane" to bear out this baptism, that his Majesty shall have great shame before the end. The three or four ambassadors already arrived from Denmark, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg [Maderburg] have but homely entertainment, and they with two others from the Low Countries must all the time be entertained on the King's purse. Those already come are thought persons of small account, and our treatment shall be meeter for such than for men of greater calling. The day after they arrrived the Queen retired by the "Quenis Ferrie" to Falkland lest they should see her at the Abbey where she lay not like a princess of such birth and virtues. The Chancellor and rest of the Council at Edinburgh have sent to solicit his Majesty that the baptism may be at Edinburgh, as the ambassadors cannot be furnished at Stirling, and the great Temple of Solomon which is abuilding cannot be completed before the day "prefixt."

Bothwell will remain upon the Scottish Borders until after the baptism, and, as I wrote before, is in hope of some enterprise before that time; but I do think he can not effectuate [anything]. Some advise him to lay an ambuscade for the murder of Sir George Hume, whom I have cause to hate as much as any man; but let the Lord work His pleasure with me, to a murder shall I never consent. I think you will shortly receive your bond and mine from Mr. Jaksone. Tweedmouth. *Signed:* "Y."

Postscript.—Report for certain that the Bishop of Ross is quietly at Lindores (Lendors), for Mugdrum, our friend whom you know, did see him.

2 *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "To my loving brother, Mr. Herrie Lok, esquyer, and to be opinned by my honorabill Mecenas."

Endorsed by Cecil's clerk: "17 July 1594; *and by Henry Lock:* "Mr. Colvyll to me."

Three prints of red wax seal.

July 20. **291.** William Dundas of Fingask to Sir Robert Cecil.

At my last being at London, it was told me by Mr. Lock that your honour liked well to have for a gallery of yours there some pictures "of suche toyis" as he had seen painted here at Edinburgh during his abode in this country.

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1594. I have taken the boldness to send you some by this bearer, whom I found going thither. Please receive them from him without giving him anything at all for "fracht" or other respect, which is already satisfied. I wish that my country was able to yield me the means to show my loving mind towards your honour in some more sufficient matter, hoping that it will please you to accept of the same in the meantime, howbeit so mean a thing, as an earnest of a greater goodwill. Finding no matter of state or other thing worthy of writing, "I war to blame to trouble your honor with longre lettre." Edinburgh. *Signed:* William Dondas.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 21. **292.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

The King addressed the Lord Hume, as one of that faction, to the rest of the Catholic lords, to borrow 10,000 crowns, but they returned him with a fair answer and "white hand." Argyll has 4000 men in arms at Lochaber, whom he will not discharge, notwithstanding the King's message by Mar. Argyll has within these ten days hanged the murderers of the knight of Calder (Cadwell), his kinsman, and he intends shortly to behead one of the three barons who conspired his own death. The other two will escape. Atholl dare make no stir at this time. On Tuesday, last week, there landed a Flemish ship at Aberdeen, wherein were the Bishop of Ross, Mr. James Gordon, Jesuit, Doctor Hamilton, and another servant. They came all booted and spurred out of the ship and went on foot so to the old town of Aberdeen, where many Catholics are thought to dwell. There they took horse immediately, and the ship, speedily hoisting sail, set to sea.

It is said that twelve "galeasseas" and four other ships with men and provisions are to come thither with all speed. The King, upon intelligence thereof, purposing to pass to Stirling quietly, took Leith on his way, where he secretly had conference with a man unknown to others. The magistrates and ministers here having got perfect intelligence went yesterday to speak with the King, intending to crave licence to raise his subjects with all speed in arms till the King may be ready,—who, they suppose, will delay and excuse himself by reason of the baptism.

Two great men are directed from the Estates in two several ships, and two ships of war to guard them. But the Dunkirkers prepare to set upon them, so that we are in doubt whether they will come hither or not. Edinburgh.

1 *p. No endorsement.*

July 21. **293.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 108.

This I write in great haste, referring fuller discourse to my next. On the 16th a ship arrived at Aberdeen with Mr. James Gordon, uncle to Huntly. Some coffers are come with him; what is in them we know not yet. Our Secretary is to come up for accusation of Bothwell and seeking of more money upon large promises to go soundly against these Papists. But it is folly to think that any pursuit shall be made, for the barons of religion have offered to furnish him to that errand, if he will accept it, on condition that they chose the captains and officers. But they will give no money in his own hands, seeing they know it shall be "used to ane other use." You may give what you list, but it will not be used to the end you would. His Majesty the other day openly fell out in speech against the Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil. The

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1594. cause I shall express at length in my next; "and he is reduced to that extremite finding his indigence at this tyme that no man dar almost spek to him. God give him grace in tyme to see from whence this malheure procedis." *Signed:* [Jo.] Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Three red wax seals.*

July 21. **294.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 14th, soon after I had sent you my last letter, I received your last of the 8th, together with the two notes enclosed, expressing the several sums of money delivered in eight years for the King of Scots. These notes I shall use as you have prescribed. Because I found by your letter that Mr. James Gordon, the Jesuit, had been well entertained in Rome, received a good round sum of money at the hands of the King of Spain's officers, and was on his return by sea to Scotland with another Scottishman and a Spaniard, therefore with all speed I acquainted some ministers with these effects, taking order with them that the magistrates in the havens, ports and creeks and also the ministers about Aberdeen should await for and apprehend Mr. James, the ship, men and freight; but this was prevented by the untimely arrival of this ship at Aberdeen on the 16th, as will appear by the enclosed copy of a letter sent by the brethren and presbyteries in Angus and the Mearnes to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. After the Presbytery of Edinburgh had received this letter and communicated the contents to me, they resorted the same day to the King, showing him this letter and suiting to him to provide "indelate" remedy for the dangers appearing. Soon after, the King (then ready to depart towards Stirling) gave me access. Whereupon, after some motion for redress in Border matters, I fell into this strange novelty of Mr. James Gordon's return, which at great length he opened to me, showing me that he had appointed his Council here to ride with him that day, the 18th, to Linlithgow, where he would confer with them and other noblemen, warned to meet him then, as he had imparted to the ministers; and he asked my advice in this cause. Wherein, first, I laid before him the dangers which any evil success in my advice might bring to me. Nevertheless I adventured to persuade him to set forward with all expedition sufficient force either to disperse these forfeited Earls or else drive them to take the field, and discover themselves, their party and course. But the manner of the levy and government of the forces I left wholly to himself and Council. He seemed to allow of my advice and [? said he would] "propone" the same to his Council at Linlithgow on the next day, and thereon he departed from me that afternoon with his Council to Linlithgow, where I came to him again on the next morrow by occasion of a letter which I received that evening from Sir Robert Cecil touching Lord Herries, who, the King has promised, shall be removed from the office of the West Wardenry.

Upon renewing the matter for the suppressing of the rebels the King told me that he was not only ready personally to prosecute them immediately after the baptism, but also, in case of necessity, he would suspend the solemnities and without delay take the field; that proclamation should be speedily made for a general muster on 15th September next for the King's raid against the forfeited Earls on the 20th; and that in the meantime all men should be ready upon 24 hours' warning to attend upon him if any new or just occasion should move him to enter into any action against these Earls. He told me further that commission shall be immediately given to the Kirk to convocate

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1594. the barons and burgesses in every shire to deliberate upon the dangers appearing and to be "carefull uppon" some course of remedy, [and] that they shall advertise him of the remedies advised, setting down what they themselves will do for the execution. Besides, Argyll and Forbes are named to be lieutenants in this expedition; wherein also the King offers to go forward in person if the Kirk, barons and burgesses shall think the same necessary and convenient in present conditions. He has been advertised that there are on the seas eleven ships and two "galliasses" with Spaniards coming to the aid of the Earls, but of this I can hitherto learn small certainty. With this I returned hither last night, and this day "Sanders" Forbes, one of the bailies of Aberdeen (sent to inform the King's Council and Kirk), came hither and showed the ministers here that on Tuesday last, the 16th, a little barque arrived at Aberdeen early in the morning before sunrise, and with their boat set two men on land on the sands. One of the men was Mr. James Gordon, met with and known by a sick man walking on the sands for his health, who informed the Provost and bailies of the arrival of this barque and coming of Mr. James. The other was Mr. Robert Abercromby, Jesuit. These two persons went to Old Aberdeen, where they were soon well furnished and sent with company to Huntly at Strathbogy. The Provost and bailies of the town that day took the barque and men in her, purposing to have her and the company in her [sent] to Leith to be delivered to the King, but the wind turned and thereby they were driven to take forth the men and commit them to the Tolbooth. They found in this barque, besides the mariners, two Englishmen, one Spaniard and a Scottishman, with five barrels of salt, and without any other merchandise or freight. The mariners said that they were of Calais, and, being bound for Norway, they took in these passengers at Calais. One of the Englishmen was greatly honoured amongst them. Some of the town think him to be the Earl of Westmorland, and, being asked if he knew me, he said he knew me very well; but he will not see or speak with me. The Scottishman said that Mr. James Gordon took with him one "budgett," but what was in it he knows not. On the 6th instant Angus and Errol with 200 horsemen came near to Aberdeen, demanding delivery of the four persons in prison, namely [*i.e.* particularly] of the Englishmen, saying they would rather lose their own lives than that the Englishmen should be endangered, and they threatened to burn the town if they would not deliver the prisoners; which the town utterly denied. Afterwards Auchindoun came to the town persuading the Provost and bailies in Huntly's name to deliver these prisoners to him to be carried to Huntly, who had assembled his forces and would forcibly take the prisoners and burn the town if they should deny his request. Yet the town still detains the prisoners and this messenger left them in the Tolbooth on the 18th instant. But he heard that Huntly and the other Earls were coming to the town with forces, and that the town could not resist their power. They have no little interest or favour in that town, and it is deemed thereby that these persons detained have not been narrowly examined or straitly dealt with, neither shall they be brought thither, as is required by the Kirk. This have I written at more length that in the variety of many reports you may understand the effects opened by this messenger to this Council and the ministers here, and I have been driven thus long to defer the advertisement of the first arrival by the occasion of my journey to Linlithgow.

The King is now minded to send the Secretary with greater speed to her Majesty, notwithstanding that I have covertly with the King and the Secretary wished the stay thereof in regard that the especial errand will be to seek more money. The King and Council affirm that they cannot by any possible means

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1594. in their power seasonably suppress these Earls and their parties without her Majesty's support, whereof, nevertheless, I have given little comfort.

I have been informed that Donald MacConnall Gorme (Mackonell Gorham) has gathered great forces in the West Isles of Scotland and has passed to Mull, there to receive " of " the people of that isle under MacLean to pass into Ireland to aid O'Neil in his rebellion.

[*In the margin :* I am newly informed at this present that Donald Gorme remains at Mull and Jura (Dura), that his company does not exceed 800 men, and that he is there for other purpose than for Ireland.] By some I have been advised that O'Neil was in person " at " O'Donell, making very large offers, and thereon O'Donel in person has gone with 80 " lonfaddis " * carrying 1500 shot and 2500 bowmen and other footmen to the number of 4000. But hereof I cannot learn any certainty, notwithstanding that I have conferred with sundry of the Council and many others of good intelligence, by whom I am given to understand that O'Donell with some forces passed to the Isle of Mull, wherein his purpose is not yet known whether he remains at Mull or not, or whether he seeks (as some suppose) revenge for the late " heryshipp " done in Lochaber by Argyll's forces. In this your lordship will be shortly and certainly advertised, if he has gone indeed into Ireland.

Bothwell, Argyll and Atholl have not besieged the King and Mar in Stirling, as by wrong information and by the late and sudden repair of Lord Hume to the King it has been advertised, as I perceive by your lordship's letter. I am informed that Bothwell has been some while quietly in Liddisdale before and after the King's return to Stirling on the 6th. His future course and purposes are not known to me. Neither can I learn perfectly that he has assented to join with these forfeited Earls, as some report, and wherein the King told me that Bothwell lately spoke with Angus and Errol in Fife and concluded to " partye " and join with them and their friends, and to concur with Huntly, whose society the other two Earls wholly embrace. Albeit I showed that at the time when Bothwell was bruited to have met with Angus and Errol [he] was in Liddisdale, yet the King would not be satisfied therewith. Further, whereas the party before licensed by the King to travail with Ochiltree was in good hope to have obtained some ease for Bothwell [*see p.* 374], now he has found the King so resolute against him that his hope is clean frustrated and he has given over dealing further in that desperate cause. What this shall work in Bothwell and others is not yet known. Some other will, I trust, inform you more largely and certainly in Bothwell's affairs.

Argyll is partly persuaded by Mar to come to the baptism of the Prince, if he shall not be stayed by new troubles. Atholl is contented with the limits and condition of his free ward, and Mar has returned from Argyll to the King. Lord Hume (as I hear) has been at Lord Gray's house at Fowlis, where it is said that he met with Huntly and others of that crew. Some suppose that he has got a share of Spanish gold, and by sundry he is noted to be lately much perplexed in his mind, but for what cause I have not heard any certainty.

It is certified by letter from the north that Huntly has levied 600 footmen in Caithness, Sutherland, and Strathnaver (Stratnaverne), and for their sustentation has appointed every plough under him to maintain one man. He threatens the ministers thereabouts so greatly that few of them dare lodge in their own houses, but seek refuge at the houses of religious barons. Herewith it is certified that Huntly looks to receive his greatest strength and force out of the south parts of Scotland (whereby Hume is had in the greater sus-

* *lonfaddes. lymphads :* galleys.

picion), and that the Earls will first take revenge on the ministers at Edinburgh and thereabouts before they deal with the ministers in the north, who they think lie always under their feet and at their pleasure.

Lady Huntly has retired to her husband. It has been thought that she obtained the King's hand to some confirmations of grants before passed, but the King plainly denies the same, and it is assured me that no such signature has been presented to the privy or great seal. The King of his own accord has deeply protested before the Council and sundry of the ministry that he is not under promise with any of these Earls in any manner, adding such large assurances of sincere proceeding that the ministers are much possessed therewith. Many of the Gordons and other suspected persons charged to appear before the King and Council have come hither after the day of their appearance, and remain here with such companies that the ministers persuade that good regard may be given to it. Such of them as are known to be well disposed shall be dismissed upon caution: the others shall be detained here until it shall be further known what course the Earls shall take.

The King returned from Stirling on the 15th, giving presence at several times to the ambassadors, first to those for Denmark, next to the ambassador for Brunswick, and lastly for Mecklenburg. Albeit the Council here and this town have earnestly moved the King that the baptism may be solemnized in Edinburgh, yet he will not draw it from Stirling, continuing in purpose to have it celebrated on 11th August.* Yet it is verily thought that the castle at Stirling cannot be well prepared before the end of August.

For the redress demanded by me in Border causes he has again referred me to the commissioners, and they being ready to repair to him, suspend their answer to me until they shall be further furnished with the King's own pleasure and mind herein. The Secretary was mistaken in the names of the four ambassadors arrived here, as will appear by comparing his note enclosed,† with my last letter. Mr. David Foulis returned hither on the 16th and has given out high praises of her Majesty and of her great kindness and love towards the King. I wish that his former services had been rewarded with some token of good acceptance for his encouragement, for he has place and power to do especial offices for her Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Bothwell (Argonartes) protests the continuance of his devotion to the Queen of England (America). I send enclosed a copy of the French King's letter to the King of Scots. By one coming to me after the writing of this I am newly advertised that the Englishman taken to be the Earl of Westmorland is Sir William Stanley.

5¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Notes in the margin in Burghley's hand.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Andrew Leitch, Moderator, and the Presbytery of Angus and the Mearns to the Presbytery of Edinburgh.)

Being credibly informed by our brethren of the Synod of Aberdeen of the present danger wherein the Kirk, especially in these north parts, stands through the desperate plots and bloody attempts of the forfeited lords, disclosed by some privy to their counsels and confirmed by the arrival at Aberdeen, on the 16th instant, of Mr. James Gordon, furnished with such things as have not a little animated them, we advertise you hereof

* *In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "The baptism to be the xv of Aug."
† Now amissing.

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1594. that travail may be taken with his Majesty to put present remedy to their imminent danger. If this matter be "overpassed" till his Majesty's own presence be obtained, we fear that the delay will prejudice greatly the good cause, and therefore we advise you to travail with his Majesty to establish some well affected nobleman in the north parts with power of lieutenancy to repress their attempts and fortify our brethren, for the present in great distress. Brechin, 17th July. *Signed:* Andro Lech, Moderatour.

½ *p. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(Henry IV. to James VI.).

Since the arrival of Wemyss he has found me so much hindered by the siege of Laon and in preparing for a battle with which my enemies threatened me from day to day (*empeschu tant au seige . . . . lue apourveoir a une battaille dont mes enemes me menassoyent*) that I have not yet been able to despatch him. I was infinitely glad to hear your news by him, and will despatch him as soon as my affairs permit along with a gentleman of my own to assist at the baptism of your son. "Escript au campe devant Laon." 11th July.

⅓ *p. French. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Unsigned. Endorsed by Burghley.*

July 21. **295.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Your last letter, of the 13th instant, touching Herries [No. 285], I received here on the 20th at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, after the King had departed to Linlithgow, towards Stirling. Whereupon I followed timely "on the next morrowe," and, finding the King at Linlithgow, I had access to him in the afternoon, and opened to him the full contents of your letter, concluding that her Majesty looks for greater kindness than to suffer Herries to come so near and have authority in that Wardenry. Wherein he first acknowledged that by his letter to her Majesty he had indeed discovered Herries to have been the person practising with Parma, and that Herries had dealt earnestly with himself in that matter; further, that Hamilton had moved him to give that office to Herries, and thereon he had put him in for some time and at the King's pleasure; and because he perceives that her Majesty cannot "lyke" of him, he will therefore discharge him and put in another to her contentment. All other matters and occurrents here I have certified by my letter to Lord Burghley. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 23. **296.** ARRIVAL OF JESUITS IN SCOTLAND.

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 155–6.

"Act of secret counsell maid at Edinburgh the 23 * daye of July, 1594."

The King's Majesty, finding that the Jesuits have returned accompanied by strangers, and supplied with money to stir up war even at the time of the baptism, wills and requires all ministers to labour with his subjects for the resisting of the same; to move them to convene to deliberate on the best means to repress the enemy; and to prepare themselves with armour and victuals to pass forward with the King upon warning.

1 *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed:* "23 July 1594, act of Secret Councell at Edinborough."

* Dated 22nd July in *Register of Privy Council.*

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297. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesternight I received advertisement from Aberdeen that on Friday last, the 18th, Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, with 700 horsemen and some footmen, came before Aberdeen, and demanded the delivery as well of the three strangers then detained in the Tolbooth as also of the barque and all her company; and because the town made some difficulty in making delivery, therefore these traitors sent a letter in such proud form as by the copy enclosed will appear. Hereupon the town resolved to make delivery on the "next morrowe at six of the clocke in the forenoone." But the rebels would not be satisfied without immediate delivery, and thereon with their whole forces they came to the links adjoining the town, causing the horsemen to put their horses from them and with the footmen to assault the town. Upon the first sight whereof the town agreed to deliver the prisoners and all things; which was then presently executed to the full contentment of the rebels.

Yesterday the Council here was both made acquainted with these actions and also pressed by some of the ministers here to persuade the King to levy and send with all possible expedition a sufficient force against these rebels. The Chancellor showed himself very forwards, granting that of necessity force must be employed, and wishing every one of the Council then present to manifest himself and what assistance he would give in this action. He offered for his part to attend upon the King with 50 horsemen, whereof thirty should be furnished with muskets, and at his own expenses to remain in that service until it should be finished. The Master of Glamis persuaded immediate employment of forces, but he thought it dangerous to hazard the King's person, as it is told me. Sir Robert Melvill followed the Master's opinion, and the residue of the Council spoke little in the matter, passing it over without any such particular offer as was made by the Chancellor. Yet it is intended that some determinate resolution shall be taken herein before the despatch of the Secretary, who prepares to set out on the 26th or 27th; in which, as before signified, I give little or no comfort in regard that before prosecuting any action against these Earls this ambassador shall be employed chiefly to seek money.

Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Rollock, ministers in Edinburgh, and Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of the King's ministers, are sent by this Presbytery to move the King to proceed with force against these rebels without delay. I am informed this day that a Spaniard of good quality came in the company of the persons arrived with gold at Montrose and has remained ever since with Huntly, who used to give him very high honour; that this Spaniard is sent as ambassador by the King of Spain to the King of Scots [and] to entreat him to suffer the Earls of Angus, Huntly and Errol to be present at the delivery and opening of the commission given by the King of Spain to this ambassador, who had prepared rich apparel for himself and to have therein done his services; and that now he shall be returned into Spain without further progress in his embassage. It is given out in Aberdeen (as I am advertised) that the three strangers arrived there are ambassadors to the King in favour of these rebels, whose letter partly confirms this report. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—One of the Englishmen now delivered to the rebels is called John Carr and the other Robert Wilson, but their true names or persons are not yet known here. Some think that Morgan, noted to be a great practiser, is one of them.

2 *pp.* *Addressed.* *Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

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1594.

Enclosure with the same.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 340–1.

(Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun to the Provost, Bailies, etc., of Aberdeen.)

Considering that, against the laws of nations and without any order of justice, at the desire of some of our enemies, or of malice undeserved by us, you have taken and imprisoned three strangers, gentlemen who have come into the country, as we are informed, from other Christian princes to sue most humbly of his Majesty some ease of our distressed estates, therefore as we have travailed by all honest and fair means "thir dayes bypast" for their relief, so now we certify you by this present that unless the gentlemen, with their whole equipage, be put to liberty and delivered to us, we will not only esteem you as our enemies in all time coming, but will instantly pursue you, your bodies, goods and gear with fire and sword and all other kind of hostility and it shall be a perpetual quarrel so long as our houses or posterity shall last. Thus remitting the rest to your judgment, unless we be instantly satisfied we send you these presents for a discharge of all assurances by past and bid you be "at your advantage." 19th July 1594.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.* Another copy, with slight textual variations, is given separately as vol. 53, No. 78.

Another copy, Cott. Calig., D.ii., fo. 199.

July 24. **298.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

The Catholic lords have imposed upon their tenants either to furnish an armed man on horseback for half a year or a footman for a whole year, or else to give so much ready money as will wage either of these for such time. The King sent for twenty merchants of this town and ten men of law to resort to him to Stirling with all diligence, each man being commanded under pain of highest displeasure not to depart without licence. He has "proponit" to each of them in particular to lend him 1000*l.* of our Scottish money. After common consultation among them they were severally called and have all answered *nolumus*. The King, angry, called again to the number of thirty and desired fifteen of them to furnish him with 30,000*l.* within eight days, and the other fifteen to be sureties to the rest for him to repay it within a year and a day. They also refused unless he would cause the one fifteen to swear never to recal it until the time that the King should have that sum ready to give them, for their safety, which they "suppoine" will be *ad Grœcas calendas*.

The Danish ambassadors have been so sumptuous in their householding since their arrival (which has all been upon the King's charge) that he, finding himself "superexpended," has devised secretly to cause the lords, barons and gentlemen of Lothian to invite them each one after the other to their houses till the very day of the baptism.

The magistrates of Aberdeen apprehended all the men accompanying Mr. James Gordon, but on the morn the Catholic lords demanded the men, which they refused. Afterwards came the knight of Auchindoun and desired the men to be delivered to him, in the name of the Earl of Huntly; otherwise the Earl would come in person to burn the town. Then they rendered the men by a "pollicie." They desired the lords to pass to their lodgings in peaceable manner and they should keep no watches in the town that night, to the effect that they might enter in at the prison door more easily at their own pleasure. Which they did, and carried the men away. There is among

them one man of reputation, who is a councillor to Duke Ernestus, for certain, and Father Holt, Englishman. The lords are presently in Aberdeen: they raise many forces and scour along all the coast side, expecting the subsidy of strangers. The Duke of Lennox is deadly sick. Edinburgh.

1 *p., last four lines written on the back. No signature, fly-leaf or endorsement.*

July 26. **299.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

Sir William Stanley has come to be general of the companies to be taken up here. He is going to Ireland for forces from thence. There is a Fleming, one of the Council of Spain and to Ernestus, by whose directions all must be conducted. He is a perfect pilot. The Catholic lords have already 1000 horsemen, 500 "hagbutteres" and 500 bowmen, with steel cap and coat of mail. These Catholics have their messengers presently abroad among their friends seeking support of men, and like to obtain many. The remedy of this has been debated these four days in Council. The ministers were earnest to have the people raised. The King seeing no other remedy, all his "exceptiones" failing him, devised these two shifts: one, to give them power by a decree of Council to solicit their parishioners to know their zeal and readiness in this purpose, the other, that presently an ambassador should be sent to England desiring aid of money and men. The King's "exceptiones" were these; first, the urgent necessity of the honourable entertainment of the ambassadors for the baptism of the Prince, at which it behoved him to be present in person. Secondly, the approach of harvest, when it would be pernicious to a commonwealth to convocate an army to the field before the corn was "inned," for fear by destruction thereof of engendering a dearth, which is already too extreme here. Thirdly, the storms would increase immediately after harvest and be an impediment for any army to pass through these mountains of the north, and, therefore, if his counsel were followed, all should be deferred till springtime. The burghs of Scotland are directing men northward presently, but no notable chieftain of experience or zeal can be had. Lord Hamilton was moved to accept the lieutenancy, but he has refused *simpliciter*. Some have nominated Lord Lindsay for his great zeal and affection to religion, but others esteem it ridiculous.

It is supposed by some, and openly spoken in Council, that the Catholic lords increase so fast in their forces that they may some morning carry away from Stirling the King and young Prince without great impediment. Some hold this an evil "presaginge," esteeming Stirling unfortunate, in respect of the old proverb of that town, "*Sterling ab initio nequam.*" The Catholic lords expect good assistance from the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland, Caithness being by the mother full brother to Francis Earl Bothwell, and brother-in-law to George Earl of Huntly, Sutherland having to wife Huntly's aunt, both of them Catholics. Their forces were not joined with Huntly's and the rest on Wednesday, but they are certainly in readiness to join "with opportunitie of boatinge," which is scant and "langsum" among these ferries. Edinburgh.

1¼ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 26. **300.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 109–110.

These few lines I put only in your hands, to go no further than her Majesty and Lord Burghley. It is certain that the King has conceived a great jealousy of the Queen, which burns the more the more he covers it. The Duke is the

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1594. principal suspected. The Chancellor casts in materials to this fire. The Queen is forewarned, but with the like cunning will not excuse till she be accused. *Hœc sunt incendia malorum*, and the end can be no less tragical than was betwixt his parents. The Prior of Pluscarden (Pluscardy), President of the Session, the Queen's greatest counsellor, is by her indirectly stirred up to counterpoise the Chancellor, whom she blames "of" all these slanders, and the Chancellor is indirectly supported by the other, both the Princes holding the wolf by the ears; "for which soever of thame prevaill, or if the destruction of one bring on the destruction of th'other, boyth the Chancillour and President have apperant evasions; for the governement thai look sall fall of the young Prince to the hous of Hammilton, and the Chancillour hes maried the Lord Hammiltons niece, and the Presedent is to the Lord Claud Hammilton brother in law."

The young Baron of Fingask is either there or to be shortly. I think he will, as his duty is, say his best for the King and excuse his hard speeches of Lord Burghley and yourself, and seriously "say for" his sincerity towards religion and amity. But, being a "religius, honest gentill man," and one that I hear has reported very honourably of yourself, if you demand his opinion what factions are in our court, he cannot, "being a litell twiched tharon, deny the former jelosy, with mony moir emulations;" and if you demand how far men may of honesty affirm his Majesty's sincerity I think he shall not wish protestations to be trusted on the King's behalf, "till tyme, the parent of treuth, try the same."

If support be sought against the Papists, let it be demanded: What support did the King need to take, imprison and torment some of Huntly's most secret servants, daily haunting at Court, till they reveal the verity of these foreign practices? In so much as at the last Parliament the barons and landed men of Fife, Angus, Lothian, Strathearn and Mearns offered to furnish his Majesty "to" the journey against the Papists, and to hazard their lives with him, why did he refuse their offer or prolong the said pursuit? Why, hearing of this frigate at Aberdeen, rode he not with such zeal as he does against Bothwell, seeing they, having the universal hatred of the Church and people, would be more easily overthrown? The gentleman, being both honest and religious, I hope can not but resolve you herein. All other matters I have written apart, according to my former custom, to be also perused by your lordship. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 26. **301.** HENRY STEWART OF WHITELAW TO MR. JOHN COLVILLE.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 261–262.

My lord [Bothwell], going to Edinburgh (Ednbrowche) on the 20th, specially commanded me to pray you to keep "forwart intellegence" there in England according to the conclusion betwixt you. For the dealing with that estate he "leyis" [relies] only on you, promising that what you say in his name shall be as if he sealed and subscribed it; and as he deals at home with others, he will advertise you from time to time by me. He understands that sundry ill reports will be made of him, to which he prays you "oppone" yourself, since you know his "mand" in all things. Liddisdale. *Signed:* "Your lowing sowne, H. Stewart of Qwhytlawe."

¼ *p. Holograph. Addressed:* "To my father, Mr. Johnne Colwille."

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302. JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Being informed that " umquhile " Richard Bowes, Captain of Norham, was taken prisoner in the last wars betwixt England and Scotland, and that for his liberty " umquhile " James Lawsoun of Humby, " upoun courtessye," became caution and gave band for his re-entry under the penalty of 1000 crowns, which, through violation of that band, he was constrained to pay, as the decreet given thereanent will bear record; for relief whereof, although oftentimes suit has been made at the hands of the said " umquhile " Richard, his heirs and successors, yet could the same never be had, which has moved us hereby to request you to give order for refunding that sum to the said " umquhile " cautioner's heirs, who has [*sic*; *?* have] a friend there with commission to attend on that suit and to receive your good answer thereanent. Edinburgh. *Signed*: James R.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 27. **303.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Forasmuch as this bearer, Sir Richard Cockburn, Knight, Lord Secretary to the King here, has given approved testimonies of his sincere affection in religion and for preservation of the happy amity, and is free from all and any faction in this realm, and also so familiarly acquainted with the King's present affairs, estate and mind, that with best surety and sufficiency he can inform her Majesty in all the particularities thereof for her good contentment and the advancement of the King's desires, and forasmuch as during this time of my service here he has showed his affectionate devotion with performance of many good and fruitful offices to and for her Majesty, yielding daily and profitable benefits and aid to myself, therefore by these presents I commend him to your lordship's favourable courtesies, that agreeable to his worthiness he may receive her Majesty's gracious and good countenance. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 27. **304.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Commends Sir Richard Cockburn to him in the same terms as the preceding.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 27. **305.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. 52, p. 86. Lest you think your letters miscarry or are neglected, I will make some answer to that which I have received, and my Lord [Burghley] has directed me to answer yours to him. Her Majesty is very glad that Hamilton shall have that office of wardenry of the West Marches of Scotland, the accomplishment whereof she wills you to further by all good means. But where he desires to be helped by the Queen with some provision for Dumbarton, I find her Majesty not willing so to deny him as if she neglected him, but according to your discretion [she wishes you] to make him some dilatory answer, wherein you may use this reason for one, that she finds the King so jealous of her that she would be loth to be discovered to have any inclination towards the strengthening of any place in his realm. You have often written desiring to be certified whether the divers offers made to you for the apprehension of men passing

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1594. to and from Flanders may be allowed or not; wherein I am commanded to answer that those services shall ever be well interpreted and warranted, being carried with discretion and moderation. As to mediation by the Earl of Cumberland or any other for Bothwell, her Majesty is not minded to deal with the King, for she will give him no cause of jealousy, especially now, "being to see" an issue of his promises. Nevertheless you may advise him to use all good means to recover the King's favour; on condition that it be wrought without her disclosing herself as a dealer for him, she would be very glad. Sir Thomas Parry shall have order to deal with the King for Mr. James Murray, when he comes to the baptism for your relief, as is thoroughly resolved. According to your desire Mr. J[ohn] C[olville] has had some remembrance by my means, whom indeed I find both honest and wise. The Court at Greenwich.

1¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "A copie of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes the xxviith of July concerning the Lord Hambleton."

July 28. **306.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By the persuasion of the ministers sent to Stirling (whereof I made mention in my last), the King returned hither to Edinburgh to deliberate with the Council here for the time and order of his pursuit against Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun. It is concluded that the King in person shall enter on his raid on 26th August, and proclamation shall be made to attend upon him at places and times limited, as may be seen by the enclosed copy of the proclamation. Because the Kirk, barons and burghs have with great earnestness pressed that sufficient forces may be "indelatelye" sent under the conduct of fit persons against these rebels, therefore the King has given commission of lieutenancy to Argyll, Atholl and Forbes jointly and severally, in such form and substance as will appear by the enclosed copy. Albeit this commission of lieutenancy is already formed and is to be speedily carried to Argyll first, and afterwards to the other two, yet the King by his letter (as I am credibly informed) has directed Argyll either to enter on his journey before 11th August, on which day the King is purposed to solemnize the baptism of the Prince (which peradventure, and as many think, shall be deferred until the 18th), or else that Argyll, Atholl and Forbes shall stay their raid personally against the rebels and keep their forces in readiness to attend upon the King in his expedition. For this purpose another commission shall also be given, as warrant to these three noblemen, that they may make their choice to go forwards in person at the time prescribed, or to suspend their raid and attend on the King at his coming forwards. The King has sent (as I hear) William Elphinston, his servant, with his letter to Argyll with his mind and pleasure herein. At this time Argyll is in the far parts of Argyle and has in readiness 2000 footmen, which he intended of his own accord to have sent forth (as it is told me) against Huntly. The King has been earnest to have him present at the baptism, which he is loth to perform, yet it is thought that by the condition and straitness of time prescribed he will choose to stay his journey until the King shall take the field. It was moved that two ministers of especial quality should be sent to persuade him to accept the lieutenancy with the other two noblemen, and without delay to prosecute the rebels. But the King did not hearken (as I hear) to that motion, which had beginning with my privity. Besides, the King has sent Mr. Patrick Galloway, one of his ministers, to Atholl both to take order with the Earl that he levy his forces

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1594. in the north parts and forbear to come within thirty miles "to" the King, and also give caution for his good behaviour thereafter. It is said that Huntly has lately harried some part of Atholl's possessions in Balveny, and that albeit the same may justly prick him forwards against Huntly, yet, in regard of the King's letter and message to Argyll, and this kind of dealing to himself, he will stay himself and forces to attend on the King, agreeable to the commission given in that behalf. Further, I perceive that Forbes will accept the office of lieutenancy with Argyll and Atholl, but only if they both will do the like. Thus, for the present, it is verily looked that the pursuit against these traitors shall be referred wholly to the personal expedition of the King, who surely shows great forwardness herein, offering to do all and every thing that shall be thought expedient, yea, to lea[ve] the solemnities of the baptism and immediately to ride with his forces against the rebels if necessary. Nevertheless the pursuit against those traitors is so long prolonged, and the memory of the fruitless raid made by the King at Aberdeen against the same persons works such suspicion and distrust, that some of the barons and gentlemen lately convened at Edinburgh have plain enough uttered their distrust of any good success or profit likely to follow on the King's personal action herein. Some (as I hear) have been of opinion that if Argyll, Atholl and Forbes refuse to proceed "indelatelye" in the office of lieutenancy, then the action against the rebels must be taken in hand after the manner of the Scottish Reformation. For the advance whereof some wished that, if any aid should be required of and granted by her Majesty, it should not be given in money, but "with" men and forces to be sent into the north of Scotland to daunt the insolency of those proud traitors and to rase their houses without regard to feuds, as was done both by the Earl of Sussex against divers noblemen in Scotland and also by Sir William Drury and the English forces against the Hamiltons.* It was further there wished that if her Majesty would yield support to the King at this time with money, the same might be used only to increase the number of the mercenary soldiers to be levied against those rebels.

By the advice of the Chancellor (Menelaus) it is thought very requisite to cause her Majesty to give especial instructions to the Earl of Cumberland to persuade the King effectually in her name to hasten his journey against the Earls, agreeable to his own promises to the Kirk, and for the common benefit of all the common causes. This advice your lordship may "expeid" as shall be seen convenient. The Chancellor's late and open actions have won him great favour from the Kirk and hatred of the attainted Earls. He has engaged himself and credit very far both for the furtherance of the cause against the Earls and also for some ease, with conditions, to be granted to Bothwell, wherein he has been esteemed to have been very prodigal of the King's life. Thereunto he has answered that the King's life is more precious, yet his own is dear to himself, who in the journey with the King will adventure life and all that he has, knowing well that his life shall be earnestly sought and not spared if it may be gotten.

Sundry of the barons and burgesses of Edinburgh and of the sheriffdom thereof have convened at Edinburgh upon call of the Presbytery and session of the Kirk, and have frankly showed their readiness to ser[ve] in person or contribute in money against the traitorous Earls. This assembly chiefly desired sufficient forces to be raised and sent with all speed. It is accorded that the burghs shall send forth 600 footmen, and the noblemen, barons and gentlemen 300 horsemen, whereof 100 horsemen shall be employed for the defence and

* A reference to English intervention in the civil wars in Scotland between 1570 and 1573.

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1594. service of Edinburgh, which burgh is contented to furnish and keep 300 shot and 100 pikes for this service.

On Friday, the 19th, Huntly entered Aberdeen with sixteen persons to testify that he so trusted the town that he looked for no great guard. He received the prisoners, the ship and equipage "at x^{en} in th'afternoone," and with Angus, Errol, Auchindoun, Mr. Walter Lindsay and others returned that night to Old Aberdeen, and on the morrow departed, directing the ship to come to the mouth of Spey, where she lies at anchor with one other barque before prepared by the Earls. Their number by the report of Saunders Forbes was esteemed to be 700 horsemen with some footmen, but they are now found to exceed very little 200 horsemen in all. They are levying men in all places, and I am informed that they have sent to noblemen and friends in the south parts of Scotland to wage for them horsemen and footmen. None of the Gordons, save only the Laird of Buckie, accompanied Huntly at Aberdeen. The Earl of Caithness's youngest brother was with him. The Provost of Aberdeen, suspected to be a confederate, is charged to appear before the King and Council, but it is generally thought that he shall sustain little hurt, notwithstanding that his actions are manifestly seen to be evil. Huntly has sent hither William Troup, his old and busy solicitor, and Alexander Duff, his servant. They have both been with the King, as it is told me. It is informed that Duff brought hither in a "budgett" of sealskins a good portion of gold, and that it has fallen into some coffers in Court. The ministers prayed that he may be well examined, and, albeit it is readily granted, yet he passed freely without further check or trouble.

I have not yet received any certainty of Donald Gorme's passage into Ireland. This day Anthony Deringe, Englishman, newly come hither from Ireland, has showed to me that James Brady, an honest burgess of Irvine (Urwin), told him that he was in the Isles on the 17th instant and saw Donald ready (as was there said) to sail to Ireland with 4000 footmen to aid O'Neil, whom Donald Gorme called King of Ireland. I have made diligent search herein and conferred with some of Argyll's followers, some islanders and of the north. I have spoken with the King and sundry councillors herein, yet I cannot find forth the full truth.

Bothwell (Argonartes) has written to me (Antonius) to such effect as you will see by the enclosed copy. By other means I am confidently informed that there is no such band or confederacy amongst those persons as has been generally given out, and the informers seek earnestly to persuade me in the same, offering to endure all shame and punishment if their information shall be justly disproved. They have alleged some circumstances directly condemning some parts of these reports of their conjunction. Therefore I leave this to your experience and consideration.

I am credibly informed that the ambassador for the Duke of Mecklenburg will both move the King earnestly in favour of Bothwell and also travail with others of the ambassadors to join with him, and that they will not only require that Bothwell, his wife and children may be restored to lands and livings, in regard that the King receives no profit thereof, but that he also offers to "carye and intertayne" Bothwell with the Duke and his friends in honourable estate during the King's pleasure; further, that they will exhort the King to proceed "effectuouslie" against the rebellious Earls and other Papists; that one of the ambassadors for the King of Denmark is already purposed, with apt opportunity, to assay the King for Bothwell's relief upon honourable respects to the King; and it is thought that the ambassadors of the Low Countries shall join in both the behalfs expressed. All this I wholly commend to the

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sight of the sequel and to the consideration of the Earl's request that Cumberland may have direction to travail with the King for him in her Majesty's name.

At my late access to the King I "entred" to call for redresses for the attempts on the Borders, wherein again he has referred me to his commissioners for Border causes. After this I persuaded the continuance of his abode in this town with the Council until he had fully perfected the resolutions to be taken for the pursuit against his rebels, wishing that he would send to Argyll and Atholl persons well qualified to exhort and draw them to proceed with all speed in the commission of lieutenancy, and that he would by timely actions perform his promises given to the Kirk and people. To all which he answered: first, that he had already furnished all things to be concluded by himself, his Council and the ministers for the cause against the rebels. Secondly, he had "determinately" resolved to prosecute this cause in his own person, by his lieutenants, by all means in his power, with all expedition, and as soon as sufficient forces could be gathered to attend upon him, being determined to go forward with the forces coming to him, be they never so small. He had timed his raid in the end of August, to the intent he may then find corn and forage for his army. Thirdly, to hasten the employment of forces to be "indelately" sent against these forfeited persons he had given his commission of lieutenancy to Argyll, Atholl and Forbes jointly and severally, and by his letter and message by William Elphinston he had sought to draw Argyll to execute the office with all expedition. Likewise, he had sent Mr. Patrick Galloway to induce Atholl to take this office, to levy his forces in convenient places, and to draw them northwards only against the enemy; upon the good accomplishment whereof he would pass over Atholl's faults and extend his favour to him. Fourthly, according to his promises he would enter into immediate action, assuring me that he would leave nothing undone which with his power might advance this cause.

Whilst I was thus with the King the Secretary came to him. Whereupon the King told me that the Secretary was ready to enter the next day on his journey. After I had wished that his errands might make him as welcome as his qualities merited, I recounted the heavy burden of the present charges sustained by her Majesty for religion in France, the Low Countries and this Isle, concluding that any request for money at her hands at this time might therefore be deemed unseasonable. He answered that her Majesty was well enough acquainted with the errands of the King of France, of himself and of other princes seeking her support in cases of necessity and for the common causes, and that the Secretary should show her important causes to move her to tender his need and request. He had written to her Majesty, and his Secretary should both enlarge the same and also inform her of the designs of these traitorous Earls, of the names and qualities of the persons arrived at Montrose and Aberdeen, and of all their doings and intentions. He seemed to me to be of opinion that the late Earl of Westmorland or Sir William Stanley had not come into Scotland in the barque landed at Aberdeen or in any other place, but that Philip Morgan was one of the Englishmen therein, and that the Earls chiefly honour the Fleming and, next, Morgan. In the particular certainty and truth of all this the Secretary, who purposes to be at Berwick to-morrow, will so fully satisfy her Majesty and your lordship that I, wanting the assurance thereof, refer all to his report. Yet I cannot omit that some wise men here, by the information of their friends in the north, think that this Fleming or Spaniard is sent hither to be ambassador for the King of Spain to the King here, and that Sir William Stanley is with Huntly, and,

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1594. having given direction for the order for the levy of armour and weaponing of the forces to be gathered in this realm (of all which it is said that he shall have the leading), he is to repair to the west coast of this realm and from thence to put over into Ireland to amass there and bring hither such Irish forces as can be drawn together, and therewith to return to the Earls within twenty days. It is further added that Alexander Duff and William Troupe have at great length opened to the King all the secrets of the Earls, and that thereon the King, by means, has made it known to some that golden hills are offered to him, and that large portion of gold is proffered to be delivered to him at his pleasure and time to be assigned for the same. In all which particularities your lordship shall, I trust, be sufficiently satisfied by the ambassadors for the King, together with the certainty of all such further enterprises as the Earls shall hereafter intend to attempt.

At the conclusion hereof I was confidently informed that Huntly bargained with the Master of Gray for the keeping of Borthwick * Castle, near Dundee, and has given him 10,000*l.* Scots for the same. It is since advertised by honest burgesses in Dundee that, this bargain coming to the ears of some of the magistrates, they are in fear that Huntly will fortify the same place near the town wherein the Englishmen before built their fortifications,* and that afterwards the Spaniards shall be received in the same.

Finally, as by my letter commendatory I have written in favour of the ambassador, having indeed received by his means great help for the profit of her Majesty's service here, therefore I beseech you so to honour himself, howsoever his errands shall succeed, that he may find that I have had thankful memory of his goodwill, and that his good offices are also thankfully accepted by her Majesty and your lordship. Some good countenance likewise to be given to Mr. George Douglas, servant to the Queen here and a gentleman of good quality and approved devotion to her Majesty, will much profit the service of any of her Majesty's servants in this realm. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

$6\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil. Notes in the margin in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Proclamation by James VI.)

Abstract in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 157–158. Inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. p. 257.

Proclamation summoning a muster of the lieges at times and places stated for proceeding against the traitor lords on 31st August, with faculty to Sir Robert Melville, the Prior of Blantyre, and Sir James Melville to grant compositions to aged and infirm persons; the money to be spent upon the wages of horsemen. Edinburgh, 25th July 1594.

1 *large page. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(Commission by James VI.)

Abstract printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 157.

Commission appointing the Earls of Argyll and Atholl and Lord Forbes his lieutenants in the north with power for repression of Jesuits and traitors, and ordering all lieges dwelling within the bounds of the commission to assist the said commissioners. Edinburgh, 25th July 1594.

1 *large page. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

* Broughty Castle, held for Protector Somerset from September 1547 to February 1549–50. (See *Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*; Scot. Hist. Soc., 1927.)

1594. Third enclosure with the same.

([Bothwell] to [Robert Bowes].)

Innumerable reports have come to my ears, to my no small regret, of your honour's misconstruction of my true and most sincere intention, in so far that your honour should already have almost fully concluded my conjunction with the Papists, with some hard speeches to the prejudice of her Majesty and her estate. Therefore, by these presents I certify the contrary, offering upon your lordship's warrant to enter into your house at Edinburgh, there to be tried by your honour and the ministry to the uttermost. Wherein, if I be found culpable, let me be delivered into his Majesty's hands as a traitor to both your estates, and, if innocent, it is hard "for so small benifittis to underlay sic aprobreys." Yet shall I be willing to abide patiently so long as hope may be, and as I have promised to her Majesty. If I find not some "soulagement" before that time, let not my subsequent proceedings be accounted as "unhonestly" done or undutifully, but by enforcement. Thus far I have thought good to acquaint your honour, promising during the time aforesaid to rest free of faction, as since my exile I have done, ever carrying the mind of a faithful servant to her Majesty so far as lawfully I may, and to your lordship [the mind] of a special friend. 26th July.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

July 29. **307.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 111.

I write now with certainty that Mr. James Gordon has brought in money and that he has put these Papist lords in sure hope of strangers before the end of harvest. For preventing whereof, as I wrote in my last, the ministry has been at his Majesty, and it is concluded that, as he cannot go against them himself before the baptism, Argyll, Atholl, Forbes and MacIntosh shall be lieutenants, that the burghs shall furnish 600 hagbutters and the barons 400 horse, and that the King shall follow immediately after the baptism. This conclusion has well pleased the Church, and they think it shall content you. It is true that Edinburgh is busy to furnish out their extent, but it is all men's opinion that the baptism will be past before the barons can convene and lift their men. The Secretary will come up with these and other plausible promises, providing you will give him money, as though the cause were properly yours and not his [*i.e.* the King's]. Let him not think he would be out of danger of King Philip but for your cause; but rather urge that, since they are like to arrive first in his realm, where a great part of the nobility are ready to receive them, he is in the first danger, and so should rather invite others than be invited. Winning this point of him, he can then crave no more help of you in money or men than is contained in the League; or rather, it should persaude him, if he requires your help, to indent with you as the Protestants of France once did, or as the Estates of Flanders have lately done,—which is to put in your hands some strengths most fit to resist the enemy. Be not afraid that such coldness may move the King to take another course, for, assure yourself, his mind is with the Papists already, but that he seeth the crown pulled off his head and his son established if he join openly with them. If his country furnish him with 1000 men for two months (as is set down), and the power of his rebels prove more than this supply of his country can overthrow, then it were unkindly on your part to see him succumb in so just a cause. By that time, both his actions and our privy intelligence will make you sure of his meaning; if within these two months he alter for the better

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1594. by importunity of his people or otherwise, I will know it. But presently the Abbot of Lindores, the great Master of Ceremonies at this baptism, and Patrick Murray have letters going weekly betwixt the King and Huntly, and a man has promised me to do much to intercept one of the letters. By this man at least I shall know how soon the Papists are "degousted of" the King; and before that time money given him is but lost.

This morning I was informed that the baptism is "continued" [*i.e.* postponed] until 16th August. Bothwell, at his last going in, caused his brother Hercules write the enclosed letter. He is presently in Edinburgh; no end betwixt the Papists and him as yet. He is desirous "to spek" your ambassador at his bygoing; whereof let us know her Majesty's pleasure. Because his people of Liddisdale are prepared to make great incursions, I have dealt with him to stay them from doing any harm to her Majesty's people, and he has promised that they shall be restrained by the request of any of her officers. It would not be amiss, therefore, to inform Mr. Governor to send Cuthbert Armour to him with a letter to that effect. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—I cannot hear where Mr. Dane is, therefore I pray you advertise me.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Red wax seal. Endorsed by Henry Lock:* "29 July 1594. Colvyll to me."

July 30. **308.** JAMES VI. TO LORD SCROPE.

Being informed that one Andrew Rome, our subject, being apprehended and detained in captivity for some offence committed within your bounds and jurisdiction of the Borders, offers redress and satisfaction and to set sufficient caution for that effect, we "effectuuslie" desire you to set him at liberty upon his band to be given in manner aforesaid. Stirling. *Signed:* James R.

¼ *p. Addressed. Endorsed:* "The Kinge of Scottes lettre to the Lord Scrope for release of Andrew Rhume, Scotsman, a prisoner at Carliell."

July 30. **309.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my last letter to Lord Burghley some of the Council have informed me that since the King's return to Stirling he has "referred" the solemnization of the baptism to the 18th of August, and thereof given notice yesternight to the Council here. May it therefore please you to acquaint your father and the Earl of Cumberland (to whom I have written thereof) with this change.

By my last to your father I have at large and in tedious manner certified the present condition of this estate, and since then little memorable matter has come to my knowledge. The King has quietly delivered to Lord Hamilton (as I hear) commission for the lieutenancy of the West Borders of Scotland, notwithstanding that the Council denied the same. He has called his friends together to know their minds for assistance in the execution of this office and on his journey into and abode in the West Marches, where he is sure to find very strong resistance by Johnstone and his friends, whom he purposes to pursue for the slaughter of Maxwell. His friends have agreed to furnish him with eight score horsemen for three months at their own charges, and to accompany him with all their other forces at his first entry. Yet some wise friends, and also myself, foreseeing his great danger in those parts, have earnestly persuaded him to stay his journey for a time. I have written sundry times that conside[ration] might be had of him and his good devotion to her

1594. Majesty. May it now please [you] to be a means that the resolution therein may be commended to Cumberland or to Sir Thomas Parry or other succeeding me in this service ?

I have been informed that by Huntly's means offer is made, in the name of the King of Spain, to give 40,000 crowns to the King of Scots to grant liberation in religion and remission to the forfeited Earls and their accomplices, and, in case his subjects shall thereon rebel or "disquiett," to give him 12,000 crowns monthly for a convenient time to enable him to subdue them. Further, if her Majesty shall assist and support his subjects against him or the Catholics, then the King of Spain will employ all his forces and uttermost power, with hazard of all his kingdoms, to aid him. These things have been distilled into such ears as are known to be likely to bring them to me, "and of which" I cannot sufficiently judge and discern. But thinking verily that the ambassador will open the particularities hereof with larger report, therefore I refer the same to his negotiation and leave the censure [*i.e.* judgment] thereof to the wise; Sir Richard Cockburn, presently ambassador, justly deserves honourable and thankful entertainment, howsoever his errand for money shall be liked. He is accompanied with George Douglas of Long Niddry, servant to the Queen here, and in great credit with her and with the well affected in this realm, and also with Mr. James Bellenden, a young gentleman of good expectation. These, "namely" [*i.e.* particularly] George Douglas, have ready will and good power to do good offices in this service for her Majesty; therefore yield them some token of thankful acceptation. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

July 30. **310.** SIR ROBERT MELVILL TO BURGHLEY.

Finding my Lord Secretary to be directed ambassador to those parts, I recommend him to you as my special friend and a gentleman of good commendation. The care that your lordship has ever had for the weal of both the realms will, I doubt not, be now sufficient argument rightly to consider the weighty affairs committed to his charge, and to move you to give your "helplie" offices to his good expedition. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Sir Robert Melvill.

½ p. *Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

July 30. **311.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 113–115.

In respect that I am willed by Bothwell to impart the following matter only to yourself, please let me have your own answer apart after knowledge of her Highness's pleasure. Let other demands and "occurrentis" be answered by Mr. Lock. Bothwell has lain this while at Edinburgh and thereabout. He has been marvellously "sollicit" by these Papist lords, their instruments being Sir James Chisholm and William Drummond, who "has gret intres in him of old acquentance." Hereupon arose all these bruits that he was appointed with them, which yet is not. At length they offered him (bringing in with him his "felowschip of Atholl" and the rest to be conjoined with them) the present delivery of 25,000 crowns, with the proviso that I were not put in the counsel thereof. He answered that if he "endit" with them, he should neither put me nor any unfriendly man on that counsel; but he would advise with indifferent persons and give them a "peremptory" [*i.e.* decisive] answer on 25th August. This he thought better than to give them plain refusal, for two causes: first and chief, to know her Majesty's mind before he embarked with

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1594. any; the other, lest, if he refused, the money might be given to some of your enemies. Hume is gaping for it, and has been in the north for that same effect, but Chisholm and Drummond, loving Bothwell more and knowing him to be of better action, would rather that it fell into his hands. On the 29th he returned and sent for me and opened this matter, regretting much his hard estate, being in heart and conscience tied only to you, and by necessities pressed other ways. He willed me to proffer to you his humble demands, that answer may be returned before 25th August; the rest of the demands to be set down apart, only the following to be put in your own hands, viz.:

That if her Majesty thought meet, he would receive of them the money foresaid and give his bond either to join with them at such time and with such numbers as they agree upon or else to refund their money; and with the money he would list men for possessing of the estate and pursuit of the said Papists; craving no more than that he may have as great a sum from her Majesty by one of her own (being sent to see "that money" bestowed for the service of religion and the amity), that he may reimburse them for saving his credit, together with some present consideration of his necessities until he may compass the matter. The cause moving him is that the Papists, reposing on him (for by his means only they mind to lift their horsemen, if this hold), may be the more easily overthrown, and he strengthened with their own weapons to do her Majesty service which by his own means he cannot do, and her Highness [may be] "excusabill" in his enterprises in that she may affirm that he was not furnished by her.

This purpose Bothwell delivered to me with such request of secrec y th once he would not have me to write it but go up with it, but I alleged that without commandment or permission I durst not. Next, said he, "Because it may appeir somewhat unhonest on my part, lett it only be proponed in generall,—what if a nobill man wold do suche a turn, how wold it be accepted?" But I deliver it *in hypothesi* to be answered as her Majesty thinks fit, thinking, till it be seen whether the King be sincere or not, not unmeet to keep this man "to be ane wage * of his awin wood to ryis him"; a man, to speak truth, though youthful and unsettled, yet, where he is "oblist" and promises, honest and loving, and the best enterpriser we have.

The King will mask himself well, if I "dismask" him not within a month. Craving pardon for my boldness, I expect your own answer to this letter with speed. Berwick. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—Answer this demand *in thesi*, that Bothwell may think I have proponed it so.

The King repents that he has made such convocation to the baptism, for, "upon" the jealousy mentioned in my last, he begins to doubt of the child. I think he had not been baptized at this time if so many Princes had not been invited. That matter takes deep root on both sides.

"*Nocte dieque suos gestant in pectore fates.*
Incautos perdet tacita flamma duos."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

July 30. **312.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 116–117.

On the 29th Bothwell returned from Edinburgh. He is now in Liddisdale. The Papist lords by means of Chisholm and Drummond offer him money

* *wage:* wedge. Colville proposes to use Bothwell, the King's kinsman, as a goad to prick the King forward against the rebels. The misreading of the words *not unmeet* (nocht wnmeit) obscures the meaning of this passage in the printed *Letters*.

1594. and great conditions, but he has deferred answer till 25th August. I have herewith sent his own letter for confirmation of all that I have alleged in his name; and also the petitions to which he craved answer before the 25th, together with my own opinion how he may be answered in some points.

As for our estate, as I wrote before, the King has satisfied the Church by directing commissions to Argyll, Atholl and Forbes against Huntly, *etc.* But Argyll must be at the baptism as Great Steward, and Atholl is limited within his own country under bond of great sums, which are not yet discharged, and Forbes lies so far off that he can hardly be advertised before the baptism; so all this is superficial. The King, to give occasion to the ambassadors of sudden departure, will pretend a sudden going against the Papists, but none of their houses shall either be demolished or put in their enemies' hands; for he will annex all their lands to his crown, and in their houses put his own officers, who will be as careful for their weal as their own servants, as there was example the last time his Majesty took Huntly's houses.

A great deal of money is come in, and more to come. The number of Spaniards expected is but 3000 or 4000, to come from Dunkirk. To haste them, one is again sent.

Mr. Forrett (who is even now returned from a dangerous journey, for he went to Aberdeen, thinking to have found his brother) would be hasted over to try this: by him you will hear many things which I cannot write.

The ambassador, "Mr." Richard, will mightily insist for money; but, as I wrote before, let not the King win that point of you, as though the cause were more yours than his. The King must go against these Papists or lose his crown, therefore you may behold without peril. I still recommend to you my lord's necessity more than my own. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—The three Earls have offered privily to the King 10,000 crowns upon some conditions; whether they be accepted or not I shall learn. My lord says "from" Chisholm that it is Stanley and Morgan that are arrived here.* Mr. Forrett takes journey on 3rd or 4th August. If Mr. Dane be there, have me commended and excused; and let me know where to address my letters to his worship. Argyll has some men together, but it is on the old feud against Ogilvie, and not Huntly. Huntly has now with him M'Connell, M'Lean, Glengun, M'Leod, M'Kenzie, the principals of the Isles, who have promised, if they get money, to find 20,000 or 30,000 men [upon] a month's warning. This war (says Chisholm to my lord) in Scotland shall be sustained by the Pope, King of Spain, Duke of Florence and another Duke in Italy, whom I have forgotten. They count to furnish 20,000 for three years, but I hope *parturiunt montes: nascetur ridiculus mus.*

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed.*

† 313. Mr. Henry Lock to Sir Robert Cecil.

c. Aug. 1. According to request made to me by a letter from Bothwell, I am bold to move to your honour the considerations of his late offers by letters of J[ohn] Colville, and presently by Forret, which I beseech you to acquaint her Majesty with, and to inform me of her pleasure. His demands are three. First, that whereas he is offered 25,000 crowns upon condition to remit the quarrel with Huntly and to join with the Papist lords in possessing the state (who afterwards will assure him his Majesty's favour), or else to restore the money to them, her Majesty will give him leave, without mistrust of his faith to

* This sentence is not in the printed *Letters.*

† Bound as vol. 54, No. 29.

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1594. her or religion, to take their offer to these ends:—first, to keep the money out of the hands of Hume or any other worse affected and more dangerous person; next, to make himself the better able to serve her Majesty and to put the state presently into her hands. Only he craves, after his full possession of the Court and state, as before, that her Highness will enable him to repay the said 25,000 crowns for satisfying of his honour and bond to them before he pursues them, which he promises faithfully and speedily to effect, and on receipt of that money to give sufficient pledges for the loyalty of the former-bound noblemen and gentlemen. To draw him to a settled safety by them, if he will rely on them, they offer the marriage (as he says) of Huntly's son with his daughter, and of six of the best Gordons with Stewarts, but he had rather enjoy a poor life with safety by her Majesty than kingdoms by Spain and against religion.

The second request is that, if her Majesty mislikes the former, she would deal by her ambassador directly at this baptism for his restitution, which he is made to believe will prevail, as appears by a letter sent to him from Jeremy Lindsay, whose letter under the name of Pudicus to Y (John Colville) I herewith send; and till by her Majesty's mediation he may have better fortune, that he might either have some oversight in England, which he would use with more modesty than before, or else have some relief by money to keep in Scotland at his own house of the Hermitage in Liddisdale, where he would be an assured protection of the English Border, and (if her Highness would vouchsafe) this "shold be colered either by having taken crowns of Spain or by selling his wifes dower to hir soon Baclugh." *

Lastly, if these also be rejected, that then he might not be held untrue to her Majesty or false to religion if he embraced the best and readiest means which shall be offered for his relief; in which case he craves the restitution of such bonds as I brought from him and others. And whereas he has appeared "unsecret," he confesses want has compelled him to pay his friends with words and hopes, as indeed he himself lived; whereas if he had had other actual relief he needed not. Yet did he never, as he vows, intend untruth to this estate, neither would but on the last extremities be drawn to offend her Highness.

To all these he craves a final answer and resolution before the 20th of this present, being that day to meet with Angus and Errol at Dundee to give his final answer to them.

These points I hold to be dangerous and uncertain. To suffer him to "imbras" the crowns is to suffer him to force the King and present Court and, I fear me, draw on as well for the Duke's sake,—who is in "hard consait" (and not altogether causeless) with the King—as to pull down the Chancellor in favour of the Prior of Pluscarden, his rival, a Seton, a Papist and friend of Huntly, though wholly of the Queen's counsel and course, now directly contrary to the King's: and howbeit her Majesty disburses nothing till action be performed to her benefit, yet the treacherous nature by which he practises to beat Huntly with his own rod is not unlikely by better baits to be set from her Highness when he has power and sword in hand, which yet I do not suspect for my part.

To reject him utterly will, no doubt, be a great "dislik" to many honest friends in Scotland, considering his long depending on her Majesty and many offers which they hold honest and profitable, and will be a fit "cooler" for his ambitious, enraged nature, to draw on many dangerous practices if at any time the King, also being discontented, should receive him, or the Papists prevail.

* Bothwell married the widow of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh. She was the daughter of the seventh Earl of Angus.

To deal for him, if it might prevail, were neither dishonourable to her Highness nor unprofitable to the King. To oversee him in England were to break directly with the King in an unfit time, and yet no help to the Earl for power to any good work. To relieve him secretly by crowns in Scotland, if the mediation does not prevail, seems the least harm, since small matters would suffice, and a short time would try the King and what need should be had to use the Earl. All this I refer to your honour to consider, craving pardon for this my boldness. The messenger, James Forret, is himself minded, since he is assured of his brother coming shortly into Scotland, to return also with this answer, and thence by sea, or from Newcastle to repair to him forthwith to inform your honour soundly of all things ; for which purpose he craves passport, if he need, by seas. [*Unsigned.*]

Postscript.—I have further notice and am assured that this ambassador will signify to her Majesty the King's liking to have Bothwell in England and to deal in some favour towards him if he abstain from the Earls' society. If it might be, this would be best of all, and " which to tast were not unfit."

3¼ *pp. Holograph. No address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk :* " Aug. 1594. Mr. Locke to my master " ; *and* " August, 1594. The effect of the Earl Bodwelles demandes by Mr. Forrett."

Aug. 3. **314.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

William Elphinstone, sent to Argyll with commission of lieutenancy and with the King's letter moving him to accept the office, has lately returned to the King with answer given by Argyll that he cannot accept that office as it is offered to him, nor attend at the baptism, on the ground that Donald MacConnell (Mackonnell) Gorme is presently in arms with great forces to invade his bounds, which he cannot leave without defence. Argyll is presently much disquieted by the discords amongst his friends, whereby sundry of them of good quality have revolted and left him. It is told me that Donald Gorme's forces are scattered or " in scateringe." Mr. Patrick Galloway, being with the Earl of Atholl, has not hitherto (so far as is commonly known) advertised the King of Atholl's resolution, which he has deferred until he might understand Argyll's proceedings, and it is looked that, seeing Argyll has refused the office, Atholl will not deal therein, and without them Forbes has always been resolute not to embark himself on that action, for which his forces do not suffice. It is advertised me that Argyll has been earnestly persuaded by letters of courtiers " to flye the daungers of feadis " and troubles following the acceptation of this office, and that they will not accept the commission, notwithstanding that they had purposed with their own forces and without commission to pursue Huntly to the uttermost. The prosecution of the forfeited Earls and their accomplices shall fall on the personal progress of the King, intending to enter into the same on the 26th instant, and the expedition thereof is thought to depend wholly on her Majesty's support, without which the courtiers affirm it impossible for him to effect the work. Argyll by heritable office ought to have been Great Master of the King's House at the baptism, which office shall now be supplied by Lord Seton, to whom the King has written in that behalf.

It has been confirmed to me by second [*i.e.* indirect] information that the agents or solicitors employed by Huntly (who are suffered to pass and repass without impediment) have offered, in the name of the King of Spain and other princes, 40,000 crowns to the King of Scots to grant liberty of conscience

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1594. to Catholics, and remission to the forfeited Earls and their accomplices; that he should have 12,000 crowns yearly for three years, and until his realm shall be quieted and established with aid of men and money against her Majesty; that ambassadors shall be sent hither to the King by the Pope, the Emperor, King of Spain, the Dukes of Ferrara, Savoy, Lorraine, Guise and "Daumayne"* to give the King full assurance of the things offered and to stir him to accept the same. If the King refuse, the ambassadors then shall declare him to be enemy to all these princes and potentates, who thereon will use all hostility by sea and land against him and his realm and bar the trade of all Scottishmen in all their dominions. Further, with their forces they will aid and maintain the Catholics in Scotland to have the exercise of their religion. It is added that 4000 footmen shall "indelatelye" be sent to the north of Scotland from Dunkirk with sufficient treasure to levy 16,000 men in this realm. These reports have been given out by some councillors and courtiers (as I hear), and now they fly abroad and are so common that many think that these winds shall shake little corn. I trust that the Secretary, presently ambassador to her Majesty for the King, shall give clearer light and good satisfaction herein.

I am informed that the forfeited Earls shall offer to give satisfaction to the King and Kirk, with condition that they may have liberty of conscience; that this offer shall only be tendered to fish for and get them just occasion to take arms for the Catholic religion, wherein they trust to find great support as well in this Isle as also by foreign princes and forces; and that upon this hope of relief Auchindoun told the Countess of Sutherland that he assuredly trusted to wash his hands shortly in the heart-blood of some of the best of the ministers. Whereupon the Countess drank to him, wishing to see the effects executed with speed. For this the Countess is "lyke to be called." But it is not seen that any sharp punishment has been "afflicted" on persons of her quality and profession for so light offences. It is generally believed here that these Earls have already levied many soldiers; that Donald Gorme's forces are gathered to serve them; that the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland will join with them and bring to them the forces in Caithness, Sutherland and Strathnaver; that they shall have 2000 horsemen out of the south parts of Scotland; with many other great matters able to persuade the rising of dangerous storms threatened by these windy clouds. But by some whom I sent into the north, and who lay in Bog of Gight (Bogygeth) and resorted to Huntly daily for the space of four days, I am advised that presently the Earls are scattered and are quiet with very small companies and none other than their ordinary households; that, notwithstanding these bruits, there are no forces levied and amassed together, and that these Earls provide [*i.e.* plan] to give place to the King and his army. Wherein it is thought that they shall put into and keep the islands until relieved by foreign forces, or the King invade them by sea,—a matter not looked for, yet for the prevention of the dangers the Earls will have in readiness three or four barques of good sail for their convoy.

It has been told me that Cardinal Allen shall be shortly sent into the Low Countries in secret manner with deep practices against this isle, and that the action thereof shall not be set forth in the King of Spain's name or by his only means, in regard that he is noted to be cruel and so ambitious that he will take the whole prize, but that it shall be carried under the colour and pretence of the Catholic religion; wherein further information is promised to me.

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* ? *Duc de* Mayenne.

1594. The skipper mentioned in my former letters has now got sufficient credit, bought a barque for the purpose at the charges of the adventurers, and within few days will "carye" the barque to place appointed. Because I received yesterday some warrant by Sir Robert Cecil's letter to proceed in such service, therefore I have thought it meet to provide in Newcastle a fit vessel to be drawn to Holy Island, there to receive a sufficient number of men for the enterprise to be attempted in time and manner as shall be requisite, and to carry the matter with as much surety and as little expense as may be done, like as at my coming to your lordship I shall more largely "open."

The Provost of Aberdeen is charged to appear and answer before the King and Council for the delivery of the three prisoners and barque to the attainted Earls; but it is generally thought that the pain for his fault (manifest enough) shall not be rigorous. The barque was dismissed with all speed and has returned towards Calais with letters and a messenger, craving (as it is said) that the Spanish forces shall hasten thither. Because the Laird of Dunipace, a great courtier and privy to the courses in Court, has lately met with Cluny Gordon (as it is said) and written to the Laird of Balquhan (Buquhan), deeply devoted to these Earls, especially to Errol, it is therefore suspected that the Earls have not lost their means in Court, and shall find some means to ease themselves. This day the Baron of Broderode and the Treasurer of Valca [Jacques Valcke], ambassadors for the General Estates of the Low Countries, arrived at Leith: their companies are not yet perfectly known. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

3¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 3. **315.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Yesterday I received yours of 27th July, and during my abode here I shall with all diligence execute the directions given me thereby. Lord Hamilton has already, in quiet manner, received commission for the West Borders of Scotland. Nevertheless, for prevention of his hurt and danger, he is advised to forbear any hasty proceeding in that office, chiefly in the pursuit against Johnstone. I shall use towards him the excuses and order enjoined to me by your letter, with all other means in my power to give him contentment. But I know his nature and diet so well that words without some taste of the "deyntye" desired will in no wise please him, and I leave it to wise consideration whether the alienation of his mind at this time shall be adventured for the sparing of such convenient portion as might retain and bind him with all readiness.

Upon view of the clause in your letter that services for apprehension of passengers on the seas, being "caried" with discretion and moderation, shall be over-well enterprised and warranted, I have gathered that by these general words my particular purpose is allowed, and therefore I have chosen to proceed therein as apt occasion shall be administered. For the Earl Bothwell I shall hold the course directed and use the second means advised in best sort I can. I am glad that Sir Thomas Parry has order to deal with the King in favour of Mr. James Murray and that you have had so favourable regard of J[ohn] C[olville]. Your courtesies to these honest and wise gentlemen are especial furtherance to her Majesty's service and will redound to your honour. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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316. MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

The enclosed will inform you of the state of matters since James Forret's departing, whom I pray you assist, and communicate "with" him such matters as I send up. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 118.

¼ *p. Holograph, also address. Red wax seal.*

Aug. 5. **317.** MR. THOMAS WYLKES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have, according to your direction, attended the Scottish ambassador and have delivered your compliments, which he answered with very humble thanks, and with all devotion attends the hour of his audience to-morrow. I find him of few words, a young man, and of good fashion. I cannot judge what is in him, because I could not hear him speak. London. *Signed:* Tho. Wylkes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 6. **318.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 4th I received your letter of 28th July, and accordingly shall shortly send or bring to your lordship a note of the estate, conditions and numbers of the Scottish Irish, together with all other things concerning them. Angus MacConnell (Mackonell) and MacLean, lately prisoners in Edinburgh Castle, were dismissed long time past upon great bonds with condition of obedience to the King and good behaviour. They have since been charged to appear, and for their default are put to the horn, as I am informed. Many barbarous and cruel murders have been committed by the one against the other, yet by the means of the Earl of Argyll they were in a sort reconciled, and both then followed Argyll. But now they have again given up kindness, and MacLean (as I hear) has turned to the party of Donald Gorme, of whom I wrote that his forces are either scattered or scattering. Of this I cannot perfectly give full certainty, notwithstanding that I have spoken with sundry come out of the Isles, and also entreated the Prior of Blantyre and the Clerk Register,* persons best acquainted with the affairs and proceedings in these parts, to make inquiry whether Donald with his forces has "tourned" to Ireland, or against Argyll, or homewards. They have heard that he has returned home. But, being on the seas, it is not known which way he will take. I shall attend his course and certify your lordship with speed, and stay his voyage to Ireland by the best means I can. After I have, with opportunity, sounded the King's mind and with diligence discovered the author of the wrongs done to you and Sir Robert Cecil, I shall both "dispose" and avow the matter (as your lordship wishes me to do), and also give you knowledge of all my doings therein.

The Baron of Broderode and Monsieur Valca, Treasurer of Zealand, have with great courtesies sent oftentimes to visit me and offering to her Majesty all services of goodwill. They think it requisite to defer our meeting together until they have had presence of the King, which will be given to them within few days. They are accompanied with twelve young gentlemen of good quality (as it is said) and about thirty other persons in their train. I have learned that they desire to return homewards through England, and will entreat me to commend their request for a safe conduct,—in which behalf may it please your lordship to be "meane" that her Majesty's pleasure may be

* Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet; died September 1594.

1594. signified. They purpose to present the Prince with a fair cupboard of plate and with a yearly portion or gratuity. They have (as I hear) commission to treat for a marriage betwixt Count Maurice and one of the King of Denmark's sisters, and this matter has been moved before the King of Scots and has so far proceeded that Denmark begins to embrace it, provided that the Count be advanced with such yearly revenues and honoured with such titles and authority as are offered; wherein it is looked that he shall have the government of the two provinces. The Count has (as I hear) written to the Queen of Scots, and albeit the "younge yeares" of the lady, being presently somewhat under fourteen years of age, "is layde and alleidged" for some delay of the expedition of this marriage, yet if the Count were seen invested and in possession of the revenues, honours and authorities tendered, it is thought that then the knot should soon be knit. But as these are sufficiently and with better certainty known to your lordship, I therefore thus briefly recommend this amongst other matters coming to my ears.

The towns of Dundee and St. Andrews, with sundry others in Angus and Fife, were possessed with late bruits that Angus, Huntly and Errol had in the night surprised Aberdeen and made search for the ministers, who, with the Provost, escaped, and that the Earls had planted themselves in the Earl Marshal's house in that town, and still held the town, to the great danger of all the ministers and well affected in the parts thereabouts. For the timely safety and deliverance of the ministers and well affected persons, and to abate with speed the pride of these traitors, many barons, gentlemen, burgesses and ministers of Angus and Fife speedily convened, and resolved to present their petitions to the King to leave all solemnities for the baptism and to proceed with forces "indelatelye" against these rebels, or else they would adventure with their strengths to encounter the Earls. These bruits were sent to and communicated with some of the ministers of Edinburgh, together with advertisement by letters what was done by the convention mentioned, and also with request that these of Edinburgh would be careful to advance the timely prevention of the dangers. Some ministers of Edinburgh made some intimation hereof, persuading the course resolved by the convention in Fife. Yet in the end it is found that these Earls sent some to take the old walls and site of the old castle at Aberdeen, which they soon abandoned, and that thereon the bruit was hastily given out that they had surprised and held Aberdeen. Because these reports have come so generally to all men's ears hereabouts and may peradventure be certified in divers sorts, therefore I have thought good to acquaint your lordship with the particularities expressed.

I have been informed that sundry of the ambassadors here (particularly the ambassador for Mecklenburg) have goodwill to help Bothwell, but no little difficulty and danger is seen to be in the first motion thereof. Therefore it is advised (as I hear) that supplications be framed in Latin and French by Bothwell, expressing his case and praying the ambassadors to intercede for him, and that one supplication shall be cast at the door or in the house of every ambassador that it may be brought to his particular sight and also to the common knowledge of them all, whereby they may have an apt occasion of conference. . . .* se and of motion to the King.

Lord Hume has lately passed over the water, which many think shall be to speak with persons of suspicious qualities. It is said that the sum of 9000 marks Scots was assigned to him out of the taxation, and that because the same was not paid, therefore he will be no courtier unless payment shall

* A hole in the paper here.

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1594. be first made. The Earl of Erroll has written to some captains here to entreat them to come and take pay of him and the rest. Some of the captains have showed his letter, and will have none of their money, whereof they themselves give out to have great plenty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 7.* **319. Mr. Archibald Primrose to Mr. John Colville.**

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 284.

I cannot furnish you with such comfortable news as I would, because I find the King "the auld man." Yet I hope that, if you have a little patience, your liberty shall come unlooked for, to your contentment. For, as I hear, Philip (the great Turk) and his confederates have, by their instruments here, offered to the King (Q) that if he will give Papists (their merchants) liberty of conscience (to utter their wares) without controlment, and to use their own liberties "unoffending" the estate otherways, they will presently give to the King 100,000 crowns, with promise of further [money] as they find their merchants have liberty.

The King minds to ride in person for the purpose in hand and for keeping of his promise to her Majesty (Audin), and the ministry. But in my opinion there is no good to be expected at his hands, for I think him yet the same as before; and for such as have credit beside him, namely, the Chancellor, Glamis and Sir Robert Melville, I have no better hope of them than of him, for they are the "hunteres" of him to all this mischief. And yet they persuade the ministry, as I fear they do her Majesty, of the contrary. I pray God that neither the one nor the other be deceived with their falsehood, and that He may remove such "jugloures" from the King's company.

Ambassadors have come here from the Estates, who, I hear, have commission to renew the old league and are to make great offers to his Majesty for this effect, namely, a yearly annuity to the Prince of 10,000 crowns, besides 30,000 crowns to be delivered in ready coin and other jewels amounting to little less. I shall so handle the matter committed to Jeremy Lindsay's (Pudicus) remembrance that, by God's grace, he and I shall find out a wedge of the same wood to undo the traffic of the Spanish religion (the Great Turk's merchants).

I assure you that, if you could be content to follow counsel and to forget things past, I dare promise that Mar and the Duke "sall tak ane doing for you" and settle matters betwixt the King and you. "Quhairanent" as you find yourself disposed, send me your answer. *Signed:* "Your auin gossep."

Postscript in Mr. John Colville's hand.—I have deciphered so much of this letter as is not in your alphabet. *After the signature is written in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "Archy Primros the Duke's commissioner and Collector of King's subsidie present."

1½ *pp. Addressed:* "To Y." *No endorsement.*

Aug. 8. **320. Intelligence from Scotland.**

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 189. Transcript in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 238.

The strangers who came first into Scotland in the ship of Midd[elburg], obscure men and of base degree, were directed with two articles [? to the Popish] lords, the one to persuade them to remain constant in the [Catholic religion] and neither to yield nor abandon the country in respect of supp[ort of men]

* No year is stated by the writer. A modern hand has pencilled "7 Aug. 1595" and the document has been bound accordingly as vol. 56, 82. This date has been accepted by Thorpe and the editor of Colville's *Letters*, but all the references apply to events in August 1594. Cf. No. 322.

1594. and money providing for them, and specially to assure them Gordon and Mr. Robert Abircromby were shortly to return and s[ome strangers] with them. The other was to view the havens and sea por[ts in the north] for the most commodious and fairest landing.

In the ship of Calais, arrived of late at Aberdeen, [were] Mr. James [Gordon, Mr.] Robert Abircromby, two Englishmen and a Fleming. The Fleming [appears to] be a gentleman, and one of the Englishmen to be a bishop[ric man] banished at the rebellion in the north. The other Englis[hman is thought] to be a Jesuit or seminary priest. Their outwardly pretend[ed errand the Lords] letter to the town of Aberdeen, whereof this sent herewithal is [the copy, declares].* But their errand in effect is to assure the coming of stran[gers on] condition that they first "kyith" [*i.e.* proclaim] themselves and make a party [in arms, whereby] they assure themselves of three advantages,—one, to be the [first "hasters"; second], to "overharle" the country, at least so many as are not of th[eir faction, whereby] the well affected countrymen in those parts can make no [impediment to the] strangers at their landing; thirdly, that they may by "stouth," [treason or] otherwise "tak sic forthes" [? forts] lying on the seacoasts beforehand that [when the strangers come] they may be a "recept" to them in respect the [King of Spain's] affairs are so many and great that he cannot spare an[y great number] on them for the present. This is all that so far as the King's present intelligence can yet reach unto or in his Majesty's conception, considering [the present state] of Europe, is likely or possible by them to be done. There is a Scottish Jesuit come through England by land, [whose] haunt is not in the north with the rest, but his Majesty has been informed that he has been in company [with Bothwell].

1 *p.* *At the head:* "Notes of intelligence." *Edge injured by fire.*

Aug. 8. **321.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO [BURGHLEY].

Cott. Calig. D.ii. fol. 201. Copy in Harl. transcript.

For discharge of my promise I send here enclosed some notes of intelligence and the copy of a letter written by the Papists lords to the town of Aberdeen. When you have perused it, please impart it to her Majesty, and be a furtherer of my second audience. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

¼ *p.* *No fly-leaf or address. Edges injured by fire.*

Aug. 10. **322.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 118–119.

By the enclosed, which I send as I received it from our own "Quondam," † you will see our present estate, all being in great diffidence of the sincerity of the Court. The King travails mightily with all the ambassadors to make no intercession for Bothwell, and frequent messages pass betwixt him and the Papist lords, to the grief of the Church. Quondam (A. Primrose) presses me to hearken to the counsel of some who would have me "at quietnes," and, if I could have it with honesty, I would crave it above all earthly thing. But I fear the subtlety of my adversaries on the one hand, and respect my faithful duty here on the other, above all earthly thing, and therefore I will so deal in the matter that the enemy shall not compass me, nor my friends think me inconstant; but what I do shall be with their consent and as a matter necessary

* See p. 385. This document is apparently the "notes of intelligence" sent by Cockburn as an enclosure in the following letter.

† *Written above* Quondam *in Lock's hand:* "is gossop: *scilicet*, Archy Primrose, the Duks commissioner."

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1594. for their service. Since Q (the King) is yet under great suspicion, travail that N (Bothwell) be not cast off until the verity is cleared; for if the King fail there cannot be such a wedge to "ryis" him by as a wedge of his own wood. I remit all other matters to James Forrett. Tweedmouth. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—To our Secretary it may be said that there is no performance in things promised by Court; for the pursuit against the Papists, promised for the 11th, is "continwed" to the 26th, and the King cannot be so soon prepared after the baptism on the 18th, because the ambassadors cannot be dismissed within eight days.

Then inform him that a request is to be preferred to his Majesty by the Church and barons that, in respect that sundry of his courtiers are thought to be over-favourable to the Papists and will seek to impeach his own zeal if he be present there with them, he will direct such lieutenants as are known most zealous in religion and greatest ill-willers to them, accompanied with some of the ministry and barons to see that the pursuit be not in show only, as it was when his Majesty went before against Huntly.

Shew him that the continual intercourse of Patrick Murray betwixt his Majesty and Huntly, and of Dunipace betwixt his Majesty and Errol, is manifest in Scotland, however he mask it in England. Let those others be delivered to Mr. Forrett. Let Cecil (Mecenas) have the alphabet [*i.e.* cipher] besides, because it is needful he open my letters wherever you be.

2*pp. Holograph, also address. Names in cipher, diciphered by Lock.*

[About 10] Aug. **323.** "MEMORIALL" FOR THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

"A Memoriall for the Earl of Sussex, being sent to christen the King of Scottis sonne."

On your arrival at Edinburgh you shall confer with Mr. Bowes for a time convenient to deliver her Majesty's letter to the King and Queen, to both of whom you shall declare that she has sent you to congratulate them for the great favour bestowed upon them by Almighty God in sending them a young prince, to whom she wishes God's infinite blessings, and that she has now directed you to assist, in her absence, at his baptism, whither her Majesty had sooner sent the Earl of Cumberland, if God had not visited him, even at the instant of his readiness to depart, with a dangerous sickness, whereby she was occasioned to choose you, who have hastened as speedily as you could. Though it is not to be doubted that the remembrance of the person whom you shall represent, together with care for your own honour and commendation, will ever be a sufficient watchword in all your carriage, to avoid all manner of levity in your actions or other error by quarrel or contention, the rather in regard that by this concourse of ambassadors so many eyes will behold you and censure [*i.e.* judge] your words and demeanour, yet it is fit you be acquainted somewhat with the state of that country for avoiding of mistaking one person for another or showing other ignorance of those things which are commonly known.

The present troubles of Scotland, so dangerous to the state of religion and amity, and so dishonourable to the King, are derived from this principal head. [*In the margin in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "Here beginneth the recapitulation of things fore passed, only for memory, and not to be spoken."] First, the King of Spain has long sought to disturb the Queen's Majesty in her own kingdom, at home, by corrupting divers noblemen to rebel against her, and, when this could not prevail, by an open invasion with his navy, termed "invyncyble," which by God's providence was overthrown. Since, as well as

1594. before, he has wrought upon divers subjects in other kingdoms to divide them from their sovereigns, as in France by setting up the League, and now in Scotland by comforting rebellious Earls against the King; and, to the intent he may have good colour for his unjust actions, he has drawn in the Popes (in whom commonly he purchases particular interest at their creation) to make the pretext of religion, and for that purpose he makes missions thither of priests, Jesuits and seminaries. The Spanish King, having found bad success in many of these courses, bethought himself of the most convenient way to annoy the realm of England, which was by setting practice on foot in Scotland. Understanding that there were in Scotland divers noblemen badly affected and backward in religion, of proud, unquiet spirits and of small living, he assailed them by two ways; first, by Jesuits of their kindred and acquaintance to confirm them in their obstinacy; secondly, to engage themselves by taking money of him, to be at his devotion, to receive strangers, to deliver harbours and "holdes" for them, whereby he might afterwards work his malice upon the state of England.

(You hereby seeing his purpose, it remains that you understand how he and they have proceeded in Scotland. "By aucthoritie yow may know that no religion is openly professed and established but the profession of the Gospell, not different in any substance from ours, yet where those lords are is there muche excercise of the contrary.") There are three Earls, one called Huntly, who is of the family of the Gordons. His uncle, James Gordon, is a Jesuit and has been a messenger both to Spain and Rome from him and to him. The second is the Earl of Angus: his name is Douglas; of his name there are many Protestants, but he is a Papist, and Spanish. The third is the Earl of Errol, whose name and family are Hay. He is no less Popish than Spanish. These by the persuasion of the Jesuits and other adherents grew enemies to all the noblemen who were professors of religion, as the Stewarts, a name allied to the King and of great honour; amongst whom one is called the Earl of Murray, whom Huntly treacherously slew. These three Earls five years since took arms against the King at the raid called "the Brig of Dee." All their forces were paid by the King of Spain. Since that time the conspiracy of the Spanish Blanks was discovered by her Majesty's means, and they have been attainted in Parliament. Now, finding themselves oppressed, they daily send for forces, and have had money sent them with which they prepare themselves in all insolency to resist the King, who intends to go or send against them, and has already been offered 1000 men paid by his burghs to go against them. Lastly, when certain persons who came out of the Low Countries were apprehended at Aberdeen, the King's town, the Earls forcibly took possession of them and hold them all, which may inform you that these are dangerous traitors to the King, and that the Queen has reason to encourage the King to pursue them. They are favoured by many allies in Court, and specially by the Humes, who are inward with the King and backward in religion. The Duke of Lennox is to be courteously used in company or discourse. Lord Hamilton is next heir to the crown of Scotland if the King dies without heir, and therefore to be used by you with respect, if he come to you, as one of good religion and a friend to the amity of England.

Because you shall haply hear talk of Bothwell, this you may know. He is a nobleman of great birth, a Stewart, and loved by the ministry and towns because he professes religion and now is opposed to the Popish Earls. Yet he is more in the King's indignation than any; for he, being disgraced and banished from Court, suddenly approached the King's person in his chamber, possessed his Court and sought to govern the King, who was in fear of his life;

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1594. and though for that time he was content to forgive him in show, yet is he most odious to him. Bothwell had also of late gathered forces with pretence to be revenged on Lord Hume. But, coming to Edinburgh, the King himself came into the field against him; and, though he retired quietly, yet has this redoubled the King's displeasure, and he remained attainted as well as the others. But of this matter or man you are not to make mention to the King or any other; but if the King should chance to say anything to you, as imputing that the Queen has showed some favour to him, you may say clearly that, though you know nothing of those affairs, yet you have heard that the Queen has misliked him ever since that dishonour offered to the King; and that you have heard her even in Court publicly avow the detestation of the fact. You may say that you think that, as he has such commandment on the Borders and as her Majesty's subjects have had many losses redressed by his means, the gentlemen or people there may have, underhand, harboured him without the Queen's privity, and therein nothing moved them more than the opinion that the King had pardoned him, and that he was an enemy to the Papists. This you may "seeme" to have heard, but not to have any direction to deal in; concluding further that you have heard and know, that the Queen has proclaimed that whosoever shall receive or aid him shall incur the penalty of her indignation; and that this is inviolably observed and shall be.

[*In the margin in Sir Robert Cecil's hand:* "Here only beginneth such speach as your lordship shall deliver besyds your first complement."] You shall, therefore, after the first compliment of congratulation, say to the King that her Majesty has been wonderfully well satisfied with his kingly resolution to proceed forthwith to suppress these dangerous persons who are so engaged in foreign practice that it cannot be safe for him while they have any means to kindle such a fire in his kingdom, and it is a comfort to her to hear that his people and good subjects are furnishing him with forces to be employed against them. This they would sooner have done if sooner the King had used more roundness in declaring himself against them; so if the King should now give any underhand show of favour, though even in matter of small moment, the opinion and fame hereof (which is even the greatest oracle to the vulgar who judge by outward shows) will "abate the hartis" of those who now are resolved to pursue them, and will add force and means to the contrary party to fortify themselves, and make them able to put the King's own estate and religion in danger. If, now, the conduct of the action be committed to such as are affected to them, or if breath be given them to receive foreign force, their pursuit will vanish to smoke, and in short time they will be only instruments of the subversion of the whole of his estate and kingdom.

If he make answer to this that he does what he can, and must be enabled or else cannot do it, and that the Queen knows it well, your answer in that case may very well be that, although in particular you are not informed to answer him because his own ambassadors have returned her own reasons, yet this you have heard her say, that she has both heretofore and now of late had as great a consideration of his occasions as her own affairs would permit, being forced to help the French King and the Low Countries, and being likewise daily in attention of her enemies' malicious practices; yea, and that you heard her Majesty affirm, and that the opinion of all the wisest is, that with a resolute expedition now in time he shall be very well able with the very strength of his own country to subdue this rebellious faction within his own realm, considering by how many second collateral means that party may be weakened by those who have particular feuds against them.

If, haply, he shall say that he has trusted to her Majesty and that if he

1594. would take help of others he might live in better safety and quiet, you may answer that you never heard any man doubt so much of his own piety towards God or judgment in the world as either to adhere to him who is an enemy to God's cause or to trust that a Spaniard would ever help him but with hope to make him a prey for his own ambition, and therefore the least support from her Majesty who is incorporated into his fortune ought to balance the greatest proportion of help that could be derived from any such who would desire no better advantage than, by colour of being joined in strait friendship with him, to "bransle" all the kings, princes and estates of Europe that are his friends; whereby, being severed from them, he should be left subject to his appetite who never yet came as an adjutor, but with an end to be a possessor. Therefore you may conclude that you would be glad, with the news of his good health, the Queen's and the young Prince's, to bring certain report of his further progress in the affairs which so essentially import him.

The reason may also well be made by your lordship that, if the King shall give any new causes of suspicion that he will make any favourable agreement with the Earls, it will alter the minds of those of his nobility who now are "oposyte" to them, making them doubt that after the reconcilement all manner of revenge shall be "incerted" upon their own shoulders by those Earls for doing the King's service in their prosecution. If you confer with Mr. Bowes in all these things he can best tell you how they are to be used and when.

7 *pp. Draft in the hand of Burghley's clerk. Endorsed.*

Fair copy of the same, omitting the paragraph in brackets. (Vol. 52, p. 88.)

Another copy. Calig D.ii., fo. 216.

[*c.* Aug. 10] **324.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

Printed in Tytler's *History*, ix. p. 138–139; spelling modernised.

I make a note of my happy destiny, in beholding my luck so fortunate as to be the baptiser of both father and son, so dear unto me; and pray Almighty God to bless you both. Believe that I never counsel or advise you aught which tends not chiefly to your good; and I conjure you that, receiving so assured knowledge of what your lewd lords mean, you neglect not God's good warning. All kings have not had so true espiers of their harm, but have felt it before they heard it; but I, in whom you never yet found guile, "am best testimony of your to to many fortellars." I request you to bear with the youth of this noble Earl, and to have honourable regard to him for his good nature and his parentage, being of my blood, and coming from a prince of whom you may make surest account.

¾ *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "Copie of her Majestie's letter to the King of Scotts."

[August.] **325.** ELIZABETH TO QUEEN ANNE.

Some time ago we received extreme pleasure by learning from our ambassador of the birth of the young Prince, and would have congratulated you before, if Baron Zouche, our ambassador, had been able to come to your presence, as we charged him divers times. But although there was then some hindrance, we have since been infinitely rejoiced not only by the announcement of the tidings by the King, but also by the honourable invitation to assist at

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1594. the baptism. We send the Earl of Sussex, Viscount Fitzwaters,* as our representative. The love and hereditary friendship which united us to the late King, your father, we would at all times show to yourself, and reiterate our good wishes for the prosperity and felicity of the Prince, [*etc.*, with other formal compliments].

1 *p. Broadsheet: in French. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* Aug. 1594. Minute of her Majesties letter to the Queen of Scottes by the Earl of Sussex."

Another copy of the same (vol. 52, p. 87).

Draft of the same in English, with corrections in Burghley's hand.

[*c.* Aug. 10] **326.** ORDERING OF THE CHAPEL FOR THE BAPTISM.

Harl. MSS. 4637, C. fol. 140.

" The forme and ordering of the chapell for the baptisme."

In primis, in the north-east corner of the chapel shall be placed his Majesty's seat upon a platform of two steps' height, whereupon shall be set his Majesty's chair and table, covered with a fine table-cloth of " fresit " † cloth of gold covering the steps before the table and part of the floor.

Next, upon the same platform to the westward on his Majesty's right hand shall be placed a chair for the King of France, who was invited and promised to send his ambassador to the baptism. Thirdly, in the east end of the kirk to the southward on his Majesty's left hand shall be " dressit " [*i.e.* prepared] a seat for the Queen of England, environed with a travese ‡, where her ambassador to the baptism shall be placed. He shall have his own officers to serve him in all things requisite. Next thereto shall be placed a chair for the resident ambassador of England. Fourthly, shall be placed the ambassadors for Denmark on his Majesty's right hand, next the chair of the ambassador of France. Fifthly, shall be placed next to the ambassadors of England the ambassadors of Brunswick and Mecklenburg (Maiklenburgh) in " semball " [*i.e.* similar] chairs, with a table set before them, covered with a velvet " tapye " [? tapestry]. Sixthly, shall be placed the ambassadors of the Estates, next to the ambassadors of Denmark, set in chairs with tables, covered with velvet, before them. *Item*, all the stage whereupon the said seats are to be placed, to be covered with tapestry, and all the rest of the floor in front of the seats within the choir to be covered in like manner.

Item, that no man enter within the barrier except those appointed by his Majesty and Council, viz.: The lords that bear the honours, the barons that bear the pall, the noblemen and councillors and ministers for the execution of the action, Lady Mar, the ladies of honour, Mistress Nurse (" Maistresse Nureis ") and a " rokkar," with the four persons appointed to be on his Majesty's stage, viz.: Master of the Wardrobe; Captain of the Guard; Thomas Erskine, Gentleman of the Chamber; Mr. Peter Young, Great Eleemosynar.

Item, that a table be set in front of the pulpit, whereupon shall be placed the crown ducal, and the basin, laver and other things borne before the Prince to the kirk. A form to be set on the east side of the pulpit for the lords, knights and other strangers that shall be appointed within the barrier, accompanied with those of his Majesty's Council who may not have the commodity to be placed within the " daskis " appointed for the nobility.

" The ordoure how the Prince salbe convoyit to the Kirk."

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* Transcribed, correctly, as Fitzwalter in the English draft.
† Perhaps cloth raised or crisped in the weaving, like frieze (Jamieson's *Dictionary*).
‡ Old form of *traverse*; a barrier, curtain or screen. See *New English Dictionary*.

First, he shall be transported from his own chamber to the Queen's chamber of presence, where he shall be laid upon his bed of estate " dressit on thre stageis in princelie forme and coverit with ane lawne claith cuming furth ane large place of the flure."

At the coming in of the ambassadors Lady Mar, accompanied with " Maistres Nureis " and such ladies as she shall think meet, shall take the Prince and deliver him to the Duke of Lennox to be presented to the ambassadors, who shall all come to receive the Prince at his hand. He shall be borne to the kirk by the chief ambassador present, accompanied with the rest of the ambassadors, marching in their rank, followed by Lady Mar, the dames of honour, " Maistres Nureis, rokeris and sic utheris as salbe appointit," and convoyed by trumpets, heralds, and bearers of the honours,* viz.: Lord Hume the crown, Livingstone the towel, Seton the basin, Sempill (Sympill) the laver. The pall to be borne by the Lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, Dudhope and Traquhair (Tracquair).

The Prince's robe royal to be fastened about him, the tail lying over the arms of the ambassador that bears him and borne by the Lords of Sinclair and Urquhart, and with some of the senators appointed to convoy and entertain the ambassadors during their going to and being in the kirk. The time of his convoying to the kirk a number of the most honest men of Edinburgh shall stand in rank betwixt the chapel door and the door of the raanse [?] of the new " werk " [*i.e.* building].

At their coming to the kirk his Majesty shall rise from his seat to receive the ambassadors at their incoming in the choir, where the ambassador that bore the Prince shall deliver him in the same form as he was received; thereafter he shall be delivered to the " Maistresse Nureis and the rokkeris " to attend upon him in the chapel.

The sermon finished, the minister appointed for the baptism shall stand up before the pulpit and " do the haill actioun " in Latin, during which time his Majesty and the ambassadors shall stand up, and the Prince to be presented to the minister by the ambassador that bore him to the kirk.

The whole action finished and thanks given to God, they shall return in the same order as they came. When they come to the chamber of presence the Prince shall be laid upon his bed of honour, and thereafter be made and styled Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothesay (Rothissay), Prince and " Stewart " of Scotland,—which shall be published by sound of trumpet and voice of heralds; and thereafter a largesse to be cried and silver to be cast among the people at the discretion of the directors. Immediately thereafter these who are to be made knights shall be dubbed in the hall next to the said chamber. After the Prince shall have received his styles, the ambassadors in his Majesty's presence shall deliver their presents, which shall be placed upon a table prepared for that cause.

These things being done, the ambassadors shall be convoyed to their rooms till supper, when persons shall be appointed to accompany them to the hall, where their Majesties shall be at their incoming; and there the ambassadors to be placed at table in the same form and rank as in the kirk.

" The forme and ordour of the service."

The first service to be brought in and placed on the table by barons, lairds and gentlemen that are to be made knights, convoyed by the Great Master and four ordinary Masters of Household, conform to a minute made of all the officers that are to serve that day. The second service to be brought in upon

* The rest of the sentence has been inserted as a note in the margin.

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1594. the chariot of triumph, drawn by a Moor, accompanied with six personages. The third service to be brought in upon the chariot of triumph drawn by a lion. The fourth service shall be brought in by a ship sailing with her sails out until she come to the mid-hall, where she shall set her main top-sail. *Item*, all the said services to be convoyed by the Great Master and ordinary Masters of Household; the chariot of triumph and the ship at every time with divers sorts of music and instruments for the delectation of the hearers; and the Great Eleemosynar shall say the grace. And thus, supper finished and the boards removed, the great ball shall begin.

3½ *pp. Probably a draft, with corrections.*

Aug. 13. **327.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Yesternight after 8 o'clock I received your letters of the 7th, perceiving thereby that her Majesty is moved by the view of some matters specified in my former letters (the instrument to stop my own passage) to forbear to call me from hence suddenly or to send hither some new man unacquainted, and also has willed your lordship to advertise me hereof, and to let me know that she will presently give order for a good sum of money to be delivered to me by way of aid, besides my ordinary entertainment. Before the receipt of your letter I had sent from hence by land and sea to Newcastle, Berwick and other places the most part of my household stuff, apparel, writings and other furniture. I had prepared all things for my departure, and I fully trusted to have obtained the happiness to have seen her Majesty before my end, which my present weakness, estate and case prognosticate to be at hand. Her Majesty's pleasure has been, is, and shall be a law to me contentedly to obey her will, and for her honour and service to offer and give my body to sacrifice. I thank her for this intended aid, which I shall gladly employ in her service here, for the furtherance whereof I have especially sought to be particularized upon the present conditions, which I would gladly have imparted to her by word. By some convenient means I shall shortly renew the memory of my disabilities, working great hindrance in her Majesty's service here, and my own estate oppressed many ways, chiefly with the loss of 2000 marks yearly for the space of these five years last past, and this burden, still continuing on me by my abode here, much hinders the expedition of the payment of my debts to her Majesty and utterly beggars myself and all "comed of me." Nevertheless I shall with all loyalty and diligence to the uttermost of my power continue my service here, agreeable to her Majesty's pleasure, and until the effects "remembred" shall be renewed and opened for me.

Half an hour before the receipt of your letter I received another from Mr. David Foulis, certifying the prorogation of the baptism to the 25th instant. Of this prorogation I have advertised Mr. John Cary that he may acquaint the Earl of Sussex therewith on his coming to Berwick, and have also written to the Earl; and, hearing that the house of Stirling could not be made ready at the prescribed day, I have prophesied this prorogation and the allegation of the cause given out purposely to qualify the delay of the King's raid against the forfeited Earls. This delay of the King's raid deeply wounds the hearts of the well affected in regard that many doubt of his sincere meaning therein, and that it is commonly seen in experience that the defeat or drift of appointments brings slow execution and hard success.

Because Mr. David Foulis has certified that a good number of islesmen (meaning Donald Gorham and "his companyes") are going towards Ireland (wherein I do not certainly know with what truth or mind he writes the same),

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1594. and that by letter from the Lord Clerk Register it appears that Donald has gathered his forces for other exploit than Ireland, therefore I enclose the letters of the Clerk Register * and of Mr. Foulis that you may judge of the truth in the same. Please keep to yourself these letters that the parties be not prejudiced by me or my means. By credible intelligence sent to me from the west parts in this realm and given by other persons here of good quality, the information of the Clerk Register is confirmed, adding further that Donald has come from Tarbet to return home. The Countess of Argyll has come to the Earl of Morton, her father, at Dalkeith, and an especial friend of mine is requested to come first to her, and next to ride to her husband, and by this means I trust to learn further truth touching Donald's voyage to Ireland, and to procure Argyll's help to divert him if he is purposed indeed to invade any part there. I find Argyll ready, with the advice of the Kirk, to proceed in the cause against Huntly and the rest, wherein he shall be whetted by many good means.

"It is informed" that the forfeited Earls have sought to levy men in Sutherland and Caithness and to entertain them with pay, but they cannot prevail therein; that they now travail to tempt the courtiers with gold to win the King to grant them to live quietly at home, with liberty of conscience, and, if they cannot obtain this, that then they will depart and pass by sea, but to what parts it is not known. For their passage they have prepared three barques under Thomas Sutherland, David Hay, and one other (of whom I have before written). It is given out that Lord Hume, whilst he was beyond the water, spoke with some sent from Huntly, and has persuaded Huntly to enter into some new offers to satisfy the King and Kirk and to depart out of the realm, which Huntly, by the advice of Mr. Walter Lindsay, will not do but with condition to have liberty of his conscience; and that Sir George Hume lately met, at Dunblane, with one sent from Huntly, and after long conference he returned to the King, expending three hours in secret speech with him. It is suspected that some personages of honour and great quality purposing to attend upon the King shall seek to persuade him to execute some few of the base sort of the offenders to deliver the rest from peril, and therewith to satisfy the crying ministers and people, and that, if the King will prosecute the Earls with rigour, these noblemen will not stick to preserve them from hurt. It is told me that Huntly assembled his friends to know what their parts shall be for his defence, if the King sh . . . † ade him. Whereunto all the Gordons of estimation, except Buckie and two with him, declared that they would not take part against the King and Kirk.

The ambassador for Mecklenburg, intending (as I was warned) to draw me to broach the matter for Bothwell (Argonartes), sought to have speech with me, but I have prevented this. I dare not deal therein without further direction and warrant, and therewith I trust that I may be instructed with what especial offices and courtesies I shall entertain the ambassadors that my course taken with every several person may please her Majesty. Finally, resting now in grievous fetters and expecting to be delivered by her Majesty's seasonable grace or by the stroke of hasty death, the end of all worldly miseries, I right humbly pray you to further the expedition of my delivery. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Please give order that this letter addressed to the Secretary may be delivered to him, as Mr. David Foulis desires. This day, at the closing up of these presents, I received your packet of the 8th instant, filled only

* Now amissing. The letter of Foulis has become detached and is bound as No. 12 in the volume, but is here printed as an enclosure, as it was so sent.

† Decayed.

James VI.
1594. with sundry letters sent by the Secretary, and I have caused all these letters to be delivered.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Mr. David Foulis to Robert Bowes.)

In respect his Majesty has not heard from England or France of their ambassadors' "incumming," he has this day prorogued the baptism to the 25th instant. Your lordship may advertise accordingly. His Majesty is most desirous to have it ended to the effect he may hasten his expedition to the north. I hear a good number of our islesmen are going towards Ireland. I leave to your consideration what it may "breid." Stirling. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

Postscript.—Will you do me the favour to send this letter to the Secretary as soon as you have occasion to write yourself? His Majesty desires your lordship to write to the Governor of Berwick for the passage of Cuthbert Raynie and Edward Dodsworth (Dodsuart), hunters; which he does not doubt you will do, "seing ye lovit the game your selfe sum tymes." He marvels for what cause they should be "stayet" there. This my letter to him is for that effect also. 12th August 1594.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Bowes.*

Two small red wax seals.

Aug. 15. **328.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

For the receipt of her Majesty's letter to the King and your wish for further answer to my satisfaction I yield your lordship most hearty thanks. If the answer received be to his Majesty's satisfaction, I shall rest well contented. For my own particular interest, the good countenance and gracious usage received of her Majesty may well serve as a full recompense for the undertaking of this journey, which I am from my heart sorry has not produced the wished effects. Yet I hope, having dealt always sincerely and not exceeded my instructions, that his Majesty shall account of my procedure as my devotion to his service has merited. In the meantime, I have resolved some little stay here till I be acquainted with his Majesty's further pleasure. I have directed the bearer to satisfy your lordship in the other contents of your letter. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 16. **329.** JEROME LINDSAY TO [MR. JOHN COLVILLE].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 262.

The commission, of which I wrote before, is true; for the gentlemen themselves, at their landing, wrote to the town of Aberdeen, desiring to pass through, because they were directed from so many Catholic princes to the King's Majesty. There is a great dealing betwixt Sir George Hume, Thomas Erskine, Patrick Murray and Sir James Chisholm with some other Papists who remain at Dunblane. The three Earls are secretly buying armour and feeing horsemen. They look for Spaniards to serve them for footmen. They are in great hope, and laugh at all that is done against them here. They are busier dealing in the Protestants' lands here than the King is in dealing of theirs. They have made their catalogues of such as they will slay and

1594. such as they will save. These things I have of the minister at Aberdeen,* who came here on Tuesday last. I am put in hope to be "set upon" some armour which they have "coft" [*i.e.* bought] here, and some soldiers that are hired to go to them. Advertise me what to do. The rest to my father's † coming from Stirling. Farewell. *Signed:* Pudicus [Jerome Lindsay].

½ *p. No fly-leaf or address. Endorsed by Mr. John Colville.* "The 16 of August 1594"; *and by Cecil's clerk:* "16 Aug. 1594. Mr. Jerome Lyndsay." *Faded.*

Aug. 16. **330.** MR. JAMES MURRAY TO "FAYTHFULL GAWANE."

Although we be absent in body, which is my greatest grief, yet shall we never be absent in heart. I hope in that blessed God Who has both preserved you and delivered me that He shall perform the rest in His due time. Mr. Bowes (S) ‡ has "schawin" me some very favourable instructions sent to him by Sir Robert Cecil in my favour. "Quhome of" [*i.e.* from whom] it proceeds, I can not tell surely as yet, but I pray you to thank Sir Robert for his great favour, undeserved on my part. Albeit I am well acquainted with his father, I was never acquainted with him. There is a great and mischievous plot set down here against the Queen (P) and the Duke of Lennox (O) for their disgrace. "I hoip in God sall work sum guid" (*sic.*). I pray you so far as you may in your parts be their friend, for I will make your service and goodwill manifest to them both. The King (Q) is in great fear of "Liander" at this time. If he can have grace to guide himself, will God [he] will do well enough. As for news, the King is very busy preparing all for his banquet. But I cannot hear that there will be very many noblemen at it, for his "requeistes" are refused and he is compelled to send charges to them. The Chancellor was not minded to have been present, but now I hear that he will be there upon the King's earnest request. I hear of no Earls but Marishal and Montrose. Glencairn is charged to come. Hamilton will not be there. The jealousy increases daily betwixt the Duke, Mar and Hamilton. The wind begins to blow very loud amongst them, "quhilk is abill to turne to ane storme." Sweet Mr. Bowes (S) and his faithful bedfellow remain your constant friends. I pray you be of good comfort, for God who has "revellnit" (*sic*) you from time to time, "it cane nocht be bot he will performe." I pray to the great God for you, and present my hearty commendations to your bedfellow and all your bairns.

1½ *p. Addressed* "To faythfull Gawane." *Endorsed by Mr. John Colville:* "16 of Agoust 1594," *and by Cecil's clerk* "Mr. James Murrey." *Some names of persons in cipher deciphered.*

Aug. 17. **331.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

It is resolutely determined by the King and Council that the baptism of the Prince shall be solemnized at Stirling on Sunday the 25th instant, and be no longer prorogated for any cause whatsoever, as I have advertised Sussex. The King has showed himself wholly bent to set forward all his forces against the forfeited Earls on the 26th of this month, agreeable to the proclamation,

* Mr. Peter Blackburn.
† Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith. He took part in the ceremony of the baptism at Stirling.
‡ The cipher used by Bowes may be S or 5.

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1594.

and on the third day after the baptism to follow in person. The ministers have much persuaded the expedition of this journey, and thereon the King offers (as I hear) to proceed at the time limited if he may be accompanied with 400 footmen and 200 horsemen, levied and maintained by the burghs, as before has been offered. But the Council have been credibly informed that the scarcity of all victuals is so great in the north parts that the King and his army cannot be sustained before the corn (yet green and not ripe) shall be gathered. It is also thought dangerous to adventure the King's person in field with insufficient force, and therefore it is thought meet by the Council to defer the King's raid until the last of September. The King is not advertised of this act of Council concluded this day in Edinburgh, yet it is looked that this order and prorogation shall be allowed and stand in force.

I have been informed that at this baptism the forfeited Earls will offer to submit themselves for the satisfaction of her Majesty, the King and the Kirk, under such provisions as shall be found profitable for both realms, [and] that this offer is chiefly devised to stop all motions for Bothwell and to win time to the rebels. Mr. Walter Lindsay is the chief instrument in these practices, and it is given out that he has received a liberal share in parting [*i.e.* dividing] the 30,000 crowns lately brought in with Mr. James Gordon and by the "Falker" of Brussels, who is taken to be a Spaniard, and remains with Huntly. Besides, Mr. Walter is so warm in Papistry that it is gathered that he will not now give advice to the Earls to shrink in their Catholic religion.

Alan MacKendowy (Mackendowye), a follower of Huntly, has lately slain thirty-three men and two women under MacIntosh, and thereon MacIntosh has slain twelve of MacKendowy's men. The King has earnestly moved Lord Hamilton and other noblemen to be present at the baptism. But Lord Hamilton excuses himself, alleging that he cannot come to Stirling without greater guard for his person than is fit for him to bring thither. Some for him have been lately with me—pressing me in the effects before "remembred," and wherein I have taken the course directed by your lordship. But no words now, without some taste of his desire, can give him contentment, as shortly will further "breake" and be known, and wherein I humbly pray to be holden blameless. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 17. **332.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Forasmuch as by your letter of 22nd July you advertised me that Sir Thomas Parry should have order to deal with the King for Mr. James Murray, who presently has great need of her Majesty's commendation, which he well deserved, and because I fear that Sir Thomas Parry shall be stayed for longer time than Mr. Murray's distressed case can endure without his prejudice, therefore I renew this matter to your honour, praying you to be "mean" that her Majesty may by letter give to the Earl of Sussex the like order to deal with the King for Mr. Murray as before was given to Sir Thomas Parry. Finding by Lord Burghley's letter that my revocation is prorogated, I intend with the next opportunity to make the true condition of my wretched estate known to her Majesty and him, that provision may be taken for the benefit of her Majesty's service here and some compassion had for me and my miseries. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

James VI.

1594. Aug. 20.

333. THE TRAIN OF SUSSEX.

"To attend the Erle of Sussex into Scotland." Lord Wharton, Sir Henry Bromley, Mr. Hugh Portman, Mr. Henry Guildford, Mr. Oliver Cromwell (Crumwell), Mr. Thomas Monson, Mr. Henry Clare, Mr. Edward Greville, Mr. Nicholas Sanderson, Mr. Edward Gorges, Mr. William Jeffson.

½ *p. Endorsed:* "20 Aug. 1594. The names of such as attend the Earl of Sussex into Scotland."

Aug. 22. **334.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 19th instant I received your letter of the 14th by which I understand that the coming of the Earl of Sussex was not likely to be before Monday the 19th. I was informed by George Douglas of Long Niddry (Lange Nedderye), newly returned from the ambassador at London, that the Earl would certainly enter on his journey on the 19th, that the carriages with her Majesty's presents to the Prince were already at Berwick, and that the Earl's carriages were near Berwick, yet the train accompanying him, and to be served by post, was so great and the ways presently so foul and troublesome that he could not conveniently come to Stirling before Tuesday the 27th at the soonest, so that if the baptism be not prorogued for some days he could not be present. Of these circumstances I have advertised the King by letter, leaving wholly to his pleasure to proceed in or prorogue the baptism. All the ambassadors here, particularly for Denmark, earnestly press for expedition, so that I do not know whether the time shall be any further adjourned. This delay of the coming of her Majesty's ambassador is diversely interpreted and the King appears to be much perplexed therewith. But his lordship's repair hither, which I trust shall be in good season, will readily quench all surmised reports and yield satisfaction to the King and this estate.

The King continues at Stirling, having called thither all the ambassadors to this baptism. I myself abide here attending the coming of Sussex. Because nothing is hitherto heard of the French ambassador, promised to have been sent with the Laird of Wemyss, therefore it is now not looked that any shall be sent by the French King to this baptism.

Whereas it is her Majesty's pleasure to have me to stay somewhat longer, and has given order to pay me 200*l.* by way of aid to enable me, as I think, both to sustain the extraordinary charges at this time and also to clear and end this service with good contentment to all parties with whom I have dealt, and whereas your lordship desires to know whether it shall be sent hither to me or paid at London, therefore I pray that this sum may be delivered for me to William Craven, woollen draper, at the sign of the Sun in Watling Street, in London, in satisfaction of so much money newly received here by me of William Milbourn, servant to Mr. Craven. For the defray of this money I shall give account at my coming. In all other parts of your letter I shall with the next opportunity, and upon my further negotiation of the same, advertise your lordship of my doings and success.

The Baron of Broderode and Monsieur de Valca, ambassadors for the Low Countries, have earnest desire to see her Majesty in their return, praying therefore with good expedition to have safe conduct for them and their company to pass through England, with commission for post horses at their own charges. In like manner John Earl of Gowrie, purposing to travel to Italy and other foreign places for his instruction, heartily prays to have safe conduct for him and four or five in his company to pass through England with his own horses.

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1594. He intends to pass very quietly and with all the speed he can, praying to have this safe conduct with best expedition. May these requests be presented to her Majesty, and may I receive timely direction to answer and satisfy them therein?

It is advertised to me by letters that Argyll has given forth his proclamations to convene his forces, intending to set forwards against Huntly on the 31st of this month; that he has again reconciled MacConnell (Mackonel) and MacLean and agreed with Donald Gorm, and they all will join their forces with him, whereby his army will amount to 8000 men; that Atholl prepares likewise to join with Argyll; that Huntly has likewise made his proclamations to gather his forces to withstand Argyll; and that Mar and others in Court mislike Argyll's course herein, saying that he will be met and fought withal to his great peril. As these courtiers use all means to stay him, so many well affected prick him forward in this action, the progress whereof is not yet very certain, and Argyll shall be well comforted and aided by many good men.

It is told me that Mr. Walter Lindsay, the chief instrument and counsellor for the forfeited Earls, with the "Bauker" of Brussels and one of the Englishmen arrived lately at Aberdeen, has departed by sea for Flanders. Some think that Mr. James Gordon, the Jesuit, is in their company, but by others I am informed that he remains still with Huntly. Huntly and the rest have sought that the King would give audience to their solicitors in offers for his satisfaction, and, being denied, it was required that the King's Council might hear the solicitors; which was likewise refused, and thereon request was made that one councillor might be authorised to deal in that cause. Since this motion the Master of Glamis (as I hear) has spoken with Huntly and others of them, and it is deemed that he has the King's commission in that behalf. Yet I have heard that very lately the King has uttered sharp words against the Master, testifying that he thinks himself greatly abused by him. But with what mind the King has thus spoken is not well known. Huntly and the rest have been lately in Angus, where Bothwell has been also, and some conference has passed by mediators (as I hear) to reconcile Bothwell and Huntly, or to take some order and course betwixt them. In all this your lordship will be certified, I trust, by others with better certainty than I give. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2⅔ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 26. **335.** EARL OF ARGYLL TO JAMES VI.

According to direction I sent out men to invade the highland men, assisters of your Majesty's rebels in the north, who, perceiving their "wrack and skaith" thereby before their eyes, were forced to "come speake" with me and are willing to adhere to me and the rest of your Highness's deputies, if you would direct to them a special charge in a missive letter to the effect foresaid, that thereby they might be resolved of your Majesty's will, for Huntly and his associates press by all means to persuade them that you have directed this commission against them "for the fashon onelie." Therefore please to direct your letters that the action may be easier. Garvred.

¼ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Aug. 27. **336.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

I have received your letters of the 18th and 20th instant, together with another packet of the 20th, stuffed with letters to Mr. David Foulis and Roger Aston. All the letters to others I have sent to Stirling to the parties to whom

1594. they were addressed. With great difficulty the King has drawn the ambassadors at Stirling to consent that the baptism be deferred until to-morrow, the 28th, with express promise that they shall be permitted to depart homewards on Thursday next. Upon this prorogation (accorded on the 23rd) the King wrote to me certifying his doings therein and requiring me to direct an especial person to the Earl of Sussex, and also sent George Douglas of Long Niddry to inform him of these proceedings, and earnestly to require him to hasten his journey that he may be present at the baptism. George Douglas has passed in post to Sussex, and I have sent my servant with the King's letter and with advertisement of other circumstances touching this cause and to move his lordship to use the best speed he can agreeable to his instructions. The solemnities and banquets began on Sunday last, the 25th, and shall be continued until the end of the baptism, so that the ambassadors may depart on Thursday.

This morning Sussex certified me by letter that he will be here this night, and pass forward to Stirling with all expedition. He has sent Mr. Rowles with his letter to the King with request to put over the baptism until Friday next. I have provided that the Queen and Council at Stirling shall be effectually moved to further this prorogation, which haply may be granted. Before this I procured the King's passport for Sussex's train, and, getting the privy seal to the same on the 16th instant, I sent it that day towards his lordship.

By late advertisement, given me by two honest persons of Irvine and by a baron adjoining, I am informed that Donald Gorm landed at the Route near the Band and other places thereabouts in Ireland with 1800 Scottishmen of the Isles to aid the rebels there, and that James M'Sorley, the son of Sorley Boy [M'Donnell], received these Scots, who tarried little time, but returned back upon directions sent to them from the Isles commanding their retreat. It is still confirmed that some of Donald's companies departed from him and retired home, as by the Clerk Register and others in the west has been certified; whereupon it was conceived that Donald and his forces, being on the seas and numbering above 3000 men, were scattered and turned home. Of this I shall shortly give more perfect information, for some of the ministry here have presently ridden to the Earl of Argyll, by whom the truth may be learned, and who shall be effectually moved for her Majesty to stay, so far as he can, all the loose and broken people in the Isles and coasts thereabouts in Scotland from entering into Ireland to aid any of her rebels, and also to call home all such Scottishmen as presently are giving them support. Upon return of these ministers (looked to be within ten or twelve days) I shall give you further knowledge in these behalfs. Albeit sundry seek to stay Argyll's journey with his forces against Huntly, yet hitherto he cannot be dissuaded, and has his forces in readiness to proceed with expedition, which (I think) shall not be hindered by the advice and exhortations of these ministers thus quietly and suddenly gone to him.

In the part of your letter touching the verses written by Mr. Andrew Melville, and printed by Robert Waldegrave, I shall with the next opportunity proceed as directed, and advertise you of my success. At present the King and Waldegrave are at Stirling and I am bound to attend in this town the coming of Sussex, and to meet him this day.

The Laird of Logie, coming to the banquet at Stirling on Saturday last, was taken by John Hume of Crumstane, captain of 50 horsemen, and committed to ward in Blackness by the King's commandment. This is done for Bothwell's cause, which Logie greatly favours, and presently it is thought that Bothwell shall receive little relief or comfort at this banquet. It is told

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me that he has been lately tempted with large offers to be reconciled with Huntly, and that he still " holdethe him free " that he may know her Majesty's pleasure and take the advice of some godly of the Kirk. But I refer all this to the advertisement of others.

It is given out that Huntly has lately met some courtiers at Dunblane; that Lord Hume has entertained some mariners and six pilots to be sent to Spain for the convoy of the Spanish fleet; which fleet many now think shall not so hastily trouble these seas and country as has been feared. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Notes in the margin in Burghley's hand.*

Aug. 28. **337.** BURGHLEY TO THE EARL OF SUSSEX.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 192. Transcript in Harl. MSS. 4648, p. 240.

We here think that your lordship is [near arrived] to Berwick; and because by letters of the 19th from Mr. [Bow]es it is doubted whether the [chri]stening did hold upon Sunday last or not, if you shall understand certainly that the ceremony has been passed upon Sunday before your coming, her Majesty's pleasure is that you shall not [co]me into Scotland nor suffer her present to be carried thither. But you shall, as of your own discretion, without seeming to have direction from hence, advertise Mr. Bowes that you do not mean to come into Scotland, considering your message was only to be present at the baptism; and so you shall require him to declare to the King that you will not presume to come into Scotland, considering the purpose of your journey is already at an end; and yet you shall tarry at Berwick until you have further direction from hence upon such answer as you shall receive from the ambassador. But if the christening be not past, but so deferred that you may come to the same, then you shall continue your journey as before. Answer with speed how you find this matter past or not past. Greenwich. *Signed:* W. Burghley.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Edge injured by fire.*

Aug. 30. **338.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

Requesting that a packet of letters addressed to Mr. Bowes may be conveyed to Scotland by post. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

Postscript.—I have heard no certainty of the baptism. If your lordship has received any advertisements thereof I beg to know by the bearer.

⅓ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal.*

Aug. 30. **339.** REPORT OF THE BAPTISM OF FREDERICK HENRY PRINCE OF SCOTLAND.

" A true reportarie of the most triumphant and royal accomplishment of the Baptisme of the most Excellent, right High, and mighty Prince, Frederick Henry, By the grace of God, Prince of Scotland. Solemnised the 30 day of August 1594."

" Printed by Peter Short, for the Widdow Butter, and are to be sold at her shop vnder Saint Austines Church."

[The " reportarie " narrates the coming of the ambassadors and their entertainment in Scotland before the Baptism, with an account of the pastimes

1594. and shows; the proceedings of the ceremony of the Baptism; the knighting of the Prince and proclamation of his title; the dubbing of knights, with their form of oath; a description of the banquet and concluding festivities and courtesies.]

12 *pp.* *Black letter.*

There is another copy in the British Museum (G. 6170).

Aug. 31. **340.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Albeit that the baptism was resolutely appointed to have been solemnized on Wednesday the 28th instant, and the ambassadors to depart on the morrow, yet upon understanding by Sussex's letter sent with Mr. Rowles that the Earl had come to Berwick on Monday last, the 26th, and would be at Stirling the Wednesday following, therefore the King and Queen put over the baptism to the next day. On the Earl's arrival at Stirling on Wednesday he sent me the same night to the King to seek further prorogation, which on the morrow, with some difficulty, was granted, and the solemnization deferred until Friday. On Thursday Sussex had presence of the King and Queen, to whom he delivered her Majesty's letters with all due compliments, and on the morrow accomplished for her Majesty all rights and ceremonies incident to the baptism, in all which he has well and honourably carried himself for her Majesty's honour and with the good liking and acceptation of the King, Queen and others. He has so sufficiently certified to Sir Robert Cecil the particularity of his actions and the effects succeeding thereon that I refer all to the view of his letter.

After the Bishop of Aberdeen * had baptized the Prince in the vulgar tongue of his nation and reported his words and actions in Latin, that all the ambassadors might understand what was said and done, "and that in the meanetyme some other acte passed," he entered into the pulpit and in Latin discoursed of the genealogies, alliances, leagues and amities contracted between the Kings of Scots and every one of the princes sending their ambassadors hither to this baptism. He laboured much to make known how this Prince was descended from these princes, "namely" [*i.e.* especially] from the Kings of England, and herein he sounded the great praise of her Majesty and her benefits to the King. "But he rubbed on the racke wheron Mr. Andrewe Melvill had stricken" in his verses entitled "*Principis Scoti Britannorum natalia.*" Wherein I will shortly call for account, and thereon your lordship shall be further advertised as well what passed and shall be answered by him, as also what the King's answer shall be in allowance and commanding that Mr. Andrew Melville's verses should be imprinted.

Argyll's raid against Huntly is stayed for twenty days by the direction (as I am informed) of the King, so that many of the well affected begin to despair of seeing Huntly effectually prosecuted to his overthrow. It is said that the King has been offended that Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. James Balfour, ministers in Edinburgh, repaired to Argyll. Wherein it was answered that Argyll sent for Mr. Bruce and the King had given order to all the ministers to exhort all noblemen and others to pursue the forfeited Earls, for the execution of which order these two persons have resorted to and travailed with Argyll. I am informed that Donald Gorme has returned home; that he intends to put away his wife, and to marry O'Donel's daughter; in which respect it is thought he is thus ready to aid O'Donel, and that he will not follow

* Mr. David Cunningham.

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1594. Argyll. Of all which I shall give you further certainty on my next meeting with Mr. Bruce and Mr. Balfour. Stirling. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—The Prince is named Frederick Henry, Henry Frederick. The name " to remayne " is Henry.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 31. **341.** EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By reason of the foulness of weather and way on my journey I could not reach Berwick before Monday last, where I was received very honourably by Mr. Governor; and finding the baptism was to be on the Wednesday following, so that I could not be there in time with her Majesty's present, therefore I gave notice to the King, by Mr. Rowles, of my purpose to be at Stirling on Wednesday aforesaid, and sought that the baptism might be put over for a day or two, and I myself passed forwards the next day to Edinburgh, and on the day following to Stirling, leaving Mr. Coningsby (Conisby) to bring the carriages forward with her Majesty's presents. Hereupon the King and Council resolved to defer the baptism no longer than Thursday; and because I could not in that short time have convenient leisure to deliver her Majesty's letters and to have her presents presented with her honour, therefore I sent Mr. Bowes to seek further prorogation of the baptism, which with great difficulty was put over until Friday last. I received the presence of the King and Queen on Thursday, and thereon, after due compliments, I delivered to them her Majesty's letters, with declaration of my instructions touching only the baptism of the Prince, for, upon good consideration, I deferred the charge concerning the Papists and attainted Earls until better opportunity and until I should understand whether the other ambassadors had [dealt] or would deal therein.

The King and Queen have well received her Majesty's letters and the employment of me in this cause. On Friday, the 30th, the christening was solemnized, whereat precedency was given to me for her Majesty, and thereby I carried the child to and from the church, where all things were ordered with all rights for her Majesty's honour. The presents to the Prince were orderly presented and very thankfully accepted by the King and Queen and greatly admired by the Scots, Danes, Germans and Dutchmen, affirming them to be the most stately presents that ever they saw. Trusting to finish all things very shortly, I purpose, if I can and if my health shall serve me, to return on Thursday next to Edinburgh and, after my leave taken, to come forward on my journey to the Court, whereof I can give no certainty of the time, because I feel myself partly " dystempered " and I know not how readily I shall be dismissed by the King. Stirling. *Signed:* Ro. Sussex.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Postal notes, marking times and stages of journey.*

Aug. 31. **342.** MR. RICHARD CONINGSBY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

My lord of Sussex with all the rest of his train came to Stirling on Thursday, 29th August, and on Friday, the 30th, the christening was very solemnly performed within the new chapel in Stirling, where was a very great assembly for these parts. Though I have a great desire to advertise your honour of the state of this country, the shortness of time does not permit me, nor is my acquaintance such as to enable me to satisfy my desire. My disposition is not to be much inquisitive, for I assure your honour I find no manner of content in respect of her Majesty's southern countries, and I verily believe if your

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1594. honour were once here you would hold my opinion. We now look for our despatch, which we desire. Sussex has honourably performed his service. Stirling. *Signed:* Ry. Connyngesbey.

⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed.*

Aug. 31. **343.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 120–122.

The 25th hereof the Laird of Logie was taken at Stirling and sent to the castle of Blackness, and some horse were sent to Fife in search of Spynie and Crawford, who are thought to be Bothwell's friends. Himself is thereabout, but I hope in no danger. The three Papist Earls for truth were privately at Dunblane on the 25th dealing for stay of Argyll, who is preparing against Huntly at the instigation of some of the ministry. The banquet began at Stirling on the 25th, but I hear the baptism will not be till 2nd September. Since his last coming from the north Hume has hired a great many pilots. Since the return of James Forret I have not seen Bothwell, but I go in presently to find him, to know how he will accept of the answer sent with the said Forret. Sussex at his "bygoing" would neither speak nor receive information of us, alleging he was already informed how to proceed in case the Danish ambassadors should begin first to move for Bothwell; whereat I was well pleased by reason I do not esteem it for her Majesty's service that any great intercession were made, or that Bothwell should have his peace so long as you have no certainty of Q [the King]. For if Q prove unkind (as I know he will), "it is best to ryis him with a vage of his awin wood." Though I am a Scotchman yet I am not of that number *qui sibi fingunt principem Scoto-Britannorum.* I doubt not your honour has seen "*Natalia nostri Principis*" made by some *placebo* to flatter our King and offend her Majesty.

On the 24th one Mr. Wellwood (Valwood), civilian in St. Andrews, spoke with me at his "bygoing." By him I saw the said *Natalia* and understood that he had a direction to the King from some of this realm who hated Bothwell and wished his Majesty prosperity, who, notwithstanding, wished him to "reconcile with" Bothwell for strengthening himself. Who these are I could not find out from him, "bot I sall do diligence now at my ingoing to try." But whosoever they have been, they have been no friends either to your father or yourself; for so much he said to me, not knowing how far I was "rendered" to your service. When matters occur pertinent to yourself, or when I am required by the parties (as I was in other two letters) to write specially to your honour, let it not be thought presumption in me or distrust of Mr. Lock; "bot as ever it be," let me know your own pleasure herein.

By your letter to Mr. Governor and another from Mr. Lock to myself I find you have had a great conflict with our ambassador for my removing, and that your honour "seemis informed" I am too desirous to come up. For the former I thank your honour for your courtesies; and to the other I protest that it was never in my mind to come up or to remain here but as you should direct me for her Majesty's service, to which I dedicate myself, not after my own opinions or any Scotsmen's, but by her prudent commandments. If your honour think it be not for her Majesty's service more than for any respect to these noblemen, surely I am "ill interprit." They, indeed, sundry times have pressed me to go up, taking a better opinion of my labour than I do myself. Yea P [the Queen] once requested me, but I told plainly I would do nothing without permission or commandment from above. Therefore I cannot but think there are some "that crossis me," for what cause I know not. From such, please your honour, since you are my Mecenas, let me have

James VI. 1594. your " patrociny " and be not ashamed to defend and comfort me. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—" For Mr. Forret, I sall advertis him of your pleasour."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 31. **344.** JAMES VI. TO THIRLESTANE.

Add MSS. 23, 241, fol. 52. We forget not the pain and " fashierie " which you had in dealing with the partners in the Mint (Cunzehous) at the obtaining of the last silver from them. That has relieved some part of this strait, but the use that it was taken from remains destitute, and we are cast anew in no less difficulty, but rather greater than before through that and sundry other occasions, whereof we have more particularly informed the bearer and send him expressly to you that, as you have been so great a furtherance heretofore, you will now crown your own work and help this relief among the rest; whereupon depends our honour and the necessity of the " furniture " of our house, which it were more than dishonour to let fall while the strangers remain here. We can find no other " moyen " saving that which we have communicated to the bearer, whereanent we look for your " deliberat " advice and instant help as we have not wanted it heretofore " in sic tymes of pruif." Stirling. *Signed:* James R.

Postscript [in the King's hand].—" Helpe nou or never, for I assure you I ame not ydle for you in the meane tyme."

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Addressed.*

August. **345.** TROUBLES OF SCOTLAND.

The present troubles of Scotland seem to grow by two especial parties.

First, from the factious Catholics, of whom Huntly, Angus and Errol are chief, as well by their personal insurrection five years since at the Bridge of Dee (at which time they paid their forces with Spanish gold), as also by their later Blanks to the King of Spain. These being intercepted, they stand now convicted by law, and yet did not fear to send over new commissioners and pledges, to strengthen places, to receive James Gord[on], with sundry Jesuits, Alle[n] and Green * from the Pope, and (which is testimony of their high confidence in foreign aids) to force a city of their sovereign, and to take out of Aberdeen these practisers, who were imprisoned in their Prince's name. They have friends about him, as is suspected; which should move his Majesty the more warily to look to the presence of them and to hold his own person not in safety if their designs may take place.

The other parties seem to offend their sovereign neither for malice to religion nor of purpose, but partly in a general dislike of a hard hand held by the friends of the Papists (who have chief grace in Court) against the chief of nobility, best affected and the King's nearest of blood, and partly in commiseration of Bothwell. Although these parties mislike Bothwell's later attempts of approaching his Prince's person violently, yet his humility afterwards, and readiness to give place to his adversaries at the King's command, make men hold him innocent of any treasonable purpose and to be somewhat heavily dealt with by such as, with breach of the King's princely promise, have since again condemned him after he had by a common trial of law been acquitted, and by

* A certain Thomas Greene was sent out from Seville on the English mission in or about 1590; but he cannot be certainly identified with the person here referred to (*Biog. Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, iii. 36–7). The name of his companion is doubtful, the last part of the word being destroyed by a torn margin.

1594. his Majesty's letters to foreign princes been avowed a faithful and dutiful subject, which also was the cause which induced our borderers, in imitation of the universal affection of the Scottish nation, to be inclined to his relief, which yet now is utterly restrained, and yet since his return to Scotland the King [is] the more endangered and encumbered.

1⅓ *pp. Draft in Henry Lock's hand. Marginal notes and corrections in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.*

Sept. 2. **346.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 122–123.

As I wrote in my last, I came to Edinburgh " to have found N " [Bothwell], and from that I went to Stirling, but have not yet found him. I think he has returned to Liddisdale, and have sent James Forret thither to know his mind in the late answers, so let no fault be imputed to me if to this time nothing be heard thereof. I have also willed the said Forret write Bothwell's mind concerning that matter, if he meet with him before me. There are great bruits here that he has agreed with the three Earls by suggestion of Spott, Halkerston (Hakerson) and Cranston, who are all three indeed with him, " bot trest no thing tharof " till you hear it either from Forret or me.

" The xxix (*sic*) of the last the baptism wes. The Prince name is Herrie. The King and all beis in Edinburgh this 3." The Danes and Flemish will make no stay. The King promises " indelaitlie " to go on the Papistis, albeit his proclamations be not till the end of the month. But these matters go so coldly against them that no man trusts more than he sees. " One thing sall be found certane : that joyin with thame directlie or indirectlie who will (yea, thocht it wer the King him self) he will find as muche to doo as his mother did, asseying the lyik pratique. Tharfor yit behald and how ever it go honest men will fall on your syid ; and (agans my self I spek) the moir indifferent [*i.e.* neutral] yow seem to ws boyth the soner sall we ly by the earis." Argyll indeed goes forward, but the King, fearing to stay him openly, uses many indirect means, which I fear in the end shall stay him. I beseech you once again to write some friendly lines to Ochiltree, for you are much bound to him. Do my service to my honourable Mecænas and " schaw " him that I shall try such matters as I wrote of to him before I return. Linlithgow. *Signed :* Y.

Postscript.—The taking of Logie in my opinion will grow to some great matter " evin in the bowellis of the Court."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk :* " 2 Sept. 1594. Mr. Colvill to Mr. Locke."

Sept. 6. **347.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 123–124.

It was the 5th hereof before I could find Bothwell, he seeking me one way, and I him another, and he had already directed Mr. Forret away without my knowledge or consent, albeit I wrote him two several letters to take no journey on hand till he spoke with me. These letters I know are not come to his hands. Bothwell shows me that he is directed specially to my Lord Chamberlain to declare two things : first, to offer certain things on behalf of the Papist lords, as that they shall be bound to shake off all friendship " contrarius to " the amity, and " simpillie " to follow such course as her Majesty shall direct : secondly, that he will enter in no friendship with them prejudicial to his duty to her Majesty. I have at length conferred upon both these heads and all other matters which, on 28th August, passed betwixt him and sundry of the said

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1594. Papists, as Angus, Errol, Crawford, Caithness (Kaitnes) and Sutherland (Sudderland), and must confess that there is no true meaning, either in the said Papists or in Bothwell, to her Majesty, but only intention to abuse her. For, finding that he dissembled with me (suspecting by some words I had uttered that I liked nothing of his meeting with them without my knowledge), and that he went about to deny their meeting till it grew so manifest that it passed denial, I said that by his "foren doing" he made things lawful unlawful and suspicious, in so much as he went about to hide matters from friends, and so at length he opened up all that passed among them, and their most secret intentions in prosecuting their work, which is intended to be in this sort.

They mind at first to speak nothing against religion or the amity, but to seek reformation of the estate, and removing certain persons from his Majesty. These things being done, they mind in fair manner to entreat her Majesty to make the King security of his title, and, if she delay or refuse, they will seek support of all christian princes, of what religion soever they be, to aid them for debating the right of their sovereign and revenging the death of his mother. This is the second desire; and the last is that all concurring to this service shall have liberty of conscience, whereof no mention shall be made at the beginning.

That her Majesty should suspect nothing, they have willed Bothwell in their name to offer that they shall be ruled by her advice, and to implore her to persuade the Church here that they mean nothing to the hurt of religion, but to the reformation of the estate.

Bothwell also has received some money with which he is presently to list some men, on the pretext that it is to take up his living from such as "bereaffis" him, and he thinks by this means to draw the King from pursuing the Papists this winter, hoping to have refuge in England if the King invade him in the Border with a force which he cannot resist. This is delivered to me with promise of secrecy, but I will keep nothing secret that may be undutiful to her Majesty. All my request is that no other answer be returned with Mr. Forrett than that by keeping his conscience and duty to his Prince clear Bothwell's actions will be the more commendable, and that her Majesty will be loth to intercede or give assurance to the King or Church for persons that have so oft violated their handwrits to both, marvelling much what moved him so suddenly to be a requester for such as not a month since he promised to destroy. I have also written a letter to Forrett to negotiate this matter as your honour shall direct him; and, after you have perused it, please see it closed and given to him. I trust you shall find him faithful in all respects. I have been so occupied in seeking Bothwell since my coming to Scotland that I have not yet gone to St. Andrews "to spek Walwood" [Wellwood] but ere I come to England, God willing, I shall. *Signed:* Y. [John Colville].

Postscript.—I beseech your honour, "till aftervard," that these matters go no farther than to her Majesty and such others of the Council as it pleases her and you to impart them to. As I have oft written, the beholding of us indifferently [*i.e.* with neutrality] for some few months shall work more for your effect than the assisting of any of us. For, if these Papists mean truly to Bothwell, then the King, for envy to him, will seriously pursue them, and so he will do your turn. If the King should still wink at them, then they of the religion, with your help, shall put him and all the Papists to the point his mother was at before. Other matters I have written to Mr. Henry Lock. [*On the back.*] After the closing hereof, Mr. Forrett, finding one of my letters, has advertised me that, notwithstanding Bothwell's direction, he will do nothing but as I shall direct him. Therefore I have made him send all his message

1594. "be writ," or else, if he go up, to go no farther than Ware, but to send for Mr. Lock and communicate all to him.

3⅓ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 6. **348.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

As the expecting of answer and further directions from the King "breade" my stay here, so upon the receipt thereof I had matter for audience, which her Majesty granted me on Tuesday last, your lordship being absent from Court. My whole instructions being almost comprised in a letter (which the bearer will show you) written to me from the King, but somewhat pathetic and imputing the unexpected answer which I advertised from the Queen rather to my neglect than to her "indisposition," I took the boldness to present the letter. On reading the words, the gross faults and little decorum kept were at first taken up and marked. These I excused "upon" my uncle's * absence from Court, who would have advised a more calm style and "surveyed it better nor it is set doun," and if I myself had been present I should have been loth to have allowed the like to escape "so foulishe," as her Majesty (prettily alluding to the writer's name) termed it, and informal. Neither was it willingly presented to her Majesty's sight, whom, as I before "divined," I found a true censurer of the faults contained therein, nor do I send it willingly to be surveyed by your lordship, whose "censure" [*i.e.* criticism] I likewise fear "as ane other Aristarchus"; but in truth the very cause of my proceeding therein was that I could not learn "perqueir" † or express by mouth so unsavoury a "leasson," nor, as I told her Majesty, comment upon a text wherewith I was not acquainted; and, if I had been so evil advised as to have uttered it, or anything like it, I am assured her Majesty, and justly, would have condemned me as speaking without a warrant. "Allwayes," as she has been pleased, upon consideration of my honest part and sincere dealing, "not to tak hould that ony suche like thing hes cummed to her eyes," so I doubt not of your lordship's like discretion, to whose wise consideration I wholly remit myself. But howsoever the form [of the letter] can hardly be excused, the substance must not be neglected by me, but my instructions collected out of the same. Whereby being directed to insist for the present advancing of the next year's gratuity, I must have recourse to your lordship, whom I have "chused" to trouble by this rude letter rather than by mouth, to solicit such good furtherance as may work his Majesty's satisfaction in that point. The reasons moving me I remit to your lordship's good consideration. Only this far I will affirm upon knowledge of our troubled state, that the work intended will not have the wished end without her Majesty's concurrence, whose liberal hand being "abstracted" at this present will furnish matter of excuse and "remyses" anew, and perhaps draw on other inconveniences affecting the amity. And not to forget that which touches myself nearest, I hope that, as your lordship has hitherto been a good means to entertain my uncle's credit with the King his sovereign, you will continue and not "suffer the same be eclipsed with my owin," which doubtless will fall out if I return empty. And because her Majesty seems to doubt of the King not craving the gratuity for the next year if any sum be now granted, let it be given (as I answered) with such a condition that in reason it cannot again be demanded. But, having desired the bearer to supply the defects in this letter, I beg you to hear him, doubting nothing of his fidelity and sufficiency. My

* The Chancellor.

† ? *par cœur*: by heart.

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1594. desire to return with such answer as may be to his Majesty's satisfaction "breades" this forced importunity *ultra fines verecundiæ*. But, remembering that I am like to "empeshe" your weightier affairs, I end abruptly, not forgetting my heartiest thanks for your often and kind remembrance of me in venison. London. *Signed:* R. Cockburne.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley. Red wax seal.*

Sept. 7. **349.** BOTHWELL TO THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH.

Printed in Miss Warrender's *Illustrations*, Letter xvi.; summarised in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 262.

I am sorry that upon "sinistrous informatioun," you should in secret places have detracted me, being innocent and having suffered for your sakes. Yet, lest you should account me arrogant, I have thought good to "cleare the trewth" both of my estate and proceedings with the Papist lords, leaving it thereafter to your discretion either to continue as you have begun or to pity me by keeping silence. My estate, then, is this: I have been most rigorously and undeservedly pursued by my sovereign, so that nothing can satisfy him, or at least them about him, but my innocent blood and the extirpation of my friends and family. From England, in whom I confided most, I have been banished upon my peril, and also certified that hereafter they would use no further supplication for my relief, nor give any succour for my present wants. Among our nobility, burghs and ministers who were cautioners for his Majesty [and] witnesses of his promises passed to me, not one can I find that will or dare present my supplication to his Majesty. My friends are hanged, slain and beggared, our lands distributed and possessed by our enemies, and myself with them brought to such extremity, that we know not where to go with an hour's safety of our life, and if our lives were safe, yet have we no means of sustenance. If this extremity may suffer any longer lingering from embracing of some course for my relief, let your worships consider. I am sorry nothing could satisfy you but that my extremities should be known to the world, more to the "insulting" [*rectius*, exulting] of my enemies than to my advantage. Yet I despair not, seeing the Lord is strong enough and that I know I am innocent, some day to render to them as I received and to content you better than you expect at my hands.

Thus far of my estate; now concerning the Papist lords. Most true it is I met with Angus and Errol, to whom I never refused speech in respect of our long friendship, which ever to this hour has continued inviolable. Of late other extremities made them join with Huntly, yet not against me, but for their own "particulars." They then began to lay before my eyes the injuries which ill advised councillors about his Majesty have induced him to execute against us, craving that I, as one specially interested, even more than they, would concur to put in practice the lovable custom of our progenitors at Lauder,* whereunto I most willingly assented. It was then replied by them that so great a matter could not be compassed except by the brotherly conjunction of the "pecatoris," which I granted was true. They then required me that matters questionable betwixt Huntly and me might be removed, or at least assurance granted, during the service and "till the bairne † came to perfite age of 16 or 17 yers," at which time Huntly should be bound at Ochiltree's sight and mine to satisfy the party, or to license us to concur and assist with our friend as before. They promised, further, that if we would assent to this they should satisfy the Queen of England for me in all she should require, they receiving such security from her as the weightiness of so dangerous

* *i.e.* the hanging of the favourites of James III. at Lauder Bridge in 1482.
† Probablythe young Earl of Moray. See *Warrender Papers*, ii. 264 *n.*

1594. a cause demerited. Also in order that the ministry should not have occasion to calumniate me, they were content presently to offer and, being peaceably settled in their own estates, to perform whatsoever they possibly could for satisfaction of the Kirk, according to the acts and constitutions of the same. I answered that I was not yet resolved whether to accept or not, but having advised with my friends I should return them answer.

This is all that was spoken; if any one has reported less or more, it is false. I know it is said that I was with Huntly (who indeed was within five miles); that I should have received money for lifting 500 or 600 horse; that I was already listing them; that I was bound and "conjoynit" with them in all their causes; that I had now uncovered "my lang and deip dissimulate hipocrisies" and become an open Papist. In order that these impudent lies may the more visibly be seen, I am content to "prorogate" to the 25th of September the answer which I should have given on the 10th, so that you may have leisure to insist with his Majesty, offering in my name whatever you shall think convenient that possibly, with credit, I may perform. If all reasons shall be refused and none of my humble offers accepted, I beseech you not to construe hardly my behaviour hereafter, since I protest that I shall never swerve from our faith professed here within this realm, and if I conjoin with any apostates it shall be as David did with the Philistines and as divers of your venerable society did with Maxwell, an open, known Papist. I know it will be answered he was not excommunicated. Yet you will confess that my extremities now are greater than yours were then, for you had satisfaction, "retreit," liberty and safety of life in England, all of which I lack. As my extremities surpass yours, so my conjunction with the excommunicated may the better be borne with; adding also this temporal argument, that it is hard to lose a heritable earldom, specially having the blessing from God of children. Thus far I thought good to impart to your worships the simple truth, in declaring whereof if anything has been spoken rashly or undutifully I offer myself to be censured, punished and commanded as you shall think convenient.

2 *pp. Copy. Endorsed by Bowes's clerk:* "Copie of the letter sent by th'Erle Bothwell to the Presbiterie of Edenbrughe. vij Septembris 1594."

Sept. 8. **350.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 5th and 6th instant I received your two several letters of 31st August. By the latter I perceive that my letter of 22nd August was then brought to your lordship. Since then I have sent you two other letters, on 27th and 31st August, and trust that these shall fully satisfy your lordship of occurrents.

According to your direction of 18th August I have charged Robert Waldegrave, the King's printer here and her Majesty's natural subject, with his undutifulness in printing or publishing matter prejudicial to her Majesty, and the rather because he had before offended in England and has made means to be restored to grace. This Waldegrave has acknowledged; and said that at the King's commandment he printed a little book intituled *Principis Scoti-Britannorum natalia*, written by Mr. Andrew Melvill, Rector of the University of St. Andrews; that he does not understand Latin; and that if he had known that the verses any wise concern her Majesty, he would not have printed them. He denies having sent in England or published any of these pamphlets except only one. He says Mr. William Walwood, Master of Arts in St. Andrews, caused those verses to be imprinted at the Hague, in Holland, and has dis-

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persed many of them in England. He seems very sorrowful for his fault, thus "eschaped" (he says) through ignorance, and this error shall be a lesson to him in all times coming. Lastly, he told me that the Bishop of Aberdeen willed him to print his oration at the baptism, offering to procure the King's warrant for the same; but he denied to do it.

Because I understand that the King had commanded his printer to print these verses, therefore I acquainted the King with the matter. Showing him the verses in print (which before the receipt of your letter I had not seen or heard of), I told him that the poet, by naming him King of all Britain in possession, cannot but breed offence to her Majesty, considering her portion is the greatest part of Britain and his the less, and I concluded in such sort that no show of misliking should appear in her Majesty that the Prince, his son, should be honoured with all titles due to him. The King answered that Mr. Andrew Melvill presented the verses to him, requiring his warrant to Waldegrave to print them; which warrant he granted, and did not read the verses, neither did he think that anything therein touched her Majesty in any sort. Further, being descended as he was, he could not but make claim to the crown of England after the decease of her Majesty, who was well pleased to promise to him that upon his good behaviour towards her she would never hurt or impeach his title or right therein. He protested earnestly that he had never sought, nor would hereafter seek, to "preveyne" * the time or challenge anything therein in her Majesty's days. He and all the world well knew that she was the daughter and heir of King Henry the Eighth, by whom he derived his title, which could not come to him before her Majesty's decease, whose long life and prosperous estate he heartily wished. Then I put him in mind that the Bishop of Aberdeen had touched the same string in his oration at the baptism, and prayed that a copy of the same might be delivered to me. He affirmed thereon that poets and scholars would oftentimes and without good discretion publish "conceiptes" occupying their heads and pleasing their minds, notwithstanding their actions therein little profited, and he agreed to order the Bishop to give me a copy of his oration, which albeit I had divers times demanded and the Bishop promised, yet I have not yet received it, looking to have it very shortly.

Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun lately sent Matthew Douglas with letters to the King, surmising that the ministry had procured them to be excommunicated by the Kirk and forfeited by Parliament, notwithstanding that at Perth and Linlithgow they had offered their trial, which was refused, and wherein some foreign princes would intercede for them. They prayed that some of the King's Council might be sent to confer with them and hear their offers; otherwise that they might not be blamed if any trouble should fall in the country. Search was made for the apprehension of Douglas, the messenger, whom the King purposed to have punished. But he escaped, with the help (some say) of Linclouden and one of the King's Council.

The Convention of the Estates at Edinburgh shall begin on the 10th instant to deliberate concerning the King's raid against the forfeited Earls. Because it is now generally believed that Bothwell has met at Fettercairn (Fetterkarne), in Angus, with Angus, Errol, Auchindoun (sent for Huntly), and others of their accomplices, and that they have knit themselves together and taken order to levy strong forces of their friends and mercenary soldiers in sundry parts of the realm, therefore it is thought meet to provide sufficient strength to attend upon the King for safety of his person and surety of the

* *i.e.* prevent: act in anticipation of or preparation for. See *New English Dictionary.*

1594. service in this journey. It is alleged by many that the forces to be levied by proclamation shall do little service and greatly hazard the King's person and common cause. It will therefore be advised (as I hear) to levy a sufficient number of horse and footmen, and for defray of the charges the subjects bound to attend on the King in this raid shall be licensed, for reasonable fines, to remain at home, and the fine money shall be employed for the pay of the soldiers serving. Further, forasmuch as the sum of the fines and power of the King will not suffice for the pay of the soldiers, therefore other means must be taken for the same by this Convention. As it is now thought dangerous to burden the subjects with new taxations, it is "lyke" that they will seek her Majesty's aid herein, and one of the preachers in his sermon plainly moved the Earl of Sussex in the same. In order that I might prevent suit being made to her Majesty in this behalf, I have taken occasion to make known to sundry councillors, ministers, and others of quality the excessive charges wherewith she is presently burdened in France, the Low Countries, Ireland, and on the seas, amounting near to 15,000*l.* What I shall do further herein I leave to your direction.

Argyll, with his forces, is stayed until the 18th instant, that he may meet the King against Huntly and the rest in the beginning of October. He has written to the King, and by the ministers sought that the King would by his letters charge Alan MacDonald Duff in Lochaber, MacRanald (Mackrenauld) there, and Donald MacAngus (Mackaignus) of Glengarry, with their forces, to attend on Argyll on this journey against Huntly, and let them know that the King will defend them against Huntly at all times hereafter. This the King has done. Secondly, Argyll requires that the footmen to be set forth by Edinburgh and other burghs to attend on the King in this raid may be turned into horsemen to serve with him. Thirdly, that one herald-at-arms may be sent to him to execute all proclamations and charges. Fourthly, that Huntly's possessions in Lochaber may be granted to him. He intends to enter on his journey on the 18th instant with 6000 men. He looks to be assisted by Lord Forbes, and he will not call Atholl out of his own country, so that he may defend his own bounds. He will "carye" with him MacLean, which the King mislikes. Yet Argyll alleges that he cannot leave MacLean behind lest he join with Glenorchy (Glenorquhy) and trouble the country. [*In the margin:* The King is purposed to send for Argyll to take full order with him in all things for this raid.]

Argyll offers to put Huntly out of his own bounds, Caithness and Sutherland, and to enter into and keep his houses. Besides that, he will with his "lomfades" possess Pentland Firth, so that Huntly shall have no passage by water thereon. Therefore he desires her Majesty to send some ship or pinnace to surprise Huntly in case he shall seek passage by sea to foreign places, and further that, when he is in possession of Huntly's houses and has finished these services, she will aid him to continue and hold the possession of the houses entered into by him. All which he has prayed me (by the ministers lately with him) to commend to her Majesty's consideration. He is not assured whether Donald Gorm has returned out of Ireland. It has been informed that sundry "lomfades" with Donald's forces have gone home, but it is not known whether he and his forces have come out of Ireland. He [Argyll] has agreed to endeavour to call out of Ireland all such as are there and will be at his commandment. But he has no trust in Donald Gorm, notwithstanding that Donald has made large offers to him.

One gentleman of good quality (and known, I think, to your lordship) has been inwardly entertained by the attainted Earls and done many offices

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for them. He pretends to be privy to all their plots and designs past, present and future, and to be able at home or abroad to prevent and defeat their chiefest means and desires, for reward. He seems to be fallen from these lords in regard that by parting [*i.e.* distributing] of the gold lately brought he was not regarded as he looked for. Therefore he offers to discover to her Majesty all their plots and practices past, present and future, and to draw all things touching the same to her own course and pleasure. For his reward herein he demands to have either a pension of 300 angels by year or else 1000 angels in ready money, whereof 300 to be given "in purse" and the residue upon service done. He requires his name to be concealed until matters shall be more ripe, and that I would acquaint your lordship with all these offers and effects to the intent that he may know her Majesty's pleasure in the same. He has not hitherto opened to me any secrets, saving that one of the Englishmen come in with Mr. James Gordon is the son of a Catholic gentleman and your kinsman,—by which note your lordship will (he says) readily know this person. He affirms that the alteration in Scotland shall be sudden and exceeding great, that dangerous effects to both these realms shall follow thereon, [and] that the forfeited Earls have corrupted many of the nobility and others able to do them great pleasure in Court, country and field when the King shall come to it; and he has made these seem so great in general sort that I durst not bear the burden of passing them over without advertisement to your lordship, and therein to attend your further direction. The name and quality of this gentleman shall be shortly "and in tyme" made known to you.

It is true that Bothwell and some gentlemen with him met Angus and Errol, with Auchindoun, whereof I received some advertisement by letter from a personage of a special quality and place, a copy of which letter I enclose. I have seen other letters agreeing with the same, and I understand that by several means your lordship and Sir Robert Cecil shall be advertised in all particularities touching these matters of the Earl Bothwell. I shall acquaint you with such intelligences as I shall gather in these behalfs, which presently occupy all men's heads with firm expectation of hasty and very strange effects and alterations in this realm, and whereby it shall be found by experience that there lies a venomous serpent covered under fair herbs and sweet speeches. As I shall gather further light, I shall give you further information.

By other credible advertisements I am informed that Bothwell has received 1000 crowns, wherewith he has promised to levy 120 horsemen; that other large offers are made to him by the Earls; that to draw the King from them, Bothwell shall take and fortify the Hermitage; that he has lately passed over the water to meet with Huntly and to resolve for all their proceedings; and that many Catholic noblemen are ready to "partye" the Earls and Bothwell in their action for the reformation of the estate here, with purpose to enter farther into other causes, in England or elsewhere, of great moment. All these secrets and particularities will be, I trust, fully opened by others, knowing the bottom of them better than I do. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—I am newly advertised very credibly that Donald Gorm was seen on the coast of Carrick in Scotland on 16th August; whereupon the inhabitants "put themselves" to withstand his landing. But he put to the seas and crossed over to Ireland, where he and most of his forces still remain.

5¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

James VI.
1594. Enclosure with the same.

([ ] to Robert Bowes.)

I send these few lines in respect that I am so troubled with the cold that I am compelled to rest at my house for a few days. Since my departing from you I have learned what proceeded between Bothwell and the Earls in the north at their last meeting. Angus, Errol and Caithness, with Auchindoun for the Earl of Huntly, met Bothwell and James Douglas, and they have banded themselves together to assist "howe soone ether partye fyndis proper tyme for ther effecte." In the meantime their condition is to "misknowe other" and to deny their agreement. Bothwell has received silver to lift 300 horse, and intends to keep house in the Hermitage till his Majesty passes to the north against the Earls, when he will take the field with his friends in the south. The Earls lift 500 horse "in wages," and "giveth forthe to make of horsemen xv^{m} houndreth, and of footemen 3000," with the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland. They look for divers noblemen who have not "kythed" [*i.e.* declared themselves], and I fear their party to be enough to begin a trouble in this isle. They have accorded amongst themselves to make offers apart, and in case any of them finds more favour than another that he "sall accepte with promise to continewe ther bande," and that his agreement shall not be for himself but for furtherance of their common cause either by force or other means. I am informed hereof by a sure "moyen," and to make you "foreseyne" of the same. His Majesty is of good disposition to put order to their designs, and "hes fewe to concurr with him." It is thought strange by good men that the Council of England "takes it no farder to harte." I fear they will put to their hand when it shall be harder to put remedy thereto. I remember that a delay to "make helpe" in due time lost Newhaven, and consequently Calais, "or the pledgis bound for it." I remit the rest to your consideration. You know our estate so well that I need not to inform you thereof. I never remember these 36 years past greater appearance of danger to the whole isle. "Ryve" [*i.e.* tear up] my letter. I am sorry that any of the said Earls or Bothwell, being my particular friends, should take such courses, but will ever prefer the true religion and the amity of this isle to all particulars. I look that no person shall be privy to this present but yourself. 6th Sept. 1594.

½ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Sept. 8. **351.** EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

After I had fully performed all her Majesty's instructions touching the baptism of the Prince, and found the King at convenient leisure, then I sought further audience, and opened to him the residue of my instructions concerning the Papist Earls. I let him first understand that her Majesty, receiving great contentment by the birth of his son, was besides very much satisfied to understand of his kingly resolution to suppress forthwith the rebellious Earls. Secondly, that her Majesty was very glad to hear of his constancy to prosecute these rebels thus effectually, for thereon depends his safety. Thirdly, that it is great comfort to her to hear that the hearts of his people and subjects are so much alienated from these dangerous persons, as is well approved by their readiness in offering to furnish him with forces. Fourthly, I told him that his people would sooner have offered themselves and their services if he had sooner used more remedies and severity against these attainted rebels. I opened what inconvenience shall arise to him by any underhand show of favour

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1594. to them, albeit in matters of small moment; and I touched all other matters so far as my memory served me. He answered that these persons had many ways given him just cause to proceed severely against them, whereupon he alone, as it were, prepared their forfeitures by Parliament. Since that time they have often and by many means suited for his grace, but would never perform his reasonable orders.

[He said] that these Earls and the Earl of Caithness have lately met with Bothwell and concluded to knit them together for his hurt and to trouble the peace in this realm; and now lately they have sent out desperate men with their letter certifying that they had been hardly dealt with and wrongfully slandered in their actions, demanding that the King would see them have justice and let some of his Council speak with them, otherwise, if hereafter any hurt should come to the King, they should not be blamed therein. Their pride and threatening herein he said he much disliked, affirming that he would effectually and with all expedition prosecute them; and for the execution thereof had appointed a Convention at Edinburgh to begin on the 9th instant; further, that he purposed to punish the bearer of their letter, but he had escaped. He thanked her Majesty for her good advice and goodwill, protesting earnestly to be ready to requite the same with all kindness and good deeds in his power. Lastly he said that albeit his power does not suffice to execute full punishment on these persons, and that he looked to have been supplied by her Majesty, yet he would not leave them unpunished, but proceed against them with all his power to correct them by his laws or drive them out of the realm by his force.

In my reply I thought it meet to take hold of his promise to pursue these offenders by his own forces and power, to which I earnestly persuaded him, using therein all such arguments as are set down in my instructions, and I concluded that I would be very glad to bring to her Majesty news of the good health of himself, the Queen and the Prince, and also of some certain report of his further progress in these affairs which so essentially import him. Whereunto he assured me very confidently that he will indeed proceed against these Earls and with the advice of the next Convention go forward at the time appointed. This, his firm and fast promise, I told him I would make known to her Majesty. To all which he readily consented. Albeit that he entered into speech "with" Bothwell, I took occasion, as of myself, to show him how I had heard her Majesty condemn Bothwell's actions at Holyrood-house and other places, and followed my instructions in that behalf, yet finding him so precisely bent against Bothwell I let the matter fall, and so ended my negotiation with him. Now I attend my despatch, which I hope shall be granted within three or four days. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ro. Sussex.

Postscript.—Since the writing hereof I obtained a copy of the letter written by the Earls to the King, which I have herewith sent you.

2 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley. Postal notes.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Angus, Huntly, Errol and George Gordon of Auchindoun to James VI.)

We, your Majesty's most humble and native subjects, William Earl of Angus, George Earl of Huntly, Francis Earl of Errol, and George Gordon of Auchindoun, complain and show that anent the alleged conspiracy with Spain, the ministry, our conjured enemies, have first excommunicated us, notwithstanding which we have since offered ourselves at Perth and Linlithgow to have "bidden" due trial if we could have been sure and out of danger in the

1594. time of our trial; which was refused. Not being satisfied with this, they made your Majesty forfeit us in the last Parliament. Which unjust excommunication and forfeiture have come to the knowledge of foreign christian princes, "where (*sic*) to interceede your Majestie with all dutyes and offices that lyeth in them for the reliefe of our distressed estate," and if this shall not prevail they will use further means. Therefore for quieting the state of our country we earnestly desire your Highnes to appoint some of the Council to confer with us, "where" we shall offer such offers that your Majesty shall be contented, and the state of our country made sure; and in case that this be not accepted and that matters "frame" otherwise, to the hurt of our country, let us be holden blameless, seeing we have offered at all times such reasonable conditions and offers. We doubt not but your Majesty's wonted clemency will continue, seeing we are willing to do our duties to the end, as native and true subjects, and shall so continue as long as we live and so far as our duty and conscience can bind us.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed:* "3th of September, 1594. A letter from the Papist Earles to the Kinge."

Sept. 9. **352.** QUEEN ANNE TO ELIZABETH.

Printed in *Warrender Papers*, ii. 266.

By the greatness of your courteous affection to us and our son we are moved to acknowledge our thanks not only by mouth to your ambassador but by "writt" to yourself, that as hitherto your favourable disposition towards us arose from the merits and amity of the late King of Denmark, so we doubt not hereafter by our own deserts and behaviour to enlarge the same, seeing it has pleased God to bless us in our son, so near in blood to yourself, in whose birth your joy has far surpassed the universal gladness of other nations. We render you infinite thanks, assuring you that we shall endeavour to prove ourselves thankful. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Anne R.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Red wax seal; blue silk fastening.*

Sept. 10. **353.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 126.

Unhappy N. [Bothwell] has gone north again to the Earls, having in company with him Boyd, Halkerston, Foster and Orrock, "to sett down the counsale of that unchristian warre." Since he took this course I have been much discouraged, but the Lord, I hope, shall send light out of darkness. The good people now will admit no excuse if the King go not against these Papists, and I think he will be the more willing. For myself, the best of the ministry, finding me free of this apostacy, have "lamented" my cause to his Majesty, and I am in some hope to get favour, which I will no way accept unless it be consented to by her Majesty and Sir Robert Cecil. I acquaint your "leger" * with all my proceedings herein. Mar, Dunipace, Thomas Erskine are the men who labour for me without my desire. Bruit has even now come that the said Papists "have a surpris upon Dundie."

There is great appearance that the one half of the courtiers shall thrust out the other, and the Chancellor, in all men's opinion, seems to be "feared" and to have cause of fear. The fire that has been long smothered up among us will now burst out. Let me hear Cecil's pleasure "from hir Majeste" in this treaty for me, and "till we see what effect it takkis let it go abroad." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

* *leger:* resident ambassador; *i.e.* Mr. Bowes.

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1594.

Postscript.—This same day the ministry and burghs have promised for two months 500 horse [and] 500 footmen, and the barons 300 horse. His Majesty has promised largely "to keip the 2 of the nixt to that jurney." But I fear unhappy Bothwell will stay him, for Bothwell minds to "kyith" [*i.e.* declare himself] on the Border, and so the King will be forced to seek him. But in this course he will be unable to do as before, for all the honest men who followed him have already left him, and he has lost the favour of the people.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 11. **354.** JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

Printed in Tytler, ix. 141–142; spelling modernised.

I could not permit the nobleman bearer hereof to depart without returning you my most hearty thanks for honouring me with so noble a representative. And where you excuse his youth, surely he was the fitter for a young King and feasting days. I cannot sufficiently commend his extreme diligence in coming and courteous and mild behaviour here.

As for the other part of his commission, and your letter, which concerns the Spanish lords here, you can be no earnester now in that matter than I am. I have vowed to pursue them by extremity and never to take rest until I put some end thereunto. Suppose you may justly accuse my deferring so long to put order unto them, yet according to an old proverb, it is better late thrive than never. I will think my fault the more excusable if the example keeps you from falling in the like error in the sending of assistance. But this I remit to your own wisdom, for you are not ignorant how occasion is painted. I cannot omit to lay some griefs before you, but I remit the particulars to the bearer, only touching thus far by the way. I think you have not given commission to any of your Council to treat with Bothwell's ambassador, nor yet allow that his agent, and one guilty of all his treasons, should use his public devotion in the French Kirk, in presence of my ambassador; who, indeed, was more patient at the sight thereof than he is likely to get thanks for at my hands. You know, Madame, none can brook me and Bothwell both. Examine straitly your councillors, and suffer them not to behave themselves more to your dishonour than to my discontentment. If James Forret or any other Bothwellists be at this present within your country, I crave delivery according to the treaties, your many hand-written promises and my good deserts by O'Rourke. As you have been godmother both to me and my son, so I doubt not you will be a good mother to us both. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* James R.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

[Sept.] **355.** JAMES VI.'S PETITIONS TO ELIZABETH.

"Notes of some petitions uttered by his Majestie to the Earle of Sussex, ambassadeur for the Queene his dearest sister, to be delivered unto her."

To dilate to the Queen what disgrace his Majesty accounts was done to him that James Forret (not only an avowed agent for Bothwell, but likewise guilty of the two last treasons at Holyroodhouse and the raid of Leith, and fugitive therefor) durst be present in the French Church publicly in time of service "in the eyes of" his Majesty's ambassador. He craves that, according to the amity between the two crowns, she will examine narrowly how Forret has been so publicly received and maintained in London, punish the authors thereof "to whatsoever degree," and, if the said Forret be presently there, cause him to be delivered according to the treaty and her manifold

1594. promises; that she will call to a strait account all her councillors, whether they have had any dealing with the said Forret in Bothwell's affairs of late or not; what it was, and if he craved in Bothwell's name permission for him to have intelligence [with] and receive money from the Papist lords. This being tried by her Majesty he remits to her own wisdom to judge thereupon as she thinks most convenient, for he wishes no more than that she be acquainted with the proceedings of all men whom she commits any credit to.

To complain of the ordinary and daily "receipte" of divers of his Majesty's avowed rebels within her Majesty's dominion, as "namelye" of Colville's dwelling with his wife and bairns in Tweedmouth, and Thomas Cranston's at Wark, besides divers of that society who go publicly in the streets of Berwick. His Majesty therefore prays the Queen to take order with the authors of this contempt, and, in case they defend themselves by interpreting the Queen's last proclamation only to extend to Bothwell's own person and not to any of his company, he prays her to interpret her law according to the ground thereof, which was the treaty of peace and league, and not to such "sophisticke captions," for Bothwell is no such giant that he can do any harm alone, having no company.

[To dilate to the Queen] that, seeing his Majesty is now making ready for his expedition to the north, he desires her to give strait order upon all her Borders that, in case Bothwell shall make any stir for hindering and interrupting his godly and honourable designs, none of his [*sic*? her] subjects, of whatsoever degree, be permitted to join or concur with him; and, in case he should press to assemble any Scottish forces within her country (as he did last at the raid of Leith), that he be not permitted to do the same again, nor to take muster, display cornet or ensign, blow trumpet, strike drum or in any wise be permitted by her Majesty or [with] her officers' knowledge to be within her dominions.

His Majesty craves of her Majesty that, during his absence out of the south parts of his country, she will cause such forces to be directed to attend at all convenient places of her Borders as may not only help to keep the said Borders in quietness, but likewise concur with and assist his officers for suppressing insolent rebels of either of the princes.

2¼ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed in the same hand:* "1594. Copy of the effect of the King of Scottis speache to the Earl of Sussex."

Another copy of the same.

Sept. 11. **356.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I enclose a letter lately received and trust that thereby you will understand the present condition of this variable and broken estate and Bothwell's course. The writer will faithfully and wisely discover to you all in his knowledge; and I commend the necessity of his present estate to your consideration. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 13. **357.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I enclose a packet from the King to the Secretary of Scotland. The Earl of Sussex entered on his journey to England on Thursday the 12th instant. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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358. EARL OF SUSSEX TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I was this day struck by a horse on my leg, so that I cannot stand without help, and do not know when I shall be at London. I mean, if I can, to be at Newark to-morrow (Monday) night and to rest at Belvoir or Lord Willoughby's for three or four days. I beg you to be a means that Mr. Baker may come thither to meet me. Northallerton. *Signed:* Ro. Sussex.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Postal notes.*

Sept. 15. **359.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By my letter of the 13th instant to Sir Robert Cecil it will be known that the Earl of Sussex, taking his full leave of the King on Wednesday last, the 11th, returned the next day to Berwick, purposing to hasten his journey to the Court with report of his negotiation, and with the King's message to her Majesty and the present condition of this state and of the occurrents here. In which last behalf I shall shortly by my servant, Sheperson, give your lordship further advertisement, *etc.*

After the King had uttered to Sussex the great comfort which he received by her Majesty's kindness showed to him and his son by the employment of so noble a personage and gift of so princely presents, he showed himself highly pleased with the honourable behaviour and carriage of the Earl in all these actions, and also required me to commend the same so that his lordship might receive of her Majesty due thanks and praise. Besides, by the greatness of the charges sustained here by the Earl and his company for her Majesty's honour, the ambassadors and this people have been taken with great admiration, saying that the like has not been seen. The King's request, therefore, and my own experience occasion me to subscribe this testimony, and to accompany the same with remembrances of the good deserts of Lord Wharton and of all the gentlemen attending here on the Earl on his journey; wherein I cannot omit how much Mr. Edward Gorges (Gorge) has been honoured for his courtly and courteous carriage, and how Mr. Coningsby and Mr. Rolles have performed their duties with careful providence for her Majesty's honour.

The King continues resolute to proceed in his raid against the Papist Earls and to enter into the same on 1st or 2nd October, as presently it is enacted. He purposes to remain in the north two months or thereabouts to complete all things for the full prosecution and punishment of these rebels. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 16. **360.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. HENRY LOCK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, 127-8.

Albeit this unhappy man has ruined himself (which you oft feared), yet let our love and intelligence never decay, being founded upon so solid ground. N. [Bothwell] has had by means of these Papists, from whence he has returned, two great enterprises, the one for possessing his Majesty, the other for murdering Sir George Hume, both of which have failed and sundry of the associates [have been] apprehended, of whom I fear many shall be executed. Since he entered in these courses women and young boys have been in his secret, for Mr. Allan Orme, a young creature, is taken with letters which have opened the whole matter. So there is such order taken here in Edinburgh and Leith that Bothwell can never remain here any more, and Hume, Cessford [and] Buccleuch have taken his lands and "protested" to keep him out of

1594. the Border, which is easy for them to do, and her Majesty will be solicited to renew her proclamations against him, whereby, alas! I think him lost.

I think this raid upon the Papists shall now hold, and the men of war are "lifting" daily, the people gladly contributing for that service and delivering all to the ministers of Edinburgh, of whom Mr. Bruce and Mr. Balcanqual should go with his Majesty to be witnesses of his sincerity. The Laird of Logie is committed to the Castle of Edinburgh. It is suspected he shall die; and young Anstruther is also taken.

Now, in respect that Bothwell is distressed in manner aforesaid, the Papist lords who hoped that he should before 2nd October have possessed the estate, or with some troops of horsemen joined with them, or, remaining in this country [*i.e.* the south], have by incursions drawn his Majesty back again, will be found disappointed and have no refuge but to flee to Caithness or to embark and depart.

The bruit of strangers arriving is again renewed, but I hear no certainty. Surely if Mr. Forret "went ower bot 8 dayis" he could make you certain. Mr. Thomas Cranston and Spott, who have led my lord to this miserable course (especially Mr. Thomas, who says he can "byid" * a year in England and Scotland with the displeasure of both the Princes), should be prohibited your Border "and a speciall letter vritten to Sir John Shelby for that effect." You know what an enemy Mr. Thomas is to your estate. I pray you use Mr. Forret kindly, for he will merit it. For myself, weary not to "do" for me, and remember the estate of my wife and household to Sir Robert Cecil. Let me know whither I shall address my letters for Mr. Dean (Dane), for I shall be sorry to omit my duty to "such a pretius stone." Edinburgh. *Signed:* John Colvile.

Postscript.—If Mr. Forret be absent, open his letters and "do as he wer present."

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 16. **361.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Although our "lait initiat" acquaintance has had small progress and has not been entertained with such external ceremonies as is "accustomable," yet I thank you for your good-will, with assurances of my reciprocal affection and such small services as may serve to the entertaining of the amity and the continuing of our own particular credit, as the bearer will inform you more at length. I take leave of you by him and by these few lines; which I would gladly have done "by mouth" yesterday after I had kissed her Majesty's hand. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 16. **362.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 127–128.

Since my "hiddercumming" the whole Court laboured earnestly with his Majesty for my relief since Bothwell (N.) had made so unhappy defection, whereof I was guiltless; but his Highness would not hear of me. He was stirred thereunto by the Chancellor and Sir George Hume only, all the rest, as the Duke, Mar and the "whole Chalmer," being my friends. In the end I found "moyen" to make Sir George my friend, and so, on the 13th, my

* *bide:* to wait for, as implying the idea of defiance; or to endure. See Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary.*

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1594. remission was signed by his Highness. But since he thinks it not meet, especially for the Chancellor's cause, that it should be yet known, I am commanded for some few days to " keip my self secret as of befor," and willed to go to Stirling to confer with Mar, and thereafter to return to Edinburgh or Tweedmouth till his Majesty may satisfy the Chancellor, who presently " is departed of Court," fearing this should fall out. I was the bolder to end this matter in that I received that same day a letter from Mr. Lock signifying her Majesty's good liking that I should so do. I therefore beg that this be imparted only to her Highness and such as she shall direct, lest, if the King hear that I have uttered it, I be " cassin " again into new disgrace. This small beginning I hope will make me able to do her Majesty better service than in banishment I could.

If Mr. Forret be there, please show him that he is in my remission, but command him to tell it to no other there, as he would not have us both discredited. I fear that Bothwell is now fully ruined, and that in the examination of some of his men some things are discovered which may begin displeasure betwixt the King and Queen, for one Anstruther, her Majesty's cooper, is apprehended. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—The honourable young nobleman who was here has done her grace and her country great honour, and it is incredible what Bowes has done here for her Majesty's service, for he has stolen the hearts of all honest men to her, in so much that if any good work be done at this time against these Papists it is to be imputed to him. In any case our ambassador must know nothing of my relief.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 16. **363.** ELIZABETH TO ROBERT BOWES.

We have understood from you by divers letters how the King daily discovers the dangerous practice against his person and estate, wherein we cannot deny but much of his peril has been increased for want of sound proceedings and of taking advantage when it offered. If he had been as watchful of divers his own principal ministers now in his favour, who " for particulers " have stayed the correction of the traitor faction, as he has been curious of the dealings of others who never respected person or cause in his kingdom in comparison with his safety, surely the laboursome journey which now he is forced to undertake might have been spared and these evils and their authors been easily extinguished. For what in the beginning with small work might have been prevented must now with greater difficulty be remedied. But seeing we have not spared our best counsel nor other support, we must only remit this action to God's providence. The King, no doubt, putting on a resolution to persevere to the end, shall crown his work with assurance of his own estate and of God's cause professed within his realm, both of which will be " shrewdlie" shaken, besides the blow to his own particular reputation, if by a slender progress in this affair or by adverse counsels his own subjects once get apprehension of his coldness in his purpose, or the adverse party (by confidence that their friends shall mitigate any violent courses against them) should receive heart and courage to withstand him ; seeing it is so fresh in memory what was the effect of his late raid against them, whereof the very children in the street before his going would divine the success, and wherein many apparent circumstances have since confirmed the suspicion that their suppression was but formally pretended for fashion. Surely, though fame and opinion are false and variable, yet in a King's person, when once he declare

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1594. himself to the public face of the world one way or other, reputation in such an action lost or gotten either strengthens or weakens his fortunes a long time after. The way not to be affronted by such persons is to be known resolute not to endure the least contempt, and the remedy for all such insolencies in subjects is to chastise them in the beginning. And to the intent that the King may know our actions, we (who cannot be judged to look after Scottish affairs for glory or gain, but only to prevent the peril of our own estate, and to be a watchman for him) have thought good to let him understand that, as of late we have heard of strange and new friendships, so have we received divers and sundry overtures which we will not in any sort hide from him. It has been offered us in the Popish Earls' behalf and others that they would be bound for their allies and followers to renounce all foreign combinations and practices upon condition that we will deal with the King for them. They will also yield satisfaction to the Church for being disturbers of the established religion on condition that they may have immunity for themselves "for use of their consciencis," with further conditions that they will join against any foreign force and that they will give bond and hostages for the performance of these covenants. To all which they doubt not but to procure the King's good allowance, if they may have also our mediation. To these propositions we have made an answer in general, that before notice from him we could entertain nothing. Only to one point in particular we could not forbear to make answer, [namely] that we are too well advised to open a gap for the overthrow of true religion by toleration of any contrary to that which is established. We will therefore now forbear to deliver any censure of [*i.e.* opinion upon] these matters and only refer the same to the King's own judgment. Though we ever wish what we think best for him, yet we always "attend" whatsoever out of freedom of his own spirit he shall liberally and frankly "open" himself in towards us, who have all our ends served when we may think his person and the peace of the land thoroughly secured. Only this we conclude, that we never account anything more pernicious than that trust be given to shadows instead of substance, the rule seldom failing that subjects' faith "to" a King falsified can hardly with his safety be surely soldered; and though we know that mercy in Kings' hearts must ever be put in balance with justice, yet is their cruelty and injustice never greater than when to grievous and voluntary offenders they afford that grace which may leave them [the offenders] power to execute malice upon the innocent hereafter. What therefore the King will do we pray you move him directly and resolutely to show, as that which will settle his estate more than any second course he can devise in the world; and advertise him forthwith of what you have received from us. We have heard that the Earl of Sussex has been hindered in his return by a sore stroke by a horse, but that he will be here this night or to-morrow. As we desire to hear from him of the well-doing of the King, Queen and young Prince we will forbear to write to the King till his arrival. For the present you will advertise him of this as from a prince who has a "sensible feeling" in all that concerns him.

3 *pp. Draft in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Corrections in Cecil's hand. Endorsed.*

Fair copy of the same (vol. lii., page 99).

It has the following note: "Thoughe this letter beare date the xvith, yet was the same signed the xxvith, and sent away the xxviith of September from London."

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364. CONFIRMATION TO THE SCOTS OF THEIR RIGHTS, ETC., IN FRANCE.

Confirmation by Henry IV., King of France, of the rights, privileges, immunities and franchises granted to the Scots by his ancestors, Kings of France, and the late King Henry II. Paris.

$1\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. French. Copy. Endorsed.*

Another copy of the same, misdated 26th October.

Sept. 17. **365.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR RICHARD COCKBURN.

In answer to your courteous letter, I assure you of my willing mind to answer all the offices of goodwill and kindness, and am not a little pleased to see our resolutions *convenire in tertio*, as men that without faction or particular humour affect the conservation of the amity, wherein ministers of state may very often prove instruments of good and evil. Your abode here and temperate carriage have given very good hope to us, and your return back I doubt not shall truly deliver the King from any belief that her Majesty's eye is not always most careful of his particular good and honour, though all times serve not alike for satisfaction of all desires. The Court at Greenwich.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. Copy. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Another copy (vol. lii., p. 96).

Sept. 17. **366.** INSTRUCTIONS FROM ROBERT BOWES TO CHRISTOPHER SHEPERSON.

Cott. Calig., D.ii. fol. 194. Transcript in Harl MS. 4648, p. 241.

[Instructions for Christo]fer Sheperson * to be given to the Lord Treasurer of the present condition in Scotland.

Inprimis, by act of council of Convention it is concluded that the King shall personally proceed against the forfeited Earls and their accomplices according to proclamations, [and] enter into this raid on 1st or 2nd October at the farthest. He will depart from Edinburgh to Stirling with his forces; from Stirling to St. Johnstone; from thence to Dundee; from Dundee to Brechin, and from thence to Aberdeen, where the King and "feilde counsell" will deliberate concerning further proceedings. The King shall be served in this raid not only by his subjects called by proclamation (which company is thought to be weak), but also by paid soldiers under faithful captains, that the King's person may thereby be in safety. The burghs have agreed to levy 1000 footmen, allowing every footman 8*l.* Scots by the month. The contribution thus levied for the footmen in Edinburgh shall be delivered to certain ministers appointed to defray the same as it shall be due.

Because it is found requisite that the King shall be guarded and se[rve]d with sufficient number of horsemen, and that their pay be yearly provided for, therefore it is ordered that only 400 footmen shall be sent forth and sustained by the burghs, and that the contribution allotted to the other 600 footmen shall be employed towards the pay of 400 horsemen, to be allowed 24*l.* Scots apiece by the month. The residue for the pay of these 400 horsemen shall be gathered from the fines of the subjects licensed to remain at home. The names of the captains "put in lyte" [leet] to govern these soldiers are: footmen, Captain Murray, Captain Waddell, Captain Davison, Captain Cranston and Captain Hunter; and for horsemen, Sir John Carmichael, George

* Gaps caused by the destruction of the original are supplied from the transcript.

1594. Douglas of Long Niddry (Lang Nedderye), old William Hume, Captain Boswall and James Newteithe [Menteith]. Albeit these ten captains are thought to be faithful and sufficient for their charges, so that eight of them may be chosen [t]o govern and lead these soldiers after the rate of 100 in a company, yet [it] is left to the choice of the burghs to name and appoint their captains at [their] pleasure: and sundry of these captains being already admitted have [gather]ed several numbers to serve under them.

Argyll (ready to serve the King in this journey or to pass forward against Huntly with his forces amoun[t]ing to six or seven thousand footmen, whereof a great part be hacquebutters) is appointed to draw his people forwards to Inverness to attend the King's coming to Aberdeen, thereon to join him and his army as he shall be directed. Six ministers are chosen for Edinburgh to await on the King to witness his sincerity and princely proceedings, namely, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Patrick Galloway, [Mr. Andrew] Melvill, Mr. James Melvill and Mr. James Balfo[ur]. The King shall be "occasioned" to abide in the north above eight or ten weeks to perfect and establish the disposition of the rebels' possession there. It is not known yet how his expenses shall be raised. Besides the field council attending on the King, another shall remain at Edinburgh for safety of the town and quietness of the country in his absence. It is therefore meet that direction shall be given to the servant succeeding me, whether he shall be with the King in field during the expedition in the north or tarry at Edinburgh with the Council; and if I shall not be "indelatelye" revoked I am unfurnished in all things to be in the field. I have sent into England all my apparel, having neither horses nor any other furniture for this service, and trusting to be revoked or to have access to her Majesty.

It is already advertised by me that Bothwell met with Angus, Errol and Auchindoun, and that Huntly hovered not far from thence. The King and many others here have heard that James Forret was sent to London by Bothwell to give full informatio[n] in all these things. Bothwell, denying to have made full agreement with the Popish lords, has written to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to such effects as appears by the copy. Deliver it to the Lord Treasurer. Albeit the King has seen and read this letter, yet he gives out very confidently that Bothwell has directly entered into accords with the forfeited Earls, and that it is agreed that Bothwell shall not be inquisitive of the Earls' plots, and that they shall hide and keep close their agreement, and keep in sunder themselves and their forces that they be not seen openly to be united.

It is reported that Bothwell received 1000 crowns from the Earls to levy 120 Border horsemen for their present affairs, and that Colonel Boyd was left to bring more gold; that Bothwell should seize and fortify the Hermitage (Armytage) to draw the King with his forces against him; that some great enterprise shall be attempted by them, chiefly for the surprise of the King's person and slaughter of some courtiers, upon the fear whereof great watch is kept in the Court; that upon the success of this enterprise they will first begin with reformation of the estate, in the form which Angus and other noblemen used at Lauder (Lawther) when they hanged Cochrane, as these purpose to execute some especial courtiers, namely [*i.e.* particularly] Sir George Hume, the capital enemy to Bothwell; next, after they shall have possession of the King's person and government they will move her Majesty to declare the King's right to the crown of England after her decease, and, if this shall be refused, then they will seek the aid of all christian princes therein, and, lastly, give liberty of conscience to all desiring the same; that, to please her Majesty

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and to keep the Church of Scotland quiet, offers shall be made that the Papist Earls shall give satisfaction to the King and the Church of Scotland at her Majesty's order and doom, and also bind themselves to her Majesty to renounce the Spanish amity and all other friendship and contrarious course ; and that these offers shall be thus " pretended " to win time and work the effects of their other designs.

On Saturday last, the 14th, Mr. Allan Orme, servant to Bothwell, was taken in Edinburgh by William Hume, brother of Sir George. There were found with him both sundry memorials, specifying divers especial matters of importance to be done by several persons of quality, and also many letters. Many weighty effects are thus discovered. Hereby it was known that Bothwell was then presently in Edinburgh and the houses of his lodging and receipt were revealed. Whereupon search was made for him, chiefly at the house of Mr. James Henderson, already banished this town for a time for Bothwell's receipt. While the officers were breaking open the doors, the Earl escaped out at a back window and has now passed over the water (as it is said) into Fife. There are also apprehended John Barton of Edinburgh, goldsmith, and his wife, William Allen of Leith, writer, and one Anderson, servant to Bothwell.* All these have been straitly examined, and thereon declared many persons and matters. Captain Orocke,† the grant of whose pardon the ambassador for the States had once obtained, and Captain Masterton are accused, and some [are] likely to suffer death.

By the sight of the memorials and letters with Orme, and by the confession of the parties taken and examined by the King himself and others, it is found (as generally it is reported) that Bothwell had provided 120 borderers, Niddry gathered 40 about Edinburgh, Captain Hackerston 40, Orme, Pennicuik and Abircromby, servants to Bothwell, 50 ; that Bothwell with these companies should have entered Holyroodhouse on Saturday last in the night, have killed thirty-three persons named, sparing none until they should come to the King, who should have been carried unto and kept captive in Blackness, or else upon his resistance or refusal should have been slain ; that six persons were appointed to attend only on the slaughter of Sir George Hume ; that afterwards the two ambassadors for the States should have been taken and delivered to the King of Spain, and that all these things were defeated by the apprehension of Orme. It is further confessed that the Papist lords were come into Angus awaiting the success of this action and ready to have come with their horsemen and seconded the enterprise done. Orme and Allen being appointed to have been tried yesterday by assize were first carried to the Castle to be examined by torture of the boots. What they have confessed is not yet known. But many, yea, courtiers of especial quality are spotted herein. Bothwell's lands and livings are given away. Lord Hume has got Coldingham and Crichton; Buccleuch has got Liddisdale, Hailes, Morham, Traprain and Markell ; Cessford has obtained Kelso and Sprouston. These patentees have promised to keep Bothwell out of the Borders of [Scot]land, or to apprehend or kill him if he shall come hither. Johnstone has agreed to join with them, and the King has written in very kind [m]anner to the principal persons in all the three Marches to assist those commissioners for the apprehension of Bothwell.

Bothwell's friends in Edinburgh, Leith, and parts adjoining are so discovered, " wracked " and terrified that they dare deal no more with him, and the gentlemen in Fife are in like case. Whereby it is gathered that Bothwell

* Compare the list given by Calderwood, v. 347.
† The Harl. transcript spells this name as Knox.

1594. has now no power to raise any forces to attempt hastily any new and forcible enterprise, and that he shall be driven for his safety to resort to the Papist lords, who by his defeat are now accounted to be frustrated of their greatest hope.

It is said that James Douglas, Laird of Spott, and Mr. Thomas Cranstoun, now sojourning at Wark, or thereabouts, chiefly persuaded Bothwell both to this conference with the Papist lords and also to shake off Mr. John Colville, from whose knowledge all Bothwell's actions in these behalfs were (as I hear) kept close in regard that Mr. John utterly condemned the same, and whereupon no little dryness and alienation has fallen betwixt the Earl and him. Mr. John now seeks to provide for his own safety and peace, devoting still his faithful service to her Majesty; wherein he and his present estate ought to be graciously considered. The Papist lords seek to levy horsemen, offering greater wages than the King. They look (as I am informed) for money and forces from Dunkirk and for advertisement from Mr. Walter Lindsay; for the expedition of which things they have lately sent Ronn,* servant to Errol. They have solicited sundry noblemen and gentlemen to "partye" them, or else to be neutrals. They purposed to have surprised [and] fortified the towns of St. Johnstone and Dundee, and thereon the [town] † of Dundee keep very strong watch and ward. They have called their friends to know what they will do for them against the King or Argyll, and have recorded in writing the several answers. Many agree to aid against Argyll, but all in manner refuse to join with them against the King. It is generally deemed that these forfeited Earls will not resist the King, but resort to Caithness or flee by sea into foreign parts.

The young Laird of Purie Ogilvy has left the Papist Earls, and coming hither in secret seeks the King's licence to pass beyond sea upon caution for his good behaviour and that he shall not enter into practices against religion, the King or estate. His former company with the Earls holds him in suspicion, and hitherto hindereth the grant of his licence desired. He, John Ogilvy and other gentlemen ‡ suspected to follow and aid the forfeited lords, are charged to appear before the King and Council; whereunto they have not yet obeyed. Ochiltree is in hope of his pardon, which shall be shortly granted if it shall be found that he was not privy to the enterprise at Holyroodhouse on Saturday last. It is believed that he refused to agree with Huntly or the Papist lords; and hearing that Bothwell had undertaken to reconcile Huntly and him, he told Bothwell that he lost his labour therein. By the means of the Queen (as it is said) Johnstone is like to obtain his remission for the slaughter of Maxwell, and the Chancellor's furtherance of this suit to please the King is also likely to work a reconciliation betwixt the Queen and him. But Lord Hamilton will greatly storm hereat and hold himself very evil satisfied.

The ambassadors for the States to the King of Scots entered into their journey to the Court of England on the 16th instant, on which day they were warned of the plot to surprise them and deliver them to the King of Spain. They have moved the King and Council (as I hear) that the old league and amity betwixt the Low Countries and the Kings of Scotland may be renewed and confirmed, and sundry other motions are made by them to the King and this estate.

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* Blank left for christian name.

† This clause has been omitted in the Harl. transcript.

‡ On 30th September, John Ogilvy of Craig, John Ogilvy, apparent of Poury, and Mr. Walter Lindsay of Balgai were denounced rebels on failing to appear to answer the charge of treason. (*Reg. of Privy Council*, v. 172.)

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You are to present to the Lord Treasurer or Sir Robert Cecil a request of the Laird of Buccleuch to have her Majesty's placard for the buying of two horses or geldings, for which he shall be ready to do all good offices and services in his power for preservation of peace on the Borders; wherein his goodwill, especially now when he commands Liddisdale, may yield great fruit and profit.

Finally make my miserable state to be perfectly known to Burghley and request him to impart the same to her Majesty.

[He requests his recall, *etc.*]. These and the due enlargement of every effectual matter and article therein I commit to your sufficient report for his lordship's good satisfaction and for my own discharge in the same. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

6¼ *pp. In Sheperson's hand. Edges damaged by fire.*

Sept. 18. **367.** JAMES HUDSON TO BURGHLEY.

Sir James Sandilands, who has been a traveller in Italy for the space of a year, arrived here last night from Flushing. He is a special favourite of the King, at least was at his departure. He "is now purpossid hoame," but is a humble suitor to be honoured with the kissing of her Majesty's hand. Please, therefore, signify your pleasure therein at your good time, for he cannot wait upon your lordship because he is alone and "unacquantted."

Lord Sanquhar sent me word to know if he might come this way home on his old passport from her Majesty, wherein may it also please you to declare your pleasure that I may answer him. He is an arch-papist, and I think not unacquainted with their courses in Scotland for that faith. Crichton is his kinsman, who manages all their affairs. London. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Marginal notes in Burghley's hand.*

Sept. 21. **368.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Whereas these gentlemen, the bearers hereof, James Drummond of Inverpeffry, William Murray apparent of Tullibardine, and William Drummond, are desirous to pass to France and other places beyond the seas to learn languages and see the countries, and [because] the Lord Chancellor here, the Earl of Mar and others have prayed me to give them passport for their repair to London and to procure them licence to pass over the sea, and especially because I am required therein by some ministers of best account here, who know these gentlemen to be of good religion, I have therefore given them my passport for their repair to London, and also commend them to your help for further passport. **Edinburgh.** *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Sept. 21. **369.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Having delayed to render you thanks for the packet sent to me from Scotland till some occasion furnished matter to trouble you anew, I very heartily thank you for that received, and entreat you to give order for the conveyance of this other by post to Mr. Bowes. London. *Signed:* R. Cockburne.

¼ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

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370. JAMES VI. TO ELIZABETH.

This bearer Jean Hamilton, relict of umquhile Robert Ridley in Morpeth, within your realm, "ewest" * the Border thereof, a widow these seven years and having five young children, "orphelingis," to maintain, has in the meantime been heavily oppressed (as we are informed) by one Edward Grey, constable of Morpeth, who has violently (because she is a friendless stranger) "mellit and intromettit" with the living, rents and possessions justly belonging to her by decease of her husband, and has therefrom debarred her "besyde" [*i.e.* contrary to] all form of law and equity, to the undoing of her and her poor fatherless orphans. This complainer's condition being miserable and to be pitied we request you to give order and direction for her possessing "in these rowmes, fischeingis and utheris possessionis propirlie hir belanging" through decease of her umquhile husband, the particulars whereof we remit to her own information, that as she has found great favour before at your hands for our cause and commendation so she may now have that living for her comfort, and education of her poor children. Holyrood-house. *Signed:* James R.

½ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Endorsed.*

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371. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

I doubt not but you understand privately by J[ohn] Co[lville] what was done for him on 13th August, whereof though he has advertised me with full desire to keep it secret (which I mean to do), yet it is thought convenient, seeing Sussex had instructions to protest against him, that the King receive satisfaction from the Queen (*sic*) in that behalf before she have notice of that change, and therefore you cannot with too much expedition make known the contents of the enclosed letter,† which, if you be absent from the King, you may send him as of yourself rather than abide the protraction of requiring a personal audience. The reason whereof you can judge, so that I shall not need further to particularise it in this letter. In your next letter it will not be amiss to inform us by what means this party has so soon recovered his grace. I am further commanded by the Queen to let you know that, although she cannot require any further care or diligence than she perceives by your writings, yet she finds this lack, that you only write *res gestas*, without any manner of delivering your opinions, although you know more clearly than here what were fit to be done at any time from hence.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

Endorsed: "24 Sept. 1594. Copy of my master's two lettres to Mr. Bowes."

Another copy of the same (vol. lii. p. 98).

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372. SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii. p. 97.

Her Majesty, having understood by Sussex how much the King desires to have Bothwell's followers removed from her kingdom, requires you to say that although out of a charitable compassion for Mr. James (*sic*) Colville, in whom she has ever observed a great and zealous care of religion, never finding him either to have adhered to the foreign practice or Popish courses, he has by her ministers been suffered to abide quietly within England, yet, rather

* *ewest:* adjacent to.

† Now amissing. But the following document is the copy of it in vol. 52.

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1594. than the King should any way believe that she would give the least cause to the world to imagine less of her affection for him than at all times she both has [made] and will make good proof of, she will send order to her Wardens in nowise to suffer his receipt to be winked at, but " to retire himselfe and his " out of England. For the matter of Forret, whom she now understands to be a servant to Bothwell, she never had any inkling of that particular before, and yet, seeing that she never heard that he came for any bad, undutiful purpose, she did not think the King would more have distrusted his resort hither (it being a common use for Scottishmen to pass to and fro) than he is jealous to suffer in his own Court the repair and continual abode of the chiefest instruments of the Popish Earls. But as his Majesty shall find her ready at all times to hold that correspondency which true honour between two Kings and special care of his person ought to afford, so does she desire him at all times to suspend any misconstruction of her actions, until he acquaints her with his purpose. Whereas she perceives by the King's speeches to Sussex that Bothwell is suspected to have purpose to assemble force within her country or there to display cornet or ensign or to strike drum, her Majesty presumes no Warden or officer will dare, " for his hedd," to suffer any such matter. If they do, having been warned already and knowing her Majesty's absolute pleasure, the King shall not need to require reason at her hands, but she will quickly make them feel the burden of her indignation ; and hereof let him make no manner of doubt. Greenwich.

1½ *pp. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. At the head :* " A copie of my master's letter to Mr. Bowes uppon the memoriall brought by the Earle of Sussex."

Sept. 24. **373.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The King continues resolute to begin his raid on Wednesday, 2nd October. For the expedition thereof, and to supply the King's present want in the same, six noblemen and ten of his Council have agreed to lend to him, upon sufficient jewels, 19,000 marks Scots. The captains appointed to serve on horseback and foot cannot hitherto levy their full numbers, as they looked readily to have done. Some other impediments are likely to be found, threatening some delay. But the King has given order to his Council to meet and deliberate speedily for the progress thereof and to prevent all lets [*i.e.* hindrances].

The Earl of Mar has been with Argyll and sought to persuade him to defer his journey until the King should be ready to go forwards. But Argyll answered that twice he had convened his friends and forces for this purpose, and nevertheless was stayed upon like motions. Now he has again gathered them together and had all things in such readiness to march that, being dissolved, he could not assemble his forces in season for the King's service, nor preserve the provisions prepared without loss and offence to his people. Therefore, resolving to go forwards by easy journeys that he might meet the King about Inverness, he entered on the 21st instant on his expedition with 6000 footmen or thereabouts, whereof account is made of 3000 to be chosen and sufficient persons with harquebuses, bows and pikes, the rest to be with swords and other mixed weapons after the fashion of the highlandmen. As yet he has very few horsemen, trusting to be supplied with such as shall come to him upon proclamation of his commission and commandments, and chiefly with the aid of Lord Forbes, who, with the Lairds of Towie, MacIntosh, Dunbarres and others, has promised to join with him, and for assurance sent their hostages to him. It is told me credibly that he shall be " partyed " with

1594. MacConnell (Mackonell), MacLean, Glengarry, MacKendowy (Mackendowye), MacRanald and other islanders and highlandmen. MacKendochy and MacRanald have followed Huntly; now they have come to Argyll at the King's commandment and agreeable to Argyll's request to the King. But they left their forces behind them, and Argyll thinks good to carry them with him that they may not hurt him. Mackenzie, being of great power, will join with him, and albeit Atholl will not be in field with him (in regard that he cannot like to be commanded by Argyll), yet he will send John Dooe with 400 footmen. Some godly and good men are careful to furnish him better with horsemen, wherein my diligence and endeavour shall not be wanting, yet the shortness of the time breeds great difficulty for the execution thereof. This army thus marching without guard of horsemen is much scorned in Court and thought easy to be overthrown by Huntly.

Argyll is purposed (as I hear) to pitch his tent before Strathbogy, to hunt Huntly out of the country, to seize his houses, and to settle himself at Darnaway (Tarnewaye), Murray's house, that he may thereby keep Huntly out of the country and revenge Murray's murder. Further proceedings in these wars betwixt Argyll and Huntly will be known within eight or ten days. Huntly gathers all the forces he can to encounter Argyll, and labours to fortify himself with horsemen, offering to give to every common horseman 40 marks Scots by month and to each horseman well furnished 40*l*. It is reported that for this liberal pay he has entertained sundry borderers and many of those who lately served for the King's guard. He has tempted Lord Forbes with "indelate" restitution of all the possessions which long time he has detained from him, and also with all the "meane" profits incurred in that time. Whereto Forbes answered that he might not deal with him until he shall be restored to the favour of the King and Kirk. Angus and Erroll travail earnestly to join their forces with Huntly, and for that purpose Angus has presently come to Douglas, where some snares are laid to entrap him. It is evident enough that the overthrow of him and of Bothwell is diligently sought. But many think that Huntly and Errol shall with small pains and punishment escape the rigour of their forfeitures. It is likewise reported that these lords practised to have taken the castles and strengths lying and adjoining on the coast of the East Sea. Whereupon charge is given out to the keeper of the castle of St. Andrews to deliver it to the Provost and bailies of that town. Farther, it is reported that Crawford, meeting lately with Huntly in Angus, brought him to his house at Carnie, from whence they two alone, without any servant, came to Leith, and, tarrying there secretly some few days, returned to Carnie; [and] that in this time Huntly served Crawford as his servant and solicited his friends in Court. They are afraid that their houses, wherein mass was said, shall be cast down, agreeable to the order of the King and Council now concluded, and that the houses of Mr. Walter Lindsay and John Ogilvy shall be first overthrown. They are careful how to prevent this mischief approaching. I have been informed that some courtiers have lately advised Huntly plainly to give up with Bothwell, and that these Earls purpose to publish their proclamation for defence of themselves and their cause.

Albeit generally reported that Bothwell had intended to have surprised the King in Holyroodhouse on the 14th instant with great slaughter, yet Mr. Mr. Alan Orme, William Allen and John Gibson (lately tortured and executed for Bothwell's cause) have so constantly denied it that the credit of that report is much abated. Nevertheless the King and Court firmly hold their former opinions, thinking this enterprise had been attempted if Orme had not been apprehended. It is now craved by the ministers and others that like exemp-

James VI. 1594.

lary justice may be done on the aiders and resetters of the Papist Earls, whereunto the King freely consents, saying that a Bothwell and a Papist shall now be all one to him.

The courtiers have found means by women and womenservants to discover Bothwell's lodging and his "receipte" in Edinburgh and Leith. Sundry of his late friends and followers have slidden from him and for their own relief are ready to draw him into the King's hands. Some still in credit with him reveal his secrets. His poverty "excedethe," for at his late coming to Leith he had not 2*s*. at his commandment. He has (as I hear) met and conferred with Huntly on the 17th, and they two contend which of them with more "fyness" can deliver the other to the King. For the Laird of Kilfauns, Crawford's brother, was sent to the King by Huntly with sundry offers, which he presented on the 21st instant, seeking the King's license that he, Angus and Errol, may depart out of the realm, that their wives and children may enjoy their possessions, and their friends and followers be freed from troubles: next, that the King would not take it in evil part that he [Huntly] had met and co[nferred] with Bothwell; which conference tended only to take some agreement for the slaughter of Moray, and not for any band betwixt Bothwell and the other forfeited Earls. Lastly, he offered to cast Bothwell into the King's hands if the same might content the King. But the King (as it is told me) answered that he had many times and with great care sought to preserve Huntly from ruin, and by the same had greatly hazarded himself, his life, estate and honour; whereof Huntly had no regard, but always abused him with fair words and pretences. Further, as Huntly now offers to cast Bothwell into his hands, so Bothwell has offered to deliver Huntly to him. Whereupon the King willed Kilfauns to tell Huntly flatly that he would not "condition" or capitulate with him in any sort but would prosecute him and Bothwell by all means in his power; and with this he dismissed Kilfauns much discontented.

Upon the death of Alexander Hay, late Clerk of Register, the King gave that office to Mr. John Skene, his Advocate. Whereupon, and to prevent some subtle practices for the appointment of Mr. James Elphinstone (a person suspected), I gave thanks to the King for his good regard both for the common service done to her Majesty and the King by Mr. John in his late negotiation with Colonel Stewart in Germany, and also for his furtherance of the forfeiture of the Papist lords in the last Parliament; and thereto I added that the King's reward of Mr. John's service in Parliament was a testimony of his good intention to proceed effectually in the action against his forfeited rebels. This the King received in good part. He confirmed his grant to Mr. John, and he gave me to understand that he had perfectly learned by means from Huntly's self that Huntly and Bothwell had twice met and conferred together, which he wished me to show to her Majesty that it might be better known with what sincerity Bothwell and James Forrett dealt in the true discovery of his course and proceedings with Huntly and the rest.

James Cochrane, late keeper of Blackness for Sir James Sandilands, has acknowledged (as I am informed) that certain courtiers by name tempted him with promise of 2000 crowns to draw Bothwell into the King's hands, and, being now accused for haunting Bothwell's company and of being privy to his intended enterprise for the King's surprise, he excuses his resort to Bothwell's company by allegation that it was done for the effecting of the desires and purpose of the courtiers thus dealing with him, and he denies the privity of the enterprise; yet he has withdrawn himself. The young Laird of Logie, late in Cochrane's keeping, and now in the Castle of Edinburgh, has been in

1594. great danger of his life for Bothwell's cause. Now the King is pleased, by the Queen's means,* that he shall be banished.

The King has been informed that the forfeited Earls purpose to assay three several means for their relief. First, Angus, Bothwell and Johnstone shall, after the King's departure from this town, so trouble these parts that he shall be driven to return hither. Secondly, they will enterprise such action in Angus that the King's journey shall be stayed thereby; and thirdly, at Aberdeen or thereabouts they will show themselves in the fields. These things are little feared, especially the last, for it is not looked that they will show any force against the King. Bothwell is said to be with Angus in Douglas, and Johnstone demands to have his pardon without delay, or else he threatens to "partye" Bothwell and the rest.

It is verily thought that if Mr. Walter Lindsay and such other "postes" as these rebels have sent into the Low Countries for aid shall not speedily return with support, then the rebels will seek passage by sea, and therefore it is heartily wished here by many good and godly persons that her Majesty would send some ship to attend on the coast about Aberdeen to await for the return of Lindsay with his freight (which is denied to be very rich), or else for the flight of the rebels, whose apprehension will pacify all troubles and quench the fire of Spanish practices. Persons of honour and good quality have moved me to commend this to your consideration. By Mar, by one of Argyll's servants [and] others I am credibly informed that Donald Gorme has secretly returned with nine persons and has left in Ireland the forces carried there. The certainty of the number of those forces I cannot as yet perfectly learn. But purposing to send some discreet person to Argyll's army, that I may from time to time understand the proceedings thereof, I shall by that instrument, I trust, get better information of Donald and his forces, and shall give you timely advertisement. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

5¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Bowes to my lord from Edinburghe."

Sept. 25. **374.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Because my longer stay here may be thought strange after my leave taken and her Majesty's letter (as you gave me to understand) ready for me, "it will please you be acquented with suche intervened occasion of excuse as I have," and to inform her Majesty thereof, that I . . . directed by letters from the King to attend his further direction . . . a letter of his own hand to her Majesty, expecting which daily I ha . . . to "breade" her Majesty more trouble in craving audience till su . . . upon receipt of that letter with some further instructions . . . access . . . London. *Signed:* R. Cokeburne.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "Mr. Cockburne the Kinges Secretarie to my master." *Part of the page torn along right hand edge.*

Sept. 28. **375.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

On the 27th instant I received the packet signed by you on the 21st, containing only another packet addressed to Mr. David Foulis, with a short letter to myself, sent by the Scots ambassador. The packet enclosed I have delivered according to the direction. Argyll has come with his army (as I am

* He was married to one of the Queen's Danish ladies. See *Warrender Papers*, ii, 53 and *n*.

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1594. advertised) to the Blair in Atholl. He has caused the King's commission of lieutenancy to be proclaimed by Red [? Lord] Lyon, the Herald, in Aberdeen and other places, in the names of Argyll, Atholl and Forbes, commanding all men within those limits to be with him at Strathbogy, Huntly's house, on the 27th of this month. He has chosen MacLean to be general under him of this army, esteemed to be 7000 men strong. I am informed that O'Donnel has sent to him from Ireland 500 harquebusiers, and therein it is gathered that the forces lately carried into Ireland by Donald Gorme are brought over to the aid of Argyll, whereof there is no perfect certainty.

Huntly has gathered all his forces to stop Argyll's passage to Strathbogy, boasting that he will "rubb his cloake on Argyles pladd." The forces hitherto amassed for Huntly do not exceed 1000 footmen and horse. It is given out that John Ogilvy has levied in pay four score horsemen and has gone to Huntly; that the Laird of Cragwood * with eight horsemen has ridden likewise to Huntly; that few, other than the Gordons, the tenants and near friends of Huntly, will "partye" him against the King's lieutenant; that Huntly sent Alan MacKendowy (Macendowey) to move Argyll for peace or to spare the spoil and slaughter of his poor tenants, and that all griefs and quarrels betwixt them be compounded by the award of the King. But Argyll has answered that he has come with the King's commission for war against Huntly. Nevertheless he granted leave to MacKendowy (Mackendowye), holding his lands "on" Huntly, to remain at home, on condition that he and his followers give no support to Huntly. It is verily thought that before this time "the one hathe beyne in the veiwe of the other," and that Argyll will not stay his march to Strathbogy without battle and that he shall be defeated therein. Further progress herein will be known within three or four days.

Huntly by the laird of † . . . liberal offers to abandon Argyll and join with Huntly, which Forbes refuses; and also, having assembled his forces in good strength and with some horsemen, he prepares to march to Argyll. Their united forces can hardly be encountered by Huntly. It is given out that Atholl and Montrose, with the Master of Gray, have lately met together, and that Atholl, by the advice of the other two, has been drawn to pretend some offence in Argyll's late proceedings and thereon to lie off from him; and because Atholl and Caithness have been noted to be cold in this action and partly suspected to hearken much to Bothwell's persuasions and course, therefore the King has severally written to them to quicken their dulness herein and to be ready to attend upon him at his coming.

Bothwell has written again to the Presbytery of Edinburgh to such effects as by the enclosed copy of the letter may appear. The ministers have delivered this letter to the King, and now they are so deeply possessed with opinion that Bothwell has banded with the rebellious Earls that they begin openly to reprove him for the same. It is confirmed that Huntly has offered by Kilfauns to deliver Bothwell to the King's hands, and that the King says that he can with better mind pardon Bothwell than Huntly. Bothwell has been lately seen (as it is said) both in Fife, with some barons there of good credit and power, and also above Stirling with sixty horsemen, whom he has "caryed" with him over Drip Ford (Drepe Foorde) above Stirling to the north. Yet it is verily looked that Angus and he shall occupy these parts with their forces after the King's departure, that thereby they may "occasion" him, for the ease and safety of Huntly and Errol, "to retyre himselfe and armye to suppress them." Some report that for this purpose, at his late meeting with Huntly

* Wood of Craig. † About nine words illegible. The paper is worn into a hole along a fold.

1594. at Craigs, John Ogilvy's house, he received 1100 crowns to entertain horsemen, allowing two months' pay beforehand at 40*l.* Scots apiece for the month, and with promise to continue the pay for one whole year at the least.

It is likewise reported that Angus has been with Lord Herries, seeking to gather some borderers and horsemen. But Herries seems unwilling to deal with Angus or in the action; at least not openly. Lord Ochiltree, with the advice of his friends, is drawn to give up with Bothwell, and is likely to obtain his pardon.* Whereupon it is looked that he will do good service to the King and others.

At my late audience for Border causes the King firmly promised to provide that in his absence the peace on the Marches may be preserved, and that justice shall be done by all his officers and for all his subjects, and that he has presently called to him the Laird of Buccleuch to make him keeper of Liddisdale and to give due redress to all her Majesty's officers. Herewith he desired earnestly that her Majesty would give speedy order to her Wardens or their deputies to keep concurring with his Wardens both according to the ancient customs and also agreeable to the articles delivered to Sussex touching Border causes. He earnestly required me to commend those to her Majesty's knowledge. Upon speech of his raid against the rebels, I persuaded him to hasten his journey and use some timely severity to daunt the insolency and pride of the offenders, and thereto he readily agreed, assuring me that he would rase and cast down Strathbogy, Huntly's house, Slains, Errol's house, Balgay, Mr. Walter Lindsay's house newly built, Craigs, John Ogilvy's house, and all other houses wherein the mass has been said, and that he will not return before he has taken perfect order in all those causes; and he concluded that he trusted to find her Majesty's seasonable aid and support, when she should have good experience of his sincere proceedings. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Please deliver the enclosed packet to the Lord Secretary.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Bothwell to the Presbytery of Edinburgh.)

Often before have I faithfully given you to understand how far "then was proceided" betwixt the Papist lords and me; and now, being forced by extremity, having no other relief (as my own late escape and [the] barbarous tyranny used against my dearest kinsmen and servants—undeserved by them and without all order of law—may now sufficiently testify), and finding no intercession made by you, yea, not so much as answer to my former [letter], I am constrained, for safety of my life and for revenge of this "ethnicke" and inhuman procedure, to conjoin with whomsoever are in the like case, or will aid and concur with me herein, protesting to God, that though I may conjoin with opposites, yet shall it never be against my religion nor country, but for settling of our temporal estates and punishment of those bloody tyrants who every day are about to "imbrewe" his Majesty in tyranny and shedding of innocent blood. That your wisdoms may see what care I have for the "florishinge and standinge of our religion" and for safety of innocent blood, I am to offer (if so it shall please you to accept) to move the Papist lords for your contentment, and I for his Majesty's—our livings being settled to our wives and bairns and "made sure of no further injurye to be offred to us and

* See the account in Moysie's *Memoirs*, pp. 121–122.

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1594. our poore frindis hereafter "—presently to avoid this realm, under caution not to traffick with strangers, nor to return without his Majesty's special licence and yours. If this may not satisfy, there is "no place to prayer without losse of lyves," which must be defended so long as God will give us grace. This is all that can be offered, which shall be faithfully performed. Consider what herein is best to be done, for there is *periculum in mora*, and time may "byde" no lingering. 21st September 1594.

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* "Erl Bothwell to the ministry of Edenborogh."

Sept. 30. **376.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 130–131.

His Majesty's wrath is fully "mitigat" and I am again to go to Stirling, there to receive the publication of my peace. His Majesty thought to have kept it secret for his honour and for satisfaction of the Chancellor, but neither the wrath nor the grace of princes can be kept secret. I have this while, lying obscure, found means to "inter with" Sir George Hume, who has promised great sincerity concerning the amity, desiring not to be trusted till he gives proof, specially at this raid, protesting that his Majesty will work seriously against Huntly, "or if he dois not he will schaw whare the impediment is," and for that cause has desired me to have one of mine with him all the journey, by whom he will send me advertisement from time to time. If by such as have his ear his Majesty may be brought to a good consideration, or (if that be impossible) if we may know by them who be the impediments in his Highness, I think it not amiss; but I will advance no further than you direct. My dealing now with your honour shall be with more knowledge and credit here, yet there [*i.e.* in England] it must be the more secret. Let my letters come not into any clerk's hand, but let only Mr. Lock know or write to me what you think not meet to write yourself. What can he render to that sacred asylum, that has thrice saved his life under her princely wings? The hazard of that life again, yea, the loss thereof is but her Majesty's due, together with all the good offices I can do during my lifetime. Other matters I have written at length to faithful Mr. Lock, except this,—that Ochiltree, for his peace, has promised to his Majesty the apprehending of Angus. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—I have given to your ambassador a project of the state of Scottish matters, to be sent up, to show how matters go with us. His careful and bountiful dealing here has "stollin" the hearts of all honest men to you, which you will see when "tyme requires."

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 3. **377.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

Having a request made to me by my hostess, in a case wherewith I am so little acquainted that I must remit particulars to the bearer, may I entreat you for such favour as I understand a letter from you may work, that the gentlewoman may know my request to have proven effectual; "being eased thairby of some paine and undir physick." London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

¼ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 7. **378.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Sundry times I have written that I could not advertise your lordship of any good certainty of Donald Gorme's passage to Ireland. Besides, by

1594. your letters to me I have understood that you had been informed that he had entered into Ireland with 3000 men; therefore that I might better learn what had proceeded in this behalf I employed an especial person about the Earl of Argyll (who is privy to the Earl's secrets and has been lately with him). This person has returned answer to me in writing, a copy whereof I enclose.

On Friday last, the 4th instant, the King entered on his raid and passed that night to Stirling. The next day, for some enterprise which he had in Fife, he turned his intended journey to St. Johnstone to Falkland, where he lodged that night, and, receiving there advertisement that Huntly and Argyll had met and fought, he only "stayed the sermon" on Sunday in Falkland, and yesternight rode to Dundee with purpose to make haste into the north to join with Argyll and Forbes for the punishment of Huntly, Errol and their associates, who have already received such loss of their principal men that by all likelihood the King shall be troubled by the disposing of their living rather than with any dealings they can do against him. The truth and manner of this battle is not yet certainly known here. I enclose copies of the likeliest of such advertisements as I have received touching the same, for better understanding whereof I have sent one of my servants after the King to my friends in the Court and in that country.

The Earl of Morton, appointed to be lieutenant here, would neither accept that office nor be president of the Council left here in the King's absence, because his request that his friends and servants might be dispensed with for the King's raid into the north was rejected.

This night, at the writing hereof, I was informed that the ministers of this town were certified that Angus, Bothwell, Herries and others had a purpose to surprise this town and the ministers, whereto such regard will be taken that there will be no peril or fear of any such matter, neither can they so quietly gather any great forces for such a purpose but that Lord Hume and Cessford and Buccleuch will have understanding of it and with their forces hinder them from doing any such thing. Of all other occurrents here I trust to be the reporter at my coming to Court. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Battle between Argyll and Huntly.)

On Thursday the 3rd of October, 1594, John Torrie, servant boy to James Carr, who is Huntly's domestic, being in company with his master, saw Argyll and Huntly's "yokinge," Argyll "beinge" 8000 men, without any horsemen, and Huntly "beinge" 4000 men, whereof 2000 were horsemen. The first yoking was six miles above Auchindoun, beside the hill Ben Rinnes (Berychtnes), betwixt 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, Errol and Auchindoun in the vanguard, and Huntly with the rest in the body of the battle. At the first yoking they fought till 2 in the afternoon. Errol and Auchindoun, who were in the vanguard, "dong backe to the battle." * Thereafter the Earl of Huntly with his whole forces came back again, and they yoke about 3 in the afternoon and fight till the evening. In this second yoking Auchindoun, the Goodman of Cochlarachy (Coclarochie), Thomas Gordon of Drumlurg, and Walter Barclay [were] slain; the Earl of Errol, the Laird of Gight, the "haill" horsemen who were with Auchindoun all "deidlye hurte"; who came back that night, which was Thursday last, to Auchindoun. The Earl of

* Apparently they, in the vanguard, were driven back upon the main "battle" or division.

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Argyll's company at last, at the second yoking, fled to Stradorone, seven or eight miles from the place where the battle was "striken." There are 500 men slain of Argyll, himself being about two miles from his company the time of the "strykinge" of the battle. This bearer came away on Friday morning. Huntly was to yoke again on Friday, and to make an onset. Alan MacKendowy (Mackendowye) came to Badenoch (Baginoch) with Argyll, but stole away from him "with six and himselfe and paste to Huntley, wher his company mett him." Lord Forbes "on Frydaye was bruited to have convened to Monimusk, and was to be at Argyle on Frydaye." Balquhan (Boughan) is neither with Errol, Argyll nor Huntly.

⅔ *p. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1594. Advertisementis from the campe. 3 October, 1594."

Second enclosure with the same.

(Battle between Argyll and Huntly.)

"By a letter 3° Octobris at xj in the night," the Earls of Huntly and Argyll this day at 11 o'clock joined battle upon the hill of Ben Rinnes (Belrenes), where there were sundry noblemen slain,* as Auchindoun, Gight, Assintrilly, Thomas (Gordon †) of Drumbuldis, a son of Abergeldy, "Wat" Barclay's eldest son, Erroll hurt by an arrow, the Laird of Cluny "deidlye hurte," Huntly's and Errol's horses both slain, "with sondrye other gentlemen." Argyll "is retyred," on whose side it is supposed MacLean is slain, and others to the number of 200, and Argyll hurt. Argyll [had] 8000 men and boys, Huntly above 2000 men. But Argyll never "accompted of them." The Grants and Clan Chattan (Clanhattons) were with Argyll with a great number. John Roy Grant was with Huntly and is "ill hurt." Sundry of my lord's friends "reteyned them selves at home," as Lismore, Craig, Haddo, Dalpersye, *etc.*

"By others from St. Johnston's, 6 Octobris, 9 in the forenoone," certain word has come to this town that Argyll and Huntly have fought. There is great slaughter on both sides, but the certain number is not known. Their meeting was beside Auchindoun. The manner of their meeting:—Huntly sent out 40 horse, who drove their footmen a little from their strength. Thereafter the "haill horsemen" charged. Argyll's vanguard fled. "If it had not beyne neare ther strengthe the horsemen had overthrowne them all." Leysrell is slain, with sundry others. It is said by him who was there that he heard Angus Williamson say that he slew him with his own hand. It was very "ryfe" here that Errol is slain, but there is no truth in it. Argyll has retired into Atholl's bounds, abiding the King's coming. "Huntley was 500 horse and 300 foote." Alan MacKendowy (Mackendowye) is slain: he was on horseback.

⅔ *p. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "3 Octob. 1594. Advertisementis from the campe."

Third enclosure with the same.

(Request by O'Donnell and O'Neil to Argyll.)

In the month of May last, 1594, O'Donnell and O'Neil sent a servant to the Earl of Argyll desiring the "auld frindship" which was betwixt their houses and the house of Argyll to be renewed, and that some of his men might come over to

* Compare the list given by Calderwood, v. 351–2.
† Gordon struck out.

1594. Ireland for their service, for which they should pay him the yearly pension of 8000*l.* Scots money, which his predecessors had of theirs. This message Argyll accepted well at the first; but, being for the time troubled with trial of some conspiracies against himself, "alleidged uppon" his nearest friends, as Glenorchy, Lawers, Ardkinglas (Archindlayes), he had no leisure to "ende with" the said messenger, who wrote immediately to Donald Gorme in the beginning of June, and the said Donald went over with 1200 to O'Neil and O'Donnell and returned in the beginning of Spetember last, leaving behind him 300 men, he himself being presently with Argyll at the pursuit of Huntly. What shall pass betwixt Argyll, Donald Gorme or any other highlandman and them [O'Neil and O'Donnell] be assured of speedy and true information. 7th October, 1594.

½ *p.* *Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.* *Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "1594. Advertisementis from the campe. 7 Octobr. 1594."

Oct. 8. **379.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

By my letter and notes of yesterday I have certified Lord Burghley of the encounter betwixt Argyll and Huntly on Thursday last, within a mile, or thereabouts, of Balvany. This morning I have received further informations of that conflict as well by some instruments employed by myself as also by my friends, who heard the reports made to the King; and there is great variety in many circumstances, for some affirm directly that Errol is slain by the shot of a harquebus in his neck "and passinge part of his heid," and that he, living two hours after the stroke, died in Argyll's arms. Yet it has been affirmed before the King, and it is written to me, that he is hurt in the arm and thigh with shot, but without peril of death. It is confidently advertised that the slaughter on Huntly's party fell on the chief gentlemen of his name, and that of the Gordons there are fourteen landed men of good quality slain, whereof eleven are guilty of Murray's murder. Sundry others of account and private persons following Huntly, under the number of 100, are cut off, yet hitherto there is great difference in the report of the persons slain. On Argyll's side Lochnell (Zowchenzell), a Campbell and near in blood to Argyll, young ——* Murray, Tullibardine's third son, Argyll's master of household, and three or four more of some credit, with 300 or 400 of the common sort, "raskalls and poke caryers," are killed. It is accorded by most that after two several encounters of three or four hours, both parties "severed of ther owne accordis, without the persuite of anye chase." By credible advertisement I am informed that Argyll gathered together and buried the dead bodies of his people, and, making hurdles of "bowes and pladds" he carried away all his hurt men; that afterwards, upon consultation, it was considered that he and his army had wholly expended their victuals, and that none could be got within forty miles to suffice them. Therefore it was concluded that the army should retire the way they came, and Argyll with Tullibardine, Mr. George Erskine, and some few with him, came to St. Johnstone on Sunday afternoon, and from thence [went] to Mar, at Stirling, purposing, as I hear, to be at Dalkeith with his wife this night. [I hear] that Huntly has likewise returned to Strathbogy with his whole forces, and, looking that the King shall be at Aberdeen with his army on Friday next at the farthest, he pretends to arm and fortify himself with all power he can get.

* Blank left in the original.

James VI.
1594. But it is verily looked that a great part of his company shall refuse to " partye " him against the King.

The King stayed yesterday at Dundee because his footmen had not come ; neither are the engines for the rasing of the houses brought forward as was appointed ; whereby it is looked that the houses of Walter Lindsay and John Ogilvy shall not be cast down on the King's going towards Aberdeen, as was enacted. The King was minded to pass forward this day to Brechin, the next day to Cowie, and on Thursday next to the water of Dee, where by his letters and open proclamation he has commanded Lord Forbes and the barons and inhabitants of all those parts to meet him. As these things shall proceed you shall be advertised speedily, and that I may know and certify the true progress thereof I intend to stay my return to England some days, notwithstanding that, upon notice given me by your letter that her Majesty is pleased to license my return when the King has entered on his raid, I have caused my horses to be brought hither and have put myself and all my household in readiness for my departure, which here is now looked for every day. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

1¾ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 12. **380.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Since my last letter of the 8th instant, some councillors and others have advertised me of the particularities in the late conflict, and of some other occurrents, all which at length are drawn together and agree that Argyll brought with him 4000 fighting men and above 2000 " raskalls and poke bearers," who were led and marched " at raggle and in plompes without order," and which number was " compounded " of the chieftains and people distracted by old feuds, and lately revolted or treacherously cast off from Huntly. Argyll has confessed that he had few " experimented " leaders and captains, and that the great part of his army fled from him before they saw any cause of fear or enemy assailing them, whereupon the enemy was most encouraged to come forward in their charge against him. Which matter, full of suspicion of treason in some persons of quality in his host, he threatens to examine and punish with the first opportunity. Huntly and Errol had in the field about 800 horsemen and near 1200 [on] foot and on " hosting * horses " and common followers, whereof a great number came forth rather to preserve the country from spoil of the highlandmen than to " partye Huntley in love towardes him."

Lord Forbes, the Lairds of Drum (Dromme), Balquhan (Bloquhan) and others had appointed to join with Argyll on Friday, 4th instant. Therefore, on the day before, Argyll marched towards Forbes, putting " his shott of harquebushes and bowes before him," and left his " pykes " or spearmen with his carriages, all in confused march and " plomps " without order. Whereof, and of all other things done in Argyll's camp, Huntly was sufficiently advised and warned. Therefore he came forward that day against Argyll with his horsemen and with six field pieces, and Errol and Auchindoun took 100 well horsed men to give the first charge to Argyll's shot thus scattered. When Argyll had discovered the horsemen approaching he hasted . . . † his people into order of battle. There 2000 of his army withdrew and left him on the field, and before he could well array the rest or draw near the spearmen Errol and Auchindoun with their 100 horsemen charged the shot, killing

* Altered from posting.

† Decayed.

1594. some of them. The field pieces also playing on them, many fled, and many, with the advantage of some bushes near the place of encounter, stood and poured such volley of bullets and shower of arrows on the horsemen and horses that Auchindoun and other gentlemen of the Gordons with the most part of the horses were slain. At Auchindoun's fall the horsemen gave an exceeding great cry and lamentation, seeking to rescue him. But, as he was well known to Argyll's men, so they sharply assailed him and with dirks stabbed him, and afterwards cut off his head, being the principal man of action amongst all the Gordons. Errol is hurt in the arm by a bullet and on the thigh by an arrow. Gight is stricken by three bullets in his body and two plates of his steel coat "caryed into him." It is thought that he is dead by this time, or cannot live many days. Cluny is hurt on the flank by a bullet, but in hope of life. I have been informed this day that they have sent to Edinburgh secretly for surgeons and salves.

In this conflict Argyll was left with Tullibardine, MacLean and some others—under twenty persons; whereupon Tullibardine with great difficulty persuaded him to take horse, and with few with him [he] passed into a wood adjoining. MacLean and Donald Campbell entered into the fight and won two guydons,* with high praise and commendation. One was the guydon of Errol, bearing a cross with a man beheading a woman. On Huntly's side Auchindoun and eighteen or twenty gentlemen were slain. Errol, with forty or fifty, was hurt, and 150 horses were slain. Of Argyll's party Lochnell (Youghenyell) with his brother and three or four other gentlemen, with fifty of the common sort, are slain, as Argyll has reported at Dundee.

Robert Fraser (Fresard), the King's Herald, being with Argyll and in the King's coat-armour, was cruelly slain; for the horsemen, espying him, cried "Have at the Lyon," and ran him through with three spears, wherewith the King is very greatly grieved, protesting that it shall be revenged. Argyll, gathering his people together, for lack of victuals dismissed all to return home, except 600 especially chosen, whom he has committed to the leading of MacIntosh and to attend his further direction. [Argyll] himself came to Stirling, thinking to have found the King there, and on the next day came to him at Dundee. He is now appointed to attend upon the King all this journey, and hereon he has sent for his friends and forces in the lowland, for he will no more trust the highlandmen. MacIntosh, with the 600 mentioned, is appointed to keep the Highlands, and Lord Lovat, Mackenzie, Balnagowan (Ballangowne) and the Ross men are commanded to join with him to stop the passage of Huntly, Errol and others, if they seek to flee that way. Huntly has scattered all his forces, except 500 horsemen whom he still retains with him at Strathbogy. It is thought verily that on the King's coming to Aberdeen he will disperse these 500 horsemen, abandon all his houses and cover himself in secret places.

The King remained two days in Dundee to take his footmen with him, for by the extremity of the weather they could not come to him before. At the coming of the footmen, he sent two captains with their companies to rase the houses of Mr. Walter Lindsay and John Ogilvy. He has directed the Earl Marischal, Lord Forbes and all the barons and gentlemen thereabouts to be with him on the 10th instant, purposing to enter Aberdeen the next day. I think he is there at present with such sufficient forces of horse and men as the rebels are not able to withstand, and there he holds himself to be not only in safety but also of power to drive out the rebels, seize their houses and

* Guidon, a kind of standard. See Halliwell's *Dictionary*.

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1594. possessions, and dispose thereof as shall be thought most convenient. He purposes to cast down the houses of Strathbogy and Slains, protesting to prosecute the rebels with all severity, for the execution whereof he looks to abide five or six weeks in those parts.

The King has now sent to me his safe-conduct to pass and repass at my pleasure. He has addressed the Bishop of Aberdeen to me to assure me that he will sincerely proceed against the forfeited Earls, as he promised lately to me, and being so near Aberdeen with such sufficient forces he trusts to put order to all these confused causes, with due reformation in all things for the safety of religion, the quieting of this estate, peace in this realm and preservation of the amity with her Majesty. Besides, the Council convened here in Edinburgh on the 10th instant, and have well provided for the defence of this town, the quietness of this country and prevention of all enterprises by seditious persons in the King's absence; whereby it is firmly hoped that this estate shall be preserved in peace. Moreover, I have so fully recommended to the King's consideration the seasonable apprehension of the persons hurt in this late encounter and his further progress in the action against these rebels, that I can add nothing thereto for this present, and as thereby, and for a convenient time, myself and my labours here shall little profit, therefore, having now prepared all things in readiness for my return, leaving here a sufficient person to give good and timely advertisements to me, I will enter on my journey within two or three days at the farthest. Edinburgh. *Signed*: Robert Bowes.

3½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's Clerk.*

Oct. 13. **381.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii. p. 104. A letter signifying her Majesty's pleasure that Bowes should remain in Scotland for some time longer, and enclosing her "placarde" to the Wardens of the Borders to permit Buccleuch to buy two horses or geldings in England and to take them to Scotland; also with information of the capture of the town and castle of Morlaix,* of Sir John Norris and the Marshal d'Aumont "being sett downe" before the Spaniards' fort on the haven of Brest, and of the overthrow by the Grand Seigneur's army of the Christians commanded by Duke Mathias.† The Court at Nonsuch.

⅓ *p. Abstract in the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 15. **382.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

"Being sorye of your lordship's absence frome Court, bot more of the disease which gave occasion thereof," I had desired this bearer, Mr. Hudson, to make you acquainted with the answer I received on Sunday last at my latest audience and leave taken of her Majesty. But your lordship having removed and gone to Court I send him now to make relation of all which I myself would gladly "performe" if I did not eschew to "breade" trouble to your lordship, so many ways troubled. Having likewise taken occasion to write some few lines to her Majesty, because of my earnest desire to return

* Elizabeth sent an army to the support of Henry IV. in Brittany, and as a base "the King has consigned to her the town of Morlaix, which is near the shore and can be easily held. The town was in the hands of the League, so the English had to capture it, which they did." Marshal D'Aumont was one of the French commanders. *Venetian Papers*, ix. No. 309.

† A Turkish victory in Hungary over the Imperialists was reported at this time. (*Ibid.* No. 310.)

with an answer to the King's satisfaction I beg you to present them to her Majesty's hands and to interpone your wise advice for her resolution. Her aid and concurrence in this latest action to the north parts is expected beyond doubt, as I have desired the bearer to inform you more at large, together with such other particulars as are contained in letters of advertisement which, although "evill set doun," yet confirm the hope of the concurrence expected. I would desire you to impart these likewise to her Majesty. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

Postscript.—The favour and courtesies I have received of your lordship moved me to inform you by this bearer of some intelligence "cummed" to my knowledge, and which is but general, yet "importing" to your lordship. If I may find out the particulars, you shall have the like advertisement.

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 15. **383.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Having sent this bearer, Mr. Hudson, to Burghley, I could not omit to desire you to interpone your credit and furtherance both with her Majesty and your father, that I may be despatched with answer to the King's satisfaction, "wherein I will be bould to divine there will consist more then peradventure is presently apprehendit." I remit this to your wise consideration, as one, I am assured, fully disposed to nourish the amity and good correspondence between the crowns, as I, on my side, shall level at the same mark, and sympathise with you as near as I can, not forgetting heartiest thanks for your courtesies to me.

⅓ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed:* "15 October 1594. Sir Richard Cockburne the King's Secretarie to my master."

Oct. 16. **384.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

By the answer which her Majesty returned me through Sir Robert Cecil, and by Mr. Hudson's information, I have understood of the good effects of your lordship's good furtherance "therein," and can do no less than double and triple my thanks. I shall prove not unthankful "in part of some acquitall" of your many favours. Lyme. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

Postscript.—Please give order for the receipt of the sums by the bearer.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 18. **385.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The ambassador wrote his dutiful thanks, and afterwards signified how he had heard of her Majesty's stay and the reasons, and how he had written to the King of her grant, and therefore humbly prayed that there might be no stay, for that it was "ordenary" to pay it yearly here, and so by exchange "to taek it in Scotland." I delivered this letter to Mr. Windybank, who could not have access and therefore got it delivered by Mr. Killigrew, who shortly after came and asked who brought the letter. Then I was named. Her Majesty's pleasure was then that I should come again this day. "Whiche done," she now answered that she could make no answer till your honour's coming, which I wait for here lest I should be absent on your arrival. Nonsuch. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

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

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Oct. 19.

386. Robert Bowes to Sir Robert Cecil.

This day, at Berwick, I received your last, of the 13th, certifying that, notwithstanding her Majesty had resolved " to dispence with myne absence " for a while, yet, seeing this matter will not be long in trying and that it is very uncertain what extraordinary accident may happen, she will now do more than command me, for she will entreat me " even willinglye " to stay for a while and not to be grieved with it, for as soon as the King has come back my desire shall be performed. Before the receipt of this letter I had received one advertising me that her Majesty licensed my return for fifteen or sixteen days when once the King had gone northwards, on condition that I should find some convenient person there to advertise me of all occurrents. This letter was brought to me the day before the King entered on his raid, therefore I acquainted him with her Majesty's pleasure, seeking his safe-conduct for my pass and re-pass. For the safe-conduct I sent to the King, at Dundee, and obtained it. Next, I appointed George Nicolson, my servant, to remain at Edinburgh to give me advertisements. I made means that some of the King's Council, Chamber, and others of especial quality attending on the King on this journey, and also others of his Council at Edinburgh during his absence, together with other friends of good credit and " moyens," should give frequent intelligence to Nicolson at Edinburgh. For the furtherance thereof I have appointed a fit person to solicit and call upon the instruments about the King. Besides, I have not omitted to provide that, during my absence and upon Nicolson's solicitation, some of the Council with the King and in Edinburgh shall move all Border matters and other causes requisite to be communicated and negotiated to the King or severally to either of his Councils mentioned, and I have left Nicolson so sufficiently instructed and furnished that he shall be well able, I trust verily, to gather and give advertisements for her Majesty's service. Moreover, some particular matter of importance concerning the future benefit of the common causes is committed to my credit to be presented to her Majesty's knowledge and consideration; and I have sundry other mysteries to be timely presented, that upon the discovery thereof her Majesty may make choice of the course and servant for execution.

Thus, after I had taken leave of the King and received his safe-conduct, and after he had come to Aberdeen with great forces, and after I had likewise taken my leave of the Queen (who has written to her Majesty by me and referred some credit to myself) as also of the Council, Provost and Estate at Edinburgh, and after at my great charges I had thus put all things in order for my return, and chiefly for her Majesty's service during my absence, then I thought that it would please her Majesty that in this seasonable time I should hasten my repair to lay before her all the things necessary to be reported and revealed for her service, and which I think shall be found worthy of grave consideration. Having given you some notice of my opinion and purpose by my letters of the 8th and 12th, I came to this town of Berwick, and, being ready this day to have " comed " forwards, I received yours of the 13th.

Because I find it her Majesty's pleasure that I should abide in Scotland until the King's return (which is altogether uncertain, and in which time I may make full discovery of all things to be revealed, and with good instructions be returned at her Majesty's will and for the great advantage of her service in Scotland), and because her request is sufficient for me to yield my body, blood and life to be sacrificed (albeit I think that she shall not like that I should return to Scotland after all my doings and preparations, *etc.*), I dare not presume to come forwards before she shall signify her pleasure to me. There-

1594. fore I have resolved to stay my journey in this or other convenient place to attend her Majesty's pleasure, which I beseech you to procure and send to me with good speed. Edinburgh. (*sic*) *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

2½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed.*

Oct. 23. **387.** ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

On the 20th instant I received your last letter, of the 16th, and on the morrow following one of the 17th from Sir Robert Cecil, certifying some purpose to stay the "indilate" delivery of the 2000*l.* sought by the Secretary for the King. Whereupon I have passed over the matter with silence, and yet by the warrant of Sir Robert's letter I have sent forward one packet of letters directed by the Secretary to Mr. David Foulis. Of all these I have herewith advertised Sir Robert Cecil, and also of the progress of the King against the rebels, trusting that by a view of my letter your lordship shall well perceive the King to be in safe estate and well minded, being so occupied in those disordered parts that "myselfe and service" in that realm may in this time be best spared; in consideration whereof her Majesty shall, I trust, grant my access to her presence. Berwick. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

⅔ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 23. **388.** ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

On the 20th instant I received here, at Berwick, a letter of the 16th from your father, and on the morrow, your last, of the 17th, touching the matter contained in your father's letter and also occasioning me to pass over the same without report or assurance of anything therein until further directed. Nevertheless I have (after a little pause and with the warrant in your letter) sent to Mr. David Foulis a packet from the King's Secretary, who, I think, has therein given advertisement of the comfort that he has got for receipt of 2000*l.* for the King.

By letters from Aberdeen I am informed that the King is resolutely determined to prosecute Huntly and the rest of the rebels with all severity; that he personally proceeds on his journey against them to Strathbogy, Slains and other houses, which he intends to rase and cast down; and that he has resolved and protested solemnly to abide in the north parts until he shall have fully established good order. Hereupon the King has sent Mr. James Melvill, preacher of God's Word, to the ministers at Edinburgh to acquaint them and others of their brethren,—first with his determinate mind, present actions and evident forwardness; next, to persuade them and all his lieges to assist him with their prayers and to supply his great necessities for the full accomplishment of this work; lastly, to provide and take up money in Edinburgh for one further month's pay for his soldiers. Mr. Melvill (Melvin) and the rest of the ministers attending on the King in this expedition have given good testimony of his commendable actions past and promising all wished effects to follow. There is no force seen nor looked to be showed in the fields whilst the King shall remain in those parts. Caithness and Sutherland are sent for to provide that they shall stop the entrance of Huntly and the other rebels seeking passage and refuge in their lands, and also to restrain the receipt of them.

The hurt men of Huntly's party have drawn themselves into Auchindoun's house. This house is of some strength, and it is given out that the rebels will keep it until the spring of the year, looking then to be rescued by foreign

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1594. forces. The King is minded to besiege this house after he has rased Strathbogy and Slains. I have advised that it with the hurt persons may be besieged with all expedition.

On the 17th the King sent abroad into the country his waged horsemen with others of that country to make search for the hurt and other rebels lurking thereabouts. It is confidently reported that hereon Errol and the Laird of Cluny, Gordon, are taken, and it is added in my advertisements from discreet persons that the execution of these two shall not be long deferred, if they be indeed in the King's hands ; of which several and last effects I am doubtful. Berwick. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

1⅔ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 24 [?] **389.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO ROBERT BOWES.

Vol. lii. p. 104. A letter signifying her Majesty's pleasure for the return of Bowes, enclosing her letters of the 25th * to the King of Scots and the Earl of Argyll for restraining the recourse of Scots into Ireland, together with copies. Nonsuch.

⅓ *p. Abstract in the hand of Cecil's clerk.*

Oct. 24. **390.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday I received your letter of the 22nd, wherein you signified the disorders and outrages down on the Borders and directed me to impart the same to the Provost of this town and the Laird of Wedderburn, that they might inform the Council and procure order therein. Those two not being here, I sought to the Earl of Morton for order therein, but he willed me to deal with the Council, who sit here every Thursday, assuring me of his furtherance. Hereupon I awaited their lordships' going to Council, and when they were " sett," viz., the Earl of Morton, Lord Seton and the Lairds of Bass and Airth, with few others, I showed them the whole matters contained in the letters of Sir John Foster, Sir John Selby and Mr. Gray (all which I return enclosed herewith). Mr. George Young and I read them to the Council who were pleased with your writing to Foster and Selby in the matter they required you by the Provost and Wedderburn, and with their answers thereto, but [were] sorry to hear of those disorders and " not metinge " of the Wardens. For putting order whereto, both for redress of the faults done and avoiding of the like hereafter, they sent for Cessford,† being here, charging him with those matters. For the slaughter of the men (as I hear and am sure, having then come forth from the Council chamber), he said that they were Scotsmen who had stolen, and for whom our Wardens had refused to be answerable ; and for doing of justice and keeping of the peace and meeting with the Wardens opposite to him, he protested to be forwards and ready ; and for the better effecting of justice and meetings Buccleuch and the Goodman of Huttonhall were also sent for, and came to the Council. They and Sir Robert Kerr are enjoined to send to our Wardens for the appointment of meetings and days of truce, for giving redress ; at which meetings Cessford will answer for the slaughter of the men, as is abovesaid. The Council by their letter to you, herewith enclosed, have signified their order taken in these behalfs, which you may

* It would seem from this that Cecil's letter is misdated in this abstract. The letters of Elizabeth are calendared hereafter (Nos. 391, 392).

† Sir Robert Kerr, apparent of Cessford, was Warden of the Middle March (*P.C.* v. 178); It leads to confusion that throughout the calendar he is styled indifferently Cessford and young Cessford.

1594. signify to our Wardens.* [*In the margin*: I read the letters to the Council because they sought the particularities of my complaints. As much as I knew, I told them; for neither by the letters nor any other means could I charge any by name with the faults complained of. "Alwaies" I have so dealt that I have procured good order.]

Buccleuch has the keys of the Hermitage, in Liddisdale, and has caused the Armstrongs and chief men there to come to him to his own house and to protest their true services to him. He has told them plainly that if any of them deal any way with Bothwell he will hang them. So Bothwell is barred coming there and presently in "hard case," some say ready to leave the country if he could tell how to get safely out of it.

Since my last, of the 22nd instant, I have not certainly heard what the King is doing, but the ministers, Council and all good men here are assured that he is to his power still earnestly busied in pursuit of the Papist northern Earls, whom he will "execute if he can gitt." I think he is now at Spynie himself, and his forces at Elgin hard by, [and that he is] resolved to tarry there until he has "wracked" those Earls, who with their forces have scattered and fled, God knows whither and how. This town is charged "to make him more help of mony"; which willingly they do, seeing him now in so good a course for the good cause, though by reason of this dearth and of former great charges it much pinches them.

The King, as by my last you know, wrote to the Queen to be ready to come to him upon his next advertisement, and since that he has written again to her, not once making mention of her coming. By that and other means I am given to understand that his Majesty, being advertised that the rebels and their friends and that country hoped for his good departure, intended by his first letter "pollitickly" to put them out of hope of any such matter and to let them know that he will dwell there to "danton" them, rather than to call the Queen to him. The Queen has this day sent Sir Hugh Carmichael to the King, as he tells me, and by him I have sent to friends in Court.

1½ *pp. Holograph: also address. Endorsed by Bowes.*

Oct. 25. **391.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

We have heretofore upon some disorders in the northern parts of our realm of Ireland, especially such provinces as are nearest to Scotland, imparted to you that some of your subjects have used to transfer themselves into Ulster, Fermanagh and Tyrconnell, and there received wages of our rebels, whereof the principal persons are such as have adhered to O'Donnell, Maguire and others. After which motion of ours we have forborne to look so narrowly to those places and passages from Scotland as we would have done, both because we scarce held those stirs worth the troubling ourselves, and because we were desirous the world should take notice that we had so great interest in your love and amity that we should need no other course for impeaching any subject of yours from "parting" with our rebels than by procuring your own commandment for the restraint. Wherein, if by your timely care we shall find our kingdom cleared [of your subjects], then shall we quickly provide for the reduction of those parts into better quiet. At which time, whenever we shall begin, we would be loth, by finding any of yours "sparkled" † with our nation in those countries, to have cause to use one and the same measure to the subjects of a King, our friend, which we shall be forced to do to our own rebels.

* Here amissing. It is printed in *Border Papers*, i. No. 986.
† *sparkle*: scatter, disperse. (Halliwell's *Dictionary*.)

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1594. To the intent you may perceive what cause we have to renew our desire to you at this time, we send you a little note whereby you may understand how certain numbers of Scots daily come to the Irish,* and where they are dispersed, as also the names of some of the principal from whom they were sent. By which notice from us, if you will inform yourself particularly and provide accordingly, we shall take it as an argument of your affection towards us. This we rather desire for the world's satisfaction, to whom we daily manifest our care for anything concerning your estate, than for the power of any such poor rebels there long to stand in our way, notwithstanding all their combinations, when we shall once be determined to take order for such a rabble of traitors. And forasmuch as we have understood that the Earl of Argyll has greatest commandment under you of those parts, we have thought it not amiss, with your privity, to recommend the reformation of the same to him, assuring him that we have no doubt but you will take it as an acceptable service to yourself, being that which may concern the amity of both the kingdoms. [Nonsuch.] †

2½ *pp. Draft in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Many corrections in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk :* " 25 Octobr. 1594. Minute of her Majestis letter to the King of Scottis to restraine the recourse of Scottis into Ireland."

Fair copy of the same (vol. lii., p. 104).

392. Elizabeth to the Earl of Argyll.

We have so many ways been informed of your faithful services to the King your sovereign, even now in the time wherein practice and corruption have appeared in his greatest subjects, that we are willing, out of our affection to him and his estate, to apprehend any good occasion to renew with you the " correspondencies " which we had in former times with your father, of whose loyalty and good inclination to his sovereign's allies and surest friends we perceive you are as well the true inheritor as of his house and fortune. We have at this time written to the King to use his authority for restraining divers of his subjects in the north of Scotland, who daily are " waged " by our traitorously affected Irish. Wherein, since we are of opinion that no subject he has is of greater commandment than yourself, we have thought it not amiss to desire him to let you know his mind therein, and entreat you for the same cause, and therefore do by these our letters not only earnestly move you to use an honourable circumspection in the same for our sake, but also do assure you that if occasion offers to do you pleasure you shall find no prince readier to perform all the best offices in reasonable sort. That you may know some particularities of the matter we send you some little note in what numbers and by whose means those Scots are sent, and also by whom they are waged and where they are dispersed, and we doubt not but you will work such a further reformation as shall yield us honourable satisfaction. [Nonsuch.] ‡

1½ *pp. Draft in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. Many corrections. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk :* " 25 Octobr. 1594. Minute of her Majestis letter to the Earl of Argile to restraine the recourse of Scottis into Ireland."

Fair copy of the same (vol. lii. p. 106).

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* The original draft here reads " a litle note of dyverse Scotis come into O'Donell of late; some sent by one called Nyee M'James; some by M'Coue . . . landed in O'Donellis contrye where there are to the nom[ber] of 800, besidis 200 entertained."

† From the copy.

‡ From the copy.

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1594. Oct. 27.

393. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO BURGHLEY.

I looked assuredly, by receipt of the sums granted for the King, to put an end to my unwilling "empeshing" of her Majesty and your lordship, but I was forced by two several letters to molest her Majesty's eyes in reading my rude and evil written lines and to make a relapse in all these faults whereof I had excused myself before. Likewise I am constrained once again to "inquyet" your lordship, since I am so "tuiched" by the stay of the order given by her Majesty, and which I, immediately upon knowledge thereof, advertised to the King. Think in what sort I may be perturbed and peradventure armed with less patience than passion, but especially for giving intelligence in such haste to the King, whereby I cannot well escape the censuring either of rashness or of making false advertisement, for never will he imagine any "occurred" delay; and yet I had sufficient warrant (which I in no point exceeded) both as to her Majesty's "resolved" pleasure, and for giving advertisement thereof to the King. I must therefore have recourse to your lordship, by whose good mediation I doubt not but that her Majesty shall give order for my sudden despatch, so that the expected and advertised aid may arrive as timeously as it has been considerately granted. The bearer shall make you acquainted with more than is meet to be set down in letter. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

¾ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Oct. 29.

394. ROBERT BOWES TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

[The beginning of the letter is much decayed. It recapitulates the previous accounts of Nicolson's negotiation with the Council anent Border matters.]

That you may understand with best certainty what is done by this Council upon Nicolson's travail by my direction, I enclose the letters addressed to me by the Council and by Nicolson, of the effects of which I have advertised Sir John Foster and Sir John Selby, with my advice to call effectually and with speed for due and "indelate" meetings and justice, certifying me if any delay or impediment shall be found, that I may timely procure redress in the same.

Most of the occurrents mentioned in my last are confirmed by many letters sent from Aberdeen and by Nicolson to me. By these it is assured me that Errol and Cluny Gordon are not taken, as before was given out. It is now confidently certified to me that the arrow-head sticking in the bone of Errol's thigh cannot be drawn out, whereupon his leg is exceedingly swollen. He "is entred into a whott fever" and not likely to escape death.

The King and Council at Aberdeen have enacted that the King shall personally go forward with his forces on the 22nd to Strathbogy, Slains, Auchindoun and the houses of the rebels, and prosecute the rebels and their accomplices with all rigour; that their houses shall be rased and the persons taken be executed. It is certified that the King has showed himself most forward for the execution of this act of Council chiefly advanced by himself, whereby he has recovered greatly the love and hearts of his people.

The King has sworn to abide in those parts until he has chased out the Papists and rebels and established the countries in quietness. He has written twice to the Queen to be in readiness to come to him to Aberdeen upon his letter calling for her, and it [is] thought that he will remain in the north the most part of this [win]ter. For which purpose the country is divided into quarters, and . . . ne quarter to serve forty days. . . . [The Lair]d of Abergeldy, lately in field with Huntly against Argyll, . . . and upon

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1594. his disobedience his house was spoiled and burnt . . . was deemed * to have been rich. Sundry other houses are . . . King's commandment. The horsemen have spoiled lands and possessions, and one, Douglas, Cluny's servant, being taken, is executed.

. . . the houses of Strathbogy, Slains and Auchindoun were well victualed and to have been kept; yet the keepers (understanding that the King had already sent his horsemen to summon them to be delivered and would follow in person) have so left them that it is verily looked that all the houses shall be rendered into his hands and pleasure.

The King has been informed that Huntly, accompanied only with one man, has departed from those parts, and (as some think) has passed southward to meet with Angus and Bothwell, whom Huntly and Errol accuse to have broken promise with them. All the Gordons who have assisted Huntly are charged to appear before the King and Council and to give caution for their good behaviour. Such as make default shall be prosecuted with all severity. It is now thought that Huntly shall have a fall and perish. Whereupon the Lairds of Findlater, Boyne, Drum and other great barons, lately stooping to him only in fear of his greatness, now frankly offer themselves and their services against him. The rents of the rebels and of their partakers shall be employed for the sustentation of the King's house and payment of the guard during the King's abode there, "and so farr as it will reache," and no escheats shall be given except in especial causes and services. But it is doubted that the King's want will drive him against his will to leave some part of the work not fully finished.

The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland, being sent for, made default; whereupon a sharp charge is awarded against them to appear, otherwise the King will prosecute them with all his forces. The King has no less privy and good intelligence with sundry persons about Huntly and Errol than he had with some of the company following Bothwell, and is put in hope to entrap shortly some principal in that rebellious crew. After he has established those northern parts in peace and good order, he purposes to leave Argyll to be his lieutenant there; wherewith the well affected barons, burghs and kirks are greatly comforted, and Marishal, Forbes and many barons of best strength thereabouts freely offer him their assistance. Bothwell yet is, or within these three or four days w[as] . . . and in distressed case, if the promises made to the King by . . . Cessford and other Scottishmen shall be fully kept. . . . These occurrents specified are commended to . . . and by persons of honour, of especial credit and . . . and consideration thereof the present estate in S . . . appear to you and be seen to promise . . . that nation than lately was expected . . . in the north for the effects declared . . . shall not so much profit as my access to her Majesty's presence and opening of matters to her. Therefore I trust to receive licence for my speedy access. Barnes. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil. Parts of this letter are destroyed by damp.*

Oct. 29. **395.** NEWS FROM STRATHBOGY, TORRIESOUL, ETC.

"The effectuall partes of th'occurrantes certefyed by letters sent from Strabogye, Terrisole,† *etc.*, 29 October 1594."

The King is presently at Strathbogy, where his intended work has been

* This word might also read *denied.*
† See *The Book of the Duffs,* A. and H. Tayler, vol. i. p. 341 and *n.*

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crossed by many hindrances, for it came into deliberation whether the houses of the Papists should be demolished, or be kept standing that garrisons might be put in them to keep the country in subjection and to take up the rents and profits of the lands. But by the earnest means of Argyll, Lord Lindsay and the ministers, with the King's help it was concluded that the houses should be rased, sore against the will of some great men, seeking by all their means to preserve the houses. The pioneers have wrought two days to rase the house at Strathbogy. Nothing thereof is left "unhocked," saving the great old tower, which shall be blown up with powder this day, 29 Octobris. The house, being fourteen years in building, shall be cast down and made "equall" with the ground in two days, and all men are made "free to the spoyle therof."

On the next day the King will pass to Slains, Errol's house, and from thence to John Gordon of Newton's house at Newton, to demolish them with other houses where the mass has been said. These things done, the King will return to Aberdeen and remain there until order shall be put to the country, for the waters are so great [and] the victuals so scant and wholly wasted that the King cannot march farther northwards or abide longer about Strathbogy and in those bounds. They have been four days without any victuals other than they brought with them, whereupon sundry of the King's army died by lack of food.

Argyll shall be appointed lieutenant in the north, but will not accept the office before conferring with his friends; for which purpose he seeks leave to repair into his country. It is not known who shall be left lieutenant in his absence. The King will leave in those quarters horsemen and footmen to serve under the lieutenant, and the burghs shall be joined by band to serve together. Hard shifts are made to keep together either the country soldiers serving there by proclamation or the "waged men," in whom the King chiefly trusts. Where [*i.e.* inasmuch as] it was reported that MacIntosh and Grant had agreed with Huntly, therefore MacIntosh sent to the King his especial kinsman, and Grant came in person, to acquit themselves thereof. The Papists "crackis" [boast] of men and money to come to them. It is confessed by some who know their doings that they are promised men in the next spring at the farthest, and money in the meantime. Huntly has gone into Caithness.

1¼ *pp.* *In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

October. **396.** ARTICLES FOR THE REBEL EARLS, WITH ANSWERS BY MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS.

(1) That the Earls and their allies and followers abstain from all foreign combinations and practices. [*Answer.*] I think it shall be granted on condition that they may be made assured of her Majesty's favour to be extended towards them to the King in case it shall be needful. (2) That they perform all dutiful sincerity in the maintenance and conservation of the established religion in England and Scotland. [*Answer.*] I think that will be yielded to, provided they shall not be troubled "for their privat behaviour of their particuler consciencis." [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "By way of inquisition in matter of ther privat conscience."] (3) That they neither attempt nor consent to any alteration of religion or disturbance of the peace of both realms, nor assist any English or Irish rebels. (4) That they shall not publish or set forth any title of succession to this realm of England during her Majesty's life, but shall with all their power withstand the doing thereof. [*In the margin, in Burghley's hand:* "This must pass with silence."] [*Answer.*] The third and fourth I think shall be agreed to under the conditions aforesaid. (5) That they shall put in bands and pledges for performance of the promises made to

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1594. her Majesty in their behalf, the band to be had before any act of favour be showed to them, and the pledges to be named and delivered at a day and place certain, with the King's privity. [*Answer.*] The fifth appears to contain some obscurity, viz. that they shall give in band before any act of favour shall be showed to them, which I think they may be moved to perform under promise that the premises shall be performed, but as to giving in pledges with the King's privity, that cannot be done without the King's consent, to whom they as yet have spoken nothing of this matter. As touching that which is desired to be known, viz., what they will desire to be performed to them, I think, if the matter shall be well "delt into," they will crave no farther but the performance of the premises and her Majesty's princely promise hereupon.

1¼ *pp. Endorsed by Burghley:* "Octob. 1594. Articles for the Scottish Erles to perform, with answers by Archib. Douglass. Delivered by Sir Jhon Fortescuye."

October. **397. MONEY PAID TO JAMES VI.**

See *Border Papers*, i. No. 988.

"Monie paid owt of the Receipt to the Kinge of Scottes use."

1586. By Roger Ashton, 4000*l.* 1587. Nil. 1588. Sent by Captain Carvell, 2000*l.*; by the Earl of Huntingdon to Mr. Robert Bowes, 3000*l.* 1589. By the Laird of Wemys, 3000*l.* 1590. By Sir John Carmichael, 3000*l.* besides, delivered to Colonel Stewart, 500*l.*; by Mr. John Colville, 3000*l.* 1591. By James Hudson, 3000*l.* 1592. By the same James Hudson, 2000*l.* 1593. By Sir Robert Melville, 4000*l.* 1594. By David Foulis, 4000*l.*; by Sir Robert (*sic*) Cockburne, 2000*l.*—33,500*l.*

At 3000*l. per. an.*, being the rate which her Majesty and Queen Mary were allowed by King Henry VIII., he is overpaid 6500*l.* If at 4000*l. per an.*, there remains to be paid for these nine years 2500*l.*

¾ *p. In the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed.*

Nov. 2. **398. EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM SCOTLAND.**

George Nicolson, with the advice of Mr. Robert Bruce, and with Mr. Robert's letter to the Earl of Argyll to the effects mentioned by Robert Bowes, is resolved to repair to the Court at Strathbogy or Aberdeen to deliver her Majesty's letters to the King and Argyll. He has taken order for advertisement to be sent to Robert Bowes. He will inform himself of the certainty of the King's proceedings, and so certify Robert Bowes. [*In the margin:* "Georg Nicolson, 2 Novembris, 1594."]

There is a speech here that the Council have prevailed with the King, or so little assistance is given to him, that he has retired to Aberdeen, having left forces in the houses of Strathbogy, Slains and others. These houses are not rased, but are preserved for the strength of the keepers to be appointed, according to the advice (as some say) of the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis and Sir Robert Melvill. But this is not certain, because no letters have come to him from Strathbogy since the King's coming thither. Sir George Douglas and Sir John Kerr (Carr) released from their ward for visiting the Lady Bothwell at Moss Tower. [*In the margin:* "Confirmed by the lettre of——."]

John Ogilvy's house is not yet cast down, notwithstanding that the King does not know thereof. For Dundee was commanded to rase Mr. Walter Lindsay's house, which they did; and St. Johnstone was directed to rase John Ogilvy's house, but they durst not do it for fear of the Ogilvys and "in memorye of" the oppression lately laid on them by the Laird of Clackmannan. Atholl's

1594. part is not good, for now it is known that his lady has received money from Huntly. The King will not return hastily, yet sundry of his companies are broken. But he fears that his crafty Council "drawe over soone backe," not performing as was expected.

Lord Forbes, MacIntosh and Grant were directed to make search and apprehend all the aiders and resetters of Huntly and Errol in the shires of Mar, Banff, Aberdeen, Badenoch (Bagynoch) and Moray, and Lord Lovat, Mackenzie, Balnagowan (Ballengowne) and Foulis to take them in Ross. Nevertheless there is no one apprehended or executed in these bounds, which argues no great zeal in these commissioners; and albeit the King will be very willing to prosecute the rebels, yet he shall have no power to accomplish it, in regard that the Chancellor and Glamis (without whom nothing is done in Council) are for them. The ministry begin again to fear that albeit the King of himself is bent to abide till all is settled, yet his Council will indirectly draw him home without any great fruit in the work intended, and an especial person present with the King by his last letter declares the King to be so "brangled" * and irresolute by the advice of his wisest Council drawing him against his own mind, that he dare not assure of the King's abode or return.

The President and Mr. James Elphinstone, chief councillors to the Queen and suspected in religion, are flatly against the Queen going north in this season in regard she is again thought to be with child, which is likely to draw the King home. Bothwell has made many "mintis" [attempts] to spoil and burn some cornyards in the Merse and Lothian, but he is indirectly "impeached," for Niddry (Netherye), Boyd and the best with him have grown cold and not unwilling to leave him. Hamilton, Herries and Drumlanrig with their forces intend to invade Johnstone, who is assisted by Buccleuch. Mr. Walter Lindsay has not returned, but is looked for daily. [*In the margin :* "Edenburgh, 2 Novemb."] The "factours" of estate, fearing Mar's greatness and that [they] themselves should be "put at," made a motion to the Earl of Crawford to take the keeping of Edinburgh Castle. But Crawford constantly refused, and seeing the matter did not succeed this way they go about another, and so the wars are begun betwixt them and shall not cease until "th'one partye be caste." [*In the margin :* "By letter of the penult of October 1594.]

1⅔ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed in the same hand :* "The note of sondrye contents of lettres receaved from Scotlande at London 8th Novemb. 1594."

Nov. 3. **399.** NEWS FROM ABERDEEN, ETC.

"Occurrantis certefyed by sondrye lettres sent from Aberdeyne, etc."

The houses of Strathbogy and Newton are rased and Slains is burnt because it could not be "propped or hoched." Two hundred horsemen and 100 footmen are left to keep the country in quietness and subjection. Marischal, Forbes and the Barons of MacIntosh, Grant, Drum, Findlater, Balquhan, Frendraught (Frendrate) and others of the country have entered into band to "oppone" themselves against Huntly and his accomplices, and if Huntly or the Papists shall hurt the ministers or trouble the country, as they brag to do, the King has promised then to return into those parts personally with his forces and utterly to destroy all the rebels, their parties and their houses. A general pardon upon payment of fines is granted to all the "commons" who were in field with Huntly against Argyll.

* *brangle :* to shake, applied to the mind; to confound; also, to menace. See Jamieson's *Dictionary*, new edition.

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1594. The King has now returned to Aberdeen, intending there to put all things in order, and thereon to come to Edinburgh, and it is likely that he will abide short time at Edinburgh [*sic*] since the countrymen serving by proclamation have departed upon the expiration of their attendance, while the next "quarterage" have not come to him, neither are they now looked for, and thereby he is left with the waged men, who are likely to break by want of pay, and thereon he shall be "endangered to be" a prey to his enemies. He intended to have marched into Caithness (where now Huntly is looking daily for Bothwell's coming), but he was stayed by many impediments. Argyll shall receive the lieutenancy of the north at the King's coming to Edinburgh. MacIntosh, lately disgraced by the King for taking part with Bothwell, has come to the King and offered his service, which is accepted, and now the King reposes great trust in him and on the Laird of Grant, which two have lately been suspected of having revolted from Argyll to Huntly. Two of Huntly's men being lately hanged were taken down and carried to be buried, whereupon one reviving is hitherto suffered to live.

Two gentlemen who were with Huntly in the field against Argyll are taken and are to be executed on the next day. One of them is uncle of Lord Saltoun. Ochiltree, awaiting to apprehend Angus, missed him narrowly, whereupon Angus will no more haunt those bounds. The King has been informed that Bothwell lately shipped at Yarmouth and passed over the seas, yet by other letters it is certified that he is in Esk, at "Dicke" Davy's house, and that he will not resort into Caithness, as Huntly expects. The Chancellor and Mar have entered into some discord and dryness likely to produce troublesome effects, as shortly it will appear.

A letter from Huntly to Angus was intercepted and brought to the King, who is stirred with the scornful words of Huntly declaring his raid to be but a "goykis storme." * It is secretly given out, and with some credit, that Errol died lately at Callendar (the Kallender) or thereabouts, the house of Livingstone, who married Errol's sister. Huntly by his letter to Bothwell challenged him with breach of his promise to provide horsemen with the 800 crowns delivered to Colonel Boyd; and whereas 2000 crowns more should have been sent to Bothwell, it is alleged that the money has not yet come. This money, with forces, is looked for next spring at the farthest. Huntly has got the warrant, which Auchendoun had and kept in his coffer, for the death of Moray.

1⅓ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "Scotland."

Nov. 8. **400.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Desires access to her Majesty by Cecil's means to take his leave. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

¼ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 8. **401.** NEWS FROM ABERDEEN.

"Occurrantis certefyed by sondrye letters sent from Aberdeyne 8° Novembris, 1594."

Her Majesty's last letter to the King touching the Scottishmen presently in Ireland was delivered at Aberdeen by George Nicolson after Argyll's

* A gowk's storm is defined in Jamieson's *Dictionary* as a metaphor "used to denote an evil, or destruction, of short duration." (New edition).

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1594. departure. The King promised to speak with him on his return, and thereon to take order to give her Majesty good satisfaction. The letter to Argyll was likewise delivered to him at Dalkeith by Nicolson. Argyll will shortly return to the King and take his pleasure and order in that cause. He protests to do all that he can for her Majesty in that behalf. The order to be taken by the King with Argyll herein shall be certified by the next [letter], and they intend to advertise the same by their own letters to her Majesty.

The rasing of Strathbogy, Slains and Newton is confirmed, and further that the house of Abergeldy is cast down, and that the King on his return from Aberdeen to Dundee will demolish John Ogilvy's house, which the town of St. Johnstone should have done before; and thereon the King will return to Edinburgh or Stirling on the 16th instant. He is so slenderly guarded that his safe return is much wished.

Argyll would not accept the lieutenancy in the north before he had conferred with his friends and received their consent to assist him therein: which conference and resolution could not be had in less time than two months. Therefore the King made Lennox lieutenant from the water of Dee northwards, and appointed Marishal, Forbes, Sir Robert Melvill, Sir John Carmichael, the Lairds of Dunipace, Findlater, Balquhan (Bouquhan), Frendraught (Fyndrach), Philorth (Fullorth), and the bishop of Aberdeen, and of the ministry, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. James Nicolson, Mr. Peter Blackburn, Mr. Alexander Douglas and Mr. Duncan Davidson, as his counsellors. The King and Council have given especial instructions to the Duke, who has publicly and solemnly protested to do his uttermost in performance of the same.

The gentlemen benorth the river of Dee are charged to apprehend such of the rebels as shall enter within their bounds. Sutherland has promised to execute this order for his part, and has delivered to the King his eldest son in pledge for the same. Mackenzie and Balnagowan (Ballengowne) undertake for the county of Ross; Lord Lovat, MacIntosh, Grant and the tutor of Calder for the Highlands thereabouts. But because Lovat and Grant are directed to come to and remain at Edinburgh during the King's pleasure, therefore they must depute some fit persons to be answerable to the lieutenant for them, and thus especial noblemen, barons and gentlemen in every several shire are charged to answer the lieutenant for all things within their bounds. William Hume the elder and William Hume the younger, captains of 200 horsemen, are left with the lieutenant with their companies. Captain Davidson abides with 100 footmen, and Sir John Carmichael is general of the whole forces. The residence of the lieutenant shall be in Aberdeen, Elgin and Inverness, as occasion shall be offered. Justice Courts for punishment of offenders shall be holden. The lieutenant, barons and gentlemen have given their oaths for performance of this commission. The King publicly in the assembly of the people declared with solemn oath that he will prosecute the Papists and rebels to the uttermost of his power, assuring the gentlemen that he will be an enemy to Huntly, Errol and their assisters.

MacIntosh has told the King that he has been informed by two gentlemen that Huntly has subscribed a band for the killing of the King; whereupon MacIntosh is directed to speak further with these two informers for the trial of the matter. It is thought that Gight and Invermarky gave this information and that they shall have pardon if they can produce this band. MacIntosh is resolutely bent to draw the Duke into such open and profitable services against the rebels that he shall be either much honoured thereby or utterly shamed. Atholl is suspected to be banded with sundry of Argyll's followers against Argyll. Wherefore some of Argyll's friends are warned, that they may com-

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1594. municate the same to him. It has been informed that Huntly still keeps his forces in pay notwithstanding that they are scattered, and it is thought that he shall thereby kindle again the fire with great danger. Errol recovers his health and is thought to be past peril of death, for with great difficulty and pain the arrow-head in his thigh is drawn out.

1¾ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "No. 1594. Abstractis of certen letters from Scotland." *At the head:* "At London, xix° Novembris 1594."

Nov. 12. **402.** SIR ROBERT CECIL TO SIR RICHARD COCKBURN.

With this letter from her Majesty I know you will part from London immediately, and therefore I send you my farewell and wish you a good journey. The subject of her Majesty's letter (next to the declaration with what mind she sends to the King this testimony of her kindness) is for the most part spent in assuring him how industrious and discreet an instrument he has used. As I know the King is not ignorant of this, so do I also imagine it will not displease you to know that her Majesty returns you with such a testimony under her royal hand. It remains now for you to do her right in all your reports, both of her love and affection for the King and of her many "extraordinaries" which might have hindered this courtesy at this time. These things I "remember," not because I think you will forget them, but "as a true description of what naturell my conceipte holdis yow,"* and as an assurance that, finding this, I will hold all correspondency with you which my place and opportunities may afford, for the conservation of true and sincere love between these two princes. The Court [at Richmond].†

¾ *p. Copy in the hand of Cecil's clerk. Endorsed by the same hand.*

Another copy of the same (vol. lii. p. 107).

Nov. 12. **403.** SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

For this gentleman and another artisan in this town I made suit to her Majesty on Sunday last at my leave-taking. As I was desired to deliver their supplications to you, I now put you in remembrance of motioning their humble suits to her Majesty. If these are granted by my intercession I shall remain most obliged to her Majesty, and shall acknowledge myself particularly beholden to you for your pains. London. *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 14. **404.** MR. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The ambassador has not as yet received his passport, which Burghley committed to Mr. Ashley to despatch with another for two Frenchmen who "ryd by jorney." The ambassador is desirous that you grant your passport for these persons in this enclosed note, and also have some regard to his request for the two denizens recommended already, and especially Mr. Montgomery, for he is descended of a good house and so well qualified and conditioned that he is worthy to inhabit "in a good place and lyke peiple." All the favour you bestow upon them the ambassador will take as done to himself, and he would be glad that it might have some hope before his departure "becaws

* *i.e.* of what disposition I take you to be.

† From the copy.

1594. the gentleman hath a number of young gentlemen that hardly can spaer his pressence with owt ther great prejudice." For my own part, I have ever been deeply bound to your honourable favours, and of late I have been newly obliged both to your father and more to yourself. I wish for some good occasion to express my thanks. London. *Signed:* James Hudson.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 16. **405.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"By letters from Edenburghe the xvjth of November, 1594." The occurrents sent from Aberdeen on 8th November are fully confirmed. It is now advertised that albeit the King has returned first to Stirling on the 14th and next to Edinburgh, and has left the Duke with a council to govern the north parts and to apprehend the rebels, yet it is thought that the rebellious Earls shall stir new troubles there. They still keep their forces in pay, daily drawing to them in secret manner horsemen for the increase of their forces which still are kept "in covert." Huntly has 1000 men in pay, and sundry of quality have banded with him. These Earls charge Mr. Bowes and the ministers of the Church to be the only authors and instruments of their present evils and distresses, threatening "to quyt a common with them."

It is by some cunning practiser given out that her Majesty has sent an ambassador to Duke Ernastus, and that thereon the King of Spain will send his ambassador to treat for a peace betwixt England and Spain. The religious and well affected are troubled with this report, thinking it high time to look to the cause of religion there if this bruit shall be found true.

Some storms are likely to grow betwixt the Chancellor and the Earl of Mar, and it is deemed that Mar aspires to be Chancellor and to draw Mr. Colville to be Secretary, and that Sir George Hume shall be "meanes" and advance this plot. Albeit the Chancellor trusted to have been supported by the Queen in this and his other causes upon new reconciliation betwixt them, yet the Queen has lately showed evident signs of her displeasure towards him, burning things she had signed for his benefit. Lord Hamilton by his servant has certified George Nicolson that he looks that Dumbarton shall be charged to be rendered to the King, whereof there is no certainty; and he has renewed his former request, looking for speedy answer in the same.

The King has been lately informed that Bothwell is presently reset in England with favour, wherewith he is much perplexed and grieved. It is added that an especial person is ready to repair to Bothwell, who (as it is thought) may haply recover some credit.

Argyll's friends have been suspected to have been banded with his adversaries against him in regard that he uses them not as counsellors but as strangers; for which cause they "holde the further from him." Yet they have not entered into any band against him, and it is meant that some fit mediators shall be employed to reconcile these parties. Mr. John Colville is thought to be a fit instrument to travail therein, and the young Laird of Lawers (Lawyes) shall be sent to him, for it is found convenient to remove this unkindness with expedition in respect that Argyll's friends are well devoted and bent to religion, to her Majesty and the common causes. This works so much in the ministers that they will labour to end those griefs. O'Neil and others in Ireland have required Argyll to send to them 2000 Scottishmen at their charges and offer to pay him yearly 10,000*l.* Scots. Argyll still promises to do all good offices in his power to her Majesty, and to endeavour both to call home the Scottishmen presently in Ireland and to restrain others

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1594. from passing there. His full mind and answer to her Majesty's letter, together with the King's pleasure and resolution in those behalfs, shall be sent soon after his coming to the King at Edinburgh. The King has been travailed with to think that Mr. John Colville has sought his favour with purpose not to do him the services which he looks for, and that Mr. John has said that "fayre wordis makis fooles fayne." Whereupon the King is offended against Mr. John by the "incencement" of the Chancellor, and hereupon it is looked that either the Chancellor or Mr. John shall be shortly "put at." Upon the assembly of the Council (presently scattered to repose themselves after their wearisome journey), the King is purposed to take order for the quieting and obedience of the Highlands. Gight, in the extremity of his sickness and at the point of death upon his hurt (who nevertheless is not yet dead), confessed to a minister that there was a band made for killing of the King, and the King hopes to get this original band into his hands.

2 *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Nov. 20. **406.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"Advertisment certefyed by letters from Edenburghe the xxth of November 1594."

Since the King's return to Edinburgh no matters of great importance have followed, and all things for the estate and government are referred to the next Convention, beginning the 26th instant. At this assembly it is looked that some matters shall be "proponed" against the Chancellor by Mar, who is purposed to be at this Convention with his friends and in great strength. Donald Gorme and MacLeod Harris have returned from Ireland and remain at their own houses, as before it was certified. They have been well entreated in Ireland, and have got (as is advertised) great gains and profit. They have left 800 men to serve there this winter against her Majesty's subjects. They have both promised to return again with all the forces they can gather to O'Donnell and O'Neil soon after Candlemas, and they are presently labouring to gather together for that purpose all the forces they can levy. Argyll has sent to Donald Gorme to come to him, but Donald refused and abides still at home.

The Chancellor, attending on the King in his return, refused to go with him to the Earl of Mar, at Stirling, and said that, seeing Mar had been means to purchase the King's pardon for Mr. John Colville, he saw no cause why the like means should not be used for the peace of the Laird of Spott, presently with Bothwell. These speeches of the Chancellor have been brought to the ears of Mar, whereby he is much irritated. Lord John Hamilton and Claud, his brother, being at some discord, have lately been at Edinburgh, where the King has reconciled them and brought them both to eat and drink and also ride together at their departure from Edinburgh. Young Gight, the eldest son of Gordon, Laird of Gight, is taken by Captain William Hume and brought to the King at Edinburgh. It is found that he is not guilty of his father's crimes, and thereby he is likely to be shortly delivered. Buccleuch and Johnstone have burnt sundry of the houses in Ewesdale of the Armstrongs, who are fled to the Grahams in England. The King is purposed to make a raid into Douglasdale to apprehend Angus.

1⅓ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. At the head:* "London, xxix° Novemb. 1594."

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407. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

For this last token of her Majesty's many favours to me I must render most humble thanks, which I will entreat you to take the pains to deliver from me, who shall be no less careful than diligent to satisfy her good opinion and expectation of me in performance of all bounden duty. For your own particular kindness and courtesies towards me I heartily thank you in these few posted lines till such time as better leisure and opportunity afford more frequent remembrance of intelligence betwixt us. Wednesday, "towardis night." *Signed:* R. Cokburne.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed. Red wax seal. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "22 No. 1594, Sir Rich. Cockburne to my master."

Nov. 26. **408.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"Advertismentis certefyed by letters from Edenburgh on the 26 of November laste 1594."

The Convention of the Estates assembled at Edinburgh on the 26th, whereunto resorted sundry noblemen diversely affected to the Chancellor and Mar, presently discording. It is generally expected that sundry of the head officers in Court shall be changed, and that with this change some troublesome effects shall arise. At this Convention the King will take order against the rebels, Papists and Papistry, and for the reformation of other errors in the estate.

It is advertised that Huntly and the rest of the Papist lords have sent a gentleman into Spain to carry the report of the late victory against Argyll, and it is thought that thereby the King of Spain will be the rather allured to send them succours of men and money. Further, [it is advertised] that Thomas Tyrie, addressed by the Earls to the Archduke Ernastus, is ready to return with his answer to Scotland and purposes to pass quietly through England. It is promised that at his coming into Scotland he shall be apprehended to answer to accusations against him; for sundry of Hume's friends wish that Tyrie might be taken from him in regard that he is an ill instrument about him and a great practiser against religion.

The King purposes to ride in person to Douglas and Dumfries against Angus and Herries and to cast down the house of New Abbey in Galloway, wherein many English and Scottish Jesuits, seminaries and Papists have been entertained, and some especial persons of good quality are secretly sent to surprise Angus, who lately has been with Bothwell at Douglas, and, as the King is informed, devising to surprise his person; and it is added that if they shall despair of obtaining possession of the King's person, then they will repair to Huntly, in Caithness, to make further plans. The waged horsemen and footmen will no longer serve unless they shall receive their pay in the beginning of next month. This can hardly be performed in regard that the King's power does not suffice to do it, and that the burghs are unwilling to be further burdened. It is verily thought that if these horsemen and footmen shall break and return to their countries, then Huntly and the rest will soon repossess their houses.

The ministers being informed confidently that the rebels intend to renew their practices against the King and the religion, earnestly persuade the people to give due regard to it and to assist the King. They highly commend the King and his actions, as well in his last expedition against the rebels as also of his good purpose intended further to prosecute them and to establish the peace and quietness of the country.

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It is reported that an ambassador of Spain sent to the King of Denmark has lately arrived at Copenhagen. There has come into Scotland the brother of the Duke of Lüneburg (Lunengburgh). He is young, cousin german to the Queen of Scots, lately returned from Malta through England, [and] purposes to visit the Queen of Scots. He is entertained with great honour in the King's house and admitted ordinarily to the King's table. The state of affairs in the north of Scotland will appear by the following copy of a note sent by the Clerk of the Council there. Remember the advice given for the gift of some horses.

"The coppie of the note of th'estate of th'affayres in the northe of Scotlande and certefyed by the Clarcke of the Counsell ther. At Aberdeyne the 23 of November last, 1594."

Resolution is taken for holding of courts here for the punishment of odious crimes. The Lieutenant and council have thought expedient that rather a good number, which may impair the force of the rebels, be sent south, than a mean number, whose coming there can little serve. The houses and strengths of the country are committed to the keeping of the noblemen and barons of the council, who have promised to be answerable for the same and to place as many men therein as may keep them, which will greatly terrify the rebels and disappoint them "of all reseitt to conspyre or attempte." The houses taken and fortified are these: the Bog of Gight and Ruthven in Badenoch, pertaining to Huntly himself, Glenbucket, Craig of Auchindoun, Haddo, Gight, Cluny, Carnburrow, Inverness, Spynie, Craigneston, Murestis [Muiresk], Gartully, and Turreff. So the rebels cannot stir without advertisement, that my lord may visit them "on the soddayne." Young Gight was taken and sent "in ther" with young William Hume. He is thought meet to be kept in surety as a pledge for his house. He is innocent, and was neither at Donibristle nor the last field. My lord Lieutenant is well liked of and awaited on here. He minds to pass north before 10th December to Elgin to hold a Justice Court. We hear of no kind of stirring of the rebels, but that Huntly is still in Caithness. The Earls of Caithness and Sutherland are both written for and charged to give their obedience to the Lieutenant.

2½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Headed, in the margin:* "London, 4° Decemb. 1594."

Nov. 27.
17.

409. HENRY IV. TO JAMES VI.

He gladly heard the credit of the Laird of Wemyss, and of James's affection and goodwill, which he reciprocates. He regrets that he could not accept the invitation to assist at the baptism of the Prince on account of his wars and preoccupations at home. Remits credit to Wemyss. St. Germaine en Laye.

1½ *pp. French. Copy. Endorsed.*

[*c.* Nov.]

410. PROPOSITIONS SUBMITTED BY THE LAIRD OF WEMYSS TO HENRY IV.

"Certaines considerations proposez par le Sieur de Wymes ambassadeur du Roy d'Escosse pour l'entretenement de la confederation d'entre les royaumes de France et d'Escosse."

The Kings of France and Scotland have held in great respect their ancient

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1594. alliance, dating from the time of Charlemagne and Achaius, in 792. Their subjects have ever since lived in mutual friendship and intelligence, favouring and aiding each other. Their neighbours and ancient enemies have feared them and been constrained to abandon the domination at which they aimed in France. For the defence of France and to confine the English within their own bounds the Kings of Scotland have set everything aside, taking arms at the first request, fearing not the hostility of their neighbours, the dangers of war, nor death, hardship and loss. James II. and James IV. were killed in making war against the English at the request of Charles VII. and Louis XII.; the defence of the French crown under Charles VII. cost the lives of more than 20,000 Scots; James V. took arms against the English at the request of Francis I. and died of grief after the defeat at Solway Moss (Solommosse); King William was taken prisoner by Henry II., King of England, while making war on him at the desire of Louis, the young King of France, and John Baliol (Baloll) was similarly taken prisoner by Edward Longshanks (*Edwarde, surnommé Longues Jambes*). In fulfilment of the alliance renewed by Charles the Fair and Robert Bruce and the new clause for the protection of him who should be declared legitimate heir of either of the crowns, David Bruce went in person to France with an army to support Philip de Valois against Edward III., claimant of the crown, and, when he had returned to Scotland to compel the English to retire from Calais, he twice attacked England, and the third time was captured and his nobility slain at the battle of Durham, after refusing the English offers to restore Berwick, and to deliver up Edward Baliol, his competitor, on condition that he would cease to support the French.

The Kings and people of Scotland have never wished their own profit when it was a question of their honour or faith, nor to make any offer prejudicial to the said alliance. That is why the Scots army which went to France under the Earl of Buchan (afterwards Constable of France) to the aid of Charles VI. and Charles VII. did not wish to entertain the offers of the English to set free the captive James I. and to restore Berwick, if they should retire from France and the party of Charles VII. This fidelity to the confederation and the great services of the Scots to the French crown have brought them honour and prerogatives both particular and general; in particular, ranks and dignities to serve as an incentive to Scots posterity and as a memory of French gratitude and liberality; in general, several privileges to serve as bonds for the maintenance of the alliance, lest it should be weakened or abolished by the intermission of arms, cessation of traffic, and badge of a stranger (*marques d'estrangier*). For the Scots are honoured firstly with the guarding of the King's body, begun by St. Louis in his journeys overseas, and instituted by Charles VII. in its familiar form; secondly, by the company of Scots men-at-arms, ordained by Charles VI. and maintained until the civil wars; thirdly, by the perpetual exemption to Scottish merchants from paying any but the ancient impost. The said exemption was granted by the ancient Kings, and even by Francis I. in May 1518, and Henry II. in October 1554 and September 1555. Lastly, the closest bond is that of the general letters of naturalisation granted by Henry II. in June 1558. The French reciprocally enjoy the benefit of naturalisation in Scotland, and enjoy exemptions and privileges exclusive to themselves. They are exempt from all customs on entering and pay for transport only two pence per pound (*deux deniers pour livre*), while other nations pay much more and the English up to thirty-two pence per pound. Moreover, the French have the exclusive right of fishery, and have always found Kings and people ready to gratify them in all things by reason of this federation.

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To entertain the league the underwritten means have served well, especially in this faction-ridden century. By the first and second the nobles have been retained, by the third the third estate, by the last the whole body of the realm, and have not wished to break the alliance although their neighbours and those of their faction have tried many means to this end, making out that France no longer takes account of Scotland by reason of (*attendu*) the recovery of Calais, diversity of religion and other things. Moreover, they hold to Froissart's opinion that to ruin France one must begin with Scotland; whereof in these times we have too much experience. Therefore the two realms ought to guard against such artifices and to allow no occasion to be given to break the bonds of the alliance. This danger must be met; for the men of arms no longer are a company; of the guards there remains only a shadow; the naturalisation is questioned by the officers of France; the privilege and exemption of the merchants are annulled since the edict of reappreciation (*l'edict de la reapreciation des marchandises*) in 1581 and later edicts. If such a state continues it will cause a complete cessation of trade between the two realms and give occasion to the Scots merchants to trade elsewhere and a possible opening to something of the greatest consequence (*possible ouverture a chose de plus grande consequence*).

It is certain that since 1581 Scots merchants have begun to make voyages to, and have factors in, Spain and other countries where they were not previously accustomed to have such intercourse. Out of every three ships which used to go to France two go elsewhere, as the men of Dieppe and others can testify. They can also bear witness to the immunities of the French in Scotland and to how they have been maintained. They cannot say that they have been prejudiced in any way by changes of kings or any new edict. But in France at each change of king and publication of an edict the privileges of the Scots are violated or altered, and it is always necessary to take proceedings before the king and his sovereign courts and to have new declarations made at great expense to the country and oppression of the merchants, besides the ordinary hindrances which they receive in so doing (*fault tousjours se pourveoir par devers le roy et ses cours souveraines et obtenire et faire passer des nouvelles declarations a grand frais pour le pays et foulle des marchans, outre les traverses ordinaires quils recoivent des officiers en ce faisant*).

Therefore it is necessary to renew and revive the alliance by re-establishing the men at arms, restoring the guard to its old form, confirming the letters of naturalisation, and granting the merchants a perpetual edict grounded upon the ancient league. The letters thereanent shall contain (*lesquelles lettres feront surce*) that, in treating for the renewal of the alliance, the Sieur de Wemyss, ambassador of the King of Scots, declared the subjects of the two realms to have been always so comprised in the said alliance that Scottish merchants trafficking in France were exempt from all imposts and duties except those that they paid of old before the first edict concerning foreign imposition (*sur l'imposition foraine*); yet, this notwithstanding, by occasion of several new edicts, *etc.*, even the edict of May 1591, patent of 24th April 1594 (*l'an present*) and "arest de conseil" of 12th May 1594, Scottish merchants were molested by new impositions which would almost cause their trade to cease. Wherefore the King shall declare that among the other articles of the treaty of confederation it has been accorded that Scottish merchants shall be exempt from all the said imposts and subsidies on exports and imports, except such as they were accustomed to pay of old, before the edict of May 1581, notwithstanding all subsequent edicts, *etc.*:—in consideration of the said alliance and the enjoyment of similar privileges and immunities by French

1594. merchants in Scotland, of which he * has been assured by the King of Scots through the said ambassador.

5½ *pp. French. Copy. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "1594. Propositions of the Lo. Wemes to the French King."

Nov. 28. **411.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"We are lyk to have a new face of a Court," and that hastily, for Mar "pretendis heigh" and the Chancellor "lyk to be put at." "Polypus" was here "at his mother" on the 22nd instant. He says that Huntly is preparing new forces. There is a "trayn" [stratagem] that Carmichael shall be sent forth, and preparation made for his "deargie." Many of Bothwell's men have got their peace lately. Lennox gives remissions with expedition in the north. It is said that he is already weary of his remaining. *Signed with the trefoil sign of Dr. Macartney.*

⅓ *p. Endorsed by Bowes:* "Weathouris 28 November, London 7 December, 1594."

Nov. 29. **412.** EARL OF ARGYLL TO ROBERT BOWES.

At my return from the north, George Nicolson delivered to me on 12th November her Majesty's letters together with your lordship's and a memorial containing the names of some persons who are troublesome to the estate of Ireland. In very deed I am not "acquent" with these names, perhaps because they are not set down apart. Notwithstanding, in respect I have not thought it necessary to write to her Majesty until I "be better sein" in the matter and "tak further tryall" what these persons be who are mentioned in the memorial, for the present only I will assure your lordship of my good meaning towards her Majesty's government, and that I shall endeavour to withdraw from her enemies not only these who are of my jurisdiction, but also such of my neighbours, the islesmen, as either by my threatenings or allurements may be moved thereunto. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Ard. Ergyll.

Postscript.—Please obtain of her Majesty "ane placatt to me for sum horses in sic number as salbe thocht convenient."

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Nov. 29. **413.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 131–133.

The Convention began on the 26th instant, wherein as yet nothing is done. But his Majesty made declaration how he was moved by Lord Zouche to pursue these Papists with promises of sufficient means in that action, and that his ministry and barons, failing of support from thence [*i.e.* England], promised to furnish him, and now since he had "done" to the contentment of all honest men, and had left behind some waged men for keeping good rule in the country, he desired to see how they might be entertained; for consulting whereon certain of the Council were appointed on the 27th. On the 28th the Advocates were required to grant "to" a benevolent supply, which I think they will agree to. As yet it is not concluded how long the Duke and waged men shall remain in the north, nor how they shall be sustained, but all men believe there shall be a new taxation for that errand. The Chancellor and officers of

* The text here goes off into the first person, as quoting the words to be used by the King in the treaty: *ce que nous a esté promis, asseuré,* etc.

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1594. estate are very strong, fearing, as it is said, that some of the nobility shall seek to "cast thame," which apparently cannot be well done presently. But no mention thereof as yet is made in Convention, which I think shall continue unended all this week.

The pacifying of the continual "heirschippis" of highlandmen and borderers will give matter of great consultation, if the particular care of their own standing take not away from the councillors the care of the common weal. Q. (the King) assures A. (Mar) that he will mend things, and is very angry that H. (the Chancellor) "lippins" [trusts] so much in his own strength, and not in him. Some of the number whom the King desired to come have not come, which I think will stay matters till he goes to Mar's residence, which will be shortly. But certainly there is such fire kindled betwixt Mar and the Chancellor "as without combustion cannot quenche." Assuredly the King's mind is changed on H. and G. (Sir George Hume), joined inwardly with A. (Mar). This is certain, but my next "sall say moir specially" [*i.e.* in detail].

It is said that a new Convention is to be instituted on 16th December. The report of Bothwell is diverse, some thinking him to be quietly in England, some that he is away to Flanders, and some alleging he will again "interpryis." The last has no probability, for since he has joined with God's enemies all honest men have left him and repent sore that they have offended the King for his cause. This Duke of Lüneburg's brother is courteously used because he is cousin german to her Majesty. *Signed:* Y.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes. Red wax seals. Names in cipher, deciphered.*

Nov. 29. **414.** R[OGER] A[STON] TO ROBERT BOWES.

My last, of the 20th, delivered to George Nicolson, acquainted your lordship with our present estate, referring the success of our Convention to my next; for the discharge of which promise I have written this. The Convention began on the 26th, where the King in presence of the whole assembly declared the causes moving him to send for them: which were, first, to let them know what he had done; next, what was meetest for the present to be done; and, last, what courses were most convenient to be taken for the maintenance of the good cause, which is likely to perish if present order be not taken. The Lieutenant can remain no longer in the north than his forces will "byd" with him, and they will no ways serve longer than they have present pay. All shifts that can be devised are making here for another month's pay, which will hardly be got. The King has done what he can. His jewels are in mortgage. His people are sore taxed, so that he can crave no more. He is now borrowing from the men of Leith to serve the present necessity. It is hoped for by the best sort that her Majesty will join with the King in this action, as their common sayings here are that she promised, both by Lord Zouch and others, to do as soon as the King entered into action. The evil affected say it is no ways her intention to give her assistance, but only to put the King and his subjects by the ears and so leave him, and that she is making a peace with the King of Spain without his knowledge. These purposes occupy the ears of all men here. [As] for the King, I know he is of a good disposition and means truly to her Majesty and the good cause. All I fear is his poverty, by which he shall not have power to command. Here is every man for himself. Some high purposes were to have been effectuated at this time. But I see no appearance. Whatever was meant against the Chancellor they dare not offer themselves. The King's intention was to change the Treasurer and

1594. Comptroller, but he finds not the time proper " to chop att them." All likely to be done at this time is but to see how this cause undertaken may be " dobbled " with some other. Particular affairs are heard, as the stamping of some base money—" penye and toue penes," the undertaking with the Borders and oppressing of the country. You know the Scot of this country better than any other. I doubt not but you will inform her Majesty of the truth of all things. For my own part, my care is of her Majesty's standing, without respect of person.

Last of all, my own opinion " to yourselfe " is given as a friend. Although I know you are best able to discharge this, yet I would not have you here unless you might do her Majesty service and yourself credit. If she be minded to join with the King in this action and will go through with it, then, being led to your charge, accept it boldly ; all will go well : " otherwayes poutt the bone in some otheres fott thow it were to your hortt." It is said here that Wigmore and Lock are striving for the place. I doubt not but her Majesty is wiser than to employ such as will not be able to serve. This day his Majesty has received letters from the north. All is quiet there, with great obedience to the Lieutenant, who behaves himself very discreetly, and subject to his council. Edinburgh. *Signed :* R. A.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address :* " To my lord embastor." *Endorsed by Bowes.*

Nov. 29. **415.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Hitherto it falls out that no change is meant at this Convention, notwithstanding that many looked for the same now. But it will " come to " again, and that to the dividing of the whole land, some think. This Convention is very great, viz., the Earls of Argyll, Crawford, Cassillis, Mar, Morton, Orkney, Lords Seton, Fleming, Livingstone, and the Lairds of Buccleuch, Cessford, Lochinvar and others, besides the officers of state. The Chancellor, the Master of Glamis and officers of state thinking that Mar, Argyll, Morton and others meant to seek their " outputting " from their places, " made their back to withstand the same," and are very strong. Mar and the rest, seeing the time not meet, have not dealt in this matter, so that both these contrary parties with ordinary courtesies and compliments are likely to " put over " this time with quietness. 67 (Mr. John Colville) is much blamed as a deviser of this " in the hatred of 52 " (the Chancellor), who is too strong for all that John Colville can do. Yet he assures me no such matter is intended, but that the Chancellor, doubting the worst and having a guilty conscience, imagines and dreads. The secrets of these things I leave to the letters enclosed. " Allwaies " my old opinion is proved ; for if B (the King) could have been won herein, as he could not, for the Chancellor's sake, though he would do anything to remove 57 (the Master of Glamis), " so it might be without stirrs," then more had now been done. Yet the party of 21 (Mar) looks for the same in time.

His Majesty has declared to this Convention his resolution to prosecute his rebels with all rigour and to put order to the broken causes of this land, signifying that since he was not therein assisted by England he must do the best he could himself. Hereon the Council have bethought them of overtures for the best effecting hereof, and I hear they have found out " the very hardly meanes " to maintain the Lieutenant and the " mercionary " [forces] with him. But if it be after a " hackling " manner it will not serve the turn but cast off the men of war, to the encouragement of the Earls to a new field. I must not dissemble in a matter of such moment. All good men of all degrees look that,

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1594. since her Majesty persuaded the King to this action, she should aid and assist him therein. Of his own power he cannot follow forth this action, but for very want it must perish in the end, to the great advantage of the enemy and the no little danger of the good cause here and with us. We hear that in Ireland there are great stirs and that hope is had of willingness amongst ourselves to make troubles at home. So, these considered, the policy will not be small to assist his Majesty now, which cannot " chuse " but do good to her Majesty's service in Ireland.

Yesterday the King said to me, " Howe nowe, George ? No word of my lord your master ? " I said " No, and it please your Majestie." He said, " What ? No word of the Secretary ? " I said also " No." Then he said, " When my lord of Zouch was here there was nothing but hast, and the King could not have xx daies respett then." These were his words in effect to me. His meaning is that he was hasted to the execution of this action, as if he should be thereon assisted, and that, nevertheless, the support comes at leisure. He has said, I hear, that if he were no better dealt with he would at all conventions and assemblies publish it to the world, that if for want of support he be driven to leave this cause, he is not to blame, but England that has persuaded him thereto when he might with his honour have listened to the offers of these rebels, etc. ; and I assure you all the good men here are now with heart and soul for the King, herein wishing his support. In such a great matter I cannot choose but certify you, though not in the very words delivered to me, yet near in the substance. Mr. Bruce, as a persuader for the ambassadors of England, is charged herewith, and is therefore to write shortly therein to you.

Having moved Argyll and for his better " memory " given him a note anent the matter in which her Majesty wrote to him, he has promised me soon to be " at resolution " therewith with his Majesty and to advertise the same, and Roger Aston " remembreth that matter with the King," as you wrote to him. In very few days now I hope you shall have answer thereto. 58 (Sir George Hume), " throughe occasions " is yet hindered from writing to you. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—Upon my dealing with the Council Cessford has met with Sir John Selby and done justice in all save three bills, wherein Sir John has written to me to procure the Goodman of Huttonhall to keep meeting with him, whereon I have framed a bill and hope to obtain good order for Sir John. " Of Mr. Arnold nothing but he is at Dundee." For the money had from Thomas Foulis please send word hither that [it] is paid, " if be so."

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Nov. 30. **416.** Mr. James Hudson to Sir Robert Cecil.

I had by conference with the ambassador [the report of] a discourse of Mr. Archibald Douglas, wherein he findeth great fault with the King for this extremity against the Papist lords, saying that thereby the King loses the hearts of all foreign friends and a great part of his own kingdom, and gains nothing herein, but accomplishes that which we desire, which is that he should denude himself of all friends ; and then of necessity he must only depend on our friendship, which we more than bestow in what measure we list. This, says he [Douglas], was the " plat " that was laid in the Earl of Leicester's time, when it was reasoned how best to keep the King firm to this estate. The resolution was that some course must be holden to embark him against all the Papists at home or abroad, and now he of himself has fulfilled this to his own great

1594. damage and shall find no assistance here in his need. It was answered [by the ambassador, Cockburn,] that he [the King] had so far brought his soundness in religion into doubt by temporising with the Papists that it behoved him of necessity to purge himself of that point royally both at home and here, or else it might prejudge him more than all the friendship of his foreign friends could avail him. Whereto he [Douglas] answered that if he [the Ambassador] thought that to be holden a Papist in England would hurt him [the King], he was far deceived, for the strength of this realm consists of that sort, and when a kingdom is attempted to be won it is not the Council but the multitude that has to be regarded "for the cownssell pressent ever fallith with the prince." After this he "by occasyon of talk fel in speache of your honour's name and saed yow wer a false litil knave," and that you blamed him for a libel written against your father. After this he said of me that I helped to graft the opinion here that the King was a Papist and trafficker with Spain, saying there was not such a false little knave in all England who did the King more hurt than I did, and hereupon he began to tell how I was an English knave and in over-much credit with their nation and King.* He told your father that Mr. Lock and I in a tavern or inn were heard by Scottish men to say that the Council of England meant nothing to the King but to "brave" him and to use [him] at their pleasure. Herein your father honourably used me, for he told me both the words and the author, though in some sharp sort and as if the author had been of more honesty and truth than he was, yet gave me leave to use his name that I had it of his honour's own mouth; and it was my good fortune within one hour to meet Mr. Archibald coming to my lord. So I returned and we were confronted, when he with shame denied it before my lord and "fleid" to say it was written to him. But my lord said, "No, Mr. Dowglass, yow told me it." But my lord in his wisdom and temperance went not so far with his reward for his shameful lie as my folly would have wished. Of this I thought it my duty to advertise your honour, because it is truth; and the report touching your honour was from the ambassador's own mouth. I found him not unwilling that your honour should know it, for I see he carries a very honourable mind both to your father and yourself, and has many times spoken very honourably of my lord by the way and when he was viewing his houses of Theobalds and Burghley, calling his lordship a father of a commonwealth for beautifying it with the keeping of good laws and "decoring" it with fair edifices. Berwick. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Red wax seal.*

Nov. 30. **417.** [Mr. John Colvile] to Mr. Henry Lock.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 133.

At this last Convention there were great bruits of alteration, but it was a matter suspected rather than intended, for the officers of estate, perceiving some nobles come without their knowledge, suspected somewhat was intended against them, whereupon such heartburning has ensued as cannot fail to work great mischief. Atholl and Huntly are now known to be reconciled, which is likely to make great trouble betwixt Argyll and him. Glenlyon, one of Argyll's, has made a great "heirschip" on Atholl, and the young Earl of Murray, hearing that Atholl has agreed with his father's murderer, has fled away in the night with Cluny † to his uncle the Abbot of St. Colm. This Convention is dissolved, and 16th December "institut" for another till

* The reported conversation between Douglas and Cockburn appears to end here.

† Robert Crichton of Cluny, who appears as a confederate of St. Colme or his party in March 1593–4 (*P.C.*, v. 134). He is to be distinguished from Cluny Gordon, rebel. Cf. p. 489.

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1594. which time all will be quiet. Hold me still in the good grace of Sir Robert Cecil, and "remember on" the particular sent touching a merchant of Watling-street. *Signed:* Y.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Red wax seal.*

Dec. 1. **418.** GEORGE ERSKINE TO MR. ROBERT BRUCE.

I direct to you these few lines to understand what answer has come from England. It were good that in due time such help as might be looked for was got, for two respects: first, because the enemies in the north "ar borne vith" and suffered to repair their loss; so I think before we are ready for them they will be ready for us. "The uther is, in cace that na fellowship nor support may be expected, the man quha hes alreddy sealed the cause vith his blood [*i.e.* Argyll] will follow his purposs to pass aff the cuntrye, according as ye shew me the bruit had [been] brocht to your eares." About this he and I have "discordit" sundry times since my last conference with you. His desire is so great [to leave the country]. Also there is in Argyle, but not as yet come to him, a messenger from O'Donnell offering the double of the tribute which he ought to pay for support of men. If nothing prospers on the south hand his friendship will be confirmed. His messenger, "havand desyr," satisfied your answer with diligence. Stirling. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. No flyleaf or endorsement.*

Dec. 3. **419.** R[OGER] A[STON] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 264–265.

This Convention is now ended without any matter of consequence [except] only to foresee means to entertain the forces in the north. The coming of Argyll and Mar was to another end, but [they] could not accomplish their intent. They have returned without motion of any matter. The officers of estate, perceiving themselves to be in some danger, laid all their heads together. The Chancellor and the Master of Glamis are all one. Buccleuch and Cessford are here countenancing the Chancellor. What may come hereafter, God knows. But this storm has passed. Mr. John Colville is not idle, for the hatred is so great between the Chancellor and him that he thinks he shall never get credit so long as the other has it. The mark he shoots at is to be Secretary. I cannot be persuaded that the King will prefer him. He has undertaken to betray Bothwell, which may make his credit or not. He comes not in public, but remains in Leith. Buccleuch has "geven up" with him for the Chancellor's cause.

Colonel Stewart is to be sent to the States to crave their concurrences. Letters have come from Bordeaux declaring that Mr. Walter Lindsay has arrived in Spain and passed to Court. The Secretary arrived here on the 30th. He has made good report of all, but his despatch no ways contents many. The King thinks there has not been that consideration that his actions merited. I wrote to you of some bruits of an ambassador of Spain, who should have been in London, but now we are persuaded to the contrary. I have delivered a letter to George Nicolson from the King to be sent to you. He has desired you to be a means to her Majesty for Waldegrave (Walgref) the printer, as by his own letter you shall understand.

I understand by Mr. Hudson of your faithful dealing with her Majesty in my behalf, with her Highness's gracious consideration of my earnest services. Let me know whether you are to return or not. I gave you my friendly

1594. advice in my last, not but that I would be glad of your coming, if you might do her Majesty's service and comfort all good men. If you do not come, let me know her Majesty's pleasures, and to whom I shall address my letters if you depart any way from Court. You know what danger it is for me to write, and what practices there have been to overthrow me by my own countrymen, as by intercepting of my letters. Yet for her Majesty's service I will hazard all. Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. A.

$2\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Dec. 3. **420.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"Occurrantis certefyed by sondry letters sent from Edenburgh 3 December 1594."

Upon bill exhibited to the King and Council by George Nicolson both for redress to be given to Lord Scrope by Buccleuch for attempts done in the West Wardenry of England by Liddisdale, and also that the Wardens of the Middle Marches of Scotland might frequently and according to the laws of the Borders meet together and proceed in justice, the King and Council have given thereon such answer and order as by the note sent by Nicolson will best appear. [See following document.]

The Convention of the Estates is ended [as in No. 419]. Another convention is appointed to assemble at Edinburgh on the 16th instant, and in the meantime all things will be quiet.

Argyll * and Mar came to this Convention with purpose to have removed the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis, Sir Robert Melvill, Linclouden and the Provost of Edinburgh, with the King's allowance, yet they have departed without any high countenance or motion, so that the storm expected has hitherto blown over. Nevertheless the malice so increases that the feud is likely to be quickened with blood and to the trouble of the country. Both these parties trust in the favour of the King. The Chancellor "moved himselfe" to the King and received comfort to his contentment. Yet the King intends to ride to Mar at Stirling for Mar's satisfaction, otherwise Mar and his friends, building still on the King's goodwill to them, will end the matter with the Chancellor and his party in sort that great troubles are likely to ensue thereon. Mr. John Colville is deemed to blow the coals to raise the flame. It is thought that the King will not prefer him notwithstanding that he undertakes to entrap Bothwell, for the expedition whereof one sometime familiar with Bothwell is sent out. Mr. Colville abides in Leith, using no public places in regard that his remission, by the Chancellor's means, is not yet published, and that Buccleuch and Cessford, at the Chancellor's instigation, have greatly "bosted" [threatened] him; which "bostinge" and rough dealing they have denied to the King. Mr. Colville, confidently weighing these proceedings, stands in small fear, thinking to be sufficiently guarded with the strength of his friends. Some of the Church think the King to be of this plot with Mar, which they do not like in respect that it will endanger the common cause, that they know none fit for the Chancellor's room, and that by his change the hazard of untried persons must be endured. The Church begins to conceive well of the Chancellor, which is imputed by some to his flattery and the ministers' facility. In pulpits they earnestly persuade the noblemen to cast off their "particulers" and bend their forces against the common enemies; and, these things being objected against Mr. Colville,

* This paragraph is printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 263–264.

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1594. he utterly protests to have no dealings therein. It may be that all these storms may soon be calmed, and for the same some motions are made, the success whereof is hitherto uncertain.

The officers of Estate have banded together for prevention of their peril, and hereby the Chancellor and Master of Glamis are united. Colonel Stewart shall be sent to the States to crave their concurrence. By letters from Bourdeaux it is declared that Mr. Walter Lindsay has arrived in Spain and passed to the Court.

The Secretary came to Edinburgh on Saturday, 30th November. He has made a good report of his negotiation, yet his despatch does not content many, and the King is dissatisfied [as in No. 419]. The bruits that an ambassador of Spain had come to London are found untrue. The Duke has good obedience, and the order established in the north shall endure until the next Convention. It is feared that lack of means and power (meaning money) shall mar all. In this last Convention it is ordained that the Lieutenant and waged men serving him shall be maintained by the fines of such as so far assisted Huntly and on the lands and goods of such as voluntarily aided him; this to be done by sale, tack, or composition. This is very uncertain yet the best shift that can be found, which is wished to be well regarded by her Majesty.

Angus and Bothwell crossed the water of Forth above the bridge at Stirling on 18th November, with purpose (as it is thought) to pass into Caithness to remain there quietly this winter. Bothwell's friends are leaving him. Amongst others, Mr. Thomas Cranston (Crankston) had got the King's remission by the Chancellor's means. But it is revoked in regard that it is found to be surreptitiously impetrated. Atholl (by the dealings of his wife, now discovered) is known to have agreed with Huntly, and Argyll and Atholl "are fallen togither by the eares." Whereupon Glenlyon, one of Argyll's friends, has made a great "heirship" in Atholl's lands. The young Earl of Murray, twelve years of age and in Atholl's custody, by means of the Laird of Cluny, Crichton, has departed from Atholl's keeping to his uncle, the Abbot of St. Colme, and charges are given forth against Atholl to render the houses of Doune and Darnaway to St. Colme.

2½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "3 Dec. 1594. Abstract of letters from Scotland."

Dec. 3. **421.** BORDER MATTERS.

Sir John Selby, Deputy Warden of the East Marches of England, had a day of truce with Sir Robert Ker on 29th November and gave very good justice to Sir Robert, and next day received the like from Sir Robert until it came to a bill filed on John Duncan, for which Sir Robert's father gave promise about two years past that delivery should be made within twenty days; wherein Sir Robert offered no equity or justice, answering that, because the Laird of Wedderburn, who should be answerable for that bill, dwells out of his Wardenry, he cannot enter for it until he knows his Majesty's pleasure. This bill Sir John, for furtherance of justice, has continued till the next day of truce, as loth to have justice in other bills stayed. [*In the margin:* "In this the King and Counsell have written to the Larde of Wedderburne, as [*i.e.* that] no more complayntes come therein."] And so, proceeding further till it came to a bill of Richard Forster, filed on the young Laird of Hunthill and William Rutherford of Littlehaugh (Litlehughe), Sir Robert answered that, as they were dependers on Ferniehirst exempted by the King's order from his charge, he

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1594. could not answer for them. Then Sir John calling for delivery for another bill filed on one who dwelt at the time of his filing on Cessford's lands, Sir Robert answered that he had gone off his grounds and dwelt under Ferniehirst, and that therefore he could not deal with him. Thus, by the excuses of the dwelling of the offenders out of Sir Robert's office and in privileged places, justice is not only sought to be delayed but to be put off, to the encouragement of evil persons. It is therefore desired that his Majesty give order for the speedy remedy thereof. [*In the margin:* "And in these bills the Lard of Fernyherst is written unto to make deliverie as justice may be don, or els that his Majestie will dischardge his priviledge; and Fernyherst being to come hither I can not tell what he may do. But the King will have justice don I assure you."]

Further, whereas two several meetings have been between Sir John Selby and the Goodman of Huttonhall at which Sir John has given very good justice and found the Goodman very willing to do the like, delivering his "warden serjant" for the execution thereof within twenty days, appointing another day of truce, nevertheless he has not made payment for such bills as his officer was delivered for, nor kept the day of meeting appointed, neither will he appoint new days, being required thereto by Sir John. It is therefore likewise required that his Majesty give order that redress may be presently made in the bills filed and for which the Warden's officer was delivered, and that meetings may be appointed and kept for the cause of justice and the preservation of the peace. [*In the margin:* "The King is to speake and take order with the Goodman as no impedimentes shall hinder justice, and I have willed the Goodman to gitt suche order of Sesfurth as may serve his torne, which he will labour."]

Lastly, whereas Lord Scrope has sought redress for sundry outrages done by Liddisdale, and Buccleuch offers to do justice for the faults committed by Liddisdale only since his entrance to that office on 10th October last and not for former faults, it is required that his Majesty should order him to make redress for such bills as Lord Scrope shall justly require, in regard that he has full power over the faulters, their lands and goods, and that his Majesty promised Mr. Bowes that he would give direction so to do, and that her Majesty and Council are thereof advertised. [*In the margin:* "For Baucleughe his Majestie will give answer. But I se it wilbe some way for some tyme dispenced with. Allwaies I shall and advertise your worship (*sic*)."]

1 *p. Copy. In George Nicolson's hand. Endorsed in the same hand:* "Copie of my note presented to the King and Counsell in Edenburgh Tolebuth, 3 Decemb. 1594; and short notes in the margent of th'effectis of the answeres given and to be given thereunto."

Dec. 3. **422.** Sir George Hume of Spott to Robert Bowes.

I doubt not but you have heard the sincerity of his Majesty's proceedings in the north, where he has so overthrown the Spanish practisers that no strangers can be hereafter harboured for prejudice of religion and your "wnquyetness," which, as you know, are the two "buttis" the said practisers and strangers have shot at this long time, and some of the most zealous of the ministry, being witnesses to his Majesty's actions, much repent their former suspicions, perceiving well the defaults to have been in other impediments and not in himself. And now, in respect that he has so faithfully fulfilled all required by Lords Burgh and Zouche and yourself, reason would that promises made

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1594. by them for supplying him in that action, which tends much more to the benefit of your estate than to his, were also fulfilled. Wherefore I thought good to let you understand that the well affected, specially the ministry who were witnesses to the manifold promises of supply foresaid, are much discouraged, perceiving nothing performed therein. On the other part, neutrals and such as love the rebels, your enemies, take occasion to say that your estate meant nothing but to put his Majesty and his people by the ears; which for my own part I impugn. Your removing home (who have been and can be so good an instrument in the good cause, knowing the secrets thereof, the conditions of this nation and promises made on every side) is no small discomfort to his Majesty and his well-affected subjects. Therefore we all "thrist" your speedy return, that these matters so happily begun by his Majesty be not either delayed or overthrown for lack of "moyonnis," wherein my labours and goodwill shall be nothing inferior to my power and credit. I wish that a friendly intelligence may be kept betwixt us, to the benefit of both our sovereigns, till your return, and in the meantime that my humble endeavours may be presented to her Majesty. Because I cannot always have leisure to write particulars, I pray you that our common friend, Mr. John Colville, who I hope by his good behaviour shall recover his Majesty's favour, and your faithful servant, George Nicolson, whose truth and diligence in your absence is "weill lykit of" among the well affected, may be trusted therein. *Signed:* Sir G. Howme off Spott.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Dec. 3. **423.** DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN WARD, EDWARD DITTON, AND WILLIAM FREMAN.

At Edinburgh, 3rd December, 1594.

John Ward, Englishman, about thirty years of age, deponed that he was born in Hillesden, in Buckinghamshire; that he came out of England to the house of Halvard Maxwell of Cavain [Herbert Maxwell of Cavence] on Saturday "wes awcht dayis"; that he was outlawed as cautioner for his brother-in-law, named Furde, and, fearing to be trapped at some port of England, came to Leith, "of mynd" to pass to Middelburg, in Zealand, there to remain with his brother, a merchant, till some order be taken with his creditor. *Item*, one of his companions is named Edward Ditton, his cousin german, "conjunct" cautioner with him, and the other William Freman. *Item*, that the sum for which they were obliged is 100 marks sterling. Edward Ditton, thirty-two years of age, deponed that he was born in Hillesden, within three miles of Buckingham, as was likewise John Warde, whose brother's son married the said Edward's sister; that none of the three was married, and that they were all three cautioners to William Clerk, lawyer, dwelling at Wallingford, for 500*l.* sterling for Thomas Warde, "brother germane" to the said John Warde, and are all three bound to Middelburg.

William Freman, Englishman, thirty-two years of age, deponed that he was born in Risborough, in Buckinghamshire; that he came to Scotland at the time and for the cause above specified; that the "name" for whom he became caution is John Furde, brother-in-law to John Ward; that he was to go with Robert Warde to Middelburg; and that he had no letters to any man either in this country or in the Low Countries.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed by Robert Bowes and Cecil's clerk.*

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424. JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Now being at Court, I am willing to remember my duty though there be no great matter to write, and I forbear to trouble you with repetitions. The King thinks himself not so liberally dealt with as his painful and costly journey demerits. I find him to keep certain grounds which he says he has ever kept and ever will, unless very great cause be given him to the contrary: to wit, never to quarrel with the Queen nor to give her any substantial cause of offence, neither to grieve nor offend the public state of England nor to take himself to any private man for a public act, or to lay his displeasure upon anyone for any bait that may be laid out. He uttered these things upon talk with myself upon a letter I wrote to a gentleman rather than upon any present occasion. I am to ride to see the Prince, so that I shall not write for a week.

I * find Mr. John Colville to "deffyd" in [*i.e.* distrust] the King and to despair of the Chancellor's friendship, and so, leaning to the house of Mar and Sir George Hume, is ready to blow up a new fire amongst them.

I am informed by the Secretary that Mr. Colville has laid open as much as he knows of the manner of the carriage of all matters with Bothwell and whatsoever else he knows either of our estate or the governors thereof. But because this comes that way I will give it no backing.* The gentleman I "ment of," who wrote, was Mr. Roger Aston who, both for his place about the King and his good credit with the King, the Queen and all others of any worth, is a very fit man for a true and substantial intelligence, whereof Mr. Bowes has had great proof and no small comfort. With him I think your honour might be well served, and therefore if it be to your liking, my friendship, which is great with him, shall be employed to the accomplishment thereof for the bettering of her Majesty's service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Red wax seal.*

Dec. 12.

425. SIR RICHARD COCKBURN TO ROBERT BOWES.

Returning here after the dissolving of the Convention, I found the King "scairse allowing of my proceadeur there in the recept of so small sowmes," specially of the annuity, wherein he looked assuredly for her Majesty's as liberal and frank concurrence as so sacred and common a cause seemed to crave at her hands. His choler and passion in that subject you may imagine by the contents of a letter written to yourself by one of your friends, whereby, as I hear, may be collected what is the opinion of the best sort here and how far the difficulty made there has fallen out "by" [contrary to] the expectation of the well affected in this land and to the encouragement of the worser sort and evil disposed. But remitting particulars to that letter, I will continue with a description of the King's just passion, as he says, and of the arguments furnished of the common cause.

His Majesty complains of his evil usage many ways, chiefly that he, being stirred up by the Queen's many advices, mixed ofttimes with vehement and sharp reprehensions, resolved the prosecution of the Papist rebels, and after sentence of forfeiture against them undertook a most dangerous journey to the north in a very unseasonable time of year. The success of this expedition may bear witness of his sincerity and earnestness. But above all, his Highness's own opinion, seconded by few of his councillors, so far prevailed that whatsoever could be desired was "effectuat." Being embarked in these

* * This is printed as an extract in the *Letters of John Colville*, p. 266. The editor is led into a difficulty through a misreading of Mar's name.

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dangerous seas and having sailed so far as can be, not without peril to his royal person, he is not only "frustrat" of the comfort promised by the Queen's ambassadors, but in a manner deluded by the disavowing of them, especially of Lord Zouche, who bragged not a little of his "authorizing sufficiently" and ample commission, but since that time proved "powerles and farre disagreable to the description made of him of wyse, discreit and religiouse." * What "substantiouse" order has been taken in the north since his Majesty's returning here, and to what point the rebels would now be reduced if he were "assisted with concurrence requisit," had been better advertised than considered of there. If anything has been omitted, or shall "manke" [lack] hereafter, his Majesty protests it shall proceed only from "lak of possibility." If he were "enhabled," it is not to be doubted but this land might be purged of the enemies to God, religion and both the states. But all and whatsoever is uttered on this subject I can assure you is in greater choler than I can express "by wryte."

The best sort are sorry that the refusal of aid has given occasion to employ some late acquired and "confederat" friends. This had already so far advanced before my return that I found Colonel Stewart almost ready for his journey on an embassage to the States of the Low Countries. His commission for the present I "tuiche no further," remitting the rest to your conjecture, which in Scottish affairs will come as near to the mark as if you were present amongst us. The sums received by me I assure you are all employed to that purpose to which they were "destinat" by her Majesty, and no part thereof [has been] applied to any particular or private use. It would do much good if her Majesty would grant any sums now upon proof had and trial taken of the King's sincerity and frank disposition, and I would be as glad to understand these sums to come as I was sorry it was not my good luck to procure them by my travails.

Now, for my own true report of her Majesty's good disposition towards the King and honourable usage of myself in all respects, please rest assured that I have discharged myself carefully in that point, and according to my bounden obligation. I find a vehement impression in his Majesty of the professed evil will of Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil towards him. This impression is augmented of late, as I believe, by the revelations of some who were privy to Bothwell's dealing and friendship there, and who, to insinuate themselves into further grace, have "detected more then is of verity," and have "evill acquyte" that undeserved favour shown to themselves. But of this time will "try more," and "for some my friendis particular, nocht my owin," I go no further for the present.

The state of our affairs I remit to your honest servant's true advertisements, whom I have likewise acquainted with all I know. Your return here is wished by his Majesty and all well affected, "with the like of so good consideration to be had of your losses, as you have weill merited, and may enhable you." † Your praises uttered by his Majesty's own mouth were such that I cannot here set down lest I might come short, the same being better delivered than my pen can express. I never heard him speak better of any, nor more lovingly. [With commendations of his service to Bowes, Burghley and Cecil.] Edinburgh. *Signed:* R. Cockburne.

3 *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

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* See *Warrender Papers*, ii. p. 222.

† ? Who also wish that you may have recompense for your losses and be "enabled" *i.e.* made capable for service.

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426. [ROGER ASTON] TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter of the 2nd, with a little book of the late practices against her Majesty by that cruel creature Lopez * and the rest. By my last I acquainted you with the present state. By this you shall know the cause why the plot intended was not followed forth. It was the King's intention to have changed the Treasurer and Comptroller by the advice of the old Clerk Register and the Prior, who would not be seen in the matter, but the King to be the only doer. Mar was made privy and liked the purpose very well, and for the better countenance of the matter drew in Argyll, Montrose and Glencairn. The King's intention was only to remove the Treasurer and Comptroller. Mar, having some pique at the Chancellor, and stirred up by Mr. John Colville, pressed the matter against the Chancellor and Secretary. Montrose, being made acquainted with the matter and being in friendship with the Chancellor, acquainted him with Mar's intent. The Chancellor, perceiving himself to be "in questyon of removing" by the practice of his enemies, not that he doubted of the King's constancy to him, yet perceiving the course that was shot at, cast for surest sitting,† and the Master and he fell into greater friendship than before. The time of the change should have been at this last Convention, where Argyll and Mar came, according to the appointment. But as soon as the King perceived their intent was against the Chancellor and Secretary as well as the rest he altered his intent and passed it over without doing further. The Prior absented himself till the matter had been once put in execution, and then, being sent for, would have come and given his best opinion. Seeing the matter has not taken effect he remains at home. I am informed the course is yet "in hed" and is to be accomplished very shortly. The Master has gone home, thinking himself sure. Whether he stands or falls is not material, so that the good cause go forward, which he will never greatly advance. Mr. John Colville is like the night howlet [owl], he is not seen in the day, and yet is not idle. He will not rest till he has put some stir among us. He has discovered all he knows either here or elsewhere, and yet I am persuaded the King will never forgive him in heart.

The King is made acquainted with Mr. John Geddes's doings, chiefly in delivering to Bothwell certain notes which the King wrote with his own hand long since, Mr. John ‡ having the keeping of the King's papers, where that was among the rest. The manner and matter I know you are acquainted with. The King thinks he has had great wrong by Mr. John in delivering to his defamation that which he wrote but for his pleasure. Oftentimes it was told the King they had his "hand writt" to be a witness against him. When I myself have told him by such intelligence as I had among them he "stod to the denyall," not having "any mynd" of this, being so long since, that he swears "the grett oth" that he had never mind of it, for it was written before the incoming of the Spaniards, and he wist not where it was. The King says the cause of Lord Zouch's hard message, Bothwell's oversight in England and coming to Leith, with the hard opinion of him both at home and abroad, "proseded of thatt paper." He says, if Mr. John Geddes's bairns were in Scotland they should be forfeited. The King knows that at his passing through

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* Dr. Roger Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, and physician to Queen Elizabeth, charged with conspiring crimes of high treason. See references in *Calendar of Domestic Papers*, 1591–1594.

† *i.e.* sought the best means to make his tenure of office secure.

‡ See references to him in *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, Vol. x. (indexed under Geddie), and in Calderwood, v. 122.

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1594.

England he met with Mr. John Colville and from him received directions from Bothwell with a horse. This I cannot commend in respect that he did it rather for his own commodity than for any love he had to his master or the good cause, for by that he put all in hazard, as by the coming to Leith you can bear witness. If I knew the King of any other mind than to maintain the religion and the amity I should neither spare to speak nor write. I will live and die a faithful servant to my natural sovereign.

I have dealt earnestly both with the King and Argyll to have her Majesty satisfied concerning the highlandmen. Argyll has promised to be answerable for all he may command. The King has written for all the highlandmen to be here on the 17th, at which time he will give her Majesty such contentment as lies in his power. Some of them are forfeited, yet for the better settling of the country the King has given commission to Argyll to intercommune with MacLean, who has offered to daunt all the rest if he may have the King's remission for "byganes." Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorme are under the doom of forfeiture, neither answerable to King nor law, yet I hope there shall be some order taken. All is quiet in the north. The Lieutenant is on his journey to Elgin. Angus and Bothwell have passed northward to meet with the rest. As occasion falls out you shall be advertised. Edinburgh. [*Unsigned.*]

4¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Dec. 12. **427.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 266–267.

"Advertismentis given by severall letters from Edenburgh, and of the xijth of December 1594."

By these letters it is again confirmed that the "comployt" of Argyll, Mar and others failed at the last Convention at Edinburgh.

[Recapitulates the account given by Roger Aston of the intended plot, adding that the Chancellor fortified himself, and appointed his friends to be with him on the 15th instant, being the first day of the next Convention.] Sundry have confidently certified that this enterprise shall be attempted at the next Convention at Edinburgh. But it is now certified that Mar, upon especial advertisement by the King, is stayed, and resting upon new warning (which the King promises to send shortly) cannot come to the next Convention; and thus it is thought that this action shall be delayed until the end of this month, and it is affirmed that they will not end without alteration and that the King's mind is constant with Mar against the Chancellor. The Duke lately advertised the King that the Papist rebels now drawn together in the north were purposed to assail him. Whereupon the King has addressed the Master of Glamis with counsel and advice to the Duke. It is deemed that the Master has gone with other errands, and the same are diversely construed, as, to stay Lord Glamis, his nephew and yet within age, from his entry into his possessions in the custody of the Master, or to withdraw the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland from Huntly and his party, or else to provoke Errol and his faction to renew the troubles, that thereby the King and the Estate may bend their arms and forces against the rebels and suspend the pursuit of changing of chief officers.

The sudden departure of the Master of Glamis in this sort raises no little suspicion in the Chancellor's head, yet the Master promises to stand or fall with him. The King's passions against the Secretary, Mr. John Geddes and others, and his favourable mind newly changed from inward displeasure lately and plainly uttered, may best be seen by a view of the letters expressing

1594. the same. The ministers have been informed that the rebellious Earls and Bothwell, being drawn together in the north, will renew the troubles with forces, for which Huntly has bought many horses at the late fairs at St. Johnstone and other places. Next, [they have been informed] that the factions betwixt the Chancellor and Mar will proceed with violence, and it is thought that the party "falling to be distressed" will join with the rebels. Others of this faction give out that their adversaries have already means and intelligence with the rebels. Therefore the ministers travail earnestly to exhort privately and publicly all persons to refuse to give assistance to noblemen or others inclining to join with the rebels, and with courage and goodwill to prosecute the rebels, their aiders and resetters.

It has been commonly bruited that the rebels had encountered with the Duke, and that Mr. Walter Lindsay has returned from Spain with gold. But these are "tryed" to be untrue. Yet it is verily looked that Mr. Walter shall return shortly with treasure, having sought the same at the hands of many princes, and of the clergy and in churches. The malicious have given out that her Majesty is pleased to hearken to the Papist rebels seeking to make their advantage whilst the King and others are not satisfied with the Secretary's success. By the letters of the courtiers and others it may be easily discovered from whence these bruits proceed.

The view of the book discovering the treasons of Lopez and others, with the advertisements given thereof, has satisfied the well affected and quenched all the bruits spread of the treaty for peace betwixt her Majesty and the King of Spain and of the employment of any ambassadors therein.

The King has appointed the islandmen to be with him at Edinburgh on the 16th instant. There he will take order to restrain the passage of Scotchmen into Ireland, and will return answer to her Majesty's letter. It is thought that, albeit the principal men in the Isles be forfeited and will not obey the King, yet he and Argyll have power, if they list, to stay the people from Ireland.

Argyll has taxed all his lands to levy new forces against Huntly, and Huntly has an enterprise to invade speedily some of Argyll's bounds. Ochiltree has got his pardon and had the King's presence, but Hume still seeks to be revenged against him for the violence he showed on Hume and his company at Leith. The King could not pacify his passion therein, whereupon Ochiltree, by the advice of his friends, was moved to depart from Edinburgh. He has done nothing as yet for the surprise of Angus, whose body or house is not touched, as has been expected.

On the 4th instant Bothwell passed from Dundee to Brechin with purpose to ride into Caithness there to remain. He has appointed to meet with Huntly and Errol on the 10th at Elgin, and Angus, passing before to the other Earls, will be at that meeting. Spott is left on the Borders attending direction from the Earls to take up 1000 horsemen as soon as the Spanish gold shall be brought to them. These are certified to be delivered by Bothwell's own mouth to one well trusted by him and yet now employed by the King to entrap him. Mr. John Colville is to be sent by the King to the Duke with such errand as by the next [letter] shall be discovered. His pardon is not yet published, and thereby he keeps himself covertly and in quiet. In his letters "severall advycis are given, with dyverse motions," wherein he requires to be answered and satisfied. Three Englishmen, named John Warde, Edward Dutton and William Freman, all born in Buckinghamshire, have been stayed at Edinburgh on suspicion. They pretend to be purposed to pass to Middelburg, and it is advised that the governor of Flushing be warned of their repair thither, for they are deemed to be evil affected and intending some practice.

James VI.
1594. The information given to Sir George Hume with some confidence that Spanish forces shall be sent into Brittany, Scotland or Ireland, and "namely" [particularly] into Scotland is left so uncertain that further report does not need to be made thereof.

3¼ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Dec. 17. **428.** NEWS FROM ABERDEEN.

"Occurrantis sent to George Nicolson by letter from Aberdeyne."

My lord Lieutenant remains as yet in Aberdeen and minds to pass to Elgin next Monday. The rebels are so secretly kept by the countrymen that none of them can be got. The most part of their houses are taken. Divers broken men of the Highlands, Gordons, Grants, Argyle and Atholl men, are hounded forth in great numbers to "steile" and oppress the country; with whom we mind with diligence to take substantial order. We are presently occupied with Justice Courts for punishment of Papistry and other odious crimes. The rebels keep themselves very quiet and remove from place to place. We use all means we can for getting trial of them, but are oft times disappointed by the countrymen. We are advertised that Errol by the earnest persuasion of his wife has come south with the purpose of departing out of the country, and also that Huntly has a ship in readiness in Caithness, and if we come there, as we hope to do very shortly, he will pass out of the country. His friends quietly begin to seek "dres" [redress]. The only thing that holds them back is the hope that our men of war shall depart for want of payment, and therefore we have written very earnestly to his Majesty that with all possible diligence money may be sent hither, otherwise the cause will "perill," which now is at some reasonable point.

The Duke and council keep a very honest course and daily convene in council. This turn will not be wrought but by waged men, as experience has taught us. Since I began to write this letter I am informed that Errol is still in the north, and last Friday met with Huntly and Mr. James Gordon. This whole week we are occupied in a public fast and have convened the whole ministry of this country to try by them the estate of all parties and get such secret intelligence as they may "make" us.

By letters from Edinburgh of the 17th instant it is advertised that Angus, Huntly, Errol, Bothwell, Caithness and Sutherland have been together, but without such forces as has been given out; and that since that time Sutherland is dead, and now Caithness seeks the King's remission and offers to give caution and to deal no more with the rebels. The King has sent money to the Duke by William Murray, the cadger, to pay the waged horsemen and footmen. By letters from Barnego, late ambassador in Scotland for Denmark, it is certified that the three ambassadors for Spain have had audience of the King and Estate of Denmark; that one of the ambassadors is a personage of honour and of the nobility and is accompanied with two other colleagues, not expressing their names or degrees.

1½ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 18. **429.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Huntly's brother is dealing with the King and some councillors for his brother's children and to confirm himself tutor to the children and living, and to obtain some easy conditions for the weal of his house, and that his brother might endure only banishment or some such form. He has had good

1594. countenance secretly, but as yet prevails little. There is dealing, especially by Buccleuch's means, to reconcile the Chancellor to the Queen, but [there is] great jealousy on both parts and small trust. The President's grudge to the Chancellor is a great hindrance to it and consequently to many good matters, and a furtherance to the contrary causes.

Colonel Stewart is despatched for the Low Countries. His instructions in substance are not far from those which use to come to her Majesty, viz., money. He has warrant to deal for a marriage betwixt the Earl of Orkney and Count Maurice's sister, whereupon depends some further matter. For the other matter of "Aist," or the King's intention towards my lord, I find no ground but only an information of Mr. David Fo[ulis], as one who would have made a mountain of midge. The King is no such "fowel" as that "fowel" would have had him when he was "barboyllinge" * his designs in his fantastic head. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

Postscript.—What I wrote in my last I think is true, and thereof "I shal show some good grownd, which the Lord Secretary yit confirmith."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. No fly-leaf. Red wax seal.*

Dec. 26. **430.** NEWS FROM EDINBURGH.

The quarrels betwixt the Chancellor and Mar still increase. As both parties have fortified themselves with the aid of their friends to seek to "put at" the other, it is now looked that one of them shall receive a fall, and the estate be disquieted thereby. The King had purposed to have ridden to Drochil (Troghelles) in Tweeddale on 25th December and from thence to have passed to Stirling, where Mar continues. But the Chancellor, distrusting the effects of their meeting, wrought some stay in the journey for two or three days, and it is further told the King that the Hamiltons were gathered together and "angryed" in the matter betwixt the Chancellor and Mar. Whereupon he the more readily deferred his journey to Stirling until the 28th, resolving then to ride thither, and it is thought that thereon the troubles betwixt these parties shall break out. It is deemed by most that the King could be pleased that the Treasurer and Comptroller were removed from office, but many think that he will not cast off the Chancellor, and in this behalf the King is much perplexed how to govern himself and the course herein. The Chancellor, having met with his friends to deliberate on this matter, has resolved to employ Buccleuch and Cessford to travail for the recovery of the Queen's favour towards him and that she would "partye" him and the other officers sought to be removed. He has tempted some noblemen with hope of preferment and also terrified some others with the sight of their own overthrow to grow by Mar's greatness. To Crawford he has offered the custody of Edinburgh Castle, to Lord Livingstone the keeping of the young Prince, to Lord Lindsay the restitution of the benefice of Haddington. He has already procured Lord Herries to be Warden of the West Marches, and persuades Lord Hamilton to think that the Duke and Mar seek to draw Dumbarton Castle out of his hands.

Argyll had appointed to convene with his friends at Stirling on the 25th instant, whereby Mar and that party will be strong and together at the King's coming to Stirling. The issue—whether peace or trouble—will soon appear after the King's coming thither. It is discovered that a band is made by the rebellious Earls for the deprivation and death of the King and for the Prince's

* *Barbulyie:* to disorder or trouble. From the French, *barbouillé*, "confusedly jumbled or huddled together." (Jamieson's *Dictionary*, new edition.)

James VI.
1594. inauguration, wherein the Laird of Balwearie (Baverye) in Fife is noted to be a chief practiser. Therefore some instruments are sent forth for his apprehension.

The Duke's government in the north is much commended, whereby the rebels are driven to keep themselves close and quiet. The Master of Glamis, coming to the Duke at Aberdeen, persuaded [*i.e.* begged] him to stay his intended removal to Elgin. But he passed to Elgin notwithstanding the bruits of some practices to have been attempted against him there. The Master therefore tarried but one night with the Duke and prepared to return to Edinburgh to join with the Chancellor and the other officers. The Duke continues at Elgin, keeping Justice Courts. But it is feared that by want of pay for the horse and footmen he shall be enforced to retire and leave that government. The King has sent money to him (parcel of the sums brought by the Secretary) to complete one month's pay. Bothwell, with twelve servants, was quietly at Elgin before the Duke's coming thither. He escaped with great difficulty, for the town, advised of his being there, readily put themselves in arms to have taken him. He has passed to Caithness with purpose to remain there, and has met with Angus, Huntly and Errol, as before has been advertised.

The Earl of Caithness has sent his uncle, the Chancellor of Caithness, to the King to crave pardon for all things past and with offer of sufficient caution for his good behaviour in time coming. His remission is granted with condition that he shall presently repair to the King and take order that none of the rebellious Earls shall be reset in his country. Some think that he will accept the condition, others that he will abide all extremities rather than forsake the Earls. Yet his uncle offers liberally for him and on his behalf. The remission is made and delivered to the Clerk Register to be kept until trial shall be taken of his resolution and actions herein. Colonel Stewart is ready to embark for the Low Countries, " on the xxvjth of December laste," to try what money can be provided there for the King. Lord Herries is made Warden of the West Marches: he offers all good offices and devotion to her Majesty for the peace of the Borders. The gentlemen are commanded to surcease their feuds and quarrels and to obey him. Johnstone has obtained respite for four years.*

The King lately lost a letter out of his pocket, which letter being found and restored to him he commanded the finder to keep secret the contents. The writer of this letter affirmed that he had spoken with Bothwell; that Bothwell had met with Angus, Huntly and Errol; and that the King's life and estate were in peril, together with some other named in the letter. Donald Gorme and MacLeod Harris proceed to levy and carry all the forces they can get in the Isles and Highlands into Ireland, and to be there about Candlemas next. The King and Argyll have been moved to return their answers to her Majesty's letters for the restraint of Scotchmen in Ireland. These answers are still delayed by the occasions specified, yet it is promised that they shall be sent soon after the King shall meet Argyll at Stirling. It is herewith advised that the King has little power to " expeyde " the effects required, in regard that the chief commanders of the islanders and highlandmen are already attainted and at the horn for their faults and will not obey the King, and that Argyll without the help and concurrency of his friends (presently " at some dryness " with him and to be reconciled at their convention at Stirling) is not able to yield such satisfaction to her Majesty as he desires. Therefore travail will be taken for reconciliation betwixt Argyll and his friends, presently together at Stirling.

* for the death of Maxwell, slain by him in an encounter on 6th December 1593. (*Border Papers*, 1, No. 918; *P.C.* v., 113 *n.*)

1594. Advertisements shall be given of the success in these matters. It is acknowledged by a letter of credit that the Earl of Tyrone made the offer of the yearly payment of 10,000*l.* Scots to Argyll on condition that he send yearly into Ireland a prescribed number of Scotsmen.

2⅓ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 28. **431.** NEWS FROM EDINBURGH.

Albeit the King was earnestly moved to have stayed his journey to Stirling, yet "on the 28 of December laste" he passed forward to Linlithgow with a private company, purposing to be at Stirling on the morrow and to return to Holyroodhouse within six or seven days, and in the meantime he has promised the Chancellor that nothing shall be done against him at present and that he shall be advertised of all things by the King's own letters. Whereby the Chancellor rests in good assurance, and it is verily thought that the matter betwixt Mar and him shall proceed no farther. It is credibly informed that the griefs betwixt them are not so great as have been given out, and as some evil instruments and practisers would have it, and that Lord Hamilton and his friends have not assembled in sort as has been reported. Lord Hamilton sent Captain Hamilton to the King to give him satisfaction in the same. It is noted that the variance betwixt the Chancellor and Mar is grounded upon "conceipte" in the Chancellor that his estate shall be much hindered by the removal of the officers preferred by him and affected to him, and who have advanced their own profit and made the King poor. On the other side Mar, hearing the King complain of his poverty and wishing his estate to be so repaired that he should not be "burthenable" either to England or to his own [country], regards no man's displeasure and seeks reformation in this behalf. The King has required Lord Hamilton by Captain Hamilton to take in good part the respite granted to Johnstone for five years.

In the north all is quiet, the Lieutenant well obeyed, and the rebels still keep themselves secret. It is said that Atholl has taken up many feuds amongst the highlandmen; that he keeps in his house John Ogilvy, the King's rebel, whose house was cast down; and that by these doings he is now much suspected. It is informed that the most part of the forces left by Donald Gorme and MacLeod Harris in Ireland have returned home malcontent, and that MacLean (a man of chief estimation and action amongst them), taking offence and quarrel against Tyrone for cutting off the head of his cousin, is therefore purposed to seek revenge by all the means in his power, and presently the islanders are at a great convention amongst themselves, whereat such friends are present as will give timely and perfect advertisements of their proceedings therein.

The ministers, seeing appearance of many troubles, note God's wrath to hang over the realm, and therefore exhort all men to prayers for prevention of the dangers.

1 *p. In the hand of Sheperson (Bowes's clerk). Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Dec. 28. **432.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 174.

Great shifts have been made to stay his Majesty's journey, yet he has gone [as in the preceding]. Mr. John Colville is to ride to Stirling on the 29th "for making intelligence and putting the matter with Argyill to a point."

James VI.
1594. The King is much disquieted how to behave himself betwixt Mar and the Chancellor, but this "dyat" [conference] will declare to which of them he will incline. The Chancellor fears that, if the King's chief officers shall be thrust out, his own decay must follow thereon. Mar wishes the King to be "burthenabill" neither to England nor to his own [as in the preceding]. Mr. John Colville will do as he shall be directed. Edinburgh. [*Unsigned.*]

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Edenbr. 28 December, London iiij January, 1594." *Names in cipher deciphered. Red wax seal.*

Dec. 28. **433.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The King rode from hence to Linlithgow to be this day [*sic*] at Stirling, where it is thought that Mar expects his intent against the Chancellor shall be advanced; yet I hear that the King has promised the Chancellor [as in No. 431]. What will be now attempted or how long the King shall remain at Stirling is very uncertain, for Sir George Hume, now returned to his own house, is to meet the King here or to go to him if he stays longer at Stirling. The Secretary told me that the matter between the Chancellor and Mar was not so evil as evil practisers would have it, as if there were no displeasure betwixt themselves. But it is nevertheless to be doubted that time will shortly "try" the contrary, unless the King pacifies all, as is not yet likely. The Secretary told me also that it is not true that Lord Hamilton is "in any stirres" at present [*etc.* as in No. 431].

I hear nothing out of the north but that the Lieutenant is well obeyed in the country either for "love or for the present tyme." Some say the Master of Glamis sought to have stayed him from going to Elgin till he might be furnished with money to be made of the escheats of the rebels there. The Duke nevertheless did not then stay. The Earls are in quiet places, judged to have "unquiet" plots not to be attempted till they have good opportunity, and some say that Atholl has made great reconciliations amongst the highlanders and with Ogilvy; and that he has Mr. John Ogilvy in his house.

I hear that most of the forces gone out of the Isles to Ireland have returned malcontent, and that MacLean has a great quarrel with the Earl of Tyrone anent the cutting off of one of his cousins. This I have from a gentleman of Argyll, who says that the highlanders are at a great convention, whereunto Mr. John Arch[ibald] and others have gone to give advertisement. Herein Mr. John Colville interposes also his "moyen" very freely. If the broken matter between the Chancellor and Mar does not hinder it, I "looke" her Majesty's letters to the King and to Argyll shall now be answered. The ministers through sight of troubles arising and of the extreme dearth of corn and all "vivers" here note God's displeasure over the land; and daily exhort all to make their recourse by prayers to God. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes.*

Dec. 31. **434.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

I have found of late by conference with the King that there has been some earnest dealing to move him to conceive hardly of Burghley and yourself as the authors of all his hard success at all times, and of my poor self as an absolute follower of his lordship. I answered with the very truth, assuring

1594. him that I know the contrary to be true and that those who had most persuaded his Majesty so had least cause and had "sped" best. He answered saying, "I know no reasson why the Lord Theassurere should cary any harder hand towards me then others," and that he would not believe it till his lordship uttered it either in plain words or deeds. He confessed that it behoved me to wait upon his lordship most "seing his affaeris rested most in his lordships hands."

The Secretary granted that A. st.* had been divers times with him and had given him a book to show the King that he wrote of his own life in Scotland and in his travel afterwards; which the King has not yet seen. Other matters he has reserved to speak to the King after I be gone; but of these I will cease till I see your honour. As for the paper of Mr. Archibald Douglas, it is to be sent to the E—— of E——[Errol], and anything that goes that way "mae nocht cum by me." There is a commission sent to the Duke to give warrant to any to come in to speak with him and to remit any offender there; and these liberties are granted the better to accomplish good offices, as the warrant says. But this "gear" [matter] is the Master of Glamis's work and will take no effect so long as the Duke is so well accompanied as he is now. No matter of worth has occurred since Mr. Aston wrote to Mr. Bowes. Aston can do as good service that way as any man here, and is well affected to your service. I understand by him that he should address his letters to Mr. Bowes during his abode there, and afterwards to your honour, which he will obey. Berwick. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

Postscript.—The young Lairds of Logie and Anstruther are coming up, the one to go to France and the other to the Low Countries. They were friends to Bothwell and must travel for his sake.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Red wax seals.*

[1594.] [? Dec.]

435. MEMORANDA.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 267–268.

For the King. (1) Any answer to her Majesty's letter to be procured. (2) Any answer to the King's letter for the printer. (3) Any acceptation of his actions to be signified. (4) Any horses to be offered, as is advised. (5) Any answer to the Secretary's letter. (6) Answer to Sir George Hume's letter as is expected.

The Queen. (1) What answer to be given to the Queen's letter. (2) Whether any compliment for the kindness offered. (3) Whether any answer to her letter for Waldegrave.

Argyll. (1) "Plackard" for horses and how many. (2) How many horses to be given. (3) The order for the manner of the gift. (4) What answer to his letter to me. (5) What shall be further required of him for Ireland. (6) Amend the note of names troubling Ireland.

Roger Aston. (1) His service and letters to be kept. (2) How far he may be comforted.

Mr. John Colville. (1) How he shall be kept, entertained or left. (2) The small "propyne" [gift] intended for him stayed. (3) What answers to his letters and requests.

The Captain and Lieutenant to be remembered.

Thomas Tyrie's return.

* This appears to be the same cipher mentioned by Hudson in No. 429.

James VI.
1594. Lord Hamilton. (1) How he shall be satisfied. (2) In what manner, how and by whom.

Lady Margaret Neville's request.

Notes written by Bowes's clerk on a half sheet of paper.

1594. **436.** PRACTISERS IN SCOTLAND.

"The names of divers the practizers in Scotland."

Robert Bruce, with the Duke of Parma. Colonel Sempill; is married in Spain. John Chisholme. Thomas Tyrie, servant to Lord Hume. Friar William Crichton. The Laird of Fintray, David Graham; dead. James Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Huntly: "he carryed awey into Flanders 2 of Huntleys." Robert Abercrombie. Sir James Chisholm, Master of Household. James Elphinstone. George Ker. James Tyrie, one of the four assistants of all the Jesuits in Rome. Edmund Hay; died in Rome *anno* 1592: he was brother to the Bailie of Errol. Charles Murray, servant to George Ker. Thomas Forbes of Boughan. James Kidd; a Doctor of Law in Bourdeaux. Edmund Hay; died *anno* 1592. William Orde. The Earl of Angus's feigned name was William Atkinson; Errol's, Fergus Adam; Huntley's, George Harvie. William Chisholme, Bishop of Dunblane, died at Rome 1593; uncle to Sir James and to John Chisholme.

¾ *p. In the hand of Burghley's clerk, with additions in Burghley's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "1593. Names of the practizers in Scotland."

[1594.] [*c.* Dec.] **437.** ELIZABETH TO JAMES VI.

We have heretofore made known to you the complaints of the Middle and West Marches, with so earnest request for redress that we had hoped that such order had been therein taken by you that our subjects should have rested secure under the protection of the amity between our two realms. But finding it otherwise, to our great grief in their behalf, and receiving daily complaints, we perceive our subjects to be now entered into so great despair of redress that they have humbly besought us to permit them "to remedie themselves" by such other ways as necessity enforces where justice ceases. Whereunto, although our tender compassion in the affliction of our subjects may mightily provoke us to give ear, yet such is our confidence in your disposition to maintain the amity firm and entire that we pray you once again to consider the just causes we have to summon your love herein, being fully resolved, if we shall not find speedy redress, no longer to deny them liberty to right themselves without any further delay. Wherein, since you cannot but foresee what dangerous sequels may follow from such beginnings of violent courses, we doubt not but, these reasons considered, together with this our friendly manner of proceeding with you, you will provide remedy agreeable to honour and justice. Which strict order, as we hope it shall be general to all yours whom it may concern, so we pray you in particular that, forasmuch as ours impute their wrongs chiefly to the followers and others under Buccleuch, he being a public minister may receive such express commandment for the observation of the peace of our Borders that he may perceive you will not lightly let slip whatsoever shall be by his negligence committed to the contrary, and we on our part shall be no less careful that our Wardens shall therein concur with him.

1¼ *pp. Draft. Corrections in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. No endorsement.*

438. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Lest the purpose of displacing some officers of estate should "occupie" you to think what may "become" thereon, I certify you that it is said that at Stirling the King nor any there have dealt in any such matter; yet some would persuade me that B (the King) and 21 (Mar) have agreed that 4 (the King) shall "do that turne of him self" at his own proper time. Yet 51 (the Chancellor) looks that the King shall see them preserved in their places. They are backing themselves very strongly "by frendship of all that they can make," for they look to be "put at" as soon as Mar's party can get their advantage. 26 (Lord Hume) has become a daily attender on the Chancellor, some suspect for one cause, some for another, so that now the Chancellor is over-strong in the south for Mar.

The young Prince's nurse has become dry through sickness, and he was sick, but now is well again. The King coming, the nurse prayed pardon, I hear, and the young Prince cried for want of her. This being made known to the King he has forgiven the nurse, and Henry Murray's wife, of Stirling, now gives suck to the young Prince, who will not receive her dug unless it be in the dark or given him by his old nurse. The old nurse being of the old Countess of Mar's choice some without reason seek to impute this fault to Mar.

On Thursday last the King came from Stirling to Linlithgow. From thence he rode yesterday to Biggar, whither provisions are sent for his stay there and thereabouts at his pastime of hawking. He is to return hither about Thursday next. Some say that 8 (Angus) and 15 (Bothwell) have returned out of the north and may have some plot for the King's surprise, but I do not believe it. The rebels in the north make no stirs yet, nor have they showed themselves against the Duke, who has now returned to Aberdeen and [is] to be here very shortly to seek for pay for his own entertainment and the waged men with him, for it seems he cannot make provision for him and them by sale of the rebels' lands, goods and gear, as was devised. Thus by the Duke's return the Earls are likely to make new stirs there. Argyll is very earnest to go once again against them if he can furnish himself fit for the purpose; otherwise he means to leave the country. In this F. (Mr. Bruce) has both pricked him forward against those Papist Earls and also seeks to stay his departure for the benefit of the good cause, yet by the advertisement of an especial friend of "72," and "nearest unto 6" you may perceive how things stand anent Argyll. I refer you to the party's letter, which I enclose, praying you to return it to me again, with speed. [Not now enclosed.]

Concerning the matter of Ireland I cannot yet say more than in my last. Nevertheless 67 (Mr. John Colville) has stayed behind the King to attend the doing of good therein. "Allwaies" the contentment of the King and the pleasuring of "20" would not a little further that matter to A's (Mar's) satisfaction. As I was not well at the King's going to Stirling I did not go thither to solicit that matter. I understand that little has been done therein, but shall learn at the return of Mr. John Colville and Roger Aston. I wish either that you were here to look to the depths and danger of the matters brewing here or that I were discharged, that no fault might be imputed to me for not advertising thereof, which I cannot do as I would, for they begin here to have close dealings and workings, "which argues great causes." Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—A Convention is appointed on the 27th instant for "ordering" the highlanders, now broken and committing barbarous and foul faults against the lowlands. This is a great advantage to Huntly, who it was thought was

James VI.
1594–5. a bar against the highlanders, and this now proving true causes the people for their defence to wish him in his own place again. These highlanders appertain to Argyll and Mar, as I hear.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Bowes. Names partly in cipher, some deciphered.*

Jan. 4. **439.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

The old Englishman whom I wrote of before has neither come back nor sent word hither as he promised, therefore I " collect " that he is a " spirituall man and na phisicion." The " pretence " that Mar had is " altogither now quyet." The Ch[ancellor] on the other part fortifies himself with new friends of the Border, for Herries has granted a *supersedere* for five years to Johnstone that neither he [Herries], his friends nor Maxwell's posterity shall pursue him by word or deed during that space, and this was done at Court for the greater security, and Johnstone thereafter was relaxed from the horn and received to the King's peace " in oppin Counsall " by the Chancellor. So has he friendship from Dumfries to Berwick, for you know that Hume is his " awin, obleist man."

In the north the Duke has done " na worthie persute," but is now at last tired and coming back with diligence. I cannot hear that " ather is the King myndit that way or to chuse another." The only constancy is in Argyll, and that upon his own charges, for he is now taxing all his lands for money, but it will be spring-time before he can be ready, and in the meantime the other party play " bukhude " as they list, and I am informed they are to perform some exploit at the Duke's return.

The King is now busy hawking up and down all the country and rides very loose, with " few cumpaneis." Angus and Bothwell " kepis great cumpany togither " in their quarters, whereby it will be the easier for them " to hald him in grippis " if they aim that way, as is surmised. Briefly, there is such fear on both sides—I mean betwixt Mar and the Chancellor—that each is working secretly against the other. The Chancellor has caused Lord Hume twice to demand the keeping of Edinburgh Castle, alleging that it is superfluous for him [Mar] to have the keeping of two houses, and that it is sufficient for him to have the attendance on the Prince, which is a great charge. The Chancellor says to the King that Mar does not give good enough attendance upon his office, for when he is absent the Castle of Stirling and the Prince might be seized, and therefore he should be compelled to attend there. There was never greater need than now that your Prince should have somebody here. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Signed with a trefoil* (symbol of Dr. Macartney). *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. 5. **440.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

On 2nd January the King returned from Stirling to Linlithgow and on the next day to Biggar, purposing about the 11th or 12th to come to Holyroodhouse. He would have nothing done at Stirling in the causes betwixt the Chancellor and Mar lest thereby all should be imputed to Mar. He has referred all matters to his coming to Holyroodhouse, promising Mar that then they shall be ended, and Mar is determined either to prevail before the next Convention, on the 27th, or else to give it over. But most think the matter to be already so " dashed " that it shall proceed little farther, especially against the Chancellor. The King deeply apprehends his own miseries, and

1594–5. that mischief will not be delayed longer than his return to Holyroodhouse, and that the longer delay shall make the events more dangerous.

The Prince has been sick at Stirling and has recovered. His nurse's milk has failed by sickness, and another is provided for him [recapitulating No. 438]. It has been given out that Angus and Bothwell have returned to the south parts, seeking the surprise of the King in Tweeddale at his pastimes. But this is not credited in regard that it is certified confidently that Bothwell remains in Caithness with Huntly or Errol. The highlanders under Argyll and Mar have made barbarous spoils in the countries adjoining, so that the people thereof wish that Huntly were again amongst them [as in No. 438]. The Duke has come back to Aberdeen, intending to return to the King [as in No. 438]. It is looked that the forces in the north shall be broken, and that soon after the rebels, awaiting their time and advantage, shall take the town of Aberdeen. Some think that the King has sent for the Duke, and thereby the danger is feared to be the greater. Lord John Hamilton has removed Sir John Hamilton, his base son, from the keeping of Dumbarton Castle and placed therein one Hamilton of Cochnoch. Lord Hume wholly follows the Chancellor, so that in the south parts the Chancellor is over strong for Mar. At his procurement Hume has twice sought the keeping of the Castle of Edinburgh of the King, alleging that it is superfluous for Mar to have the custody of two houses [as in No. 439].

Lord Herries, by the Chancellor's means, has given a respite to Johnstone for five years [etc. as in No. 439]. An old Englishman, giving himself out to be a physician, has entered into Scotland, haunting the company of Papists and having intelligences with them. He has found the wind foul and thereon gave the slip, against his promise, and escaped some snares laid for him. He appears to be an ecclesiastical person and busy in bad matters. Argyll and his friends have met together and are in general terms agreed, but without hearty love and affection. Argyll is taxing his tenants and followers to furnish him either again to invade Huntly "in revenge of the late ruffle," or else to depart out of the realm and remain some time in foreign parts; wherein presently he is greatly affected, and so resolute that he cannot be dissuaded by his wise friends and by some of the ministry, unless he may find fellowship and support to enable him to go again against Huntly, which above all things he most desires.

Mr. John Colville undertakes so to work that either no islanders and highlandmen shall pass over into Ireland, or else that timely advertisement shall be given so that seasonable provision may be made. A baron will in person go into the Isles and deal with Donald Gorme and MacConnell and the principals there, and inform Mr. John of all doings and success. This party assures him that neither the King nor Argyll can nor intend to do any good offices in these matters [*etc.* as in the following]. The answer to Sir George Hume's letter is still expected and wished for.

2⅓ *pp. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "5 Jan. 1594. Advertisementis from Edinburghe."

Jan. 5. **441.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.]

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 134–136.

On the night of the 2nd instant his Majesty rode to Linlithgow and from thence to hawking about Biggar, and in Tweeddale. He returns about the 11th or 12th to Edinburgh. He would have nothing done at London (Stirling) lest all should be imputed to Mar. But he will have matters ended at Vair (Edinburgh), and certainly he apprehends his misery deeply. If

James VI.
1594–5. things do not fall out always as I advertise, let it be imputed to the ordinary uncertainty of our conclusions, and not to me; "and look for a certane mischief amang ws," the delay whereof will make the event the more dangerous. Neither can the delay be longer than his Majesty's "hiddercumming," parties are so in edge against each other. The comfort of all your friends is to see you (S.) near by to comfort such as are best worthy. But, alas! the number is few.

Argyll and his friends have met and are agreed in general terms, "bot no hartlines." But John Colville (Y.) * has done so much that either none at all shall go over for your hurt, or else you shall be timely advertised of their number and embarking and descent, to provide for them as you think best, as also of their confederates within Ireland, for the party that has taken it in hand will go himself to the Isles and travail with Donald Gorme, MacConnell (M'Oneill) and the principals and furnish me intelligence. He is a baron. He assures me neither the King (Q.) nor Argyll either can or means to do you any good, for the principals are forfeited and so will not obey; and since the King thinks the fear of that matter will move you to agree to his other desires, "tak tharfor what yow can gett" of him, and I will undertake to make the matter sure. G. (Sir George Hume) marvels much that you did not write to him.

Postscript.—On these miserable complaints of the poor an assembly is instituted on the 27th instant, but ere that time it cannot fail but A. (Mar) will either prevail or succumb. Bothwell is yet in Caithness or with Huntly or Errol. But the man you know assures us he is in Caithness. Hamilton has put his son out of the Castle of Dumbarton and placed therein one Hamilton of Cochno (Cochnoche). "The mestres nuris milk faled and ane other is put in hir rowm." The Duke is to return, and then immediately the rebels will "sitt doun in Abirden." *Unsigned.*

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

Jan. 8. **442.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter of 28th December "doing" your hearty commendations to all your friends here, as you have directed. This great matter of "exchange" of some officers of estate is like to come to some end next week. The Chancellor, as it is said, thinks that though he himself is not now to be dealt with, yet the displacing of Glamis, the Collector and others will be an entrance and a way for the doing of the like soon after to himself and the Secretary, and therefore he has his friends ready to be here about the end of this week for preventing of any of their displacings. Yet I am made to believe that the King (B.) will do this turn of himself, not against the Chancellor, but against the Master of Glamis, who is to be here this night "verie stronge." Atholl is also to be here with 400 men, but the King, I hear, has either stayed his coming or enjoined him to come with few numbers. Lord Ogilvy is also to be here very strong, and Buccleuch (69) comes in good strength; all for the Chancellor's party. On the other side sundry noblemen are to be here very strong also, as Argyll, Montrose, Glencairn, etc.; so that the meeting is, I hear, to be as great as was here these seven years.

Crawford and the Laird of Spynie are here, between whom and the Master of Glamis some think such stirs may arise that the other matter may be "over-

* He speaks of himself and Bowes both in the third person when using cipher.

1594–5. sene" except towards Glamis. Some conjecture that some of these noblemen may make motions for the rebels (Crewe) upon grounds for quietness of Scotland (Ter) and the ease of the King's charge, seeing her Majesty does not support him therein. But I dare not say whether it will or will not be. "Allwaies" the time is dangerous.

The Duke is to return, staying only to leave the country [in such state] as the King shall appoint; and if new stirs arise there, some say the want of aid of her Majesty will here be made the cause, and the King excused because he has done his power. Lord Lovat is here, and the Duke is to send hither, I hear, all such as are suspected to favour the Papist Earls, lest they should receive them, but it is thought their friends will do it more freely. There is some great secret in this matter, as it seems. Mr. John Colville (67) is very forward, without regard of persons, to learn and discover it for her Majesty's benefit. I hear that Lord Hamilton is much malcontent anent the favour showed to Johnstone, and that thereby he may be drawn to some course, but not against the Church of Scotland (Res) any way. The King is at his hawking at Biggar, not to return before Saturday if he finds as good flying as he has done. It is thought that he will see Spott ere he returns. In these matters I cannot write with certainty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. 8. **443.** MR. DAVID FOULIS TO ROBERT BOWES.

The estate here is "permanent," and notwithstanding some bruits of change of officers of estate, "yet thair is no appeirance." Evil men have moved such rumours for their own particulars, albeit their credit be small at the hands of those who, they believed, should have backed them. The King has an unalterable affection to the Chancellor, and those who preach his disgrace at his Majesty's hands, they "find thair awine lichtlye"; such is his constancy. His Majesty is yet in Tweeddale "at the halking." He will be here on Saturday.

"Ane Convention is to be" for putting of order to the Borders. Your lordship knows of Johnstone's four years' respite, and [that they] shall cause "the hail name" [*i.e.* clan] to deliver pledges for keeping of good order. Order is also to be taken with the Highlands and all matters to be redressed. The Duke has been in Moray and received great obedience. He has now returned to Aberdeen in very peaceable manner. Edinburgh. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. [12]. **444.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

Calendared as Vol. 55, No. 8.

I advertise you of news out of Scotland, leaving the consideration thereof to your wisdom. The King removed on Friday from Linlithgow to Biggar accompanied with Mar and not past twenty horse. He is advertised that Bothwell and Angus are in Caithness. He remained there hawking till Thursday the 9th. His progress, which should have holden to Dunglass, Spott and Biel (Beale), is altered by reason of the lords flocking in great numbers to Edinburgh. Many have come already and divers are to come, as the Earl of Crawford and his brother the Laird of Spynie, the Laird of Lochinvar (Loughinwar) and his son, Lord Borthwick, Lord Lovat, Lord Hume, Cessford, with divers others.

The King wrote for Atholl, who requested he might come in accompanied with his friends; which was granted, so that he is expected to come in very

James VI.
1594–5. strong and with not so few as 1000 horse. The Master of Glamis is to come in very strong, being under deadly feud with Crawford, who has likewise sent for his friends. Buccleuch also is to come in very strong; and Lord Ogilvy with divers western and northern lords as yet unknown. Their plot and pretence is kept so secret that hardly can it be conjectured what the sequel will grow to. But (as is imagined) it is either to unhorse the Chancellor or agree some deadly feuds between certain noblemen.

The emulation between the Chancellor and Mar is wonderfully dissembled on both parts, the one ruling Court and Session and the other guiding King, Prince and all about Stirling. The Duke is looked for at Edinburgh ere this. He has done no exploit since his going north worth the writing. Huntly is reviving his forces and is expected to take some enterprise in hand upon the Duke's return. Argyll is to come in, and the King purposes to "agree" Atholl and him about the young Earl of Murray's matters. The highlandmen of Argyll's and Mar's country have made divers incursions of late upon the "civill" gentlemen of Angus and the Mearns, who were wont to be protected from their robberies by Huntly, which daily procures more and more favour to Huntly by the people of those parts. There is great working on all hands to "agree" Argyll and Huntly.

1½ *pp.* *Endorsed:* "Jan. 1594. Occurrents owt of Scotland."

Jan. 13. **445.** NEWS FROM EDINBURGH.

The King suddenly returned from Biggar to Holyroodhouse on the 8th instant, instead of on the 11th. The next day he called George Nicolson into his cabinet to understand the news in France and the return of her Majesty's late ambassador there; wherewith he partly touched the hope he had of support from her Majesty against the Papist Earls. The same day he entered into conference with the Chancellor and Mar, who both disclaimed all quarrels and hatreds, and also were drawn into good terms and "countenancis," so that that matter is passed over; and it is thought that the King shall now rather seek to reform than to remove the other officers who are charged to have greatly hindered his profit. Nevertheless the King, with that council, has chosen especial persons to find out how his estate may be better preserved and his revenues gathered and employed for his best profit. Upon their decision the success and end of this purpose intended for the alteration of these officers will fully appear.

The Master of Glamis, daily looked for to return to Edinburgh, "was not comed" hither notwithstanding that lodgings were prepared for him and his companies, and that his retainers have awaited him long. It is verily looked that if he shall now come, and Crawford and he shall meet in the street, great troubles shall arise thereby. Crawford has come to the Court to recover the King's favour towards his brother; wherein the King will be pleased that Spynie shall live as a subject, yet he will not vouchsafe to give him presence or see him. Crawford pretends to be ready wholly to obey the King. The King at his coming to Stirling found the Prince much altered by the change of his nurse, whose milk failed. She kept this secret and "hungred" the child, but now he recovers daily.

Atholl and Ogilvy had purposed to have come to Edinburgh in great strength on the 11th instant, but the King, by his charge delivered to Atholl after he had entered on his journey, enjoined them to stay their repair thither till the 17th, and to bring with them none other than ordinary servants. It is therefore doubted whether they will now come to Edinburgh at the time

James VI.
1594–5. limited, and this doubt is increased by the apprehension of the Laird of Balwearie, appointed to have met Atholl in Edinburgh on the 11th instant. It is thought that Atholl and Ogilvy at their coming to Edinburgh intended to have done pleasure to the forfeited Earls. Atholl has thoroughly agreed with Huntly, and it is credibly informed that they met together within ten days then last past. The Master of Gray greatly guides Atholl and has "agreed" him with Ogilvy, being a great Papist. Lady Atholl (as it is further said) had 5000 crowns of the Spanish gold sent to the Earls. The cause of Atholl's course with Huntly is grounded (as it is thought) upon some jealousies betwixt Argyll and him upon his wife's receipt of the crowns, and upon Bothwell's counsel and persuasion of the Countess, who guides all. The Master of Gray sent his brother, James, to the King to excuse his part, but the King will not grant that he shall come to Edinburgh with Atholl. Ochiltree was offered 10,000 crowns to have agreed with Huntly and run their course, but he refused and thereon left the society of Atholl and Bothwell. Now he follows the King's will in all things. He has obtained remission for him and for all who were with him in his actions against the King.

The Laird of Balwearie, coming to Edinburgh to meet Atholl on the 11th instant, was apprehended by the Provost of Edinburgh and committed to the castle to be closely kept at the King's commandment. For this good service the ministers have greatly praised the Provost. Sir George Douglas and Abbotshall, seeking to speak with Balwearie, were denied. Cessford sought to know whether Balwearie's lands (wherewith round sums might be raised) would content the King. But he would not hearken thereto, saying that Balwearie had betrayed first Bothwell to him and afterwards him to Bothwell. Balwearie was examined by Blantyre and the Justice Clerk. He confesses the bond made betwixt Huntly and Bothwell and the rest of the Papist Earls, and that he himself has subscribed. But he denies that there is presently any practice against the King. He acknowledges to have received a letter from Atholl to meet him at Edinburgh, but he knows not for what other purpose. This matter is not yet clear. Nevertheless it appears that the King's person is greatly endangered and that the state is "resembled to be lyke the wethercocke"; further, that Balwearie "is lyke to pass the pykis" and the courtiers are begging his lands. Some plots were laid to move the King to show some favour to the rebellious Earls, but Balwearie's arrest will either stay the further progress thereof or else draw the matter the sooner into arms and troubles.

It is like to be found that Atholl, Ogilvy, Caithness, Sutherland and sundry others are banded with the Papist Earls against the King and Argyll. Some have been lately at Edinburgh to work for the forfeited Earls, wherein their success does not yet appear. Some ministers in Edinburgh find the King much moved in his heart that he gets no better support from her Majesty notwithstanding that he says little thereof. It is certainly affirmed that he cannot of his own power maintain the cause against the rebels, therefore they wish heartily that her Majesty would tender this cause for the benefit of the state of England, Scotland and the Church of Scotland.

The Duke returned from Elgin to Aberdeen on the 6th. He caused fourteen highland thieves to be hanged for thefts committed in the low land. He has taken order to leave the whole countries quiet and thereon to return to the Court, which will not be before ten days from now. Argyll has not yet come to Edinburgh, as he had appointed. He purposes to be at the Convention on the 27th. It was looked that this Convention should be exceeding great, but it is now uncertain what shall follow these late effects. It is

James VI.
1594–5. thought that if Argyll and Atholl shall meet in Edinburgh stirs and troubles shall begin.

The feuds and quarrels amongst some of the nobility of the "leist ranke" and others of quality depending on the great noblemen are either compounded or suspended, so that the chief noblemen may with safety assemble all their associates and dependers. Caithness has refused the King's pardon. The Papist Earls and their accomplices despair of the King's good disposition towards them, therefore it is thought that they have some high enterprise in hand against his life or for his utter overthrow, and offer is made to prove Huntly to have devised the King's death: which offer shall be accepted and the matter tried. Bothwell continues in Caithness in a house of the Earl of Caithness, his brother. He has lately travailed with Huntly, who has now come into the country; and Angus and Errol also draw near, so that it is looked that they will show themselves again soon after the Duke's * departure. The council in the north have travailed with the Countess of Huntly and others to persuade Huntly to depart out of the realm and to assure him that otherwise he shall be prosecuted with all kind of rigour. The council have concluded that if full answer be not sent to them within two days, then they will proceed with rigour against all the Earls, their wives and accomplices, and put garrisons into their principal houses.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. In the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Jan. 15. **446.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

The King, finding that his revenues and casualties have not been used and "diffrayed" for his profit, has taken order for the reformation thereof. In this it is looked that the Comptroller shall be found guilty and hardly escape punishment. It will suffice that he make amends. The King had given commission before to the Laird of Balwearie to sound Bothwell and learn whether David Murray of Balvaird (Bavarde), the King's master stabler, had any intelligence with him; which commission Balwearie pleads for his warrant for conference with Bothwell. He confesses that, accidentally, he came to the making of the band betwixt Bothwell and the Papist Earls, that he subscribed the same as a witness, and not as a party, and does not well remember the contents thereof. This he acknowledges to be a band ("as he is remembred") of mutual friendship, both for the aid of the forfeited Earls to Bothwell for the surprise of the King and also that Bothwell thereon should have brought them into the King's favour. He was lately examined by Blantyre, the Justice Clerk, the Provost of Edinburgh and Mr. George Young to "informe" his knowledge in the band signed by him with Bothwell and that crew for the coronation of the Prince and the departure of the King. He does not confess that he has subscribed such a band; but one other he confesses, and by his former warrant from the King he excuses his dealings with these rebels. He confesses no other matters, desiring that he may speak with the King and pretending to be ready to discover to him all things in his knowledge. The King hitherto has no liking to hear him. Buccleuch and Cessford travail much in his favour in regard that Balwearie is chief to Buccleuch. But some gather thereby that the Chancellor is willing to help him.

The Duke sent the Laird of Bogie (Boggye) to inform the King of proceedings in the north until the 9th instant, as appears in the note annexed

* "after the kingis departure" (wrongly) in the MS.

1594–5. hereto. Amongst other matters, Bogie "delivered" from the Duke that Lady Huntly, in her husband's name, reports that he and his society would have departed out of the country before the last Parliament (whereby they were forfeited) if her Majesty had not sent a message to them to the contrary, "so as" they would ground upon her their disobedience and stay in the realm. But the King will not believe that her Majesty should be their "staye" * for the raising of trouble in his land. Bogie has returned to the Duke with direction to stay in the north for one month. There appears a great discontentment against England in all estates, alleging that promise is not kept to join with the King in this action against the Papists. The King says that he will keep the peace and do justice on the Borders, but will give no farther account of his doings, as he has done heretofore. One of the authors of these advertisements wishes to speak one hour with one or two especial persons of things which he will not write, adding further that albeit this storm (meaning the change of the officers) is past, yet one surge will follow another, and lamenting that there is nothing but a sea of sorrows.

The waged men, for want of pay, have broken from the Duke, except only 50 horsemen under Carmichael and 50 footmen under Captain Davison. The pay for these must be provided by the escheats of the rebels, and will hardly be performed thereby. Huntly has forbidden, upon pain of hanging, all under him to compound for any of their escheats; whereupon it is gathered that the rebels have again recovered heart and comfort. The Master of Glamis has not come to Edinburgh. It is noted that he observes his accustomed order to stay until the peril is past. The Secretary thinks that Atholl will come to the Convention on the 27th for the redress of the disorders of the highlanders. Argyll has already for his part put order to the Macgregors and his highlandmen, and the rest are travailing to reform all these causes so that the King and Council shall not need to deal therein. The King dislikes Atholl's courses in regard that they are grounded on the advice of Bothwell, the Master of Gray and Wardlaw (Wartlawe). Argyll continues in his hot passions against such as lately encountered him in the field, and he sought to slay one Murray, who had accompanied Huntly at that encounter, and was in Stirling. But Murray escaped.

On Argyll's return to Edinburgh the King and he shall be put in memory to send their answers to her Majesty's letters. In the meantime Mr. John Colville has employed a fit instrument upon that service. [Recapitulates his offers to send information about Scoto-Irish proceedings, as in No. 441.]

The youngest of the three brethren of the Muirs (Moores) who killed the two ministers † was taken and sent in by Lord Herries and executed at Edinburgh on the 14th. Colonel Stewart, lately driven back by the weather, intends to embark again for the Low Countries on the 16th; yet it is thought by some that he will pass through England.

Caithness has again sent his uncle, the Chancellor of Caithness, to let the King know that he will accept the remission which he had before refused. Now he offers to come to the King within twenty days, but it is thought that this offer shall not be performed. Upon bruit that Captain James Stewart had come into Edinburgh search was made for him, but he was not there. The King is moved to pass to the Merse and to Spott before the Convention, but it is not resolved as yet. It is thought strange that the Laird of Spott and Mr. Thomas Cranston should still find such favour in England, seeing that by their advice and means Bothwell was drawn to band with the Papist Earls.

* Here meaning "support," a less common sense of the word in this Calendar.
† See Calderwood, v. 359.

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1594–5. Petition to her Majesty is made by Roger Aston to comfort and relieve him in his services for her.

Lastly, the King calling sundry times for George Nicolson has still pressed to understand what help he might look for at her Majesty's hands against the Papists.

3 *pp. In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk:* "15 Jan. 1594. Advertesementis from Edenburghe."

Enclosure with the same.

(The Duke's journey against Huntly, Errol and others.)

"The discourse of our journey till the ix day of January 1594." *

On 16th December we came to Elgin, where the Sheriff, with 160 horse, and the chief barons of the country met us at Spey and remained till we came back. We caused MacIntosh to besiege Ruthven (Reven) in Badenoch and had passed † there with our whole forces, whereof the keepers being afraid rendered upon composition, and we have put it in keeping to the Laird of Longformacus (Loughenmurrus). The Castle of Inverness also is rendered and kept by the town. We put the town of Elgin to an assize for the "receipting" of Huntly, Bothwell and other rebels. They came in, have paid the composition that was laid upon them, and have found caution under great sums never to do the like [again]. We have taken caution of all the gentlemen and barons for observing the general band [for] not resetting Jesuits, Papists and rebels, for keeping of common quietness, defending of religion and the ministry within their bounds, and for mutual concurrence to maintain the premises by force of arms wheresoever occasion shall be offered, and for apprehending of all sorts of unlawful persons; and this is done for the bounds of Moray, Ross and trans-Spey. We have given commission to the Sheriff of Moray, the Lairds of Innes, MacIntosh, Altyre (Alter), Longformacus (Loghenmurrus) and certain barons and ministers to be their assisters for apprehending and punishing of thieves and cruel beggars and such as pass in pilgrimage to "vallis" ‡ and Papists. They have promised on their solemn oath to accomplish the same. MacIntosh has found special caution either to deliver the broken men within his bounds or else to punish them himself, and failing thereof to be answerable for all the evil they shall do. We have written to his Majesty that Lovat, MacKenzie and Grant should give caution and pledges for the same. We have taken the like surety of the MacFarlanes [*sic*], Balnagown and the rest of the clans of Ross, as also of Grant's special friends, and mind to follow the like order in all points within the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff, who are charged "to particuler dyettes" to Aberdeen, and "if he had done" § this I think these parts shall be as peaceable as they have been these many years.

In our Justice Courts we take no composition for crimes that deserve death, which has made many fugitives. "Alwayes" we dispose their escheats [and] charge their masters to enter them according to the general band on the first day of this year. We hanged thirteen on one gallows in Elgin and drowned one, "by" [besides] others that were executed before. We have charged Caithness, Sutherland and his mother to come to Aberdeen on the 15th of this month. We are informed that Bothwell remains in Girnigo (Girnygo). Mr. James Gordon and some other Papists [remain] sometimes with Caithness and sometimes with Lady Sutherland, whereof we mind to accuse them if

* Detached and bound separately as Vol. 55, No. 7.
‡ ? holy wells.
† *i.e.* we intended to pass.
§ *i.e.* if he would do.

1594–5. they come hither. Lady Sutherland means quietly to convey her son out of the country with a Papist, and if he refuse, as he has done already, [she means] to grant him no kind of entertainment because she is "in the wholl livinge." I pray you cause his Majesty charge both him and her to Edinburgh, whereof I know he would be very glad; and if they come hither we shall do the like.

We have left Moray in a very good state and [have] contented both the ministry and the people. I pray God the like may be done here, for we have (as I am informed) above 2000 persons "given upp in dittey." We have discharged all our waged men except 50 horsemen and 50 footmen, who will be very difficult to entertain, because as yet "nether commes profitt by compositions" in respect of the poverty of "them that enters," nor have we got any profit by remissions, for we have granted none, although we suppose some shall "shortelye seike." They cause bruits to come to these parts, to hinder us much, especially that the Papist Earls by the Queen of England's request shall be restored upon very favourable conditions, and if that fails a change of Court shall cause them be received. We have written very earnestly to know if any such purpose be in hand, but have received little answer. "Herefore" I pray you let me understand the certainty hereof, for the Duke and his council mind to do what they can to break the forces of the Earls. He has plainly declared to his sister [Lady Huntly] that if her husband does not depart out of the country he will be the greatest enemy he shall have, and she shall get no part of the living unless she comes to the south. The like answer is given to Lady Errol; and he has assured them that he will prefer the cause of God which he has taken in hand, his Majesty's service and his own honour to blood, ally or whatsoever person, and we daily look for an answer that may effectuate either quietness or some extreme kind of dealing. The Duke has resolved to leave nothing undone that may further this cause, and, if gentle dealing avail not, greater rigour will be used. He is wonderfully liked by all people here: they see his honest dealing.

2 *pp. Copy in the hand of Bowes's clerk.*

Jan 15. **447.** JAMES VI. TO THE STATES GENERAL OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.

Two years ago we sent to you William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, to communicate to you the practices of the Spaniards with some persons of the highest rank in our realm, so that we might all be armed in time against the confederations which they have plotted (*contre les monopoles qu'ils avoyent machinés*) against the liberty of our states. The peril is at this hour so nigh that it is full time to bestir ourselves to think of a remedy, since the audacious enemy is in arms and has dared openly to vow the ruin of religion and the overthrow of our states. It would be better to cry "To arms" in time, and to join hands to curb their ambition, than to let ourselves be supplanted by overmuch patience. Seeing that we have a common interest against a common danger, we send to you our said counsellor to show to you that it has been our part to repress the insolence of their felony, and to ask your best advice and assistance against the enemies of our estates; and beg you to give credit to him. Holyroodhouse.

1 *p. French. Copy. Endorsed.*

Jan. 18. **448.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

My two letters of the 12th and 15th advertised you of the estate of matters here. Balwearie has since been twice examined. He has confessed little

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more than he did before. The sum is this: he grants the meeting of the Papist Earls and Bothwell at the Kirk of Kelmenny * [*sic*] in Angus, where a band was passed that every one of them should take part with the others, and no man take his appointment "by" [separate from] another, and every one should assist to possess themselves of the King's person, without which they could not well "doble outt" their course. This band was subscribed by the five Earls, Angus, Huntly, Errol, Bothwell and Caithness. Balwearie subscribed as a witness, and [so did] some others. Bothwell undertook to put the King in their hands. Balwearie being examined on sundry points denies all, saying he will not be a witness against himself, but if the King will show him favour he will "open" to him or to any one whom he shall appoint.

It is advertised hither from England that the Papist Earls have sent offers to her Majesty, but she would not hear them. But Burghley received them and has given them good answer. This does not come directly to the King, but is put into the heads of some of our courtiers as a secret to be imparted to him. This comes from Mr. Archibald Douglas. How it comes to him, judge you; he is busy after the old manner.

The chief thing now in hand is the order-taking with the King's revenue, and for that purpose there are appointed twelve auditors of the "Checcer" [Exchequer], that is to say, four noblemen, four barons and four councillors, viz., for the noblemen Mar and Montrose, Livingstone and Lindsay; for the barons the Lairds of Lochinvar, Garlies, Bass and the Provost of Edinburgh; for the councillors, the Chancellor, Prior of Blantyre, Clerk Register and the Laird of Colluthy (Collichthy). These are appointed to hear the officers' "countes," the Treasurer, Comptroller and Collector, no officer to be upon another's "countes." That the King may have a sufficient rent to maintain himself and his house a Parliament shall be proclaimed against the 13th of March, that by the consent of the three Estates he may call back all Crown revenue given out by his predecessors, chiefly by his mother or himself, to the end he may not lay upon his people so great taxations as heretofore. There is a determination to change the Treasurer, Comptroller and Collector and to give the offices to "mene" men that they may put in and out as they please.

Our Papist lords are in good comfort. They look daily for Mr. Walter Lindsay with money but no men. They think to come better speed in "boddeng" † our courtiers than in levying men and taking arms; for men they will not get of such "sodanty" that they will not be prevented. All they shoot at is a sudden surprise of the King's person. What danger that may breed I leave to your consideration. This town is in great fear and keeps great watch and ward. The fourth part of the town watches nightly. No man is permitted to send a servant for him. Every man is upon his own guard.

This day there was an action in law between Sir Robert Ker and Sir John Ker. Coming to the question of probation it was referred to Sir John's oath. The other said, "I am assouertt you wil nott suer" (swear). "I will suere the troth," said he. The other said "Thatt is nott the truth"; and so they multiplied words till at last Sir Robert gave Sir John a blow on the face; whereupon he was committed to the Castle, where he remains.

I have no further [news]. If my letters do not come with such speed as they should, blame the "convoye" and not me. I have written in my former something concerning myself which I leave to your consideration and

* The real place of meeting was confessed by Balwearie to be "ane oistlair hous besyde the kirk of Menmure" (*P.C.* v. 205). Cf. No. 455.

† *boding:* making offers to: to bode, to proffer. (Jamieson's *Dictionary*, new edition.)

1594–5. my own deserts. I will not say as the priest said, "Noo penny noo *pater noster*." I will serve her Majesty so long as I live, whether she gives to me or not. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* R.A.

Postscript.—Sir Robert Ker is relieved out of the Castle, but commanded to keep his house.

3¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Holyrood xviij° Januarie, Grenwich 25 eiusdem, 1594."

Jan. 18. **449.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last, written on Tuesday night, I have no great matters to write of, yet to accompany Roger Aston's letter I certify you of the little matters here. Balwearie will not subscribe to further his own "dittement," as he says. To the King or such as the King will in trust send to him he says he will confess all. But the King does not intend to see him, but to give him the law. What means and money may do I know not.

It appears there was some plot in hand, for wonderful great numbers have been and are here, so that the town and Kirk, fearing the worst, have [kept] and do keep very great watch, and have moved the King by proclamation to disperse the people having here no business. Some say the Earls are on this side the water for the surprise of this town or the King. [*In the margin:* "I can not say they are so."] Upon this occasion, as I understand, proclamation was this day made here commanding all aiders, assisters, resetters or fellow-conspirators of Angus, Huntly, Bothwell or Errol to depart this town, Canongate and Leith within twenty-four hours upon pain of death, and not to come within ten miles of the King's residence, upon like pain. This proclamation is as well against those who have remission as those who have none. Whereon those here, as Ochiltree and Spynie (who now has "gon out of hope" of the King's favour at this time) and all others, judge it to be made "in their contraryes," and many who have remission are offended thereat.

This night the Master of Glamis is to come hither. His servants here have ridden out in vain to meet him. Some yet think that he, the Comptroller and Collector may be removed; "but if any onely the Comptroler." By choosing new councillors for the Exchequer they are reforming rather than removing the officers. Mar and others are to be chosen as councillors and overseers of that place [*i.e.* the Exchequer] that the King may get his duties the better—"a pece of a beginning not looked for."

On Thursday last Sir Robert Ker and Sir John Ker, "pleing [litigating] in the fore place to the mydle Tolebuthe," Sir Robert gave Sir John the lie and a cuff, and he with his dagger would have requited it but that they were presently thrust asunder. The Lords of Session charged him to enter to the Castle which he did by 3 o'clock in the afternoon. There he remained till yesterday about that time of the day, returning to his lodging very well accompanied, being [commanded] there to remain till his Majesty's will be further known. I delivered the King yesterday a bill for Border causes against Cessford and Huton Hall. This day he told me I should have it answered: when and how this is done I shall advertise you. A gentleman of good degree and action has come here to Mr. John Colville anent the matter of "Es," * by whom Mr. John will do good, for I know the gentleman to have much in

* Apparently Ireland; cf. Colville's statement at the opening of the following letter.

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1594–5. him, and to be honest; wherein shortly you will learn of fair offers. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. 23. **450.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 136, 137.

By the enclosed from the gentleman, who came also himself hither, you may perceive what service he is minded to do in these Irish matters. He has gone to the Isles, and if he cannot stay their "owe[r]going," he will cause MacCondochy, who will be one of their chief captains, to keep intelligence with any trusty Irish in that country; referring it to your judgment to consider whether he should keep intelligence that way or send his advertisements here. Whereupon by your next let me have your answer, and let me know how this service will be liked there. Unless you provide this remedy I do not see that either the King or the other [*i.e.* Argyll] will take great care of it.

On the 20th instant three proclamations were published, whereof two are sent; the third, being of the Exchequer matters, I could not get, but its tenor is for "calling home" all his Majesty's revenues unprofitably let out. All the old officials, the Chancellor only excepted, are discharged "to sitt" on such matters, and in their place are "surrogatt" Mar, Montrose, Livingstone, Seton, the Prior of Blantyre, Colluthy, Bass, with some others. Great stir has been here about a blow given in the Tolbooth by Cessford to Sir John Ker. But they are now "assured" to Whit Sunday. In like manner his Majesty is busied to assure Crawford and the Master of Glamis, but Crawford refuses unless young Lord Glamis also subscribes. Balwearie, by means of "H," * is likely to escape, and has confessed a band written in cipher with Angus's own hand, "bearing" the deprivation of his Majesty, coronation of the Prince, murder of sundry courtiers, and distribution of the offices of estate and Session to Papists. He promises to exhibit the band and to decipher it upon "enlargement" [liberty] of some days and under great caution. What his Majesty will do herein I yet know not.

Sir George [Hume], who still is willing to do all good offices, marvels much he does not hear from you.

Postscript.—Balwearie confesses that he was the chief travailer betwixt Huntly and Bothwell, and was with them at all their meetings and "bonding." This morning he is brought out of the Castle to that same house in the Tolbooth where Fintry lay. His Majesty has found great fault with sundry of the Council who indirectly seem to favour him. He began to deny all that first he confessed touching the band, and presently his Majesty is "deliberat" either by fair persuasions or question to make him again affirm the thing once said.

The pardon given to Keith and Cluny [*l.* Gight], who resort openly to Aberdeen, together with the affirmation that Huntly is quietly there without danger, is much misliked. The pardon is not given immediately by his Majesty's self nor for the murder of Murray, but by the Duke, having commission to that effect, and only for the assisting of the rebels in this last conflict. Yet it will be found sufficient by our law, for the Duke is sufficiently authorised, *et absolutio a læsa majestate omnia capitalia inferiora includit.* Let something be in your letter concerning Junior [young Lawers] that may encourage him, which I may read to him. [*Unsigned.*]

3 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. No address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y.Y.Y. Received London ult. Januarij 1594."

* Deciphered as the Chancellor in the printed *Letters*.

Enclosure with the same. *

(James Campbell of Lawers to Mr. John Colville.)

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 269.

Inasmuch as I consider the purpose "proponit" by you to be for the benefit of religion and amity and good service to the King, I commend my services therein. This you shall signify to Mr. Bowes in my name, reserving a copy hereof beside yourself for our ground and remembrance.

On the 8th instant a messenger came "to my lord and cheife" [Argyll] from O'Neill, O'Donnell and O'Dochartie, desiring to know his estate since the last battle. If M'Conochy (M'Konochy) was slain (as they heard he was), because he had oft done them good service in Ireland [they desired him] to be good to his wife and bairns, and to send over such of them as were meet for the wars, requiring also this spring some aid of men; for which he should have his yearly tribute and their help again, "as he had to do" [*i.e.* in his need]. It was answered that his lordship was in good health; thanked them for their message; that M'Conochy was not slain; and that, for the sending of supply, he could not easily do anything therein without the advice of his friends.

This is the present estate; but to make all sure, to the end the ambassador may commit that matter only to you and me "using greitar povvarts [powers] as thay may mak for him allanerlie † and no uthervayis" this much shall be fulfilled on my part. I shall go to the Isles, where the foresaid messenger yet is, and will deal with him to know their counsel, and with Donald Gorm, Clanranald, Angus MacConnell, MacLean and all Clandonald ("Donnald Gourum, Glenronnald, Angus M'Konyll, M'Klen and haill Glendonnald") to dissuade them from any journey; wherein I hope to speed. If they will not hear me, then you shall know the number, the time of their embarking and place where they mind to land, and their intentions and confederates in Ireland. I shall make M'Kondochy keep a secure intelligence with any "Iyrland" man the ambassador pleases, if they come to Ireland; and if her Majesty think it meet I shall come myself with 500 to her service. This affirm in my name, desiring secrecy and such kindness again as my faithfulness shall deserve.

The messenger foresaid alleges that all the old blood of Ireland is banded with the three foresaid as the friends of Ormond (Vormound) and Desmond. But they may allege this to cause our men the rather to assist them, and therefore before seeing their hand-writ I will not affirm it; but, assure yourself I shall learn the truth. This say for me, as also for Mr. John Archibald, whose honesty in these things you know. 16th January. *Signed:* James Campbell off Lawiris, youngar.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed:* Mr. John Colvill.

Jan. 23 and 24.

451. George Nicolson to Robert Bowes.

The Laird of Balwearie, having been sundry times examined, now refuses to confess anything unless he may have his life and living granted to him, which the Chancellor and almost the whole Council in favour of Buccleuch would persuade the King to grant, to the end that by his confession and producing of the bond of the plots (denied to concern the overthrow of religion, the King and government) all perils might be prevented. But the King will rather give him the law. He has been very angry at these motions, not only reproving their advice but thereon giving order for removing of Balwearie from the Castle to the Tolbooth, which was done this day by the convoy

* In the bound volume it has become detached and placed chronologically as Vol. 55, No. 12.

† Misread "*all quitlie*" in the *Letters*. The sentence is obscure, but the meaning of the passage is apparent.

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1594–5. both of the King's guard and of the town. Now the King is at resolution to have some ministers to be at his examination for the better discovery of the truth. Yet continual means and counsels are made by his great friends to save his life and living; which will not be had if the King (B.) can be well assisted in his purpose. Mor [Nicolson] is in hope to get a copy of the band, if it be produced, as I think it will not be, unless with condition that Balwearie may have life and living.

On Monday last three proclamations were made; first, for the Parliament to be on 17th March, so that the unmeet setts of his Majesty's lands and profits shall be revoked and "retorned" more to his profit. The second called on all men who had any tacks of the King's lands to come and show them to the commissioners of the Exchequer, that all things for the King's rents and duties may be reformed to his profit before the Parliament, and then confirmed. The third proclamation was to forbid, upon pain of death, the repair of any great men hither to this next Convention on the 27th instant, saving such as were sent for, and those to bring only their ordinary train with them, that his Majesty's good intentions for reforming of the estate of the country might not be hindered.

Atholl and Ogilvy are still looked for to come in peaceable manner, and Argyll also is to be here. Between them displeasures may grow. Hamilton is expected by some, though he is malcontent at the favour given to Johnstone, who is here in league with Cessford and Buccleuch and a daily "back" to the Chancellor. The danger of troubles by this means may easily arise. The assurance between Crawford and the Master of Glamis ends this night, and I do not look for the renewing of the same in haste. [*In the margin:* "I heare that Spinie hathe spoken quietly with the King."] How likely it is to have troubles among some of these factions, which will stir all at once, your worship can best judge. "Allwaies" great care will be taken to prevent the worst, and if troubles are escaped now all is like to keep quiet till the Parliament. Cessford is at liberty now, not disliked for the late cuff he gave.

I hear nothing of the northern Earls for certain. Some say they mean to leave the country, but I think they rather expect the return of Mr. James Gordon and Mr. Walter Lindsay and others, intending to do as by their advice shall be thought meet. Caithness should remove Bothwell out of his bounds and then come in. But he is thought to be in the band and does nothing but dally with the King, as the rest of that faction do.

I have found the King, both in and out of Council, very willing to cause redress to be made in Border causes according to my bill, but as yet I have no answer but expect it to-morrow. The King has said that he will not be pleased if they do not take good order so that he may have no more complaints All the Wardens give marvellous good words, especially Buccleuch, so I hope all will be well. Edinburgh, 23rd January. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—Our need is now great, therefore please send the money with speed.

Postscript.—This morning I received the answer of the King and Council to my bill of Border causes, which I send to Sir John Selby. Edinburgh, 24th January.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. 24. **452.** [ROGER ASTON] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Balwearie has been sundry times examined, and confessed more at the first than he will do since yesterday. He was examined by the Prior and the

1594–5. Justice Clerk. He offered before to deliver the band for the taking of the King, *etc.* He is a witness and has subscribed it, and as one of greatest trust has the same in his keeping. Now he denies all and says he will do nothing unless he has the King's promise for his life and lands. Upon this answer the King commanded a warrant to be made to remove him out of the Castle to where Fintry was, in the hands of the town, where he shall be more hardly handled. He says he shall make him tell the truth ere long. Upon this direction of the warrant to the town to receive him, by Buccleuch's means the whole Council came down to solicit for him, chiefly the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, who now are "al one." The King and they were at hot reasoning. The King said to them that in other countries the councillors were the instruments that punished traitors, but here everyone strives who may do most for them; that in England the Queen was not troubled with such matter; the Council would punish without respect, as the cause deserved, and everyone strive who might be greatest enemy to the offender, chiefly in matters of *lèse majesté*. The King's resolution yet holds, and this day he is to be delivered to the town. What will follow I know not. He has great friends who labour for him. He is privy to the greatest matters that have been in this country. Every man here is but for himself and for his own standing, without respect for the King or common cause. The King's poverty is such that he has no forces to command, but is constrained to yield to things far against his nature, or else to make himself a prey to his enemies. The forces he leans most to are Hume, Cessford, Buccleuch and Johnstone. Johnstone has got his remission and has given in pledges, whereat Hamilton is malcontent. The Papist Earls would pass out of the country if they might get any favour to their wives and children. Huntly has secret dealing here for him. He is determined to depart presently and leave the rest. Caithness was on his journey (as his uncle, who is here dealing for him, says), but, receiving a letter from him, at the King's direction, not to come hither before he had put Bothwell and the rest out of his country, he has returned to perform the King's commandment. I will believe when I see.

There is a commission gone to the Duke to deal with all who were at the battle against Argyll. We are informed that Cluny and Gight are in Aberdeen, which makes me think that matters are "tempering" here. How far the Duke has proceeded in those matters I am not yet certain. I find many discontent that any of the "Donnybreseleres" should have favour. Huntly is up and down the country, and sometimes in Aberdeen quietly. Atholl is coming to this town, but with his household servants. Argyll is to be here at the Convention, also Montrose and divers others. The Convention begins on Monday next. Parliament is proclaimed [for] 17th March, when the King shall call back his revenue, but it is in so many great men's hands that I fear he shall be little better than before. The favourers of the Earls give out that he were best to settle his estate and forgive all, seeing that the Queen of England will not give assistance. I am of opinion if they had not joined with Bothwell they had got some favour. You shall be advertised of all things, and what I dare not write I shall cause George [Nicolson] to write. Holyroodhouse. [*Signature erased.*]

2 *pp. In Roger Aston's hand; also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Jan. 24. **453.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO LORD SCROPE.

The Laird of Buccleuch has shewed me that he is desirous to have concurrence of your lordship for the administration of justice on the Borders,

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but this he cannot receive, for sundry raids are made by some of your wardenry upon his people, and also your lordship by your letters " disapoints and alters somtyme " your mind signified to him, which " giveth " him to think that he cannot be sure of due redress unless your lordship be appointed by especial direction to do it. Being loth to do anything that may offend her Majesty, he means to write to my master to procure her Majesty's order to your lordship to do him justice rather than by casting loose Liddisdale to meet unfriendly with unneighbourly dealings under your rule; yet for want of justice he says he cannot stay Liddisdale any long time. In this case my master must of necessity acquaint her Majesty " upon " the Laird's letter; and therefore I have presumed to acquaint you herewith, that by speedily sending me a letter to deliver to the Laird (if he be here, as I think he will be), your lordship may prevent all inconveniences by offering meetings for the administration of justice upon some day " peremptorie " to be set down at his pleasure. For your advantage herein " I prolonge the Lardes writing " as long as I can, and, if it may be, till the coming of your letter to him. You may write as not knowing of this matter, which rests only between you and me. I pray pardon that I write thus, knowing that if complaint should be thus made on your lordship or Liddisdale " breake " and the fault be laid on you, you would not a little grieve thereat and blame me rightly if I should not make you " foresene " thereof; and in my opinion the matter is not of small moment. By good agreement with Buccleuch your lordship might have such peace kept as would not a little honour your office. He is an honourable gentleman, of great valour and commandment, and just to perform what he promises, therefore I wish rather friendship than emulation between you.

On Monday next a very great Convention is to be here for " ordering " of the highlanders. To this Convention sundry great men are to come, and in such strength that the King has enjoined all to come only with their ordinary train, and only such as are sent for.

The greatest matter now here is concerning the trying out of the secrets of the Laird of Balwearie, Buccleuch's chief. Though he confessed something, yet now he denies all and will not tell anything unless upon condition [as in Nos. 450–452]. He was yesterday removed to the Tolbooth where he is very straitly kept, the town keeping great watch for him and preventing troubles that may arise through the numbers of strangers already come; and now the ministers are " to be of his examination " for the discovery of the secrets.

Great travail is used to reform the faults in the Exchequer, but not to remove the officers of estate [*etc.* as in previous letters]. The suspected emulation between the Chancellor and Mar is outwardly agreed and presently all is quiet here, but great fears are conceived of great troubles. We have nothing certain of the Papist Earls. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 25. **454.** Mr. John Colville to Sir Robert Cecil.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 270–271.

Since I have, at his Majesty's command, " keped " intelligence with her Majesty's ambassador, who I know has imparted all " with " your honour, let it not be unacceptable, for I do according to my knowledge, and beseech you to direct me in my course that I fall into no error that " may dislyik yow." For my heart is yours as much as my own, and my labours under

1594–5. your ensign I have dedicated, as S. (Mr. Robert Bowes) * has told you. I should like some two lines of your own hand in this matter. *Signed:* Jo. Colvile.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Jan. 28. **455.** EXAMINATION AND CONFESSION OF THE LAIRD OF BALWEARIE.

The Laird of Balwearie, sworn and examined in the presence of the Prior of Blantyre, the Justice Clerk and the Provost of Edinburgh, at the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 28th day of January 1594 [–95], depones that a little before the baptism he met at the Kirk of Menmuir (Menmure) with Bothwell, Angus, Huntly, Errol, Caithness, a brother of Caithness, James Douglas sometime of Spott, Auchindoun, Gight (Geich), Mr. James Gordon and Colonel Boyd. Their meeting was in "ane hoslarhous." Afterwards Bothwell and Huntly were "aggreit." They came in all together, and the band, being penned by Angus, was read "in all thair audiences" and subscribed by all the Earls, Auchindoun and himself as witnesses. Immediately thereafter it was agreed by the Earls that Angus and Bothwell should retire to the south and there take up five hundred waged men to "inquyet" those parts, and thereby withdraw his Majesty from the north; and if his Majesty should go to the north, the northland lords should scatter their forces till he had "reteirit him forewart againe," and then "supponning" that his forces should have dissolved they would join theirs, and with the assistance of Bothwell and Angus set upon his Majesty and assay to take him prisoner. If this purpose should miscarry, then it was craved by Huntly that every one of them should have a trusty man awaiting on his Majesty. These might make a convenient force that might make his Highness sure when they kithed [*i.e.* declared] themselves. Huntly assured them that he himself had one who was able to "mak fyiftie to that armye." What man this was he knows not, as he shall answer to God.

Before their dissolving a new meeting was appointed in Angus within fifteen days thereafter. Bothwell promised to bring with him to that tryst Atholl and Ochiltree for the reconciliation of Murray's slaughter. Whether this tryst was kept or not he knows not because he kept it not himself, albeit he had promised and was particularly required by Bothwell and Errol. Bothwell at that time showed him that in their second meeting he should for his surety crave the keeping of the Prince and castle of Edinburgh; that their special purpose was to attempt the taking of the King at Stirling rather than in any other part, in respect of the opportunity of the place, open both to their south and north forces without any ferry betwixt, and if any of them prevailed in his intent the rest would come with all diligence and with "conjunct" forces transport his Majesty to the north, where they thought, in respect of their forces, to be in greatest surety and to guard him with men of war, "unsuffering" any to have access to his presence but such as pleased them. He knows that Bothwell rode north to the second tryst, because he was advertised by him, on his riding by, to have been with him, but he refused in respect he thought he had already "mellit" over far in such high matters.

Then, after the battle betwixt Huntly and Argyll, a stranger with Huntly was immediately directed away, first to Flanders, next to the Pope and the rest of the confederate princes, to acquaint them with the "happie succes" of that day's meeting, in respect that they had only sent hither 12,000 crowns till they might hear that they were once [actually] entered in that action,

* The cipher is not interpreted in the original, but is in the printed *Letters.*

James VI.
1594–5. when they had in readiness eight millions of crowns to be sent with a convenient force of men, if need required. " Befoir the feild " Mr. Walter Lindsay was directed away for money and men to the number of 5,000 that still are looked [for]. Now he hears that he is gone from Rome to Spain to " suit " a pension to Huntly " by " [without] the knowledge of the rest, in respect that he may do the greatest service.

" Inquyrit " what he knows " towardis " the second convention, and if any other band was made thereat, he depones that, asking Andrew Kinnaird, burgess of Dundee, in Dundee " within this xx dayis " what news he had, he answered he heard news that he was sorry for, which was that there were two bands subscribed betwixt the Papist lords and Bothwell, whereof one was in the deponer's keeping and the other one in another man's, whose name he shall hereafter notify to his Majesty. " Towardis " the first band, subscribed by the deponer as witness, it was retained by him for his surety, and he will deliver the same to his Majesty with all convenient speed. " *Sic subscribitur :* James Scott of Balwearie."

$2\frac{1}{3}$ *pp. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by George Nicolson.*

Jan. 29 and 30. **456.** [ROGER ASTON] TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Convention began this day. The day appointed was the 27th, but because Argyll did not come till yesternight it was " conteneud " till this day, the 29th. It is the greatest assembly of noblemen and gentlemen that I have seen. Argyll came " in horse." Atholl came according as he was appointed with his household servants, about four score horse. This day the King passed to the Tolbooth, the town being in arms. Argyll and Atholl were commanded to keep their lodgings till they were sent for after deliberation by the King and Council what order was meetest to be taken for the quieting of the Highlands and redress of wrongs. Argyll and Atholl, Lord Lovat, MacKenzie (Maccony), Tullibardine (Tollybarne), Grant and Glenorchie are all committed to ward till they have redressed the wrongs done and put in good surety under the pain of 20,000*l.*, everyone to be answerable for all he may command. They have already put in surety not to break ward till they have performed all things according to the order set down. Grant and Glenorchie are committed to the castle of Edinburgh, Atholl, Lovat and Mackenzie to the palace of Linlithgow. " This for the Heland aferes."

Balwearie's confession was not known till this day. He has delivered the band made between the Papist lords and Bothwell, whereof I enclose a copy word for word.* He has confessed many things of great consequence. Another band was made twenty-one days after this, in which they bound themselves in straiter manner to take the King or slay him and " take outt the Princh " : all who were not theirs about the King " to pas the sourd." He says this band was made, but he was not at the making of it. Being demanded where it was, he says he was told by a trusty person it was in the keeping of the Laird of Grant, who was, upon his confession, presently committed to the castle in close prison, where he was before ordained to have been in free ward, as the rest.

Being demanded how the King should have been taken or slain (" butt taking was the best "), he says Huntly promised for his part a special man about the King, and, with " l." ? at his devotion, every one of the rest should make their friendship ; that if they might once possess the King, " having

* Compare the preceding document. But Aston goes on to give further details here.

James VI.

1594–5. with there frensip and crounes to levy men, it was no defeccolty to acomples al thinges att there plesouer." He says they have received very good answer from Mr. Walter Lindsay, and that he has promise both of men and money, but of money great store.

By the great intercession of Buccleuch to the Queen she has been a suitor for Balwearie's life, which is granted. He is to be fined and remain in prison during the King's pleasure. He that Huntly accounts of about the King who commands " l." we secretly judge to be a great one in Court but a Papist in heart and yet subscribes [*i.e.* the Confession of Faith]. Who that is, judge you. Before the discovery of this band and other plots I know there was secret dealing for Huntly, as I wrote before. What will now follow out I know not. It appears he was in good hope of his appointment; for after there was commission given to the Duke for the assurance of Gight and Cluny, with others who were at the chase of Argyll, Huntly wrote to forbid them to take their appointment by the Duke, for they would come under his appointment. Upon this they have refused the occasion offered by the Duke and have returned to Huntly, it appears. He looks for favour by the Court, or else thinks to " doble outt " their course other ways, as by their plots appears. Thus far I have set down at length the truth of all our present proceedings here. Although you have other intelligences set down in better form, yet you should credit mine " with the first."

Now, I will set down something of my own opinion concerning the imminent dangers to religion and the amity. The " waye and mene " to prevent them is not here except the King had " moyan " to entertain some forces about his person. If he perish all hope is gone, and all good men wish her Majesty would help to prevent these present dangers which concern her standing as well as theirs. " Al men for the most partt " have grown cold towards England and say the King is not met according to his deserts. Last year there was nothing but action, action, and he should be assisted. But now all is left to himself. For my own part I " byd " many a storm. If it were not to serve her Majesty I should not tarry long here. For yourself, if her Majesty employs you " hether," think not to do the same service as before, unless she helps the King and the religion.

All this I have set down in hope it shall not be taken in any evil part. I write but the simple truth. Atholl purges himself of the receipt of any gold or the agreeing with Huntly, yet the contrary is known. He is not accused of those matters as yet. The Master of Gray has been very busy in all those " tornes." He is here and purges himself. I have no further [news] for this time. To the end you may see I omit no time, I write this letter this Wednesday at night and direct it the next morning. I wrote to you to move her Majesty for me, but I fear that by reason of your sickness you have not had the commodity. *Signed:* R. A.

Postscript.—He who subscribes " James Skott, wittnes " is Balwearie. Although Bothwell has undertaken in the band for Ochiltree, he is no partaker, " for thatt was the caues he left Bodwel." Mr. James Gordon was at the band making. I was constrained to open my letter again for sundry things omitted. The ministers are this day to deal with the King for severe pursuit and preventing of the great danger intended. I know he is willing, but not able. Bothwell has come over the water to these parts: he is now upon the Borders of England in " Ricchi Longtowne's " [Richard Langton's] house with three " and him selfe." Mr. John Colville remains in Leith and can get no assurances for himself. " He has the King's over sightt," but dare not come abroad " for " particular enemies, chiefly such as favour the Chancellor.

James VI.
1594–5. This day I am going to Leith to receive the " warderes." This day the King sits in the Exchequer to take order with his own affairs. Within three or four days he goes to Spott. Thursday at eleven o'clock.

Postscript.—In the band Bothwell took in hand for Atholl as for Ochiltree.

6¾ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* " To my lord embaster." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Roger Aston. Holyrode 29 January. London 5th Febr. 1594." *Red wax seal.*

Jan. 30. **457.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This great Convention began yesterday. The King came up to the Tolbooth for the ordering of matters, and half the town were in warlike array in the streets, the Kirk and low Tolbooth (where the town hold their sessions), for the safety of the King and stay of troubles suspected by reason of the great numbers and feuds here presently. Yet at the entrance of the Tolbooth, Crawford's men returning from the Earl, whom they had set up into the Tolbooth, and meeting the Master of Glamis after the Master was put up the staithe,* pistols were drawn and a sword, and offers made of a fight between Crawford's servants and the Master, but this was stayed by the " shot " in the low Tolbooth, who cast open the door and presented their pieces to have shot among those offerers of the breach of the peace. [*In the margin:* I see not but the King favours Crawford very much, yet the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis are all one and roundly proceed in any thing they take in hand.]

The King is now moved, as it were at the Queen's suit, though also by means of Buccleuch's friends (I mean the Chancellor and almost all the officers of estate) to let Balwearie have life and lands upon reasonable fine and confession, and this day he is to be enlarged from the Tolbooth either to the castle again or to some friend's house here upon caution to perform the fine and to obey the King's further order. He has produced a minute of a band written by Angus and subscribed by Angus, Huntly, Errol, Caithness, Bothwell and Auchindoun for aiding each other on all occasions and for restoring themselves to their former estates without alteration of religion, and with a dispensation for the slaughter of Murray till this Earl should come to the age of man, with sundry other clauses of no great moment. Yesterday he has confessed something of Grant, who for that cause, more than for the Highlands matter, is committed to the castle. But there is another band made lately at Menmuir (Menmore) Kirk, of great moment, and wherein more noblemen are thought to be joined. This band Balwearie cannot produce, but I hear he will put the King in a way how he may come by it. I hear further that he says these Earls look for foreign forces about Whit Sunday next, and for treasure to be brought them in the meantime by Mr. Walter Lindsay and others, yet I dare almost assure you that he has no dealings or knowledge of Thomas Tyrie's " adoies."

Upon advertisement from the Duke and Sir Robert Melvill that Huntly had forbidden all his friends to make any composition with the Duke, because he looked shortly to relieve them himself, and upon some things gathered from Balwearie that the Earls had some plots in hand, as also upon sight of the great numbers in this town, the King has caused very great and strait watch still to be kept the latter end of last week in the Abbey, charging the town with some men for his better guard, which was willingly yielded to.

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* *Staith:* embankment; *stathe:* a landing-place or wharf. (Halliwell's *Dictionary.*)

James VI.

1594–5. By this good help and foresight, if there were any plots they are likely to be prevented.

I now hear that the Papist Earls are determined to leave the country, chiefly Bothwell and Huntly. Thereby this country is to be settled in some quietness (some say) without any "moyen" of England (Pa.), against which this estate begins to murmur much. Without repair, this will in time work no good effects, the enemies of England taking the advantage to play on that string, which sounds not very sweet here.

Yesterday the King, for redressing of the faults of the highlanders and establishing of good order anent them, has appointed Atholl, Lovat and Mackenzie (Mackeny) to enter ward at Linlithgow. [*In the margin :* "Atholl denies to have any dealing with Bothwell."] Argyll, Glenorchy (Glenurquhart) and others to enter ward in this castle ; and Tullibardine, Gartully [? Grantully] and others at Dumbarton and Blackness till they give redress for the faults committed by the highlanders, and that there be a solid course taken for the quietness of the country, according to the order taken by King James V. in Highland matters. This day he is also to be occupied in the perfecting of these matters, and these noblemen will labour to be discharged of their wards by cautions to be laid in for them. Thus much in haste to accompany Mr. Aston's to you. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—Please send money for our charges and remember your intelligencers, who begin to wax cold.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

[Jan.] **458.** PROCLAMATION OF SUMMONS TO PARLIAMENT.

Warrant by King James VI. to his messengers and sheriffs to summon the earls, lords, barons, commissioners and others having vote in Parliament to be present at the Parliament to be holden on 17th March next for treating and concluding upon certain matters touching the King's property and other public affairs. Edinburgh.

1 *p. Broadsheet. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

January. **459.** LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS TO [ELIZABETH].

I have always continued your Highness's most faithful and willing servitor in all things for the entertainment of the amity and for furthering your Majesty's particulars since I gave my word to Sir Francis Walsingham, being ever in hope to have performance of his promise made unto me. The extraordinary charges I have sustained in that honourable action, whereunto by your advice I was embarked, with what I have spent in your service, press me to present this request, that by the grant thereof I may have occasion to continue as always your Highness's most humble servitor. *Signed :* Est Veimes.

½ *p. Holograph. No address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 1. **460.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Balwearie was on Thursday last very late enlarged upon caution and taken to his own lodging. In regard of the great favour he has by means of his friends, Buccleuch and others, his fine is not likely to be very great. I now send you a true copy of the band as I saw it examined with the original, produced by Balwearie.

James VI.
1594–5.

Balwearie, being examined what plots the Earls had, said plots for the surprise of the King; and being asked how it should be done, he said he thought by the help of some about the King, who were to have 50, 30, 20, more or less, apiece to deliver the King into their hands: wherein Hume (60) is doubted by some, though not by me. These matters thus discovered are of so small moment and so uncertainly delivered that it is thought the "budgett" is not half opened. Wherein surely I think the King is not to be blamed, for if he had better assistance he would have done more. [*In the margin:* Mr. Colville (67) is much blamed, as if he had put out Balwearie.] Only the Kirk (Res) backed the King, so far as I could perceive. Yet besides this he has confessed a dangerous band made at the Kirk of Menmuir, which he has not seen. Nevertheless he has put the King in a way to look for that band by the means of Grant, prisoner in this castle, whereby it is thought the Kirk, King and country are conspired against. In this I cannot say more till I be sure of more.

I moved Sir George Hume to remind the King to write in answer to her Majesty anent the matter for Ireland. This Sir George very willingly did, returning me answer that the King would take such order that Argyll should be answerable for it. Yet I prayed Sir George to move the King to write so to her Majesty, and spoke to the Secretary to speak to the King therein. The Secretary said the King was first to write to the Queen "for himself, and as well to crave her as she did him." It seemed that for want of her Majesty's letter (which shall be had on Roger Aston's return) the answer could not be made. So as yet I cannot tell what to look for therein except through the Secretary's answer, and I have dealt with Mr. Bruce (72) to "labour" Argyll therein, which shall be done as soon as the King shall give his order therein. Yet if friendship were once entertained with George Hume (58) I would not stick to let the King know the answer. But, as matters go, I see this estate waxing cold to us, which I would either see repaired or myself discharged here.

Yesterday afternoon, after the King went to the Tolbooth, Sir James Sandilands, returning from him down the street, met Montrose, with whom the Chancellor was going up to the King to the Tolbooth. They met "annenst" [opposite] William Napier's (Nepper) house, where, for the feud of Mr. John Graham's slaughter, "bothe parties begann the fray, shooting 40 or 50 pistolls and feighting with swordis" very hotly till the town parted them. Some are slain and hurt on both sides, Sir James Sandilands being sore hurt, and the brother of the Laird of Kerse (Carse) is slain, for whom Sir James laments. The Master of Grahame "proved well," but the Chancellor and Montrose sought to stay it. For this I see no sign of justice, though some townsmen are hurt also. The Master of Grahame, Montrose's son, has fled.

I hear nothing of the Earls with certainty, saving that they give out that I have been with them giving them comfort from her Majesty and willing them to stand to their "taklinge." Whereon Mr. David Lindsay has written to make trial, and the King asked where I was, as if "belike" he had heard it and stood doubtful therein. But I shall return Mr. David contentment little to the liking of the devisers of that lie, whoever they be, though I be but a stranger and of mean degree among them.

This Convention now begins to end, so that next week the King will [go] to Spott and Dunglass; on which journey some fear dangers. Mar would have gone home, but the King, as I hear, takes him with him, and on his return will go with the Queen to Stirling, there to remain some good time. Argyll, Tullibardine, the Sheriff of Ayr, Grant and other highlanders, as I

1594–5. wrote, are in this castle and Linlithgow, but none in Dumbarton or Blackness. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Names partly in cipher, deciphered. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 1. **461.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 137–138.

All that was done in the Convention was concerning highland matters. Argyll is warded in the castle of Edinburgh, Grant, Tullibardine and Atholl in Kinneil. If the Chancellor (H.) and his course prevail the former will not be suddenly enlarged, but Atholl (B.) * will find "all the favour he may." On 30th January his Majesty went into the Exchequer house and there established the new order of exchequer and new auditors, "secluding" all the ordinary officials except the Chancellor.

Yesterday there was a bitter fight betwixt the Master of Montrose and Sir James Sandilands, wherein Sir James is shot, but not deadly, sundry hurt and two or three killed on either side. The fact was done "evin at the door of Escheker," where his Majesty was. The Chancellor and Montrose were present, but stood aside till all was done. This day trial is taken who were the first invaders, and it is found that the fault is in Sir James, so I think the other shall "contravaill" him in credit the more that the Chancellor is his friend.

Balwearie at her Majesty's suit is enlarged upon payment of a certain sum and banishment. He has produced the minute of a bond, the double whereof I think has come to your hands. But the principal bond is abstracted and I do not think will come to light, for Balwearie had such friendship in Court that his Majesty had little or no assistance to try that matter perfectly.

Junior (young Lawers) has returned here again and desires to know whether you will appoint any in Ireland to receive his intelligence, or if you will it to come this way "after that any go ower." But he trusts altogether to "impesche thair owergoing" [*i.e.* prevent their crossing to Ireland]. The Papists still brag that they have great favour from thence [*i.e.* England], "bot that is of the foly of N. [Bothwell] who indeid ostentis of his credeit thair without assurance." I thank the Lord that I (Y.) dealt so in these matters that Bothwell (N.) cannot prove that any there has showed him greater favour than may be defended with reason. *Signed:* Y.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand: Names partly in cipher, deciphered. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 4. **462.** JAMES CAMPBELL OF LAWERS TO MR. JOHN COLVILLE.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 271–272.

I have sent for M'Condochie (M'Konndochie) and other chieftains accustomed to go over to Ireland, and who are even now pressed by this new order against them to seek relief for themselves and broken men and to live in some other country. They intend (if not stayed) to go—3000 of them—to Ireland "at peace." Remembering my promise and "handwreit," I thought good to advertise you and George Nicolson of this conclusion, letting you both understand that for myself I will "travell" upon my own charges for a season in that service. But the people with whom I have to do are men that must either be "stayit" upon hope of some easy commodity, or be "laboured" to keep intelligence if they go over. I pray you to signify this much to the

* "B" is here deciphered as Atholl. It more commonly signifies the King.

James VI.
1594–5. ambassador [Mr. Bowes] and to know his mind therein. Until the return of his answer I shall hold all "in suspens," assuring you that if they can be stayed I shall use all diligence requested; and failing thereof, her Majesty shall know their number, chieftain, intentions, time and place of landing and embarking with continual intelligence out of their company, things being "dressed" as is before said. In my absence please use Mr. John Archibald as myself, for I have appointed him "to that errand" as long as I shall remain in the Isles. Let me have a speedy and direct answer. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Campbell fiear [fiar] off Lauaris.

1 *p. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 4. **463.** JAMES VI. TO JAMES HUDSON.

Understanding that there is a special discharge in transporting of English beer, it is our will that you assist this bearer, George Smyth, in the transporting of twelve tuns of double London beer, for the furnishing of our house, because our dearest spouse is daily accustomed to drink of the same; "and this ye will do as ye will plesour us." Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* James R.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed:* "To our trustie freind James Hudsoun."

Feb. 5. **464.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 139.

By the enclosed from Junior [No. 462] you may see his mind and "motion," wherein let me be directed as Audin thinks best. For our estate, his Majesty will remain some few days at the Merse, in Dunglass, Spott, Beil (Baill), Waughton (Vachtoun) and Seton. D.* is not well content with proceedings, for they fear that C.† has too much favour and that he is in this country. Lord Forbes has ridden this day to his Majesty with a complaint that the Gordons have spoiled his lands, which makes everyone judge that they are animated afresh to some new mischief; and it is no marvel, for there is never one of them punished in body for the last attempt.

Balwearie alleges that the principal bond containing the chief treasons is in the Laird of Grant's hands. But Balwearie himself is out of danger.

Postscript.—Bothwell is to depart the realm and to embark in Caithness with some more of that society, intending first, as I am informed, to go to Ireland.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand: "To* 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 5 and 6. **465.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Monday last the King took his journey for Spott, Dunglass and other places, there to hunt and pass his time for this week and to return about Saturday next. The ministers would have persuaded him to stay, in regard that by Balwearie's confession the time is dangerous now that the Papist Earls have plots in hand for his surprise. But all in vain, for the King is without fear now at his pastime. Mar got leave to stay here till the King's return, looking that soon afterwards the King and Queen shall go to remain

* If Colville here uses the same cipher as Nicolson, D. signifies the Kirk. See endorsement to following letter.

† Colville elswehere uses C. as a cipher for Huntly.

1594–5. for some time at Stirling, which the Chancellor will not like, some say. The Duke, by virtue of the King's commission to speak with any of the followers of the Papist Earls, has spoken with Gight, Cluny, Buckie and other "Dunibrisselleres" and only given them words for words, having heard their offers, whereto without the King's privity he will not agree. Nevertheless, by general bruits it is said here that the Duke has remitted them and spoken with Huntly and Errol. The King, hearing some of these speeches, gave order to Sir William Keith to go to the Duke (as I heard) to warn him to look to his dealings therein and to stay him till the King's further pleasure be signified to him. But as yet Sir William has not gone, and this night Captain Davison's band of footmen have returned hither from the Duke, who is very shortly looked for here and cannot in truth tarry there by reason he wants wherewith to maintain him and his forces. Lord Forbes, hearing that the Duke and Sir Robert Melville were in secret conference with Gight and the rest, and not knowing what might be meant thereby, as I hear, but taking suspicion thereat, has come hither to know the King's mind, and some say to be absent as well as the Duke, to avoid either withstanding or agreeing with the Earls otherwise than he shall be assured to agree with the King's pleasure. [*In the margin:* Some of Forbes's lands are also harried and overrun, increasing his suspicion of the Duke's dealings.]

Sir James Sandilands is now found in great danger by the two shots in his head, but [there is] no sign of punishment of any offenders on either side. Argyll has made many fair offers for redressing the faults of his vassals and for keeping them hereafter in peace, but cannot procure his discharge from ward at the hands of the Council, yet he hopes for it on the King's return. It is much wondered here that her Majesty in this time of treasons does not comfort the King either by way of support or of "countenance" by return of your worship or other ambassador hither; and with some it is as an argument alleged that she does not do this because of her purpose for the Earls, who (or some for them) are still, for their better credit, surmising such matters, which, no doubt, in the end God will make fall on their own heads.

As for the matter for Ireland, neither Roger [Aston] nor I can yet get the King's letter in answer to her Majesty, yet it seems he means the satisfaction of her Highness therein. "Allwaies" the overtures of 67 (Colville)—wherein the dealer (young Lawers) is very sufficient—may be entertained if it be so thought meet, "or otherwaies cast of as a nedeles matter." In this behalf I perceive the party looks for speedy answer or else to give it up, and therefore please return answer speedily herein. I think the King shall before his return be "remembred" to effect with Lord Hume an agreement for Ochiltree, who is, I hear, to meet the King on his Majesty's return hither. The Earl of Murray, of the age of twelve years, is "in purpose," I hear, to go to the schools in England, which his tutor also has a mind he should do. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—This morning I was advertised that William Hume had this night taken Hercules Stewart, Bothwell's brother, and Francis Trotter; which is true, for they are brought hither. They were taken at the Westhouses, near Newbottle, six or seven miles from hence. I heard also this morning that the Duke sent after Forbes to have stayed his coming hither, offering him contentment and redress for the spoils made on his lands. Whereunto Forbes answered that he looked for no redress nor meant to complain. "Allwaies" he has had three hours' conference in this castle here with Argyll, who for no offers nor means can draw this Council to set him at liberty. 72 (Mr. Bruce) hears that the Papist Earls have "sent about" by St. George's

James VI.
1594–5. Channel and by the east seas to Spain. Edinburgh, 6th Feb. 1594, at 10 in the forenoon. Now Sir William Keith is gone towards the Duke.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Also, following key to ciphers:* b, The Duke; d, Church of Scotland; 67, John Colville; 72, Robert Bruce; B, the King.

Feb. 12. **466.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

On the 11th instant the King brought the Chancellor to the Queen, where the Chancellor recovered such grace that he kissed the Queen's hand, and after merry speeches departed with her good countenance. The Duke of Lennox and his party will, peradventure, think this reconciliation to be strange in the Queen and not with that constancy which they before have found in her. It has been advised to draw her to Stirling and there to continue to be accompanied and counselled by the old Countess of Mar, being of great years, experience and modesty. The Queen, warned partly hereof and greatly misliking the same, intends to return to Holyroodhouse to the marriage of Mr. Peter Young's daughter, presently serving her. It is thought that the Chancellor has put this into her ears, to stir her against Mar and his house. Mar will "take no knowledge" of the matter, yet it is likely to kindle again the dryness betwixt the Chancellor and him, and some troubles may grow thereon. It was told the informer that on the 7th instant Crawford's brethren and the Master of Gray had plotted to kill the Chancellor and the Master of Glamis as they came out of the Exchequer and returned to their lodgings. This is passed over with silence. But the informer foretells "welters" and changes out of these and other storms seen arising from the north.

¾ *p. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk.*

Feb. 13. **467.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 139–140.

On the 6th instant Hercules Stewart was apprehended beside Dalkeith with other two of Bothwell's [followers]. I was there also at his Majesty's commandment and at the first saved his life.* But as yet it is uncertain whether his Majesty will spare him or not. He was this day examined and has "deponed" his knowledge of the bond, agreeable with that which Balwearie has said, except that he denies he knew anything of Grant, and has affirmed Spott and Boyd to be the only two who have led Bothwell to this unhappy course. The Council is now only busied upon the Irish matters, how they shall have sure bonds from Argyll and Atholl for restraining the incursions of their broken men; and it is not "lyik" that Argyll shall soon [be] released. Bothwell intends to go out of the country. The Duke returns about the 16th. Sir James Sandilands is "lyik to mend." Sir George Hume (G.) marvels much he has received no answer. *Signed:* Y.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To S." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 14. **468.** INSTRUCTIONS BY JAMES VI. TO COLONEL STEWART.

"Des instructions données par sa Majesté d'Ecosse au Sieur Guillaume Stewart, chevalier d'Houstoun et Commendador de Pettynweme, son

* Moysie, followed by Calderwood, imputes treachery to him. "Mr. John Coluill was his apprehender, and for that disgracit, because he promisit him his lyfe." (Moysie, 124.)

1594–5. ambassadeur vers Messieurs les Estats Generaulx des Provinces Unies du Pais Bas."

You shall signify our great desire that the amity contracted long ago by our predecessors and since ratified and approved by us and the States may be continued and increased.

You shall declare to them that, on the continuance of the practices of the Spaniards by seducing a number of the nobility of the first rank in Scotland (discovered two years ago, as the Estates were informed by you on our behalf), common interest obliges us to point out in good time the greatness of their designs. They are enemies both to the quietness of this isle in general and to the States General in particular, plotting nothing else than the total subversion of the religion and the ruin of both our states, in order to enslave us to their tyranny and extraordinary ambition, and to establish their surety in the embers of our estates (as their frequent messages and money sent from time to time sufficiently witness) if some proper remedy be not soon applied.

You shall signify to the States General what care we have ever had to repress altogether their insolence since first their practices were discovered to us, striving directly and indirectly by all gentle and good means to restore the leaders of sedition to their bounden obedience, assuring them that otherwise we would be constrained to set aside all affection and ties of kinship and proceed to extremes against them with our royal authority.

You shall notify that, seeing no appearance of amendment in them, in the end, at the Queen of England's earnest desire (as one equally interested with us), promising her assistance freely by her ambassadors, we were the more willing with the greatest speed to do the part of a good surgeon in cutting off from the body of the public weal the members so putrified, who have refused before to be healed by remedies both honourable and ordinary. Notwithstanding that sentence of forfeiture was given against them they do not leave off from continuing their treasons and joining with our other ignominious traitors to give more vigour and force to their rebellion. You shall also signify what diligence we have made in raising an army to repress the insolence of the said Papists and their associates and to break their designs by pursuing their persons and rasing their houses and castles which before were receptacles of Spaniards, Jesuits and seminary priests, at this time witnesses of their unnatural rebellion against the King, distributing also their lands and heritages to others and putting to death some of their associates.

You shall signify likewise that, notwithstanding our severe procedure, in respect of the greatness of the principals of the rebel faction and their power in arms, it is certainly to be feared that they will continue their plots to establish their Papal dominion to the hazard of the religion and the ruin of our states, if it be not prevented by foresight and forces. Thus, to obviate the imminent danger, we, by the advice of our Council, have found it very necessary and expedient to demand from the Estates (being not less interested than ourselves, should the Spaniard gain a footing in our dominions) the best advice and assistance for bringing to a speedy conclusion this work so happily begun by us.

You shall also demand that, according to equity and reason and the treaties of peace, all our subjects enjoying the benefit of our laws and who have suffered prejudice (*ont esté iusques icy damnifies*) shall hereafter receive just redress.

You shall not fail to bring back the confirmation under their great seal of the late treaty as it was drawn up, signed and sealed here under our great seal.

You shall cause to be erased from their registers (if it be there) the narrative of the treaty, which their last ambassadors brought here (*leurs ambassadeurs*

James VI.
1594–5. *derniers porterunt par deça*), in the terms in which it was first drawn up (*conceu*).

" Fait et exhibée le 14^{em} de Feburier 1595. William Stewart."

2½ *pp. Copy. Endorsed:* Copie of Coronel Stuartes instructions exhibited to the General States. Feb. 14, 1594.

Feb. 14. **469.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Duke is expected to return to-morrow with Sir Robert Melville, Sir John Carmichael and the rest of his company. The Secretary says that the Duke has given remission for Gight, Cluny and others, who have persuaded Huntly and Errol to depart the country; that they have given caution for 40,000*l.* apiece for their departure before 15th of March; that nevertheless the remissions for Gight and the others will not be in their hands till the departure of the Earls, and till the King shall allow thereof. By these means the Secretary says the Duke has left the country in good quietness. In these matters Lord Forbes (49) intends the agreement of Argyll (20) and Atholl (13), whereof he is in good hope, and to travail for their enlargement as also to see how the Duke's (6) doings are here accepted, and thereafter to write with certainty to you.

As to Balwearie, the fine is not set down as yet, but if the King (4) had power to do it without danger he would yet put him to further trial, perceiving that he has said little to the purpose. For he says that one Kinnaird (Kenarde) told him that there were two bands made by the Earls, one in his [Balwearie's] hands and the other in Grant's, and inasmuch as he spoke truly in saying that he had a band, he thinks that it is also true that Grant had the other. But Kinnaird confesses that he said so, but knew it only by hearsay from two other merchantmen, who are sent for, and Kinnaird is stayed till they come. So I suspect nothing will come further of this matter against Grant, but " he saide and he saide " and so be given over.* I think the King will yet " hold " his journey (but I do not know when) to Stirling, but will make no great stay. Wherein I still see the Chancellor prevails most to guide the King and was never so great as he is now. Hercules Stewart confesses that Bothwell blames Spott most for drawing him into these courses with the Papist Earls (crewe) and [speaks] as if Spott was guilty of the murder of old Spott, his father-in-law, but he can say nothing against Grant. The King labours the excommunication of Spott, who, with Bothwell, will be excommunicated very shortly, or else the ministry will little please the King. This morning William Hume told me that the King greatly marvelled that he heard nothing from England, seeing that he had followed her Majesty's advice anent the Papist Earls and made a war in his land which he might have avoided, and now being left to himself he knows not what it means. This is the greatest matter noted here for the enemy to take hold on, and which you know how to handle for her Majesty's service here, without consideration wherein God forbid you should return hither. It is noted here that in our Court you " can not do for your self "—a matter not a little hindering your negotiations here, as you will find more than ever you did, if you come without sight of her Majesty's better grace to you.

As to the Ireland matters, as opportunity offers so we shall make another trial for answer. But if need be Mr. John Colville's means should be embraced. If his estate were better he would do more, but he is so sore

* It will rest on hearsay and be " given over " for want of proof.

1594–5. held back by the Chancellor that he is in great distress, wherein he cannot here help himself. By reason of his forfeiture his greatest causes have still to be amended by the laws, which cannot be attempted with any hope of success so long as the Chancellor rules all. Yet everyone "comes upon" him and he is forced to content them, so that he is in great need. To uphold him for a better time for her Majesty's service, whereto he is wholly given, it were great policy now to relieve him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 14. **470.** ROGER ASTON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

I have not written since the 29th because of my absence from these parts, being in this late progress with the King, and having no matter "worthy." Since my last there is little done concerning matters of estate, except that which has passed in the north. The matters which were "tempering" now are further discovered. There was a commission sent to the Duke to hear the affairs of all, but not to conclude. This commission was granted in quiet manner at the suit of Huntly's friends, who undertook to betray Bothwell, and upon that respect were the rather heard. Whether Bothwell understood this or not, I cannot tell. But Cluny and Gight came to Aberdeen and offered very largely for themselves. Huntly and Errol have been heard, and all matters agreed upon concerning their departing out of the country. They have given in surety under the pain of 40,000*l.* to depart between this and 15th March. This was concluded there, provided always that it be ratified here by the King and Council. I know the King will not proceed in this without the ministers' advice. It is thought strange by many that these forfeited and excommunicated traitors should have any conditions. Many of the best affected rather allow their passing out of the country than their "byding," unless the King had means to entertain forces against them. I have conferred with the best and wisest, who are of opinion that it is less peril to the King and cause that they were [out] of the country, in respect that England will neither assist them [*i.e.* the best and wisest] nor join in the action by their assistance. This is the common conclusion here.

The Duke is on his journey out of the north. There was haste made of his return, but his companies would abide no longer than they got "presentt" pay. This night there is a post come out of Caithness declaring that the Earl is coming to make his obedience, and that Huntly, Errol and Bothwell are ready to embark to pass [out] of the country. If this be true it appears that they have given in their sureties and accepted without condition "of further avisementt." Yet the Laird of Bogie, sent from the Duke, affirms there is no further acceptation of their offers than as the King shall think good. As for Bothwell, there is none allowed to intercommune with him. The truth of all these matters you shall be advertised of by my next.

The Duke will be here within these three or four days. The ministers are now about to excommunicate Bothwell and Spott. They are something "stretter" to proceed against Spott than against the Earl, yet upon Hercules's confession, that Spott was the chief instrument who "agred" the Papist Earls and Bothwell, they will proceed. Hercules Stewart has been examined sundry times, but no great matters [have been] discovered by him, neither is it likely that he was made acquainted with any great matters. It is uncertain what shall become of him. He has many "menerce" [? manors] and some great enemies. Mr. John Colville is greatly condemned for his taking. There are good appearances that the King will settle his estate, for by the committing

James VI.
1594–5. of Argyll and Atholl with the rest the Highlands are "lyke" to be settled. They shall find caution before they be relieved to make redress for "byganes" and for times to come. Atholl has given in his caution and is to be relieved. Argyll would give in caution for times coming, but not for times past.

I hope there shall be good order kept for the Borders. They promise for Buccleuch, Cessford and Johnstone. Lord Herries, being made Warden, dealt very earnestly with me to be a "mene" to her Majesty that he might be met with the like "gestes" * as he would be ready to offer, willing me to assure that for his part he would be ready to do all good offices for the furtherance of "gestes" and maintenance of peace and amity. Since our conferences in this town he has written to me to see what he may look for. In my opinion it were not amiss you made a little note of his offers with assurances of the like. Thus far I assure you he makes a very honourable report "or" (*sic*) her Majesty and of the favour he received there.

Yesterday the King sat in the Exchequer Chamber, where he greatly contented those who would see him have of his own to maintain his estate. He there "opened outt" the abuses of the officers of estate and what loss he had sustained by their doings, desiring a present reformation and that he might have of his own whereupon to entertain his estate, for he would be no longer abused. If the course intended be followed forth he will "crab" [embitter] many in taking his own, but he will content far more by living on his own rather than oppressing his subjects by taxation and daily running into great debt besides. All which might be helped if "gestes" were used and care taken [of] his profit. Sir James Sandilands is in great danger. The "sergentes" [surgeons] tell me they have no hope of him. This day I was with him. He is of good courage and hopes well. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

4½ *pp. Holograph. No address or endorsement.*

Feb. 15. **471.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 140.

O.,† as I wrote before, returned this week. C. (Huntly) and all his colleagues have given in bonds to depart the country, except Bothwell (N.) who, notwithstanding, will depart; for he fears that his brother, Caithness, will betray him, because he is making his own peace. I believe Bothwell "meanis to Dunkirk," because Captain Foster [? Forret cf. p. 538] has gone before. I think it is to prepare his way. Please keep Junior's letter "to be our grownd." He is presently here with "Priour," ‡ and still affirms to "mak all good" he has promised, and will himself be in the Isles in the latter end of March, for then council is to be held whether they shall go over or not. Let a friendly letter be sent to encourage him till we see "ane approved service," whereof I "put" no doubt, and let this course be the rather entertained, because the King (Q.) and "Priour" take no thought of that matter. H. (The Chancellor) and P. (the Queen) are "weill agreit," which O. will think to be great inconstancy in P. when he shall hear of it. I (Y.) thanked God that Audin (Elizabeth) liked my "quatuor" (service) and that my Mecenas is of the same opinion. But for "the quatuor of Audin" (service of her Majesty) it were a hell to live in Parumper (Scotland). Add these few words to your cipher.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y. Y. Y. xv° Febr. London xx° *ejusdem*, 1594."

* Apparently *gest* or *geist*, a gallant action, an exploit. See Jamieson's *Dictionary*.
† Apparently the Duke. It is thus deciphered in the printed *Letters*.
‡ Deciphered as Argyll in the *Letters*. The identity is clear from the later references to him.

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472. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Saturday last the Duke returned to Burntisland, tarrying there with Sir Robert Melville till Sunday afternoon, coming then to Leith, and so to the Court, where he, Sir Robert, Sir John Carmichael, Dunipace and the rest of the Duke's council were well received. On Monday the Duke made declaration of his proceedings to the King, as follows. He had caused the whole of the noblemen, barons and landed gentlemen in those parts to give caution under great sums of money to observe the King's peace, good rule and quietness in the country; and no ways to receive, supply, intercommune, shew favour or have intelligence with the King's declared traitors, Huntly and Errol, nor with their associates, nor with any "Dunybrissellers," nor with Jesuits, seminary priests or Papists, nor with such as were "denuncitt" to the horn or fugitive for being at the late conflict against Argyll. He and his council have received the offers of Cluny and Gight to be made to the King, the Kirk and Murray's friends, and to be allowed or disallowed as the King and Council shall find them reasonable. He has promised neither respite nor remission for Donibristle but by advice of his Majesty and Council, whose resolution therein is to be returned to Gight and Cluny within six weeks. The Duke and his council suffered Huntly and Errol to be indirectly "intercommoned" with in quiet places, and to be moved in the end by their special kinsmen and friends to find caution, each under the pain of 40,000*l.* Scots, to depart out of the country before 15th March, not to return again without the King's licence, nor to practice in the meantime against the King, the religion or country, and without any promise by the Duke for respite, remission or favour.

He had also held Justice Courts in Aberdeen and Elgin for the punishment of the highland thieves and broken men, had executed sundry of them, and had given commission to certain barons in Murray and Aberdeen to search and punish such offenders. He offered besides to give account of the escheats and composition taken for the maintenance of himself, council and companies. All this was found very thankful and dutiful service by the King and Council, and the same night an act of Council was made thereupon.

The north is in great quietness, but there was no dealing with Angus or Bothwell, whom no doubt the King would also "wrack" by all possible means. Last week one Milner (Millner), who convoyed Angus out of the castle, was executed.

Some say Bothwell has already 6000 marks Scots, and looks for as much more and then to depart. But for certain the King yesterday got a great advantage of him, for Hercules Stewart and one Sym were hanged on the gibbet here in the market-place. William Hume, because he was Hercules's taker, did what he could to have got their pardons, but the King would no way grant it. Francis Trotter is saved, and with suspicion (but without cause) to have "putt out" Hercules. They died very well, freely commending themselves to God, not confessing any great matters, wherewith Hercules was never acquainted. "At Harcules going up the ladder and turninge over the ladder suche showtes and cryes were made as was never since the Lard of Maynes was executed." Yesterday also the ministers of this "diose" and of the presbyteries hereabouts, charged to come by the King's missives, have excommunicated Bothwell and are to intimate the same on Sunday next in the churches here and hereabouts. [They proceeded] upon an act of the Kirk that whosoever "intercommons" with excommunicates ought also to be excommunicated; wherein Bothwell is found guilty, by his own hand

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1594–5. and by testimony, as by Balwearie's confession and the band produced is "tryed."

Balwearie and Kinnaird have their remissions, and Balwearie is to pay 12,000 marks Scots. I see no appearance of anything to be tried against Grant, though he may be further "put at." Argyll still remains in ward and is now charged to make account for such things as his grandfather, uncle and father also had of the King. To which he is willing to answer on condition that he may have allowance for such charges as were for the King's service. It is marvelled what is meant by "captiving" of this good young Earl, who was so "franck" for the King against his rebels, "considering he maketh every way very faire offers." He himself thinks he finds little favour in the Chancellor, who seems to wish Argyll well, and who now guides all the affairs of the King and Queen, with the goodwill and love of the Queen, who has caused the President and all her council to join in friendship with him, so that now she as well as the King rests on his advice in all things.

Yesterday the King sent Mr. Peter Young with a proposition in writing to the ministers, as to whether persons forfeited and at the horn ought to be excommunicated or not. This question they have not yet answered, neither is it thought that without good consideration it may well be answered; but you shall be advertised. "Allwaies" [*i.e.* at any rate] if it be granted it will be put in practice against Spott. Yesterday before going to "the disjune" the King asked me if I had heard anything "from above" yet, looking still for her Majesty's support, the want whereof the Kirk and well devoted to the amity here think to be dangerous at this time, and so almost all of those I speak with wish me to certify that, for the benefit of the common cause, you may "advise the best" therein. As to the King's and Queen's journey to Stirling I cannot yet say; but it is likely to be agreeable [*i.e.* according] to the Chancellor's advice. I hear they are now "aboutward" to call back all tacks and feus of the King's lands since King James I.'s time, which, in regard of the general malcontentment of many, will either not be done at all or but used "to few and suche as they please." Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—Hume and Ochiltree are now well agreed, and Ochiltree is at his pleasure abroad. The King has signed Mr. John Colville's relaxation, and I hope he shall be able shortly to do some good service to her Majesty (A.) if he had some support in the meantime. At present only want is his hindrance to do as he would for her. "Allwaies" he keeps watch anent Ireland (E.5) as much as he can, and if danger comes there he is in a good course. But the King has willed him to seek the Chancellor's favour, which he must and, I think, will do, however he speed.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher, deciphered.*

Feb. 21. **473.** LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

Being on my "voyage" I send this "to remember you of my adoo," and, seeing I have her Majesty's good-will, I put no doubt that expedition shall be used. I need no other witness but my long and faithful service (and you are one that knows it best); and so if I be not remembered, it will not only cause me think my fortune hard "by" [beyond] all others, but make others cold, who have seen and known my goodwill and service. I "luik" Sir Robert Cecil will be my great friend. Ware (Var). *Signed:* Est Veimes.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

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Feb. 22.

474. [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 141–142.

Yours of the 14th came in very good "season" for satisfaction of James Campbell of Lawers (Junior), who, hearing the same in the presence of your servant, was very content, assuring us that on the 23rd instant he shall go to the Isles (July) and Islanders (August), and about the 6th or 7th March send us certainty of their intentions this spring, which he shall "dress" to her Majesty's service either by detaining them or making you "forsein" of their embarking, etc.

As I wrote before, the Duke has returned and his service [is] allowed. By one "trusty" of that company I learn that the Papists had a purpose lately to get his Majesty into their hands. The enterprisers ("who are yit gesset at, not knawin") should have had 4000 crowns, of which Huntly should have furnished 2000 and Errol and Angus 1000 each. But Errol, by means of his lady, was dissuaded from joining therein with them, and so that project failed. It was and is suspected that the King (Q.) knew of that matter and was not unwilling. But Y.'s (Colville's) "author" says within three days he shall know his mind, for he will offer to take or kill Huntly (C.) if the King (Q.) likes thereof. As that is refused or accepted you (S.) shall know by the next [letter]. Yesternight Glenorchy was "enlarged" and this day it is hoped that Argyll and Grant shall also be set at liberty; so Balwearie's accusation that Grant had the other band for the deprivation of the King, crowning of the Prince and liberty of conscience is likely to suffer no more trial.

Concerning Bothwell (N.), he "myndit" to embark at Caithness and has indeed sent one before to Dunkirk with large promises to annoy her Majesty if he had any support of ships or men, intending to have himself arrived at Calais and from thence to have gone to Gravelines (Gravelin) and by convoy of Captain Forret * (brother to faithful James Forret) to Brussels. But, upon what occasion I know not, he has with great haste come out of Caithness and was seen about the 13th instant beside St. Johnstone in miserable equipage, accompanied only by two, and walking "a foot" The man mentioned in some of my former letters, whom his Majesty "uses to try him by," is sent to "explore" him, so that I think verily one of these days he shall be trapped. Caithness has taken remission and is daily "looked for" here, which I think has hasted the other to depart.

Albeit the Papists have found caution to depart the realm, yet no man thinks that they mind to keep promise; neither are their cautioners in any danger "in cais so be," for they dwell in the north and no order can be had of them unless a new preparation were sent thither, which is not easy to be done. There was a bruit here that some called Lentrons of St. Andrews were executed "partially" in England, whereat his Majesty was grieved, as was given out. But William Hume this day said to me he heard no such matter of his Majesty. [*Unsigned.*]

Postscript.—Hercules Stewart is executed, and one Sim with him; and since then one John Ott, † servant to Bothwell, is killed at Dunfermline by William Hume "becaus he was a stryiker of Da. Home, his brother, when Bothwell slew him."

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. In John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To S." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y. Y. Y. xxi *Februarii.* London *primo Marcii* 1594."

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* Cf. No. 471, and Vol. x., p. 155.

† But see next document, where he is called Note.

James VI. 1594–5. Feb. 22.

475. George Nicolson to Robert Bowes.

The Duke's proceeding in the north is well accepted here, and no man (notwithstanding many reports that he had not done his duty) seeks to charge him for any of his doings; and some of the Duke's company on this journey (I do not say the Duke) think that Lord Forbes has not well assisted against Huntly and Errol, but been so indifferent therein that he reserves himself for the best opportunity to be taken by either of the parties for his best advantage. Thus much in few words to certify you how both these parties would excuse themselves by privy casting of one's fault on another. "All-waies" Forbes is spoiled by the loose men, and this matter is thus quietly rather "grudged at" by both sides than openly dealt in. It will pass over with quietness, I see, on both sides; and Huntly and Errol will depart, and that country thereby and by orders with Gight and Cluny is likely to be in great peace for the present. But I leave this to the letter of Forbes (49) now returned.

Bothwell has departed out of Caithness, some say to the sea for foreign countries, but it is thought he has quietly and privately come into these parts. He cannot be long untaken, if it be so, for many means are made to catch him, and he is very likely to fall into the King's hands. On Thursday last William Hume went to Dunfermline to search for some of Bothwell's, but got none saving John Note,* whom he killed because he was with Bothwell at the killing of David Hume, William's brother; so that I see not but his case is hard. Of Angus I hear nothing at all: he is so quiet and no way yet dealing for himself that it is marvelled what he means. His eldest son is here with Morton, who has been long sick, but now is well amending and to go shortly to his house at Dalkeith. As to Grant, he is at liberty and found not guilty of any of the matters objected against him, even as I looked for.

Glenorchy (Glenurquhart) is at liberty, and Argyll is advised to set himself at liberty also. Albeit it be upon harder condition, I think he will free himself of ward, which he must do by the Chancellor, who absolutely guides the King's and Queen's affairs now. Lady Thirlestane [is] also in especial favour with the Queen by the means certified your worship about Christmas last. As for the King's journey to Stirling, and the Queen's, that is "like to be still as the Chancelour pleaseth to advise." Parliament is likely to hold, missives being sent for sundry to come to the Convention for preparation of all things for the same.

The Convention is appointed [for] 12th March. But as yet I know not of any great matters to be dealt [with] saving for the "reducing" and establishing of the King's rents and casualties to his profit.

The King's question "proponed" to the ministers is referred to the next General Assembly. Here is news, but I do not think it true, that [a] ship of St. Andrews has been taken and Alan Lentren, the master and owner, hanged or slain, with others in the ship. The King, being told of it, is not a little moved, "tho the [though they] say (but litle) that it must be mended as it may, etc." Thus everything here, by reason of the want of the King's contentment from England, is not taken in the best part.

I am advertised very credibly that the Master of Caithness has forcibly taken a fly boat of 16 "chalders," which was William Lamb's; and that the same is "fraught" with ten lasts of "barrell fish," with hides and tallow to persuade that it is a merchant ship; and that mariners are forced to go in her;

* "Ott" in the previous document.

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1594–5. that in her there are to pass a Frenchman, a Dutchman and an Englishman from Dunkirk or Calais; and that this boat will take a pilot in Yarmouth road; also that these men are the persons whom Huntly rescued at Aberdeen and who brought the gold. But whether this boat has gone or not I cannot learn. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Feb. 22. **476.** OFFERS FOR ARGYLL'S LIBERTY.

Printed in Calderwood, v. 362.

*Postscript.**—"Th'Erle of Argiles offers." That he shall find caution to be answerable for his men, tenants and servants in time coming, according to the general band, acts of Parliament and laws of the country. As for times bygone, he has satisfied the most part of the noblemen who have got scathe. He desires liberty out of ward, and within forty days thereafter he shall satisfy all others who have action against him or have been troubled by any of his, or else enter into ward again under the sum of 40,000*l.* So long as he is detained in ward he will neither get ease of the parties nor yet a redress of the broken men. Providing always that his cautioners be not "acted" for the "herschipps" done upon the Gordons.

Item, that there is nothing that lies in his power that his Majesty will burden him with in settling of the oppression of the country but he will do, and give proof thereof. *Item*, if his Majesty will not be content with these "heads," he desires to have free ward within one mile of the castle, seeing that the rest of the noblemen who were warded had the same. [*In the margin:* "Mar had that. The King answered that rather the rest should be restrayned their fre ward then that Argile should have this granted."]

These offers are refused, "to the suspicion of some mistery to be ment." Yet Argyll is advised by F. to get himself out of ward, "and if upon never so hard conditions"; which I think he will do. S. must have the thanks of his liberty when it comes.

¾ *p. In George Nicolson's hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "Offers of Argyle by Nicolson. Edinburgh. 22 Febr. 1594."

Feb. 22. **477.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I know you have been sufficiently informed of the present estate, yet I write this "to acompeny your other letteres and to kepe my selfe in your good remembrenes." The Duke's proceedings in the north are authorised by an act of Council, which I would have sent you with this packet but that since the conclusion there has come a privy commandment from the King to the Clerk of the Council not to register the act before it is altered in some words. By my next it shall come, and the cause why it was altered.

Huntly and Errol are preparing themselves and will depart for certain. Although they have obtained no condition for their livings, yet it appears there will be an "oversightt" according to their behaviour when they are out of the country. As yet no part of their livings has been taken up, but by themselves. They are bound not to practise against the estate of the country or religion, and to remain forth of the country during the King's pleasure. I hear no word of Angus. The Duke has got a gift (which is presently passing the seals) of his living and rights, and takes up the living. As for Bothwell, sundry bruits have come that he has embarked, "butt no sertenty for serten."

* Probably appended to the preceding letter.

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1594–5. His determination was to have gone, [and] and stayed only upon Hercules's return. But what course he now takes is yet uncertain here. Caithness was upon his journey and daily looked for, but as yet we see him not. It is thought the death of Hercules will alter their resolutions.

In the beginning of these actions Forbes and his friends were frank, but as soon as matters began to "temper" he withdrew "to behould." Gight and Cluny have undertaken to keep the country in quietness, chiefly Huntly's bounds. Their remission is promised them upon performance of such things as are laid to their charge in that I wrote before. William Hume, Sir George's brother, is daily occupied either in slaying or taking Bothwell's people. Yesterday he slew John Noutt in Dunfermline and took another. This day he has brought in two men of Kelso.

I wrote to you before that Bothwell had come to the Borders. It was Hercules and not he. Mr. John Colville concurs with William [Hume] in these actions. He has handled the matter so that he dare not remain in his own house or come forth in the day. The Queen and the Chancellor "are al one." He has "out soutt" all the Queen's council who were his "unfrendes." Argyll and Atholl still remain in ward. I cannot see any great care taken to satisfy her Majesty's desire concerning Ireland. I have pressed to answer the letter, but it is answered "it shal be," yet it is not. The Secretary says it need not.

I would be glad to see you, yet because I love you I had rather want your company than see your disgrace. If you come hither without being well armed to give contentment you will find a great alteration in this estate, and you will not be able to do what perhaps is expected at your hand. This Parliament goes forward. If that course be followed forth that is laid down it is likely to breed a great discontentment, for it touches so many and is likely to breed so great inconvenience that it is thought the King will not be able to attain what he looked for. Sir James Sandilands is well recovered of his hurt. There is information come hither that one Alan Lentorne of St. Andrews, being drawn into England by an Englishman to fetch some beans that he bought from him, has been put by this man into the hands of some of the friends [of those] who were taken by the said Lentorne and executed at St. Andrews, as you know. It is said here that they have hanged the said Lentorne. This stirs up the coals. His friends desire that they "maye tak agene." This is in the mouths of many. In my next I shall write more of this. Holyrood-house. *Signed:* R. A.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 1. **478.** JAMES VI. TO BURGHLEY.

Notwithstanding the former misdemeanour of our servitor, Mr. John Colville, we have upon princely pity and compassion not only received him to our grace and favour, but upon hope of his future loyalty are "deliberat" by our benefits to encourage him to "hold out" the good course begun, as we have at length written to Mr. Robert Bowes, referring the special information hereof to his sufficiency. In the meantime we expect by your favourable means that you will procure such speedy satisfaction herein at your sovereign's hands as may discharge us of our promise made to the said Mr. John Colville, whereof we will account and accept very kindly and "remember" thereon with all gratitude convenient. And whereas we have heard you were informed that our said servitor has not satisfied us "in" the plate and money received

1594–5. by him for our use * when he was last employed thither (extending to the sum of 3000*l.* sterling money), his "compte" and service at that time heard, signed and allowed by the auditors of our Exchequer, herewith at our command sent up together with our present acceptance of that service, shall clear him of any such calumny or imputation in all time coming. Let it not seem strange that we have thus turned our displeasure into compassion towards him, neither let us thereby be thought "contrair," but rather "lyk" to ourself; for to this hour we never pardoned unwillingly nor willingly punished, albeit the frequent and presumptuous rebellions of our nation have much more "procured" punishment than pardon. But we have ever wished "recipiscens" and amendment more than obstinacy and "induratioun," as our clemency "upon" thousands of subjects bears record, and we hold mercy the repose of our conscience, the staff of our estate, the chief ornament and note of every Christian empire, especially when it is extended "upoun" such as for open offences are willing and able to make open amendment, as our said servitor without respect of slander or peril has lately done, yea, even further than was looked for—in giving an honest proof of his repentance by his late action against some of the principals who offended in the same degree as he did. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* James R.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

March 1. **479.** [JAMES VI.] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Cott. Calig. D.ii. fol. 190. Transcript in Harl. MS. 4648, p. 239.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 142–144.

Upon the penitent humiliation and promised loyalty of Mr. John Colville, and at the earnest suit of sundry of our faithful subjects, we are not only moved to compassion, but, also, finding him acquit himself very honestly in a service lately laid to his charge (to the end he may be encouraged to hold out that good course without defection till we may find some other commodity fit for him), we have caused peruse his accounts, finding ourselves in debt to him in 1266*l.* sterling. We have turned him to receive payment thereof from our gratuity, praying that he or his agent may, by your favourable recommendation to your sovereign, procure the speedy delivery of the said sum, and his discharge thereupon shall be as sufficient as if it were signed with our own hands. We have written to the same effect to the Treasurer, referring him to you for particular information. Deliver the letter and return your answer with diligence. And whereas we are informed that he is traduced there by some, alleging he returned not to us the plate and money received by virtue of our commission before our going to Denmark, his allowance in that service, signed by the auditors of Exchequer (which at our command is sent up), and our present affirmation of his sincerity in that behalf, shall purge him of any such imputation. It cannot seem strange to you, who know the "naturall" of our people and the attempts of Bothwell, that we have turned our displeasure into compassion [*etc.* as in the preceding].

Concerning the Irish matters mentioned in her Majesty's last letter, we have deferred to make answer, not for unwillingness or dislike thereof, but only for taking order with Argyll. Before he be enlarged, or immediately after, he shall receive our commandment that good friendship and "neighbourhea[d]" be kept in that behalf, and such corrected as would presume anything to the contrary, omitting no occasion that may strengthen the amity. Holyroodhouse. *Signature burned off.*

2 *pp. No fly-leaf or address. Edges destroyed by fire.*

* *i.e.* the gratuity.

James VI. 1594–5. March 3.

480. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

All things here are so quiet, without alteration, that I have thus long forborne to write. At this Parliament (to hold or not hold as the Convention of the 12th inst. shall resolve) it is in advice, for augmentation of the King's revenues, to annex to the Crown the surplus of the thirds appointed of old for the maintenance and planting of ministers in all quarters of this realm (which is yet far from being done), and also to call in and " nul " all feus and tacks of the King's lands since King James I., and with present composition for money and more rent to the King to sett them again. By the former the ministers here would be void of livings to furnish unfurnished places with teachers of the Word, and by the latter so many of all degrees [would be] " damnified," that in regard of malcontentment in the Kirk and commonweal it is likely that these motions shall either not be thus strictly dealt in or the Parliament be prorogued. The Secretary knows not whether it will hold or not.

On Sunday " was 8 daies " Bothwell was excommunicated in all churches hereabouts, not only for his intercommuning and banding with the Papist Earls, but for other causes appearing in this note enclosed.

After the Duke's proceeding in the north was by act of Council allowed as good service and his accounts discharged, it was seen that it was a discharge also of his lieutenancy, and therefore it was made up with a reservation of the lieutenancy for all further services there in case of need, which is not likely to be, for Errol means to keep promise with the Duke and depart. Mr. George Leslie, his agent, is here dealing in private matters. Errol is much malcontent that the Gordons should have the honour of the field when he himself was the chief charger and winner thereof, albeit the greatest forces were Huntly's, who is also to depart according to promise and for the quietness of the country. Angus is in quiet places among his friends, no way dealing for himself, because the time does not serve for him. But " I looke he shall wrack in dede." Argyll is now at agreement and is to be at liberty as soon as all his cautioners shall be received. But Atholl, having suffered his cautioner to pay for his proper debt and to put himself to the horn, cannot yet get any to be his sureties, so that he is likely to " lye by it." Yet by this course the Highlands are also in great quietness, the Borders are at present in wonderful peace, and generally all this country is as calm as was seen these many years before. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

[*Note enclosed in Nicolson's hand.*] As I advertised you at Christmas, so it proves that Buccleuch (69) and Cessford (70) are the greatest with the Queen (5) and procured her (E.) favour to the Chancellor (51), though the King (B.) had the name of doing it. So those two still carry it and intend to " bange out " the matter, and the Duke (6) gives place to them and has gone with Mar (21) to where Mar's greatest charge is ; which charge the Queen has " motioned " " to be taken to themselves " from Mar. Both the Duke and Mar are grieved at this and blame the Chancellor for the same, whom Argyll (20) also blames for the hardness used to him ; and the King is not a little malcontent to see things that he does not like, and perchance will take such course as shall little please the Chancellor, Buccleuch or Cessford. This Nicolson (Mor) says is the greatest matter likely now to make a " welter " in Scotland (Ter), which he leaves to Mr. Colville's (67) report, who is likely, I assure you, to be able to do best services in the Court (Var) here for her Majesty (A.) and will do it unfeignedly. Sir George Hume (58) is also upon a good ground for the service of her Majesty and the King, and wishes Bowes (D.) well. As to Huntly (9)

1594–5. and Errol (12), there are such dealings for them and by them that I cannot guess what it will come to. But short time will discover it. Her Majesty's support would keep the King firm against the Papists, as "in knowledge" his heart leads him to be, and would bind him to her.

1¼ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Question as to persons forfeited.)

"Ane generall questioun proponit be his Majestie to the ministers, quhilk he desyres to be voittit amangis thame that are assemblit in Edinburgh this day."

Whether all persons "forfaultit" for most notorious and treasonable crimes against his Majesty's person and estate ought not likewise to be "strokin" with the spiritual sword of excommunication, "that as thai are cassin off frome the civile body of ane Christiane common weill," so they might thereon be declared to be cast off from the Christian Kirk, since the standing of the Kirk must be understood to be inseperably joined to the standing of the commonweal. Since the civil magistrate has by his law and practice played his part by putting to his horn all who are excommunicated by the Kirk, why should not the Kirk put to their horn those that are declared enemies to the King and estate, under whose wing their christian exercise is protected and preserved?

Response.—"Findis that the mater twichis the haill Kirk of this realme, and therefore can nocht be resolvit be the brether here present, but suld be remittit to the Generall Assemble."

Causes of Bothwell's excommunication.—The brethren, having considered and weighed his Majesty's suit and desire, and after long reasoning having considered things that were produced since the 4th instant by his Majesty's commissioners with other circumstances "efter specifeit":—viz., the "heidis" of the band subscribed by the aforesaid Earls and Bothwell among the rest: (2) Balwearie's deposition subscribed with his own hand, produced before the brethren on the 4th instant by the Justice Clerk and Provost of Edinburgh: (3) The recognising of the said "heidis" and articles by his Majesty's Secret Council and Session to be the very subscription and "handwryttis" of the said Earls and other subscribers, verified by an act of Council produced this day: (4) Bothwell's continual resort [to] and residence in those parts with the excommunicated rebels "contrare" the acts of the Kirk inhibiting society and fellowship with excommunicates under pain of incurring the same censure: (5) The constant testification of brethren in those parts that Bothwell was at Menmuir the time of the making of the said band: (6) The letter subscribed with Bothwell's hand directed to sundry presbyteries of this realm showing in effect that he would be forced to join with the excommunicated rebels unless the Kirk obtained at his Majesty's hand some favour for him. Lastly, Bothwell's "prophane and leud lyff"—have concluded that upon the notoriety and circumstances foresaid the Kirk may proceed to the sentence of excommunication against Bothwell.

Decimo octavo Februarii 1594.—According to the former conclusion the Presbytery of Edinburgh, with commissioners from sundry presbyteries of the country, after invocation of God's name, did excommunicate Francis, sometime Earl Bothwell, and in name and authority of Jesus Christ did cut off the said Francis from the company of the Kirk and deliver him to Satan,

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1594–5. to the destruction of his flesh, that the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord, if it please Him to return and reclaim him by true repentance, "utherwayis" to his just condemnation everlastingly, and ordained intimation to be made hereof to all the brethren of the realm by every pastor.

1½ *pp.* *In a Scottish hand.* *Endorsed by George Nicolson.*

March 4. **481.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Touching our Papist lords, sure advertisement is come that they have an enterprise in hand for the surprising of the King's person. They give out that they will depart according as they are bound, which is between this and the 15th instant. We are credibly informed that Huntly is diverted from that purpose, but Errol seems to make himself ready and assures his cautioners they shall incur no danger for him, if the purpose intended does not take effect, as I believe it will not; for the King is "forsene" of the matter, and to prevent all "occasiones" the Master of Gray and the Master of Ogilvy are this day commanded to depart out of the town as suspected to be of the said plot, and have come hither for the same cause. Huntly has made means to "have a longer daye" for his departure, which is altogether refused. The King departs to Stirling either this night or to-morrow, where he remains till the Convention on the 12th, when all matters that are to be propounded in Parliament shall be concluded. Great matters are "in hed" at present. The Queen has made a motion to the King that she may have the keeping of the Prince and the castle of Edinburgh. This has troubled the King these four days past very mightily, and he is highly offended with the plot-layers of this course, esteeming it altogether to "atend" to his own overthrow. The motioners of this matter to the Queen are Buccleuch and Cessford, yet they are not esteemed the "ground leeres" [layers]. The King has sent to the Chancellor to know if he were participant of this purpose. He denies that ever he was made acquainted with any such matter; yet he is suspected by reason of the greatness that is between him and the two lairds, by whose means he has become great with the Queen. They, chiefly Buccleuch, have obtained two great matters by the Queen's means, the remission of Balwearie and Johnstone. But the King says that it shall not lie "in al there poweres" to remove the Prince out of the hands of those that have him. The Duke and Mar have gone to Stirling highly offended with the proceedings of our two lairds. Argyll is to be relieved this day and goes to them. None of them knows of the King's going thither, for it is secret. I write of this matter to none but to yourself, in hope the letter will come safe to your hand, or else I had not written so plain. Use it as you please. It is a secret here and "extantt" by wise men to be a matter of great consequences and further meaning than "every one sese unto." The King has communicated this to none but two, to whom he has found himself very "greved."

I enclose a copy of the act of Council concerning the Duke's proceedings in the north. Have me in your remembrance, for if I be not relieved by her Majesty I must "take me" to some other means than to live in Court. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* R. A.

Postscript.—Caithness should have come in, but I see no appearance of it. It appears his "tarr[y]ing outt" is upon some further enterprises. It was reported that Bothwell had been ambushed. "Butt no souch matter."

2 *pp.* *Holograph, also address.* *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Enclosure with the same.

(Act of approbation of the Duke of Lennox's proceedings in the North.)

The King and Council having heard the report of the Lieutenant and the councillors "adjonit" with him, chiefly the taking of surety, occupying of castles, *etc.*, and lastly the receiving of two bands from the friends of Huntly and Errol for their unconditional departure from the realm during his Majesty's pleasure, *etc.*, it is declared that they have done acceptable service according to the terms of their commission, and especially in receiving the said bands without condition. Therefore the Lieutenant and his councillors are exonerated of their duty hereanent: the said commission to endure until expressly discharged. "Extracto de libro actorum Secreti Consilii S. D. N. Regis per me Joannem Andro deputatum eiusdem sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus."

Abstract in "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland," Ser. I., Vol. V. *pp.* 207–208. 17th Feb. 1594[–95.]

1*p. Broadsheet. Copy. Endorsed:* "Declaratour to the Duke of Lenox."

March 7. **482.** JAMES CAMPBELL OF LAWERS TO MR. JOHN COLVILLE.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 272.

After my "hameganging" I passed to Tarbert (Tarbard), where some two or three companies were in readiness to pass to Ireland. But, according to my promise, I so travailed with them that they are stayed for the present. This has been very troublesome and expensive to me; but, notwithstanding, I shall omit no duty, but shall either stay all that would pass there from time to time, or otherwise make you due advertisements in all points, according to my promise. I remit the rest to our meeting, which shall be as soon as I can speak with the rest of the chieftains who were of intention to pass into Ireland. Bunawe. *Signed:* "Your sone Junior."

½ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To his worscipfull father, Y."

March 9. **483.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

It is told me (Mor) that, some few days before the King's (4) journey to where Mar (21) is, the Queen of Scots (5) moved the King (B.) for the keeping of the Prince (young 4), of that "pece" [*i.e.* Stirling Castle] and of this castle; that the King was grieved thereat and has so earnestly dealt to know who counselled her thereto that she (E.) has told him that it was the Chancellor (51). Whereupon the King (4) sent to the Chancellor to demand if he had given that advice, wishing him to tell if he had, and he would forgive it, otherwise he would think that he had not done well. But the Chancellor denied it. This is marvellously quietly kept. "Allwaies" it is thought that this matter made the King go this journey, which was laboured to be stayed. Sir George Hume (58) was sent to Mr. John Colville (67) from the King to will him to come quietly to where Mar (21) is. Whereupon he has gone thither, where the King will speak with him. The Duke (6), Mar, Argyll (10),* Orkney (20) and others are with the King there. What shall be there resolved you shall hear upon the King's return. Cessford (69) and Buccleuch (70) † are thought to be made great courtiers by the Chancellor's advice, which is not a little

* "10" is here the cipher for Argyll, and "20" for Orkney. Elsewhere "20" is deciphered as Argyll.

† Elsewhere "69" stands for Buccleuch, and "70" for Cessford.

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"stomacked" by those with the King. How these things can be passed over with quietness I know not. But inasmuch as they are great and secret I beseech your worship use them for your own knowledge.

On Wednesday the King rode to Stirling and is to return on Tuesday at the farthest. On Thursday Argyll was set at liberty upon caution to be answerable only since his marriage, a favour for which he does not thank the Chancellor. That night he came hither to Morton (who has not gone yet), and returned to the castle to his bed, taking his horse early on Friday and riding to Stirling. His sudden going makes the Chancellor and those here think that the King has some matters in hand at Stirling kept secret from them. The King before his going had commanded the Master of Gray to depart, either upon suspicion or information that he had some plot in hand for the Papist Earls. The day on which the King rode [to Stirling] he sent praying Mr. William Leslie to move the King for leave to tarry in Edinburgh about his "adoeis," and to certify the King that he had sent away most of the gentlemen with him, so that he needed not be doubted. All which Mr. William did, but the King did not grant "to" it. The Master seems to have written for licence to pass through England into foreign parts and to expect his leave; otherwise he will not touch England, yet will "hold his jorney," as I hear he says.

All who were in ward for the "Hylandis matters" are to come out save Atholl, who can get no sureties nor is thought to care for any. I hear he shall be committed to Blackness to straiter ward. Some say that the Scottish ships are stayed in Spain; for what cause they know not. Some think it is for hindering intelligence being sent hither of their purpose in Spain. Mr. Walter Lindsay, they say, is there, well furnished with treasure, but not with men, for these parts. Lambe's ship, taken by the Master of Caithness, is for Bothwell, they say, if he departs.

On Monday "was a sennett" [a week ago] there came one calling himself Elliot, an Englishman, and a French boy of Calais, well known in this town by men trafficking there. They were taken and examined and the "mayles" [trunks] brought by them searched. The Englishman says he came with his master and one Johnson from Calais to Yarmouth, where his master landed, and Johnson landed with purpose to come hither (and for whom he looked), and that he and the boy were sent hither by sea. He said his master fell into troubles about Lord Shrewsbury's matter with Mr. Stanhope * and fled for the same, and seeing troubles in the Low Countries and France he meant to come hither, because from hence he might also "labour" Lord Shrewsbury to take order for his discharge and his home-coming. In their "mayles" were such books as Ovid, Virgil and other school books. In Johnson's mail were some books suspected to be written by Papists. Elliot was in doubt his master was sick, for he did not find him here, and thereon has gone in by Carlisle. As soon as I knew I advertised Mr. Fielding. But in Elliot I see no cause, nor yet in Nicholas Williamson. As to Johnson there is great cause to suspect him, because he gives himself out for Edward Johnson's brother, which is not true. For Edward has four brethren: Nathaniel, who is here; Daniel, who is a shoemaker at Lynn; Joshua, who is sick here; and Robert, who is about sixteen years and an apprentice in Bordeaux. Edward has made much enquiry and judges this man to be a Papist, "bicause he clameth to him." This is all I can say yet in this matter. Letters they had none.

The Convention is likely to be small, and the Parliament to be prorogued

* There was a feud at this time between these two families. See *D.N.B.*, **xix. 317.**

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1594–5. "unless they be by platt of these nowe at Sterling," from whence I marvel I hear nothing.

Morrison, one of the King's gardeners, having dangerously hurt a servant of Thomas Ker of Fernihirst, was conveyed by Thomas into the high town and committed to Lady Fernihirst's chamber here, with purpose that if the party should die he might receive justice. "By meanes" the Queen was made to understand that the authority of the Court was impeached by Morrison's taking to the high town; whereon in great anger she willed Anstruther to fetch him down again. Anstruther, endeavouring to do this, was resisted by the town and Morrison committed to the Tolbooth. Two bailies have gone to the King for his allowance of their proceedings, and the Queen has sent to the King for the allowing and approving of her intent, which is not likely to be decided till the King's return.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

March 11. **484.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 144–146.

On the 5th instant his Majesty went to Stirling and remained till this present 11th, and I went also by commandment of Sir George Hume, and there I spoke privately with the King. On a motion made by her Majesty here for "retering" the Prince out of Mar's hands, his Majesty is offended, and it is thought the Chancellor is suggester thereof, which, if it be tried [*i.e.* proved] shall turn to his "dislyik." I hear nothing yet of the Papist lords embarking, and by all appearance the Parliament will not hold, for the reasons mentioned in my last. The King grows "animat" against Cessford and Buccleuch (Q.), as I wrote before.

I look daily for the Laird of Lawers, of whom assure yourself to have good service. But that I fear you are on your journey I would have written a great secret, but lest it should fall into other hands I "keep it wp" till I be certain of your residence, and if you happen to be absent I will signify it to Sir Robert Cecil. I have herewith sent the heads of Wemyss's instructions and answers to and from France. Sir Robert Melville (J) still insists, as I wrote once before, to be employed to England and to remain there, for he fears a storm in Scotland and he promises the favour of many nobles of Scotland and of the Scottish Court to the King's "effect," and their "hand writ," if need be, which I know he cannot perform. In like manner some are busy to have the Bishop of Glasgow employed with the French King. For now the Chancellor pleases the King only with the shadow of England, thinking that Sir Robert Melville there and the Bishop of Glasgow in the other place will make all ripe before the harvest can come. But there is herein a matter which I would rather speak than write. I pray you that my letters go no farther than to her Majesty, Sir Robert Cecil and such as he is assured of, for a cause which hereafter I shall "oppin."

Now, since his Majesty has written so favourably for me and that I find by your letters her Majesty to be graciously inclined to me, I think I cannot be comforted with less charge to her Majesty than from that which, if it came to his Majesty's hands, would be bestowed upon others who, peradventure, would do little or no good service to any of the crowns. But I rest upon that approved goodness which I have so often felt. Sir George Hume longed to hear from you and wished to know the nature and form of discharge which our Secretary gave there of the gratuity, wishing you by the next to send a double thereof. As I was closing up, this other from the Laird of Lawers

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came to my hands, which I also enclose. [No. 482.] The conspiracy of taking his Majesty for 4000 crowns mentioned in my former is likely to fall on the Master of Gray, who is charged to go home; and that Dunipace has revealed by information of Errol.

2⅓ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Stirling xj° Marcii, London xx° ejusdem, 1594." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

March 12. **485.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesternight the King returned from Stirling, where the Queen's motion for the Prince was discussed, as I hear, and the King's anger appeared against Buccleuch (69) and Cessford (70), and will further appear against the Chancellor if that motion proceeded from his advice. To discover this (the Queen not having confessed it to the King, as before I heard and wrote), the Duke (6), Argyll (10), Crawford (11), Orkney (20) and Mar (21) are to deal with the Queen, and if the Chancellor has given the advice the King will "put at" him. But I think this matter may also "put over," as the former did, but in the end draw to the "wrack" of Mar or the Chancellor.

This Convention "is very litle" except for Argyll, Crawford, Orkney, Mar and the Duke (returned from Stirling with the King, "and who are in a lone course together," as some say), yet Marischal and sundry others are looked for, and Caithness also. At this Convention the holding or stay of this Parliament is to be set down. Caithness, some say, has furnished Bothwell with skins and other gross wares of that country, so that he may pass as a merchant and also furnish himself with money by those wares, for which Caithness is caution. They say also that Mr. James Gordon and other Jesuits pass with him in the same ship and should have embarked on Thursday "was a sennett" [a week ago]. But some have lately gone to Caithness, looking to find him there. What Huntly and Errol will do I know not; but some say they will not yet depart. The King insists with the ministers for their answer to his question now, because there [is] a great assembly of divers out of every presbytery "for awaiting of the Kirkis turnes" at this Convention and Parliament, if it hold. But it is not likely that any means will move the ministers to answer it before the General Assembly. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—Buccleuch and Cessford look to have by the Parliament Bothwell's lands in their [hands]* "ennacted" to them. But the King will stop the same, I hear. Mr. John Colville has spoken with the King, but it must be kept quietly till the King tells the Chancellor that he will do it. "Allwaies" John Colville "is rising" and will never change his heart from her Majesty's service. He prays you to labour his suit.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

March 12. **486.** JAMES COLVILLE, LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS, TO ROBERT BOWES.

I give you hearty thanks for the letters received from Nicolson. I have made your commendations to his Majesty, who has accepted them very kindly. All things here are at great quietness, but after this Convention some things

* This word which was omitted has been added by the pen of the decipherer.

may fall out. His Majesty has goodwill to do well, and, if evil counsel "impeshes" not, good effect will follow. My cousin, Mr. John, has promise of his peace "ane of thir tuay dayis"; it shall be by open proclamation. The "auld enemy" stays him in all he can. His Majesty looks that the Papist lords shall pass out of the country. Their league is broken, as we think certainly, because they seek "particulair dressis." I doubt not but you will be mindful of me, and hold Sir Robert [Cecil] likewise in mind of me. He shall ever have proof of my goodwill in all that concerns the amity. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Colvill of Est Veimes.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Two red wax seals.*

March 13. **487.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

This is to say that "the gentleman" thinks himself happy by your favour, and that a hawk is provided for you. I enclose the King's letter to me "for sume [beer] for the Queen, whereof sume part sould be caryed to Streveling and sume to be laed in Hollyroodhowse." The man who brought the King's letter is bearer of this, and was permitted to bring wheat with him, notwithstanding the great dearth of corn in Scotland, that thereby he might be the more thankfully used here. I showed my letter to Lord Burghley, who has answered me divers times that he could not give the Queen's customs. Twelve tuns of beer are a small matter in the whole matter, but less in the customs; and I have no other means than by Burghley and yourself. Please return the King's letter and Mr. Aston's, and grant the bearer your letter to the customers, which I think will serve. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

March 15. **488.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I had no good occasion to write by reason of my being at Stirling with the King. Since my return I have daily attended [*i.e.* awaited] the success of the Convention which began this day. But before I speak of Convention affairs I will touch something concerning the contents of my last [letter], chiefly of the proposition concerning the Prince, which is now more "volgett" than it was then. Although nothing further has been "proponned" in that matter, yet it is a "broch working mygttely."* The grounds from whence it comes are known. The Master of Glamis and "Neckoel Acarnecros" [Cairncross] get great blame; not that they are great with the Queen, but "leares" [layers] of plots to others. The Queen has left off insisting any further, saying she will refer all to the King to do as he pleases. The Chancellor has been greatly suspected by reason of his late reconcilement with the Queen. But he has exonerated himself both to the King and Mar. The Master does not seem to deal in the matter, but "putes too the cole and letes other bloo at it." He thinks to meet Mar that way, because he "mentted" [aimed at] his change.

This is the condition of this estate; every one shooting "att otheres" without respect to King or commonweal. Mar "makes him selfe for al stormes, indraing to him souch frensip as he maye doble outt his one torne." The King being altogether for him, he thinks himself strong enough. The

* This word could also read "nygttely." He probably meant to write "a breach working mightily."

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1594–5. Duke and Argyll are altogether for him. There is lately a great friendship knit up between Lord Hume, Cessford and Buccleuch. The friendship between the Master and Hume, "yon king," is unchangeable. Divers advertisements have come of some enterprise to have been attempted at this Convention, but I see no such appearance. Some were removed, as I wrote before, which perhaps has scared the rest. We daily attend the certainty of the Earls' departing. For Errol, I assure you he will away and will never enter on a course with Huntly again. Huntly has had a convention of all his friends in Elgin. They have given him counsel to depart. Whether he will or not is not yet known. This is the last day of his abode.

This being the day of the Convention, certain things were propounded by the King concerning his own affairs, and certain articles were given in by the ministers. First, the King exonerated himself of certain articles that were given out in his name and passed up and down the country—that his intention was to alter all things since King David Bruce, whereby no man could be sure of what he had. This and such like bred a great murmur through all parts of the country, the copies of these articles passing through all [*i.e.* everywhere], so that such as know not the truth began to repine. The King's intention was no other than to call back such things as he himself has done to his great hurt that both in conscience and law he may do; and for that cause he has taken the advice of the Lords of Session, where he has sat these two days, and by their advice has concluded that he may do all he has to do without a Parliament. So the Parliament is dissolved for this time. The articles given in by the ministers [No. 230] contained in substance the pursuit of the Papists and their resetters, if they went not away, and that their unlaws and livings might be taken up and employed upon men of war to pursue them; that the Countesses of Huntly and Errol be charged to remain here in these parts; that Huntly's eldest son be brought hither; and that commission be given to certain of the best affected of every shire to join with the ministers and burghs, [and that] if any of them came within their bounds, everyone shall assist "otheres" for their apprehending. All this is concluded, and charges and commissions are being directed for this effect.

It is given out that Bothwell has embarked, but [there is] no confirmation. Caithness is in these parts "holding the King in hand." He will come in, but has not yet entered. It appears he abides to see what course the rest take. It is advertised hither that you are to return to these parts. Many good men are glad of it, persuading themselves your coming will bring contentment to the King and comfort to them. It is credibly advertised to the King that her Majesty has plainly resolved neither to "concur" nor assist him in any of his actions, but to leave him to himself. This the King told me with a great regret, bidding God forgive those who were the cause of it, for he was assured it was not her Majesty. For my own part I am to be commanded as her Majesty pleases, without respect of any. I have set down my own opinion both for your coming and what course were meetest to be taken. I wish the amity to stand and a warmer course to be followed forth. "Here is enove [enough] thatt bloues the coles for wantt of other matter." They say her Majesty has refused to proclaim war with Spain, and that she has called back her forces out of Brittany, leaving the French King to himself. This passes current among such as care not how the world goes. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* "Yours ever, R. A."

Postscript.—As any matter occurs you shall be advertised.

3¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

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489. JAMES COLVILLE, LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS, TO ROBERT BOWES.

These few lines are to let you know that the Parliament holds not. It was "ordinit" only for his Majesty's patrimony given out. By the advice of his Session he finds he may reduce [*i.e.* recall] it without the strength of Parliament. His Majesty was never further bent against the Papist faction than presently, having determined that, if they be not at this present day departed out of the country, he will pursue not only them but their "caution" with all rigour. His Majesty first declared his will in Council, and concluded. Thereafter articles given in by the Kirk (which you shall receive) were generally accorded. For the last part, concerning the ministers, it is referred to such as were appointed by act of Parliament to take order therein. If the Papist faction have not obeyed [*i.e.* departed the country], I pray God that, for want of entertainment of men of war they get not over much leisure "to adv[a]ns them" and to impede his Majesty's good mind. There is not as yet over great friendship betwixt Mar and the Chancellor, and [it is] hard to judge what may fall out. My cousin, John Colville, has his Majesty's favour, and likely to increase if he get good assistance, "alvayis frak [diligent] for your estait." Remember Sir Robert of me, and of his promise and good will professed to me. If you wish me to continue to write, let me know, for my credit with my master was never so great, and always yours. I will let you hear very shortly of my "novellis" [news], which I can not well write presently. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Colvill of Est Veimes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 17.

490. MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 146, 147.

On the 15th instant the Convention began and dissolved that same day. The barons alleging that sundry articles were to be confirmed for their hurt in the Parliament, his Majesty "resolved thame" by a long and eloquent discourse that no such thing was intended, finding great fault with their credulity to the contrary report. So the Parliament is decerned to be deserted till new and lawful citation. The ministry also gave in some articles for pursuit of the Papist lords if they do not depart; especially that their sureties be "called and convict" in the sums set down.

Buccleuch and Cessford, being disappointed of the confirmation of Bothwell's lands given to them, by deserting of the Parliament aforesaid, are much grieved. There are great speeches of displeasure, and outwardly no good countenance betwixt the Duke, Argyll and Mar on the one part, and the Chancellor, Glamis and their followers on the other; which in all men's opinion will fall out unhappily for some of them.

Knowing of your abode there I will write particularly in the matter mentioned in my last. The King has begun assuredly to mislike the Chancellor (H.) and will retire with the Queen (P.) shortly and remain with Mar (A.). The Duke has again turned the Queen somewhat upon the Chancellor, and she will give him up [*i.e.* denounce him] "for instrument moving thame to propone the matter."

I shall, God willing, this 17th have my peace, and his Majesty's wrath is fully pacified, whereby I shall be able to do good service if I find favour there agreeable to his Majesty's desire in his last letters written to that effect. In any case do not let my letters be seen but where Sir Robert Cecil and you think good. Being safe, I will assuredly serve you for great things, and

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would wish with all my heart to have but one hour's talk with you. But that cannot presently be. Sir George Hume desires that the note may be sent of the matter and quality of the discharge which the Secretary gave last of the gratuity. *Signed:* Colville.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. Jhon Colvill. xvij° Marcii, Westminister xxiij° ejusdem, 1594." *Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

March 18. **491.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO MR. JOHN CAREY, DEPUTY-GOVERNOR OF BERWICK.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 147–148.

Lack of matter, together with my absence and private "displeasouris" proceeding from my enemies, "impeschis" me to write so oft as I would and should.

As to our estate, on the 15th instant there was a Convention wherein it was concluded that the Parliament should not hold, because there were sundry matters to be propounded therein offensive to the barons and best subjects, and no appearance that anything should be preferred for his Majesty's commodity. There has been and yet is great emulation betwixt courtiers, especially between Mar and the Chancellor. But being wise on both hands and his Majesty very careful that no displeasure should fall out so near his own person, "thingis delayis from tyme to tyme, which is bot a smuddring wp of the fyir and no quenching tharof."

By instigation of some lewd persons her Majesty here was moved to solicit his Majesty to take the young Prince out of Mar's hands; which motion was very unpleasant to his Majesty. He imputes the blame thereof not to her Highness but to the suggesters; and the man who is suspected most is the Chancellor. The Papist lords have found surety to depart "bot no apperance that thai will keip." Bothwell is yet in Caithness and in very ill case. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

Postscript.—The bearer being very well informed of many matters here, I have entrusted him with some things which "wer longsum" to write.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Red wax seal.*

March 20. **492.** ADVICES FROM EDINBURGH.

Albeit the King at his passage to Stirling had expressly commanded Mar to attend upon the Exchequer, yet he "horsed him selfe" and posted thither after the King the same night, writing to divers of his friends to meet him there with diligence. After him came the Duke of Lennox and the Abbot of Holyroodhouse with a great company, so the King was disappointed of his pretences for that time. Since then Mar has given up all kindness with the Chancellor, who now guards himself the more warily. Lennox, by the King's advice, is bound for France, because there can be found no "condigne" marriage for him in Scotland, the King meaning to write to the French King to advance him to some honourable party. In the meantime the King has given him a letter of "factorie" of the earldoms of Angus, Huntly and Errol for three years. He is brother [in-law] to Huntly and secret friend to the other two.

The Parliament "is resolved not to hold at all for this tyme." The Chancellor is greatly reproached by divers in the Sessions House, where epigrams are made against him, the makers' names suppressed, and jests containing a "prognostic" of his evil end pinned up on his seat. On the

James VI. 1594–5. 15th instant the Council "held" at Holyroodhouse, where the nobility convened, though few in number; there concluding that all benefices "vacand" hereafter shall be in the Prince's possession *in perpetuum*, saving the thirds thereof, which are appointed for payment of the ministers' stipends.

1 *p. Copy. Endorsed.*

March 22. **493.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last there is little done except the King's particular affairs concerning his house and living. All matters are settled touching the Prince, and all matters reconciled between the Chancellor and Mar. The Queen is not "mynded" to insist any further, the King finding that course to be so perilous to his own estate that he could not let it proceed. Although he has challenged none for the matter yet he knows from whence it came. Buccleuch and Cessford have exonerated themselves and have desired the Queen to purge them to the King, whereby he may be thoroughly satisfied with them. I count this matter laid by till a new occasion. This day the Exchequer rises.

The King and Queen go to Stirling, where they are to remain till after "Pese." * The Prince is to be "spentt." We have at this time no other appearance but quietness. We hear that Huntly and Errol have embarked. Errol for certain is away. He shipped at Peterhead in Buchan. Huntly was to embark beside Aberdeen, but as yet no certainty has come. They "luke" to receive some money in Flanders that should have come hither. Errol is not purposed to enter into course with Huntly again. Angus is "soutting" the like benefit that the others have. Bothwell is still in Caithness. Some say he is away, but the King is credibly informed he is not away. We are now going to Stirling. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 22. **494.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 149.

On the 20th instant a form of agreement was made betwixt Mar and the Chancellor. Neither of them spoke to the other, but both directed their speech to his Majesty, the Chancellor purging himself of anything "intendit" to Mar's prejudice. This reconciliation by all appearance will engender no more love or trust among them than before, but rather the contrary. Argyll and Mar have ridden to Stirling, and their Majesties, as is supposed, will follow in the latter end of this month, if new persuasions do not stay them.

Huntly, by sending some of his provision to a ship, and Errol by entering the ship, made semblance to depart on the 15th. But the ship was aground and neither of them has yet gone, insomuch that yesternight ordinance is made in Council to charge their sureties. Receive Junior's [young Lawers's] own letter and commit that matter fully to us, wherein I shall be answerable. The matter was never so hot betwixt Mar and the Chancellor as it is presently, and the Queen here is again "degusted" with the Chancellor.

Postscript.—If any good can be done to Wemyss I pray you to further him, for he is altogether yours, and since young Lawers (Junior) is to marry his daughter he must [be] specially used to hold Junior at this course wheresoever I be.

1¼ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

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* Pasch, Easter.

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Enclosure with the same.

(James Campbell, Laird of Lawers, to Mr. John Colville.)

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 273.

I am this week again to go to the Isles, and you shall inform Mr. Bowes that there "is bot thrie thair to dres for our effect," namely, Donald Gorme, Angus MacConnell and M'Kondochy Inveralt. The first two are "forfalt," and are to send in great sums to his Majesty according to their promises made in the castle of Edinburgh. If his Majesty accepts thereof it is well. If not, they will strengthen themselves in the Isles the best they can, and will seek some private friendship of the Queen of England (Audin) to "beare them out" if they be "straitet." To hold MacKondochy to order, I have caused my brother-in-law, the Laird of Glenlyon, to give him a "rowme" and dwelling in his lands, where he is already dwelling; so you shall cast that matter fully upon me. Be you answerable to Mr. Bowes for it, and I shall be answerable to you. But surely he must procure speedy help for you and me, as I showed you. March 21st, 1594. *Signed:* Junior.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 22. **495.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

As in my last so still the Queen's motion for having the keeping of the young Prince and this castle is left. The Chancellor, Buccleuch and Cessford excuse themselves still that they were no advisers of the Queen therein. The King, though inwardly highly grieved thereat, yet seeing much dryness to arise thereon between the Chancellor and Mar, drew them aside in the Exchequer and has again drawn words of acquittance "of ether towardis otheres" and from the Chancellor that he would not know of any hurt to Mar without advertising and preventing it if he could. All which on both sides was spoken to the King, but "by nether to others," so as yet it does not seem a true and hearty reconciliation.

Errol for certain entered on ship-board, taking record and instrument thereof for the safety of his cautioners, and Huntly's gear was also shipped, and both apparently went, for the King yesterday said to me that now England would deny to make help to him, as a thing needless now that the Papist lords were gone. Morton, who now is "weakly recovered" and gone to the New-house at Loch Leven, made motion, as I should have certified by my last, that Angus might have the benefit to depart like Huntly and Errol, and this motion is still laboured but no way yet yielded to. Bothwell, by some letter which I have seen, has not gone out of the country. Spynie is a courtier as it were for the present, looking to recover his former credit little by little, if he be not deceived.

Towards the end of next week the King and Queen go to Stirling, there to remain a good time. It is looked that the Chancellor shall stay them if he can. Mar has already gone before, and Argyll has also departed. The Sessions being ended the Exchequer also will break up, and all things in this place will then be quiet.

A kinsman of O'Dogherty, a physician here, has received letters from O'Dogherty to travail with the King and Argyll to write to O'Donnell for his liberty, and assures me that O'Dogherty has not agreed with Tyrone or O'Donnell (as I perceive I was wrongly informed), and gladly would he make means by her Majesty also for O'Dogherty's relief if he knew how. The King has heard that Fletcher, the player, who was here, has been hanged for his cause, and in merry words told Roger [Aston] and me thereof, as not believing it,

saying very pleasantly that, if it were so, he would hang us. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—One Thomas Rutledge, of Kilham, at Martinmas, hired two Scotsmen who, finding some money which Rutledge had hid in his barn, stole away with the same and came hither. Rutledge, missing them and his money, followed them into Scotland taking a Scotsman with him to witness his trade, and arriving here on Wednesday last met the thieves and got some of his money. Some courtier, hearing that he was striving for the rest, got the King's warrant to stay him and [to have] his escheat, and Mr. Hamilton, one of the Lords of Session, having had some hurt done to his tenants at Melville (Melyn), alleges Rutledge's son to have been at the hurt and to have been reset by him with his tenants' gear, and therefore charges him with it. For these things he is in the Tolbooth. I have earnestly dealt with the King for his liberty, showing his Majesty that he, being in his lawful trade, cannot be stayed without violating the Border laws, which the King said he would not break, referring me to the Lords of Council at the Exchequer, saying the Chancellor knew the laws of the Borders. I got Sir Robert Ker, Sir John Carmichael and the Goodman of Huttonhall to show the Border laws to the Chancellor, against whom he reasoned, willing me to give my bill in when they were in the Exchequer. This was done, and I [was] called in to speak for Rutledge, as Mr. Thomas Hamilton did for himself. Mr. Hamilton and I were then willed to depart that they might advise on it. All the Lords save Sir John Carmichael voted in favour of their fellow sessioner and they have ordained that caution of 600*l.* Scots shall be given, that Rutledge shall on fifteen days' warning answer and "underly" any Scotsmen to any actions criminal or civil to be laid against him by their laws here ; which I dare not agree he should do lest it prejudice the laws. I have written to Sir John Selby to write to the King and Council and Sir Robert Ker and to call for Rutledge's delivery or their answers, for more I cannot do against these sessioners, my Lord Chancellor being against us.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 24. **496.** ROGER ASTON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

This day one Mr. John Myreton (Morton), brother of the Laird of Cambo (Cammoes), in Fife, has been apprehended. He is a Jesuit and confessor of the seminary college in Rome. He is directed from Tyrie, Crichton and other Papists there. His commission is to Mr. James Gordon with letters of credit and "and an abese off a siffer" [an A.B.C. of a cipher]. He has received the Pope's blessing and has undertaken to discharge the credit committed to him. He was taken by Mr. David Lindsay on his landing at Leith by some intelligence out of the ship, which landed there out of Flanders. He has been examined by some of the Council and ministers. He denied any commission, but [said] that he had come to see his friends and for health, having been long sick.

Afterwards the King came himself. He took him aside, and to the King he has confessed more than to any other. He grants his directions to Mr. James Gordon. There are sundry letters intercepted, directed to Mr. James Gordon, making mention of the sufficiency of the man (Myreton), and reproving him [Gordon] greatly that he had distributed the last money to any other but to the King himself, and also that he had "devulgatt" [proclaimed] the King there to be a Catholic before all preparations were ready (meaning the army of Spain). There is also Thomas Tyrie's confession, declaring that

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1594–5. the King is a favourer of the Catholics; that most about him are Catholics; and that Lord Hume, his master, is a Catholic and Captain of the King's guard. There are in some of the intercepted letters great persuasions by the Jesuits to advance the said Thomas Tyrie with money, by which all things might be accomplished. These persuasions were used to the agents in Rome, who have found great fault that the last was not distributed according to their intent. He has brought a tablet of gold and crystal wherein is the whole crucifying of Christ carved in bone. This comes from a chief Cardinal in Rome. He does not yet tell to whom it came, but in my next you shall know. The King has it. He [Myreton] is kept close prisoner. What further falls out by his depositions you shall know in my next.

This day there are letters come from the Colonel [Stewart], by which it is perceived he is not likely to come so good speed there as was looked for. The chief excuses that the States allege come from her Majesty: first, that she craves so great sums of them that they are not able to "avail any to otheres"; next, that they ought not to deal with any prince without her advice and knowledge. His own opinion is that the King should send some to her Majesty to crave her opinion and that a mutual friendship might stand between the three countries. I do not look that this will be done "wppon a soden." The Colonel stays there without resolution [*i.e.* without an answer] as yet. He has sent home sundry letters in Italian, intercepted by the States, and giving advertisement that the Catholics (meaning Huntly, Angus, Errol, Bothwell and Caithness) are in Caithness ready for enterprises, as shall be thought convenient, alleging [that] the slack dealing towards them has given the enemy place to prevail against them, with many persuasions to advance their cause with diligence. The King acquaints the ministers with all these things and does nothing without their advice.

This day sure advertisements have come that Huntly and Bothwell are both away, but in sundry ships. Huntly would not ship where Bothwell was. Certificate has come of Errol's departing by himself, as I wrote before. Huntly has fifteen persons with him, whereof Mr. James Gordon is one. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

3¼ *pp. Holograph. No fly-leaf or address.*

1595. March 25. **497.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

My master, M'Lean (M'Clayne), having "to do" here in Court, directed me to the Earl of Argyll to the effect that his lordship might travail with the King in his "adois," and also commanded me to "speik your lordship" anent the rebellious doing of Tyrone (Teireone), O'Donnell (Odonill) and their assisters who, with the assistance of the Clan Donald (Clandonill) and others in Scotland, mind to make great insurrection against her Grace. O'Donnell has written divers times to M'Lean craving his assistance in this action, and Donald Gorm M'Connell with seven or eight hundred men was in Ireland last July and August. At that time he, having commission of Angus M'Connell, who remained in Scotland, made a band with Tyrone and O'Donnell on behalf of himself and Angus, and since his return to Scotland [they] are banded with Huntly. Yet the Clan Donald do not "plesour" Huntly here in Scotland, nor dare they go to the assistance of Tyrone and O'Donnell without first contracting peace with M'Lean. To obtain this, they have offered to M'Lean to obtain the liberty of his son and the other pledges given by him to the King and by the King to the custody of Huntly, who put them in Mackenzie's

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(M'Kaynzeis) hands upon band to redeliver them under pain of 20,000 marks. They also offer to M'Lean the land that was in debate betwixt them, and for further security desire that his son marry Angus M'Connell's daughter, and that Angus M'Connell's son marry M'Lean's daughter. All this, with other " propynis " [gifts], is offered for M'Lean's assistance, whereof he thought good to advertise you, with his " opinioun " [scheme] for resisting the rebels in Ireland. [He proposes] that her Majesty employ Argyll and him to stay the Scotsmen from passing to Ireland, and that Argyll send men there with M'Lean to pursue the rebels on the one side, while her Highness's army pursues them on the other side at an appointed time. This is the readiest way to expel the rebels and to make them to perish in their " consait " [plan] for troubling her Highness's state and authority in Ireland. I think you have heard of the oppression done by Tyrone and O'Donnell last February ; which is but small in respect of their high intent. " Attour " if her Majesty employ Argyll and M'Lean, she should direct three or four ships furnished with " viwiris " [provisions], for keeping of M'Lean's galleys from the time of his landing in Ireland until his return to them. The Clan Donald of Scotland, with as many as they can raise, are to be in Ireland next May. M'Lean has no good will to Tyrone, because with his own hand he hanged Hew O'Neil, who had apprehended his man with certain writs from him [Tyrone] to Spaniards. Fearing the revealing thereof by the said Hew, [Tyrone] used " moyen " to get him betrayed. Also, M'Lean understands that by his " moyen " Art O'Neil was slain after his [Tyrone's] and O'Donnell's breaking her Highness's war in Dublin (Duphlyn). These two gentlemen, Hew O'Neil and Art O'Neil, were brothers, sons of Shane, otherwise named John O'Neil and Katherine M'Lean, Countess of Argyll, " fader sister " to this M'Lean. Let not Argyll nor any other in Scotland know that this " consent " was moved by M'Lean. In your absence, being in conference with your servitor George Nicolson, I thought good by this letter to communicate my master's commission to your lordship and to show Nicolson the same under the subscription of my master. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Johnne Achinros servitour to M'Clayne of Doward.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

March 25. **498.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

An abstract of the preceding letter.

1 *p. In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Sheperson.*

March 25 and 27. **499.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 150, 151.

On the 23rd instant Mr. David Lindsay took at Leith one Father Myreton (Morton), Jesuit priest at Rome, who arrived that same night in a Flemish barque. Finding he was apprehended, he took a " memoriall " which he had made in form of instructions, and tore it with his teeth the best he could, yet not so privately but he was perceived and the " memoriall " taken from him and joined again in such sort that it may be read ; the " dowbill " whereof and of other letters intercepted by the Estates and sent to his Majesty shall be sent by my next, for presently they cannot be had. But of the said " memoriall " this is the sum : that he should find fault with the Catholic lords for joining with Bothwell, because they had thereby incurred his Majesty's displeasure, who before was so friendly to them (alleging in that " head," most falsely, greater assurance of his Majesty's goodwill than is in effect) ; to re-

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1595. prove them for distributing the gold sent for comfort of the afflicted Church so " inutillie " [unprofitably] as they have done, especially upon some courtiers whom they esteem greatest heretics and abusers; that they should purge themselves hereof to the King of Spain's Council in the Low Countries, especially to the Nuncio there, otherwise no more supply would be furnished; and that, above all, he should find most fault with Mr. James Gordon, who suffered the said lords to fall into these errors.

He has brought with him " ane tabernacle of the quantite of the palme of ane hand, of gold the platt tharof, and within the crucifix with the history of the Passion fynlie vrocht in imagrie." At first he said Father Crichton wished him to present it to the Queen, and then he changed, affirming it to be sent to Angus. The man is a " foolische, bigot Papist " of the house of Cambo in Fife, and has been abroad these ten years.

Yesterday one came from the north, assuring that Errol embarked at Peterhead and Huntly at Aberdeen on the 19th, and had good wind, Huntly intending to go to Denmark and by Poland (Polonia) to Italy. But whither Errol is bound I cannot learn. Before their departure they had mass in the church of Elgin (Elgein) in Moray, and Mr. James Gordon made the sermon, encouraging them not to depart, with assurance of victory as before, if they would " hasard." [*Unsigned.*]

Postscript.—Angus is deadly sick, the Chancellor has gone home, and Session, Exchequer and all are broken up. The ministry insist to have this priest " booted," because he is loth to confess from whom, to whom, and for what effect he has come home. Of Bothwell, by the means you know, I shall hear to-night or to-morrow. The superstition and folly of the priest aforesaid was much laughed at. When he saw his Majesty take the " tabernacle," and that he must needs part with it, he craved to kiss it once before he should " want it " [be deprived of it].

The premises were written two days since. Now, I add that this 27th his Majesty rides to Stirling. On the 31st her Majesty follows. They are to remain in Stirling and Falkland for two months at least. The Queen of Scots (P.) has turned again " on " the Chancellor, who, as you will hear from your own servant, utters his ill mind in open Council to England, which I had rather were reported by others than by myself. Sir George Hume still seeks the double of the Secretary's discharge " at " me.

3 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* " To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Y. Y. Y. 25 *et* 27 Marcii, Westminster iiij° Aprilis, 1595." *Some names in cipher deciphered.*

March 25. **500.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Mr. David Lindsay has taken one Mr. James Myreton (Morton) as he was arriving by sea at Leith, upon intelligence given by the Laird of Dun's son coming in ship with him. This day he was examined, and denied having any errand here [other] than to see his friends and recover his health. But the King, taking him aside, drew from him that he was a Jesuit sent from the Pope and Cardinal Cajetan (Cagitan), and that he had the Pope's blessing and directions from them and Crichton and others to Mr. James Gordon to reprove him for bestowing the last treasure on any save the King. All this the King openly told. He had a letter which he tore, but may be set together and read, a cipher, and a little square thing of crystal or glass set in gold, containing the Passion of Christ, and hung on a chain to give to some whom he told the King of. The King asked him for what it was good. He said to put him in

1595. remembrance of Christ's crucifying. The King said the Word of God was ordained and served for that. He said it was good also to kiss, because Christ, the two thieves and the man who thrust Christ with the lance in the side were in it. The King said it could not be good, for the thieves and that man also must likewise be kissed, the thing being so little. By letters and his confession to the King it appears that the Papists account the King a Catholic (but he says they are beguiled and ever shall be if they so think of him), and to have Catholics about him, [*etc.*, as in No. 496]. As I have ever thought, so now Thomas Tyrie is likely to be "tryed a dealer." But I leave the full certainty to my next, purposing to draw letters to you from your friends who are examiners of this man. Mr. Walter [Balcanquhal and Mr. David Lindsay think he has great errands here.

Colonel Stewart has also written to the King, but "spedes but slowly for mony." He has sent copies of sundry intercepted letters, the contents whereof, not well understanding them, I leave to my next, hoping to procure the same to be advertised to you with certainty and length by Mr. John Colville. I hear Huntly has written to the King to signify that he departs in obedience to him and not for any fault ever made to him. If his religion, he writes, be the fault, he has then endured for his fault. Errol is also said to be gone and Angus to be very sick. Bothwell "is abjected amonge them," for they, especially Huntly, will not lose for him the hope of the King's favour and grace in time.

Here is word now again that the Queen is agreeing with Spain and that an ambassador enshipped in Spain to come to her Majesty. You may perceive by the letter enclosed that MacLean would be revenged on Tyrone for the slaughter of his cousins, and, as the writer of the letter tells me, he will "venture for it" when he gets opportunity, as now he looks to have by her Majesty. Tyrone, as he says, entered into rebellion. Argyll may, by her Majesty's entertaining of him, be "brought upon this platt" very easily against the rebels in Ireland, who, they say here, intend great troubles upon a plot for Spain. Huntly has, I hear, intelligence by MacRanald (McRanmoll) in Lochaber (Louchquhaber) with Donald Gorme, and Donald Gorme with Tyrone for Huntly, all to trouble her Majesty. This writer, John Auchinross, showed me MacLean's directions, by which I see him earnest against Tyrone. I have laid the best course I can for intercourse with John Auchinross in these causes, which are not sought for but offered, as you see. Now the time serves well to do good service anent Ireland. This I pray you use very secretly, for it is of worth. The King has moved the Chancellor, who rode home yesterday, for his allowance of Mr. John Colville's pardon; which he did not deny to the King, but prayed that it might not be proclaimed at Edinburgh, and Sir James Melville has offered his labour to reconcile Mr. John with any that he pleased. So I think he will shortly be at ease. He may thank Sir George Hume (58), for none else could or durst have done so for him. The Duke (6), Mar (21), and Orkney (20) are also for him now. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—Buccleuch, who this day has gone to Hawick, and Cessford, and good Sir John Carmichael and all friends commend themselves to you.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Some names in cipher deciphered.*

Enclosure with the same. * (Printed as No. 497.)

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* Bound separately as Vol. 55, No. 61.

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March 26.

501. Proclamation by James VI.

Warrant of James VI., to all messengers and sheriffs to make proclamation prohibiting all skippers, masters and mariners from transporting the Earls of Huntly and Errol, their adherents and accomplices or other Papists, Jesuits, seminary priests and excommunicated persons within the realm under pain of treason. Holyroodhouse.

Abstract in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 217; inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, iv. 258.

1 *p. Broadsheet. Copy, in a Scottish hand. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "1595. Copie of the proclamation prohibiting the bringing back of th'Erles, seminaries or Papistis." Further proclamation is intended that it shall be death to the seminaries, Jesuits, etc., to come into this land for whatsomever pretended cause.

"I have betaken me to chardge for the gitting of the proclamations that you may judge by sight and I not write thereof."

March 27. **502.** Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.

What was omitted from my last [letter] you shall understand by this. First, the Jesuit has been sundry times examined, but refuses to confess anything except to the King, who has once spoken with him. He refuses to speak before the ministers. When he is called to be examined he claps his hand upon his breast, crying "Lord, strenen [strengthen] me that I do nothing agenst my profession." It is thought he has greater matters in commission than yet he has declared. The furthest that he has yet confessed [is that] his commission is to Mr. James Gordon and that his errand is chiefly to confirm the Catholics in their opinion, and also to persuade as many as he may to that profession. For matters of estate, he denies he has anything to deal in; yet such as have had the examination of him are of another opinion. [Refers again to the attempt to tear up the Instructions, which were found to be reproofs of Mr. James Gordon, *etc.*, as in previous reports.]

This man is very resolute and stands highly upon his profession. He grants there is another to come with a large commission. The King has refused to have any further communing with him. He says he thought to have found the King a good Catholic, and the King says that by his first speaking to him it appeared that he was so persuaded. After some conferences the King directed him to the Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melville. These three days he has been examined, but is not so plain as he should be. He is closely kept, and this day there is commission given to the Prior, Sir Robert, the Clerk Register, Mr. William Hart and Mr. George Young to examine him, by the ministers' advice, thereafter to "give him the law," according to the act of Parliament. The King will not meddle but give place, as the law allows, especially because they have so far abused him as to persuade the world that he is a Papist. Thus far is already done. I hope it shall be followed out to terrify others from taking the like in hand. The tablet that he brought was sent to the Queen by a chief Cardinal who guides all in Rome. I have not his name. The King having the tablet has now given [it] to the Queen.

By sundry letters from Mr. William Crichton, both sent hither and intercepted in Flanders, there is great recommendation of Thomas Tyrie [as in No. 496].

It appears the enemy is not idle. God preserve all good men from their tyranny. If this man be "knett upp," as I hope he will, I shall have the better opinion that matters shall succeed well. The embarking of our Earls

1595 is confirmed. Whither they have gone is not yet known. To-morrow the King goes to Stirling, leaving the ordering of his affairs to certain of the Council who are to remain here. The Chancellor is to come to this town once a week. Because I am to go with the King I cannot advertise you of the proceedings here in due time; but what occurs in Court or any other thing worthy, as occasions serve, I shall direct my letters to George [Nicolson]. This day the King has written to the French King and the Duke of Guise by a son of Mr. Henry Keir, who has been in this country this half year, and now is returning to France through England. He carries some hackneys from the Duke and Mar to the Duke's brother. He has carried himself here very well, rather as a soldier and tennis player than any man of state. The King has given him a jewel of a hundred and fifty crowns. I would gladly hear whether you receive my letters or not. I have written many, but do not hear of their receipt or whether they be esteemed worthy or not. God is my judge I write the simple truth. I have not the capacity to imagine matters as I know some do to bring themselves into credit. I will serve her Majesty faithfully, and be you answerable for me in that point. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—Among other things in Mr. William Crichton's letters he commends the constancy of this Jesuit in his profession, but in some other things he "decommendes" him, chiefly in that he is a favourer of the King of Navarre's overthrow, as also that he says not his matins in the morning, but many times after noon, which is set down as a great fault. He does not call the French King King of Navarre, but "Navare oure persecutter."

3¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 1. **503.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 151–153.

On the 3rd instant her Majesty rides to Stirling, to the dislike of all who would have taken the Prince out of Mar's hands. The Chancellor is this day with her Majesty and is to return back the same night to his own house. The copies of the letters intercepted in Flanders and taken on this Jesuit his Majesty had commanded Wemyss to send to your lordship with his cousin, James Colville, whom I beseech your lordship to use with courtesy.

There is a commission given out to torture and execute him, but I think the simplicity of the man will save him. He had three things principally to negotiate:—the finding fault with Mr. James Gordon; to persuade the Papist lords not to depart this realm; and to send some fit instrument to the Nuncio and Stephano de Juara, in Flanders, to inform them of the truth of our affairs. Whether the Papist lords be quite away or not I know not, but they have embarked. I think Bothwell has not gone, for the man we use in that errand has not yet returned. But I look daily for him. Junior is about his errand and advertises me that great travail is made to make concord betwixt MacLean and MacConnel by marriages between their sons and daughters, and all against Ireland. As to MacCondochie (McOndochy), who is the chieftain, he "kepis him" with his brother-in-law, for without him there can be no great matter enterprised. I myself am to ride with her Majesty to Stirling, from whence I shall continue in my former intelligence. Holyroodhouse.

Postscript.—My peace is now obtained and signed by the Secretary sore against his will, but [there is] no reconciliation betwixt his uncle and me. The Chancellor alleges that I wrote hardly of him thither, and of this estate,

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1595. which he can prove; and whereas his Majesty has not so good answers from Flanders as was expected, he affirmed that by my means your estate is moved to " cros " the matter there. See, therefore, I beseech your lordship, to this wrong imputation. [*Unsigned.*]

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 1. **504.** MR. JOHN SKENE, CLERK REGISTER, TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received two letters from my cousin, Mr. William Lumsden (Lumsdane), and thereby understand your goodwill and liberality towards him. You are not only his friend, but also have given him liberally of your own purse, for which I am obliged to you and shall acquit the same as far as lies in my power. I am assured you will continue to help him in his honest cause, especially seeing the King has written to you to that effect, which letter please receive. The estate of this country is presently quiet. Huntly and Errol have departed, and Mr. James Gordon with them. Huntly wrote a letter to the King from Aberdeen, where he embarked, declaring his innocency and yet protesting that he would not alter his religion. Whereat the King laughed, knowing perfectly that Huntly had offended him divers times.

Lady Huntly is charged to enter and remain in St. Andrews, and Lady Errol to come and remain with her father, the Earl of Morton. Lady Sutherland and her son are in this town and are charged to remain here. Her son is very good in religion, " and guid hoip is of him." Angus is very willing to be reconciled with the King and the Kirk, but no friend dare speak for him. Atholl has presently returned to this town from Linlithgow and is warded here until he finds sufficient caution for keeping of good rule. Mr. John Myreton (Mortoun), a priest and Jesuit, is imprisoned in this Tolbooth. He came from Rotterdam and was taken in Leith. He is brother " be nature and nocht in religioun " to the Laird of Cambo in Fife, and not of great judgment or learning. He was directed from Rome in October last from the Pope, Cardinal Caetano and Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, to Scotland, to Mr. James Gordon, and to obey such injunctions as Mr. James should enjoin upon him in comforting all Catholics in this country and in converting of others. He denies that he has anything to do with " politik estait." He has sundry articles in writing containing an accusation intended by Mr. Bruce against Mr. James Gordon, whereof he [Myreton] received information from Mr. William Crichton in Brussels. There is a great controversy betwixt Mr. Bruce and Crichton in respect that the distribution of the silver is taken from Mr. Bruce by Crichton's means; and Mr. John Hamilton has accused Mr. Bruce of treason before the council in Brussels.

There is an Englishman called Jonas to come into England, sent by the Pope. The points of his commission are not declared to us. His intention was to come first into Scotland, believing that the Papists had been masters. But afterwards, being informed of the contrary in Flanders, he has changed his purpose, and it is supposed that he shall come straight to England. He is sent by Count de Fuentes * and Yvara, and an Englishman called Odouene [cf. 566] gives him information in that cause. Myreton has an A.B.C. of feigned names, which he swears he has never used, but it was only to be used betwixt Mr. James Gordon, himself and Mr. William Crichton. There

* Don Pedro de Toledo.

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1595. is no Englishman's name in it "except the Quene's Majestie," whose cipher [is] "36," and a feigned name, "Berta illa." In Middelburg he spoke with one Ferdinando Bonvardt and borrowed from him ten crowns and made himself manifest to him and declared himself and all his commission. I have shown this to Hadrian Dammane,* for this is a common cause and should be generally known. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Mr. Johne Skene.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Skene, L. Clerk Register. Edenburgh primo Aprilis, Westminster viij° ejusdem, 1595."

April 2. **505.** DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN MYRETON, JESUIT.

"Deponit be Mr. Jhone Myretoun, Jesuist," that—since the money which heretofore has been procured and sent into Scotland for the weal of the Catholic cause had been received by Mr. Robert Bruce and distributed at all times by him at his discretion, and [since] these last 40,000 crowns furnished by the Pope to the same effect, whereof 10,000 were lately brought and distributed within this realm by Mr. James Gordon, were procured and received from the Pope by the means of the said Mr. James and Mr. William Crichton, "besydis" [without] the privity and knowledge of the said Bruce (and greatly, as he accounts, to his discredit and disgrace),—the said Bruce was moved to give in articles to the Archduke Ernest and the Pope's Nuncio resident at Brussels, accusing Mr. James Gordon of sundry great and weighty errors committed by him on his late journey towards Scotland with the said money. The Nuncio made Mr. William Crichton acquainted therewith, and he, finding the said Mr. John Myretoun directed to come to Scotland, thought meet through him to acquaint Mr. James Gordon with the said Bruce's proceedings against him, and to inform him of "the particular headis gevin in againis him." These the deponer for his "memorie" committed to writing, and they are in effect that "memoriall" which was found with him the time of his apprehension. The articles there set down concerning his Majesty are not "materis" conceived by the Pope or his adherents, but discourses made by the said Bruce to the Archduke and the Nuncio for the disgrace of Mr. James and the convoying of the rest of the money to his own distribution. The second article of the first section† beginning "the Master of Forbes," was only a remembrance "to speik" the Master at Bruges—where he is a Capuchin (Capuscheon)—that, since he was the "onlie unioun" of the two houses of Huntly and Forbes, he would do more good to the Catholic cause by returning to his former estate than he could do there as a private person.

The sixth article of the first section, beginning "Sum hastelie, etc.," means nothing else but that he should desire Mr. James Gordon, his superior, to send back with all possible speed sure information of the estate of the Catholics here, and that he should procure a message from them to crave what they thought meet and pertinent for their help, with specification how much money they would need and when it should be sent, and to give order that the messenger might be sufficiently authorised to deal both with the Pope and King of Spain in the said errand.

In the first article, concerning Father Gordon's purgation, "the King's ennemys" are meant such as professed our ‡ religion, and by "the provisioun mentionat thairin to have bene maid be his Majeste" is understood the

* Agent of the Low Countries in Edinburgh. † See No. 512 a.
‡ *our: Protestant,* the religion of the writer.

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1595. concurrence of such foreign princes as might help him against his aforesaid enemies.

The meaning of the third article of that section is that the Pope, being, as Bruce alleged, persuaded by Mr. James Gordon that his Majesty was a Catholic, had only for that respect granted to the said Mr. James 40,000 crowns, whereof the 10,000 transported by the said Mr. James into Scotland and distributed to the three Earls and their adherents were (in Bruce's "allegeance") distributed against the Pope's intention because the whole of it was appointed to have been given to his Majesty.

By "the greatest heretiques," in the sixth article, are meant Bothwell and his adherents, his Highness's greatest enemies in their "concept."

The meaning of the seventh is that Mr. James, as Bruce alleged, had no other commission from the Catholics of Scotland to the Pope, when he craved this supply, but such as "his gowne" (meaning his profession) furnished him.

The sections concerning the three Earls are informations given to the deponer by Mr. William Crichton to be imparted to Mr. James Gordon as accusations laid out against them by Bruce to the Archduke and Nuncio aforesaid.

In the second article thereof, by "the Catholiques about the King" they mean, as he conceives, Lord Hume; and "the heretique with the Earlis" is Bothwell.

The articles concerning Bruce himself are his own speeches to the Archduke and Nuncio of his own ability and service in the Catholic cause, which Mr. William desired the deponer to communicate in like manner to Mr. James Gordon.

He himself was directed in October last by the General of his own order, called Claudius Aquaviva, to come to Scotland to do the good he could for the Catholic cause by confirming such as he found Catholics and converting such others "as he suld find capable." Having accepted his superior's direction he acquainted the Pope therewith, of whom he received 300 crowns for the "defray" of his journey, with his blessing and promise to spare no possible means for the recovery of this realm to the Catholic faith. For the same effect it was promised to him at Rome that Mr. James Gordon, younger, should be sent home as superior of "that ordour" [the Jesuits] in this country. He himself preferred him to "auld Mr. James" as younger and of better courage. Taking likewise his leave at Rome from Cardinal Caetano, the Protector of the Scots and English nation, he received from him the history of the Passion wrought curiously in ivory, to be presented to any noble woman that he thought meetest. Being at Brussels he received from Mr. William Crichton the cipher which he had upon him, unused as yet, but to have been used in such letters as he should have sent back. In this cipher "Berta illa" signifies the Queen of England. From Rome to Brussels he was accompanied all the way by Father Jonas, an Englishman, who has the like direction to come to England.

3 *pp. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Deposition of Mr. John Mortoun, Jesuytt, apprehended at Leythe, delivered to me by James Colvill, sent by the Lard of Wemes by the King's direction. This was sent with the Lard of Wemes letter to me and dated Edenburgh iiii° Aprilis, Westminster xiii° Aprilis predicto, 1595."

In Sir Robert Cecil's hand: "Exposition of the Instructions given by Chriton."

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1595.
April 3.

506. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The King has left his warrant for the examination and torturing, if need be, of Father Myreton (Morton), but he confesses all things so far as he can, as he swears, taking great oaths that he has no dispensation for his oath and denying that the Pope is able to give any such dispensation, so that it is thought the torture need not be given him. The King has also left warrant and commandment to the Justice and Justices Depute to give him an assize as soon as he shall be sufficiently examined and any matter found against him worthy of death. Yet he is held so simple and plain in his confessions that I think he shall be banished, as by my last I advertised. Nevertheless I have " redd and sene " those two warrants. I certified by my last that the token which the Queen has was sent from Cardinal Cajetan, but it is from Cardinal Caitanus, both great enemies, this man says, to the estate of England. Cardinal Allen is dead, as I would all others of his stamp were.

This man's errand is to confirm and to win the people here to the mass, and to stay here and return Mr. James Gordon to the Pope for information of the estate here and resolution in the same. The Pope and Cardinals seem to accuse him [Gordon] of wrong bestowing of the treasure and untimely giving out of the King for a Papist. Myreton (Morton) thought that the King had been so indeed, and in Italy it is thought the Papists are masters by reason of Huntly's overthrow of Argyll. This priest was also to accuse the Earls for joining with Bothwell, because thereby they have made the King against them and the cause. When he came there were one Jones, an Englishman, and one Martin, as I remember, a Scot, to have come this way for England, but they have gone, he thinks, direct to England to practise there. The man at Bruges (Bridges), who has made " a pedegree approving of his fasshion the King of Spaine to be right King of England, and layeng overtures to the Counsell att Bruxells for the attempting of the same, and who likewise makes the King here a bastard, so farr as he can," and certainly practises much against England, as this man says, is called Hugh Odontus, an English traitor. [*In the margin :* Odone.] As to Thomas Tyrie, he says that he is highly commended in respect of the greatness of his master, Lord Hume, on whom they would also " threape " kindness. The certainty of these I leave to the copies to be sent by the Laird of Wemyss with the King's leave, who is grieved to be thus slandered, and intends to acquit himself by his actions against these traitors.

Huntly and Errol have gone, but how far or whither I know not, and with protestation never to change their religion. Mr. James Gordon has gone with Huntly. On Monday last by open proclamation it was prohibited upon pain of death that any should ship them or any other traitors to bring them hither again. Their wives are drawn out of the country, as I wrote before. Lady Sutherland cannot have leave to depart unless she gives good surety of good maintenance to the Earl, her son, for his living here, where she cannot infect him in religion. He is yet very well liked by the ministers. Angus's friends are in hope " to do for him." The King has gone to Stirling, and the Queen is to go thither to-morrow also, but with purpose shortly to return. Old Lady Mar is to give place for that time. A strange change that now the Chancellor and his course prevail altogether with the Queen, as many think. Yesterday he came hither and sat with the Council (as they must do weekly about the affairs here), and before he rode home again he had long conference with the Queen. Mr. John Colville's pardon is now perfected and was subscribed by the Secretary, and now he goes openly abroad, likely to have credit again. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

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April 3.

507. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I perceive the Laird of Wemyss has moved the King to cause him have copies of the letters intercepted in the Low Countries and sent hither by the Colonel [Stewart], and of the examination of Father Myreton (Morton), which the King, as I understand, has willingly caused to be done. The Laird intends to send them to you by his cousin, James Colville, who is to be despatched this day. The Laird is very willing to do all services he can to her Majesty. He intends to get copies of the King's letters to the French King as soon as they are perfected and to send them for her Majesty's service, but not by himself but by me. By which it appears they are of moment, and upon Mr. David Foulis's return from the King this will be done, and not before. This gentleman, being well regarded, may do good for her Majesty in Scotland, but there are matters in hand above his * reach, as I conceive.

This day the Queen has ridden to Linlithgow, from whence she rides to-morrow to Stirling. I perceive by Sir Hugh Carmichael that he is likely to make some journey to London † to furnish her with litters and other "furnish" for riding. Her stay is not likely to be long, for she takes little with her. Now I look that in short time the motion anent the young Prince will either be utterly buried or quickened, to the grief of the persuaders of the Queen thereto. Sir George Hume, having been at Spott, has come hither and gone with the Queen to Stirling.

In the matter for Ireland you will shortly hear further, for young Lawers has gone to fit places for that service, and Auchinross's overture will be also "a half dede" therein if some who had warrant indeed were in Scotland to set it forwards; which matter only I know here, "and none others saving Achenros' master as yet."‡ Mr. John Colville goes shortly to the King, but is altogether devoted to her Majesty and, if very want does not hinder, will be able to be watchman and steersman to the causes for England in Scotland. I see no change in him, for all motions to the contrary.‡

As to Bothwell, "I shall do, if possibly with warynes I may, as you have advised. But, alas! there is no secrecy there nor safety to wishe will; yet as it may, so it shalbe, and tho' with danger." Dr. MacCartney (MacKateney) tells me that the Papist crew for certain will be shortly furnished with good store of money and make new stirs. "Allwaies" for the present I see nothing but quietness, and this town solitary till 15th May, the beginning of the Sessions. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

[1595.]
[*c.* April 3].

508. JAMES VI. TO LORD THIRLESTANE [CHANCELLOR].

Add MSS. 23, 241, fol. 53.

I have "gottin a gesse" of Mar's informer, and if my guess be true, there is "ane archiecousinage" used towards you. "Allwayes" [nevertheless] Mar has promised faithfully to trust no reports nor anyways to suspect you until you and he meet at such time as I please to appoint, and then to be ready to interchange such promises "of particulaire and hairtlie freindshipp" with you as I shall devise. He has desired me to haste this word to you, lest in

* It may be doubtful whether the reference is to Foulis or Nicolson. The text reads that 75 (Foulis) "may do good for A (her Majesty) in Ter (Scotland). And Mor (Nicolson) saieth that there are matters in hand above his reache as he conceiveth."

† "London" is sometimes, and apparently here, used as a cipher for Stirling.

‡ Extract printed in Colville's *Letters*, 273–274.

the meantime other reports might be made to you of him. In good faith, you and he are both evil dealt with, and if it succeeded as some wicked men would, it would be the greatest " hinder " to my service. But as for your part, I am ever a respondent ; I know not whether you will drown me in the " Borrougang " or not. Pray send me a direct answer from the Council concerning Mr. John Morton. *Signed :* James R.

⅔ p. *Holograph. Addressed.*

April 4. **509.** Mr. John Colville to Sir Robert Cecil.

By letters from the ambassador [Bowes] and Mr. Lock I still find your undeserved kindness abounds toward me, specially in this last suit sent up by his Majesty in my favour. But in respect of my present necessity and that I have dedicated myself to her Majesty's service principally (under your ensign), I am bold yet a little more to importune you, as I have more at large written to Mr. Bowes, which please receive of him, and effectuate something for my present comfort. For the Chancellor (K.) so holds me aback from my own " moyens " [possessions] that I am forced to insist more earnestly herein than otherwise I would, being always " deliberat," so long as I have " moyens " of my own, never to burden her Majesty, not doubting but if my service be found " utile " I shall be respected accordingly. I commit all " specialites " herein and of our estate to my letter to Mr. Bowes, and information herein to my cousin James Colville. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Jo. Colvile.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 4. **510.** Laird of Easter Wemyss to Robert Bowes.

Your lordship may perceive by my other letter the care I take that things should go right, which has ever been my study. I have been hitherto put off with fair promises. Now being " at a poynt " and having " the gretest turne " in hand that I am able to have in my time, as the bearer can show you, I look to be " remembrit," that thereby I may always have occasion to continue in good service. I have written a little remembrance to Sir Robert [Cecil] who, I assure myself, will assist you. What I am able to do you know. You have power to command me. His Majesty looks for your diligence. His good meaning " meritis," as you know yourself, and I would not he were disappointed, seeing he reposes so much in you. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Est Veimes.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 4. **511.** Laird of Easter Wemyss to Robert Bowes.

His Majesty, my sovereign, perceiving the drift of these Jesuits in sowing discord amongst princes professing true religion, specially betwixt your sovereign and himself, and therewithal understanding the assertions of such busybodies, although most false and frivolous, to have been misconstrued there sundry times for lack of faithful information of his sincerity (which to no stranger is better known than to yourself), his grace has therefore willed me to send the bearer hereof, James Colville, my cousin, to deliver to you, to be presented to her Highness, the authentic copies of all the letters intercepted in Flanders and " memoires " found on Myreton (Mortoun) and his exposition thereof, to the end her Highness may be " acquent " with all proceeding here and his Majesty freed of any unjust imposition that might be alleged if the

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same "var kepit up" from her Majesty's knowledge. His Grace expected in the meantime that by your good means the promises made by Lord Zouche and yourself might in some sort be fulfilled, like as on his part he took yourself [as] witness if he has not done more than he promised against his rebel Papists, insomuch that they are presently either forced to abandon the country, or, if they remain, are unable to attempt anything against religion or the amity. In doing this he has spent more of his treasure, burdened his people, and "labored" himself more than in any action he ever enterprised since his coronation, as the bearer at length can inform you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Est Veimes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Enclosure with the same. [See No. 512 a.]

April 5. **512.** ADVERTISEMENTS FROM EDINBURGH.

"Collection of th'advertismentis certefyed from Edenburgh by sondry letters of the 23, 24, 25, 27 and 28 * of March laste paste."

On the 24th of March Mr. John Myreton (Morton), Jesuit, was apprehended at Leith by Mr. David Lindsay, and by notice given by the Laird of Dun's son. On his apprehension he tore with his teeth his instructions in writing, yet the papers were so saved and gathered that they might be read. He has been divers times examined, and at first he said that he returned to Scotland for recovery of his health, denying to have any other errands there. But the King drew him to acknowledge that he was a Jesuit and confessor of the seminary college in Rome; that he was sent into Scotland by the Pope, Cardinal Cajetan, Mr. Crichton, Tyrie and others to Mr. James Gordon and with commission to reprove Mr. James and the Catholic lords, etc.; to reprove Mr. James for suffering them to fall into these errors, whereof they ought to acquit themselves before the King of Spain's councillors in the Low Countries, especially the Nuncio, before they should be furnished any further; and that he was sent to convert as many as he could and to stay in the place of Mr. James Gordon, who must return to Rome.

Sundry councillors and ministers are appointed to examine him. But he refuses to confess anything to any other than the King, and will not speak before the ministers. It is thought that he has greater matters in commission than are yet known. He affirms that he would not have come thither but that he thought to have found the King to have been a Catholic. Wherein the King said that he began to hear Myreton as if he favoured him, thereby to draw secrets from him. He brought with him a jewel or tablet of gold or crystal of the breadth of a palm of a hand, wherein is a crucifix with the history of the Passion finely carved in bone, which at the first confession he said Father Crichton wished him to present to the Queen there. At another time he said it was sent by Cardinal Cajetan to the Queen, and lastly that it was addressed to Angus. The King, having this tablet, delivered it to the Queen. The King asking him wherefor the tablet was good, he answered to put him in remembrance of Christ's crucifixion and to kiss it, because Christ with the two thieves and the man who with a lance thrust Christ in the side were in it.

The King replied that the Word of God served for our memory of Christ's crucifying and that the tablet was so little that he could not kiss Christ without kissing likewise the thieves and executioner. When he saw the King take the

* Not now in this collection.

1595. tablet he prayed that for a grace he might once kiss it before he [*i.e.* the King] departed with it.

By his confession and by letters intercepted in the Low Countries, it appears that more Jesuits shall be sent thither, especially one with a large commission, and that Thomas Tyrie is highly commended at Rome and by the Catholics. Tyrie's confession is found with him,—that the King and most about him are Catholics and that Lord Hume is a Catholic and Captain of the King's guard. Great persuasions are used by the Jesuits to advance Tyrie with money. These persuasions were made to the agents in Rome, who have found great fault that the distribution of the last treasure was not done agreeable to their intentions. When the commission for his torment by the boot was shown to him, he told them that one Englishman lay in Bruges (Bridges) travailing to persuade the King of Spain that he had right to England and that the King of Scots was a bastard, concluding that the King of Spain had right to both realms. It is intended that this Jesuit shall be condemned and banished the realm, with order that it shall be death to any Jesuit to come hereafter into Scotland, as in England (they say) it is already provided and used. The ministers seek to have him tormented with the boot in regard that he will not confess from whom, to whom, and for what effect he has come thither. The King will not deal further herein, referring the matter and his punishment to the order and course of the laws, in regard that they have so far abused him in persuading the world that he is a Papist.

Crichton in his letters much commends this Jesuit for his constancy in his profession, but he " discomendethe " him in that he favours the French King,* whom he does not call the French King but " Navarr our persecutour," and that he does not say his matins in the morning but oftentimes in the afternoon. Colonel Stewart has written to the King that the States allege that her Majesty demands so great sums of them that they cannot advance any to others [*etc.* as in No. 496].

On 23rd March advertisement was brought to the King that Huntly embarked at Aberdeen on the 19th with sixteen men and Mr. James Gordon. He intends to sail for Denmark and to pass through Poland into Italy. He would not ship in that part where Bothwell was, and it is said that Bothwell has likewise departed by sea. Errol went on board at Peterhead on the 17th. March. Before their departure Huntly and Errol heard mass in the church of Elgin by Mr. James Gordon, who in his sermon encouraged them not to depart. Huntly has written to the King that he departs not for any fault made at any time to the King [*etc.* as in No. 500]. Angus is very sick. Bothwell is " abjected " by the Papist lords, especially Huntly [*etc.* as in No. 500].

On 17th March the King rode to Stirling, leaving at Edinburgh the Chancellor and other councillors to manage the estate there in his absence. The Queen will remove next week to Stirling, where, and at Falkland, she and the King will remain two months at least. The Chancellor has returned to his house. The Session and the Exchequer are broken up. Mr. John Colville has got the warrant subscribed by the Secretary for his pardon. The King moved the Chancellor for his allowance of this pardon, [*etc.* as in No. 500]. Mr. John may chiefly thank Sir George Hume [that] now the Duke, Mar and Orkney " partye " and favour him.

Thomas Rutledge of Kilham, arrested in Edinburgh by Mr. Thomas Hamilton, is set at liberty by especial warrant of the King, protesting openly that none of her Majesty's subjects should be wronged in Scotland, and that

* Cf. No. 502.

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1595. he would perform the treaties and do all the good he could howsoever he should be dealt withal. Hereupon Killoughe told the King that her Majesty was " gatheringe " for the Prince, his son. The King asked " Why not for myself." Killoughe replied, saying " No," and prayed God that the Queen of England and the King of Scots might live long and both die on one day. The King, laughing thereat, asked the company what they thought of Killoughe's words, and therewith " accompted " the difference in years betwixt her Majesty and him. The Queen is turned again from the Chancellor, who (as it is written) utters his evil mind in open Council against England. Sir George Hume still seeks the " double " of the Secretary's last discharge. The King wrote to the French King and the Duke of Guise by a son of Mr. Henry Keir [*etc.* as in 502].

3¼ *pp. In Sheperson's hand. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk.*

[1595.] **512a.** INSTRUCTIONS BY [WILLIAM] CRICHTON TO [JOHN] MYRETON.*

(1) " For Wallis the decreit his acceptatioun, constitutioun of procurens to resave the teindis of Clette [Clatt] enterand in possessioun and payit of j^{c} pundis, all in forme autentik, to mak faithe in judgement with all the quittances of his that may be had. Yit that he be payit of that is awin him in conscience and ressoun, for it is profitable that he is nocht all payit." (2) " The Maister of Forbes. That the King's Majesty and his father, the Erle of Huntlie, wrait to the Archiduk to have him for the weill and peax of the countrey, that thay twa nobilis howssis enter nocht in wair with the truble of the haill countrey and perditioun or ruine of his mother." (3) That the Earl of Huntly provide for his brother " that studeis in coistrary [*sic*] and wald nocht byd in our seminarie, nor yit was it to his lordship's honour heirof with Gordoun and Auchindowne." (4) " To Father Gordoune of his priviledgis and indulgences with the tyme that thay sowld lest. I meine the priviledgis." (5) (6) "Off Secill narratioun dyvers sum haistelie to ws that may mak informationis and ask as appertenis with specificatioun of quhatt and quhen ane with autentik power to be credetid." (7) " Off almesour of beneficis for our semenar." (8) " Donatioun of Mr. David Chalmer, (a Scottishman),† airis of that is awin him of his pensioun grantid be the King of Spaine. No [*sic*] favoure of the seminar, with procuratioun autentik to resave heir as salbe awin him, with atestatioun autentik of the nyxt borrow toun be the notter public that thay be his airis, and to the airis salbe gevin part of that quhilk salbe resavit, thay will never get ane penny be thame selfis, perchance be favour, and for this wark of petie sum pairt may be recovered."

(9) " F[ather] G[ordon] most clainge [cleanse] himself of that is alledgit aganis him baithe to the Archiduk, Count of Juentes and Stephane de Ivara."

(1) " That he is gevin generally to undertsand to all men that the King of Scoitland is Catholik, and that to his and all the Catholikis prejudice to adverteis his enemyis or [*i.e.* before] he and thay be provydit to resist thame." (2) That he has deceived his Highness by false information to " dryve " money out of him, not for the restitution of the Catholic religion, but for some particular pretences. (3) That he has transported a part of the money into Scotland against all reason, all prudence and conscience, and against his Highness's intentions, for thereby he has put the money and the Catholics in danger, and the cause in far worse estate than it was before his going. (4) His great im-

* Although detached and bound separately this letter was probably enclosed with No. 511.

† Added above the line in Burghley's hand.

prudence . . . * in "publict landinge." (5) That albeit the King was much moved against the three Earls for their own faults, yet much more for F[ather] G[ordon's] indiscreet behaviour. (6) He has "imployit" that which he got "for" his Majesty upon the greatest heretics against his Majesty and to his enemies. (7) He came without commission, and he had no other commission "bot that quhilk his gowne brocht him." (8) Whatever be given to the Earls and not to his Majesty will "on na wayis" advance the Catholic religion. [Cross in the margin.]

Of the three Earls. (1) They were not "forfawltit" and banished for their religion "bot for matter of estait." (2) The Catholics are with the King, and the most "mischant" [wicked] heretic with the three Earls—Bothwell. (3) The Earls have conspired sundry times with Bothwell against his Majesty's life. (4) The King's Majesty is not against the Earls, "bot for to save his lyf and estait." [Cross in the margin.] (5) The King's Majesty propounded sundry means to the Earls, specially how to save themselves, "and that with [*sic*] prejudice of thair consiencis or that thay sowle thame selfis," and they would not follow his counsel. But he does not specify what were the three things which his Majesty propounded. (6) Since the Earls do not follow the King's counsel he believes it to be either for lack of means, lack of courage, or that they will not admit him for their head that they themselves may have all the means and money obtained for the religion. [Cross in the margin.] (7) That Huntly deferred coming to deliver F[ather] G[ordon's] companions till he had "of the gowld," and then to have his part thereof, and thereafter "pat fyr in the fauboures." (8) That the three Earls have ofttimes "falsefeit" and broken their promises to the King's Majesty, and no ways can he be assured of them. (9) That Bothwell, most "mischant" heretic, has often by "conjurarie," witchcraft and conspiracy attempted "to caus the King die." (10) That Bothwell, being heretic, has received much of the "paipis" money against the "paipis" will.

Of the King. (1) That the King is desirous to deliver himself from the yoke of the ministers "haldine upon him sence his birthe al maist," and "lyk" out of the yoke of England "that aftine attemptis aganis his lyff," and to revenge his mother's death. (2) That he would desire the King of Spain's help if he could obtain it. But he is dissuaded for fear he be discovered, refused, or deferred. (3) The King of Scotland is desirous that his Catholic Majesty offer him his help by a letter "express" to be brought to the King of Scotland by Bruce, who will obtain thereafter commission authentic under the great seal . . .,† to treat with the King of Spain, and in the meantime that his Catholic Majesty give to the King of Scotland money to maintain a "stange" guard for assurance of his life. The King of Scotland prays his Majesty Catholic to assure him of his concurrence "and to serve him of his Majestie all thingis aganis Ingland." (4) The Queen of England and many of her Council assure the King of Scotland of the‡ succession to the crown on condition that he leave the Queen in peace during her life, and to that effect has paid him "all the arreagis of the principall of Walles." (5) The King has taken "gust" [liking] of the Catholic religion and has defended it against some ministers. (6) The fear of England and ministers and the evil government of the three Earls have "empaschit" [hindered] the King to be Catholic and to advance the Catholics, as otherwise he would have done and as he would do yet if he had the letters by Bruce from the King of Spain and with money to assure his person and estate. § (8) The King of Scotland has refused to sign the

* Thus in the original.
† Thus in the original.
‡ Altered from "his."
§ (7) is omitted.

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1595. league with the heretics of France, England and Holland. (9) The King has shown favour to all the Catholics, and especially to the Earls. (10) The King yet has resolved to help the Catholics and to give them liberty of conscience. (11) If the King was assured of the Catholics and any help, he would put them on his side. (12) The King " did forfalt " the three Earls because they contemned his counsel and to save his own life and for adherence to Bothwell; yet he would have saved them " had nocht beine the careing " * of F[ather] G[ordon] to Scotland. (13) The Catholics are with the King, and the most " mischant " heretic with the three Earls. (14) The King has never pursued any Catholic for his religion, and is still " myndit " never to persecute them.

Bruce. (1) Bruce the first " foundatour " of the union and the Catholic cause of Scottishmen both in Scotland and Spain. (2) When the three Earls and Catholics were " in paine for thair Blankis that sowld have passit in Spaine, Bruce be ane gentilmane send instructionis averturis to the King quhairby he was appasit of his angre aganis thame and savit thame," and the King commanded to thank Bruce by letter for his instructions. (3) The King has commanded Bruce to make instance to obtain a letter from the King of Spain whereby he should offer his help to the King of Scotland and send it to Bruce, who thereupon shall obtain commission ample to treat with Spain. (4) The arrival of F[ather] G[ordon] in Scotland, the evil government of the three Earls and sinister information given against Bruce " hes stopit the King to gif " his commission to Bruce to treat with the King of Spain. (5) " Bruce doingis of importance of estait for the Queine of Scotland hes maid him knawin and redowtit and therfoir feirit," so that his man, Andrew Small, would have been hanged if he had been discovered " last." (6) Bruce was in evil opinion " be " the King, but well known and favoured by him. (7) Sir Robert Melvill, Great Treasurer of Scotland and of the Council of State, " proche parent " [near kinsman] to Bruce.

4⅔ *pp. Copy, apparently faulty, in a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* " Instructions given by Creyton to Morton, which being torn by Morton were put together againe and redd." " Instructions." *Some corrections of spelling made by Cecil.*

April 7. **513.** YOUNG LAIRD OF LAWERS TO MR. JOHN COLVILLE.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 274.

I have been occupied since my departure from you in dealing with MacCondochie, who this last week has received advertisement from O'Donnell and O'Neil willing him to come to Ireland with 400 men. These MacCondochie himself has presently in readiness, for this late order taken by the King for the quieting of the highlanders has forced " the haill brokin men " in these countries to be in readiness to depart. " Aluayis, as oft befoir, the groundis imponit be me sall be keipit," neither has MacCondochie as yet resolved to depart, but remains " stayit " by me, as you shall learn next week at Stirling, where I intend to meet you. There were likewise certain offers directed to Argyll by the same legate who came to MacCondochie, desiring the assistance of 1200 men to be sent there in May, for which he should have the accustomed tribute paid by them to his predecessors. My lord has " continewit " his answer till he meets with his friends, which is looked shall be on the 20th instant. Then he will direct one of his own back with his answer; and so their legate has returned back.

Angus MacConnell, Donald Gorme and MacLeod of Harris are jointly in

* *carrying : coming.*

dealing with MacLean for friendship and have offered him his whole lands that were detained from him by MacConnell; and it is looked that this shall compose the whole [matter]. "Alwayis" they are to meet and to convene their forces that they may be transported into Ireland. But I intend to be present myself at their meeting, and at my return shall acquaint you of their whole proceedings. *Signed:* Junior.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 9. **513a.** [DR. MACARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

I am informed that Huntly and Errol are to return before 30th May with sufficient provision of money; and it has been written to Angus that he shall remain till their "bakcumming," and his eldest son is now "presentlie norishit with Morton." The man who attends on him has advertised me of this last point. The Prince is apparently to be transported to Edinburgh Castle, and Mar likely to be deprived of his earldom if he resist. There is an ambassador to be directed to France shortly. I think you shall understand the causes shortly, and they are neither great, profitable nor needful. I wonder greatly that no intelligence can be had of the book that I first wrote for, "bot to haymelie." I told G[eorge] N[icolson] that there was a man of traffic of your own country, and he was one of those who were with the lords in the north, "and Barganie keapit him." But what he did in that matter I know not. E[dinburgh.] *Signed with a trefoil.** *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 10. **514.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

At my departing out of Edinburgh I wrote to you. Since then I have been silent, rather for want of matters than goodwill. I doubt not but George Nicolson has sufficiently informed you what is done with Father Myreton (Morton) since his Majesty's coming away. His friends have made great means for him and procured a letter to the King from such of the Council as had the examination of him, giving their opinions that it were meetest he should be banished the country seeing there was no great matter to be tried against him, and he but of a simple capacity. What this might have wrought I know, if Mr. Patrick Galloway had not come hither. He has been here, and so handled the matter that now he has commission for his straiter handling. He has given me his hand that this holy Jesuit shall not pass so lightly away. For my own part I have spoken freely both to the King and some others, laying before them what a suspicion and slander it will be to the King if this man pass away unpunished, seeing how constantly they have confirmed the King to be of their religion. Therefore, for the better satisfaction of the world, his Majesty cannot do better than, as he gets them, to "knett them up" that the world may see they are liars and abusers. He has taken this well and is to make a "strett" proclamation that so many as "comes and are gotten" shall be presently hanged, and such as receive them. In this I can say no further, but "abydes tyme" in hope there shall be execution.

We do not hear of our Papist Earls who embarked. Errol's course was for Hamburg. Bothwell was in Orkney, where he landed with twenty-four with him; Orkney's servants thought to have entrapped him, whereof he got advertisement and returned to his ships. He has one ship of 60 tons and a little pinnace. He was lately in Shetland in a harbour there. One of Orkney's

* This is the cipher adopted by Dr. Macartney. The letter bears another symbol (intersecting semicircles) on the back, probably by way of address.

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servants who has come from thence says "his menyng is for Donkerke." Caithness should have come in long since, and his pardon was granted, but because the King will not let it pass the seals before he comes in, he keeps out and will not enter before it pass the seals, which the King will not suffer to be done. I hope we shall have quietness this summer. Our "polittike hedes" will not meet till the latter end of summer. The Queen deals no further in the matter concerning the Prince. The Prince should have been "spentt" now presently, but it is otherwise resolved by reason of the change of milk, which has made him tender and something sickly "with his breding of teth." The King and Queen go shortly to Falkland, where they are to remain all this summer. Stirling. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address: Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 10. **515.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 154-155.

From the 5th instant to this present I have remained here, finding no matter worthy of writing till this day, when, many reports coming that these Papist lords had privily returned, I prayed Sir George Hume to assure me of the verity thereof. From his Majesty's own mouth he assures me that none of them shall "byd" but with his utter displeasure, and that Errol is without doubt away and ere now at Hamburg. Huntly embarked, but [it is] yet uncertain whither he goes, and Angus, a man of whom is little account, [is] unprovided to depart and more obscure at home than the obscurest private person. His Majesty is very earnest that he be not "calumniat" in this point. As for this Jesuit, albeit sundry would persuade his Majesty to pity him by reason of his simplicity, Sir George Hume is of opinion that he will not be saved.

This day an unhappy accident is "fallin" here in Stirling, for the Laird of Garden's "childring" have "invadit" one called Bruce, of the Laird of Airth's house, when he was in Dunipace's company. A special friend of Dunipace is hurt, and in "redding" three or four of this town [are] deadly wounded. This will put all Stirling by the ears.

What young Lawers (Junior) is doing by his own letter your lordship will see. He and Mr. John would be remembered "tymuslie," for their service is necessary. Bothwell departed on 28th March from Zetland toward Dunkirk, or, failing thereof by adverse wind, to Calais or Dieppe, with purpose to go to Brussels. Your own man, France,* is with him and has appointed me to send to the sign of "Petite St. Jehane" in Calais, where he desires to receive my directions from his Majesty whether he shall "byid" still with Bothwell or not, with promise that from thence he shall advertise both you and me of all he can learn in that company touching your estate or Bothwell's intentions. Therefore, let my letter herewith sent be circumspectly sent thither, for there may be good intelligence found that way. Bothwell was cast into Orkney ere he went to Zetland and fortuned to cast anchor hard by the house of my "brother," Mr. Herries, who has the rule of that country in the Earl's absence, and hearing of Bothwell's name he made such preparation that his abode there was very short. He has a ship and fly-boat. In his ship are Colonel Boyd, Captain Foster and some six gentlemen more with mariners; in the flyboat the Fleming and Englishman who came in last, and some mariners. This is the true estate of Bothwell.

The Earl of Orkney, a young nobleman of good expectation, is procuring a commission to arrest such English ships, fishing in his waters, as he can

* Francis Tennant. See *Letters*, p. 154 *n.*

justly charge with the piracy done against himself three years ago. "I will give ee agans who this is specially meaned," and I wish her Majesty would correct such as have done him wrong rather than that it fell out otherwise. *Signed:* "Y."

Postscript.—This inn, "Petite St. Jehane," in Calais, is a lodging where all merchants of Edinburgh lodge.

3 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. No address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Some names in cipher deciphered.*

April 10. **516.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Huntly and Errol have departed, and proclamation made thereupon as by the copy enclosed you may perceive. [No. 501.] I hear that they have gone to Norway, to pass from thence to Hamburg, and so where they please. Bothwell has been at Orkney, where the country gathered to apprehend him; whereon he departed to Shetland, as is said; from whence also he has departed, but whither it is not known. Angus is still labouring to have his lands for his wife and children, as the other two Earls have, and also to depart. But there is small hope for him therein. "Allwaies" Morton and his friends intend, by a clause they have in the law, to preserve the living for his son, a matter which, if the Duke does not agree, will breed stirs between them and the Duke. Lady Sutherland has gone home, and her son is with Mr. Robert Bruce, very well pleased therewith.

The King has written to the Chancellor to examine Father Myreton (Morton) by torture, and to give him an assize; and also to Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay to let them understand that he has given such order and that he would have them to look so to the matter that he had no blame, but themselves should bear the burden in case his examination and assize should not be sufficient. So Mr. Robert Bruce still notes the King to be very frank herein.

It was expected that an ambassador from France should have been here ere now. Mr. Henry Keir's son has now his full despatch and has departed hence. [*In the margin, in Cecil's hand:* "Toward the Duke of Lenox."] Mr. David Foulis commends himself to you, as by his letter you will perceive. Atholl is at this town, not freed of his ward as yet. From Stirling I hear nothing; but by Sir Hugh Carmichael, who came yesterday from thence, I understand the King "attends" hunting and hawking, and the Queen and old Lady Mar agree very well, and the young Prince is well and all there very quiet. [*In the margin, in Nicolson's hand:* "In Easter weke Sir Hughe saies they go to Faukland and will stay there."] Mr. John Colville's pardon is there proclaimed and himself an open, free man there, yet not without suspicion of his enemies here that he is plotting now against them. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—At the closing hereof I was advertised of a fray in Stirling between Garden and Dunipace.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 12. **517.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This day I received Mr. Aston's letter to you (which I send herewith), with a letter to myself, signifying that the Earl of Orkney had obtained commission for the stay of English ships coming to Orkney or Shetland for fishing,

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1595. and wishing me to stay the same by the means of honest merchants. For this purpose he has also written to the Chancellor a letter which this day I have forwarded. On this good warning and advice of Mr. Aston, as also upon knowledge thereof by such letters as I had before, I have employed Mr. Foulis, Robert Jowsie, William Small, "Sanders" Lindsay and other merchants here to stop the passing of that warrant by the seal, and I have this morning showed the Secretary the inconveniences of the same, moving him to stay the same till he shows the King the inconveniences; which he willingly said he will do, being this day to ride to Stirling to his Majesty. Mr. John Colville has indeed given me two several advertisements thereon, and the matter is so handled that, without malice to the informers, it will be, I trust, defeated. Mr. Hanger's servant having gone to Ayr to dispose of the ship arrested for his master and some travailing here to loose the arrest, I went to the Secretary who in my sight, before I moved him, denied to set his hand to any such thing, and promises not to consent to any like matter. So I find the Secretary very kind. He commends himself and his uncle to you.

The Clerk Register has gone to Lethington, and the Chancellor is to be here on Monday, and looks to meet the King here then or on Tuesday. The Chancellor's party persuade me that the King is coming hither to confer with him anent motions and the business (as they term it) of Mr. John Colville. But Mr. Colville advertised me by letter that the King is to come to Linlithgow to hunt and hawk there for some two or three days. Thus I perceive Mar and the Chancellor are not yet out of suspicion of each other, and that the King is rather for the Chancellor than for the others, because appointments of meetings are thus set down between them. Upon the Chancellor's coming some further trial will be taken on this Jesuit, who is for the present in better heart than he was, not so freely confessing things demanded. I leave all to further trial, expecting that the Council will do what they can to ease and to cause this Jesuit to be banished, if they can so persuade the King.

I perceive Balcomie (Bocomye) has returned word that he can get no justice for the Earl of Orkney albeit the offender was in Court; which has the rather moved this grant of the commission. But some think that Mr. Archibald Douglas has got some redress for the Earl's matter and keeps it to himself.

Others think that Balcomie, having endured some trial anent his other affairs otherwise than he liked, has the more earnestly insisted to further the warrant for the Earl. [*In the margin in Nicolson's hand:* Lady Arbella.] "Allwaies," as time serves, the King wants no hard persuaders against the doings of England, and, chiefly, the want of support is the greatest matter whereon the ill-willers play. The Goodman of Huttonhall tells me that Sir John Selby and he have met, and that they have not agreed upon some questions falling out between them, but referred the same to a new day. This day he has gone to Stirling, I think for the King's resolution in those matters, and I think matters of debt shall not be answered by that law any more. Yet the Goodman tells me if matters now in question end well, he will find me a way to help William Milburn's matter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—Mr. David Foulis (75) "comendis him" to you; but I cannot get his letters till next week. Altrye (58) * is and will be found ready to do all good services for her Majesty, with his duty to the King of Scots.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

* 58 is elsewhere the cipher for Sir George Hume. If Lord Altrie was not actually dead by this date, his active career was certainly over. His successor was his nephew, the Earl Marischal. See *Scots Peerage*, i. 159.

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518. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This day I received a little note from George Nicolson, excusing you that you had not written to me, withal desiring that I would write to you; and because this day I have seen something pass that may be offensive to her Majesty, I thought good to acquaint you therewith in due time. The Laird of Balcomie (Bocome), being employed by Orkney with letters from the King to her Majesty for redress for such goods as were taken from him four years since, says that for answer the Treasurer bade him pursue it by law—the men who had taken the goods being present, and no redress made. Whereupon the Earl has informed the King, and, being one of the Chamber and a great courtier, has this day got a warrant to arrest all English ships that come either to Orkney or Shetland till he be paid. At the passing of the warrant the King told me his intention was no ways to offend, but only that the Earl might be satisfied. I answered plainly that that was not the way; for if the Earl stayed any ships either in Orkney or Shetland the merchants of Scotland would pay for it, and so I told our greatest courtiers. I durst not "crose itt over fer," but I wrote to the Chancellor and informed him of the matter, with my own opinion. I also wrote to George Nicolson to inform some earnest and well affected men of Edinburgh by whose means it might be stayed.

I have seen by a letter out of England that there is great doubt of the Papists' departure, and that their livings are provided to their own use. I have from time to time written the truth of that matter, and what others write believe them not. Huntly and Errol are in sundry ships and gone. Errol's course was for Hamburg, and no ways to have any doings with Huntly again. Where Bothwell has been I wrote to you in my last. As for the Papists, as they behave themselves in their absence so shall they get "oversightt" for their livings. This I will assure you, they have no conditions further than their own desert. If they live without practice the better consideration will be had of their wives and children.

This last order that is taken with the Highlands I fear will give occasion to many broken men to pass to Ireland. They have spoiled the country so far that they are not able to make redress, and so dare not enter. I hear they are determined to go to Ireland.

John Colville is in this town making all his means to get the King's presence, but as yet has not obtained it. Stirling. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—We hear that you are to return. I have spoken with sundry good men and the best affected, who wish it from their heart. Your presence would take away all occasions that may breed jealousies. If you come "enabelt" you will guide all. I hope to cross this "porchast" warrant of the Earl's, yet I "seme not" to deal in the matter. I know when the merchants get word they will stir in the matter.

2⅓ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 15. **519.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

This bearer, John Cunningham, burgess of this town, is merchant for MacLean from whom he has lately received a letter, which I have prayed him to show you; whereby you will perceive that MacLean would have him provide sundry things for him, in which, if he receives favour, he will be the "francker" for such "turne" as you shall employ him in, and therefore I signify to you that this person is honest and will show you such things as you,

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1595. I hope, will like; and also I beseech your worship to give him your furtherance in his said "adoes." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

⅔ *p. Holograph. No fly-leaf or address.*

April 17. **520.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Monday last the King came to Linlithgow, where he is to stay at his hawking and hunting till Friday or Saturday next, and from thence to return to Stirling to the Queen, who still remains there with no great contentment. Lord Hamilton now pleases the King very well, and some think he will be "brought to kyndenes" with Mar and those courtiers, the rather because the Chancellor was the means for the favour which Johnstone got anent the slaughter of Maxwell. The King has written to this and sundry other presbyteries to come to Stirling to him on the 29th anent the excommunication of Spott, Colonel Boyd and others; and, not pleased that the ministry here would not examine witnesses ready to have given them evidence in that matter, he intends to have the ministers to examine such witnesses as "can say to the purpose," and thereon to draw them to agree to the excommunication. The Presbytery here have by letter prayed his Majesty to spare the ministers of this town, Canongate and Leith in regard of the daily preaching and great auditory here, hoping thereby to be allowed to send their commissioners.

On 8th May a Convention is to be here, where the King intends to "try out" sundry suspected for coining in Fife, "and of good degree for gentlemen as is thought." The King has hanged some of the Macgregors, and the Macfarlanes have come in and are to enter pledges in Tantallon for their good behaviour, by which those Highlands are also quiet, some of them making for Ireland, I hear.

The Chancellor came hither on Monday and spoke with the Jesuit. But because Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David Lindsay were absent (which they would not have been if he had warned them of his coming), he did not proceed to examine him. He confesses nothing more than you know. By the Clerk Register and Mr David Lindsay I perceive it is thought better to preserve him both to resolve any questions which he knows concerning any Jesuits in England for the benefit of England, and also that they may learn further of him by your advertisements of such matters as the two taken at Carlisle and conceived here to be Jonas and Martin, the Scotsman, shall discover against him for their benefit here, in which behalf they seem to have written to your worship. So this delay appears to rest on your advertisements, wherein, therefore, please satisfy them with speed. I spoke with the Chancellor, requiring him to take such order that the arrest might not be "lowsed" to Mr. Hanger's prejudice, which he promised should not be. So I thank God that I have yet frustrated Ross's devices, as also the commission of the Earl of Orkney, wherein Mr. Aston tells me Sir George Hume has also kindly given his travail in Court.

It is thought that whereas the Duke had resigned the earldom and living of Bothwell, by which Buccleuch and Cessford have their estate in those lands, yet on coming to perfect age he shall revoke his resignation and thereby draw those lands from those lairds (albeit the earldom of Angus was given in consideration thereof), both because of the title which is claimed for Angus's son to that earldom, and also, some think, to requite the two lairds for the advice supposed to be given to the Queen for the taking of the young Prince from the custody of Mar, his brother-in-law. This is not a little looked to breed some troubles here and looseness on the Borders, if it proceed, and it is

1595. said, but I can[not] see how it can be true, that Bothwell has landed and gone to the Borders. The motion made by the Queen for having custody of the young Prince and this castle is buried, yet the Kirk of Scotland can see no other but extreme troubles to arise either between Mar and the Chancellor or between Mar and the Queen; which they are not acquainted with, and therefore cannot have occasion to take dealings therein, but to wish good end therein. This by little and little will be seen either to calm or to break out into some mighty storm. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 18. **521.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Orkney's commission for the arresting of English ships within his country was passed by the King upon information that he was denied redress and also [that] his ship laden with wine was taken by her Majesty's ships, and with this instruction, that he should not intromit with anything except to make haste till he might get some redress. Although fair promises were made, yet I feared the inconvenience that might follow, the preparative not being before. I presently wrote to the Chancellor and Secretary, whose hand it should pass before it came to the Senate. I also dealt with Sir George Hume, whom I found very willing to have it stayed, and at the Secretary's coming to Court on Monday last he dealt with him in that behalf. The Secretary has been moved in the matter, but has refused. So I look it shall pass no further, and so the Secretary has promised me. The King will not insist, being informed of the truth. You know he can refuse nothing, but passes all, not looking what may follow.

The King has appointed to be in Edinburgh on 8th May, where the Council convenes for order-taking with his affairs, chiefly the counterfeiters of false coin. Many are to be touched with the matter, chiefly in Fife. Also there is order to be taken with such of the Highlands as have not already given in pledges. There is now great quietness. I fear such of the broken men who are not answerable to the law will go to Ireland. I hear that MacConnell Roy, a great chieftain of Argyle, is preparing himself that way. He has been a great oppressor here, and now such order is taken that he dare not meddle further. I think it were not amiss that you should give some information to George [Nicolson] against the day appointed for meeting of the King and Council, that some order may be taken for them. When I see your directions I shall do accordingly. There are "fliing tales" that Bothwell has returned from Shetland into these parts, "butt no souch matter." He was lately in Shetland. He has slain sundry of the Earl's oxen and sheep to victual his ships. No word has yet come from the Papist Earls. The King is presently in Linlithgow hunting with Hamilton. From thence he returns to Stirling, and so to Dunfermline. I came to this town this day upon some directions of the King and am this night to return. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 22. **522.** WILLIAM ROMENY TO LORD BUCKHURST.

By a letter dated the 15th instant at Hamburg, and received this day at the Royal Exchange, my servant gives me to understand that three noblemen, fled out of Scotland, have lately arrived at Hamburg. One of them is called Bothwell. The names of the others he knew not. These are purposed (as the report there goes) to take passage for Spain in the ballast of the fleet of

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1595. fly-boats which is almost ready to depart thitherwards. This news I would have imparted to my brother-in-law, Mr. Middleton, that he might have given information thereof, because he is better known, but he being out of the city I thought it my duty (not " staienge " his coming) to give intelligence myself to your honour. London. *Signed :* William Romeny.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

April 22. **523.** LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO ROBERT BOWES.

My servant, John Auchinross, has informed me of his letter anent Ireland, directed to you and delivered to George Nicolson [No. 497]. This now is to inform you that O'Donnell has sent to the Earl of Argyll desiring that he assist them with force of men and has offered him largely for the same, and the Earl of Tyrone, with O'Donnell, has sent to my neighbours desiring them to make haste in their passage to Ireland and has " advancit " them with silver and silver work for taking up of men. They are making great preparation and " myndis " to have 4000 men with them " to " Ireland. O'Donnell has written to me in like manner and offers me largely of his " geir," and my neighbours daily have " thair message at me " for contracting of peace with them, for which they offer me largely of their own and also of that which they obtain from Ireland and other parts, seeing they cannot well leave this land without a further security of my peace than they have. I have " continewit tym " with them all as yet, awaiting your Queen's " mynd " to me hereanent. If I see any " doing " with her I will not yield to them and shall do her grace good service, occasion being offered. If she thinks that this enterprise in Ireland may hurt her, not only my neighbours would be stayed here in Scotland, but also her enemies would be pursued in Ireland with her army on the one side and with others from Scotland on the other side. As my servant wrote, the Earl of Argyll and I were most meet to be employed " to this turn," and so I make you " foirsein " before I conclude with my neighbours. Duart. *Signed :* Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

Postscript.—Those men whom I call my neighbours are Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorme MacConnell, dwelling in the Isles of Scotland. By reason of our acquaintance I have taken occasion to make your lordship participant of the occurrent news here, and I desire that you cause me " nocht to tyn my commoditie heir, and nocht to proffeit thair vith your lordship's acqwentance."* *Signed :* Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

$\frac{3}{4}$ *p. In the hand of Auchinross, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 23. **524.** MR. JOHN COLVILE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 155, 156.

I refer all matters of estate to Nicolson, who has been here with me and knows all that I know. Only this much I advertise to be secret: that the King, understanding from me that Bothwell has gone, wishes " to have him ferder tryit out," and will employ me in that errand, with commission in other matters to her Majesty by the way, ample enough, though secret, and assuredly for the benefit of both, else I should not accept the service. It is therefore required with speed that a passport and commission may be sent for me, for the King will have me to go quietly, and as privately as I can till I be at London. Next,

* The sense seems to be that because of their acquaintance MacLean has informed Bowes of the news in the Isles, and he desires Bowes to see to it that he (MacLean) does not lose his opportunity in Scotland [of taking advantage of the offers of his neighbours] and at the same time lose his profit in England.

1595. the young Earl of Murray "being" to go abroad for his instruction, it is thought he cannot have any place of surety so good as in England. I am required to know her Majesty's pleasure therein and to have a passport for him. He is a young one of good expectation and the seed of such as ever loved the amity. Thirdly, young Lawers is like to discharge his part well, and will in the latter end of this week assure us what shall be done; whereof he has at large spoken with your servant and me. Stirling. *Signed:* Y.

1¼ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. Stirling 23 Aprilis, Westminster primo Maii, 1595."

April 23. **525.** THE EARL OF ARGYLL TO MR. ROBERT BOWES.

I received your lordship's letter and her Majesty's "placard" [see No. 527], thanking you for your "liberall travells" and acknowledging her Majesty's courteous benefits, which I will not forget in every lawful service. The delay of your answer made me suppose that the business of Ireland "had bein brocht to sum gud fyne" [end], and settled in a quiet estate. Thereby I was not careful to learn of the intentions and proceedings of my neighbours as in the beginning I was. But now I shall omit nothing that may hinder our people "from the Iyrland service." Such as are under my jurisdiction shall not be "licentiat" to go over, and I will labour to stay my neighbours, if possible. But now that may be harder than before, since they are become his Majesty's rebels. Stirling. *Signed:* Ard. Ergyll.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also Address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 23. **526.** JAMES COLVILLE, LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS, TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter and give you most hearty thanks for your remembrance of me. Before its receipt I was "avayting" on this Jesuit whom you have apprehended by the King's command, and whose father dwells within two miles "to" my house. As soon as I received your letter I immediately found his Majesty, who was very well contented with all you wrote to me and is desirous to know all the particular depositions he has "deponit," and thereafter, if it be thought good by her Majesty, he will send for him, or if he be found any way to have practised against either of the estates, [he desires] that there be no favour shown to him, for I assure you it is not his will. "Thus ye have to chus." If he whom I "directit" had not departed I should have stayed him, and albeit her Majesty may be better informed than the King is here, I doubt not but she will consider the upright dealing in this and esteem it as much as "gif sik ane thing haid not bein knawin," seeing it comes of himself. Stirling. *Signed:* James Colvill of Est Veimes.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 24. **527.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Saturday last I rode to Stirling and delivered her Majesty's placard and your letter to Argyll, who thought that that matter had been given over in regard that he had been so long "protracted of answere" by your letter. Now he has written [see No. 525], and expects speedy answer, for a special messenger has been with him, offering not only full payment of all things past, but assur-

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1595. ance, at my lord's sight, of all duties in times coming, provided he assist them. He has deferred answer to 8th May, and Mr. George Erskine will delay answer till 22nd May. By that time contented answer must be returned, or else my lord will be very fair tempted by them. He tells me that he will take order that none of his shall go to the aid of her Majesty's rebels, and that he will do his best to stay others, although he cannot give assurance, because they are not at obedience to his Majesty's laws or himself. All this I leave to his letter, praying speedy answer against that day. In this Sir George Hume has spoken to the King, who will do what he can, and Sir George wills me to call for his help in any such things to his Majesty and commends himself heartily to you. I have sent your letter to John Auchinross, who will earnestly prosecute that matter.

It is affirmed by some here that 3000 are to go out of the Isles here to the rebels, and that James Og (Oge), Angus MacConnell's son, is already there; also that those wars will never end to her Majesty's liking. If reports be true, the state there is dangerous. As to the Jesuit, Lawe, the King would have his examination that thereon he may send or not send for him. "Allwaies" he wishes no favour to him or any of them, which I leave to the Laird of Wemyss's letter also.

Yesterday morning, before my coming from Stirling, the Earl of Murray, Lord St. Colme and others of his friends sent for me, and before Mr. John Colville prayed me and him to desire you to be "meane" to her Majesty that the Earl might have safe-conduct for his coming into England and safety there at the schools, where, under her Majesty's protection, they account he may be safer than in other places; and in this they pray speedy despatch, seeking only her Highness's free and sure warrant; which please to effect with speed and send hither. "He is as fyne a stout, wise child as ever I sawe or must see." Mr. John Colville looks also to be employed for England; wherein he intends to show his goodwill to her Majesty's services, and prays licence for his repair accordingly, and with speed. Please send this and Murray's with speed, as by Mr. John's letters you may perceive [No. 524]. Yesterday I returned from Stirling, perceiving there the Queen's stay to have been with indifferent contentment. This day the King and Queen are to go Dunfermline, the King to return shortly to Stirling, and afterwards to this town for the Convention. Some say the ministers' advice will be anent the motion for the removing of the Prince, which motion is "fearefull" to the good men of this land and odious to the King to hear of, and so unpleasant to Mar that I look for troubles. At Stirling the two Lairds [Cessford and Buccleuch] are said to intend a shooting with Balwearie in Fife, by which "they shalbe at Courte before it returne hither."

The Laird of Spott "by meanes" got a writing into the Kirk of Edinburgh directed to the ministers with his excuse for dealing between Bothwell and the Earls, and a dissuasion of them from excommunicating of him, turning over all faults as far as he may, but without reason, against Sir George Hume, who tells me that the King is advertised that his rebels are received in England, though her Majesty knows not thereof.

Mar and his friends have got their cousin, Agnes Murray, contracted with Lord Glamis without the Master's privity, "and they intent (*sic*) to cause my lord fynde the Master so occupied as he shall not do muche against them, as he hathe ben suspected to do."

Sir James Sandilands has had conference with his friends, who have agreed to back him in the cause against Montrose, and Montrose has a convention of his friends against Sir James, a matter of no great moment. As to Buccleuch's journey into Tynedale, he burnt but one house, against his will,

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" tho he layde fyer to to [*sic*] gitt entrance, and makes satisfaction for the same." This I hear he intends ; " allwaies " the King seems angry thereat.

All other things are quiet here, so far as I understand, finding your intelligencers weary of their labours without your accustomed rewards, which you must repair or give up with them ; for, as to me, I cannot now help it. The " importable darthe " here causes double charges, and your landlord looks for rent, and will have more from you than before. I fear me, whether you come or stay, he will have payment for another quarter, because you have not warned forty days before the term. Therefore in any case let me know whether you are to hold it longer or not, that I may accordingly do the best. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Geo. Nicolson.

$3\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

April 25. **528.** Mr. John Colville to [Robert Bowes].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 156–157.

On the 28th instant his Majesty is to return from Dunfermline, to remain here till the middle of May and her Grace [to remain] where she is or in Edinburgh. The Prince is well, notwithstanding contrary bruits. Though there are bruits that Huntly and Errol are not away, yet Sir George [Hume] bids me for certainty affirm the contrary. This late displeasure betwixt Dunipace and Garden is likely to work much ill among us and to separate Mar (A.) from Dunipace (Pater), which indeed will prove no small matter, because Dunipace could do and did most against the Chancellor. The displeasure also betwixt Montrose and Sir James Sandilands increases, and they are presently gathered beside Glasgow.

A marriage lately contracted here betwixt young Lord Glamis and Tullibardine's daughter will waken again the grief betwixt Mar and the Master of Glamis ; for the Master is marvellously displeased therewith. I pray that my letter to Francis Tennant may be hasted to Calais, and that the passports may be hasted, for I am again commanded to make haste. I have many things I cannot write, which I refer to meeting. As for young Lawers, you will find him well worthy, and the other also. If Argyll cannot get licence to depart the realm, he will privately steal away, so young Lawers is the more to be made of. It were both tedious and dangerous to write all, yet many things are necessary to be known, which, as before, I am forced to remit. Stirling.

Postscript.—On the 29th there is to be an assembly, wherein the excommunication of [Colonel] Boyd and James Douglas will be solicited, because they were chief instruments to persuade Bothwell to join with the Papists, and for proof thereof Hercules Stewart's depositions and testimony of Balwearie and Kinnaird, who are charged to be present, will be used.

$1\frac{1}{2}$ *pp. Unsigned. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's clerk :* " 26 Ap. 1595. Mr. Colvyll. *Some names in cipher deciphered.*"

April 26. **529.** George Nicolson to Robert Bowes.

For " convoy " of Mr. Colville's letters I have addressed these presents to you, referring his errands to his own report, only praying you to haste his safe-conduct and Murray's, if they be granted as they desire. I was given to understand at Stirling that Argyll is resolved to leave Scotland, that the Duke and Mar seek to stay him, and that Argyll said he would not stay to be a beast, but would stay and take action with them in case they would " take amendis of the abuses offered them " ; and now that that side have

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got Lord Glamis (38) you will see the Master of Glamis " put at " by them in favour of Lord Glamis. I see no pacification growing between Mar and the Chancellor, Cessford and Buccleuch, but practice which in time will " kyeth " [prove] dangerous. Hamilton leans to neither side, but keeps himself quiet, looking at some time that he shall have occasion " to do for " her Majesty here, as by his servant I am this day told. For some take suspicion that in time the Papists will make great troubles for England and Scotland, and they are thought to have begun in Ireland; in which Argyll and the King will do their best with such as are at their commandment. But the islanders are not at obedience, and therefore they do not undertake for them, though Argyll said he would do his best. But fair offers are great temptations. The men making thither are put in comfort of great gains, good success, and that the old blood of that country [*i.e.* Ireland] are wholly banded together and know of foreign aid. If that be true, it is time, with assurance of favour to the King, Argyll, young Lawers and MacLean, to seek by them some course for the stay of all from hence and for service by them, which apparently might be had if you were here with power to treat and perform with them. Their factors might then either come to you or I might go to them to see things rather agreed than spoken of. Haste answer to Argyll, and I will make haste thereon to him. But account young Lawers the watchman, from whom I shall shortly hear.

Atholl's servant, known to you, says there is appearance of great troubles, wherein his lordship, he assures, shall be for her Majesty and the good cause. Angus's and Spott's stay here, with the Laird of Logie's at London * and " not departure " as he was enjoined, and the report here of Bothwell's return, keep the King in suspicion of further practice notwithstanding all watches of Bothwell. Mr. Bruce goes to Stirling on Monday next, and his fellows, as I wrote before. He thinks that this Jesuit shall " ayle nought," and so it appears by the Chancellor's dealing on his last being here, as I wrote.

I now hear no more of the commission sought by Orkney, neither do I see certainty that Mr. Archibald Douglas has got anything for that matter, as some thought. But Balcomie (Bacomy) is likely to be called to question for coining, as I hear, and had no authority for dealing, for which he was examined, " nether yet " did he deal therein as is protested. I find no speech here of Buccleuch and Cessford going over the water to Fife. But I hear the Queen will shortly be here and pass some time of this summer at Dalkeith and hereabouts. Pardon me if I write this at random, for your intelligencers grow strange for want of rewards, which please furnish me with to make them familiar again, and send me speedy relief of money to supply our wants here by reason of the extreme dearth. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

May 2.

530. Mr. John Colville to Robert Bowes.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 157, 158.

On the 30th ult. a good number of the ministry convened at Stirling and in the chapel conferred with his Majesty concerning the excommunication of such as were present with the excommunicated lords at the making of their band, and after long reasoning they found themselves judges competent, received witnesses [and] took their oaths and depositions, *viz.*, the Lairds of Balwearie and Kinnaird, younger, and Robert Scott, who were also present at the band-making. [See No. 535, enclosure.] These three in one

* Cf. p. 502.

1595. voice testified Colonel Boyd, the Laird of Gight Gordon and James Douglas Spott to be the chief persuaders to that work. Upon the 1st instant they convened again, where there was great disputation, sundry reasoning that Spott in special should not be excommuninated, because he offered himself " to repentance " as soon as he could have " sure actes." Yet in the end all three aforesaid were condemned, and ere the assembly dissolved that same night the sentence was read and pronounced by one Spottiswood, minister of Cadder [Calder], in presence of the whole assembly, and everyone [was] ordained at his home-going to intimate the same in his own church.

His Majesty is at Linlithgow this night, there to remain till the Convention in Edinburgh on the 7th. All men convene " werey weil accumpaneid." This marriage of young Glamis much offends the Master, who takes it to be done by Mar to his prejudice, and Mar and Dunipace are at displeasure because Dunipace thinks Mar in this matter betwixt him and Garden not so friendly as he expected. The Queen (P.) still insists to have the child out of Mar's hands, which we fear will breed much " noy." Argyll (Prior) cannot yet be stayed, and therefore I insist the more earnestly with young Lawers, who has assured both your servant and me that he will fulfil all promises. I am commanded to make haste, and also pressed by young Murray to haste the passport. Bothwell for truth is in France, and that is the cause that I am so hasted. Linlithgow. [*Unsigned.*]

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* " To S." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names partly in cipher.*

May 3. **531.** JAMES FULLERTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Yesterday I received letters from Ireland, of date 31st March, at which time Sir John Norris was not landed himself, but his brother, Sir Henry, who landed at Waterford with 1200 soldiers of Brittany, and shortly after there landed from Chester 1000 men who were never trained. There is no service done yet. Walter Reagh, one of the veriest knaves of all Ireland, who had slain Sir Piers Fitz James,* was taken by Sir Henry Harrington and executed in Dublin. Feriagh McHugh is not yet taken, but the Deputy went out against him. The Earl of Tyrone has not yet " kithed " [revealed] himself, but lies still at his house as if he had no intent to rebel, preparing in the " shew of the world " rather defensive wars than offensive. There is no such hurt yet done by the northern rebels as is generally here spoken. If our islanders be shipped that country will be better [*sic*]. Since my coming hither I have received some intelligence that some store of munition has of late gone from this town, as swords, gauntlets, pistols, hagbuts, steel bonnets, as they call them (which are head-pieces), powder, lead, matches, " which my credite cannot stay." Therefore, seeing that which has gone cannot be recalled, I wish you, if you can, to prevent such things hereafter. Learn whether such things be prohibited by the law of the land (as I think they are), and if they be, then you may easily get a commandment to the Provost of Glasgow, the Laird of Minto, to stay such courses, and also to the Captain of Dumbarton for that port, for these two towns " marres all." I have dealt with some special men here who will further it well if it once be put on foot. I pray you bestow a letter upon me and let me hear what I shall expect of your master's return. Direct your letters to Ayr and give them to a lady called the Lady Trochrig,†

* See *Calendar of Irish Papers*, 1592–1596, p. 227.

† Margaret Chalmers, widow of Mr. James Boyd of Trochrig, who was Archbishop of Glasgow.

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who lies in the house that is within the churchyard near the minister's. She is my aunt and will see it conveyed to me. If my service can profit anything, you may assure yourself thereof. If I were with you I would speak more than I can write. Commend me to the young gentleman who dined with us, and pardon my sudden departure. Glasgow. *Signed:* James Fullertone.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed.* "Mr. Ja. Fowlerton. Glasquo, 3 May 1595."

May 3. **532.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The King was pleased that the most part, or half, of the ministers here should stay on condition that the rest should come with full power from them all to Stirling. Whereupon Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. James Balfour and Mr. William Watson, for this place, and Mr. David Lindsay, for Leith, and sundry other ministers for this Presbytery, went to Stirling, where the King treated them well, causing wine to be sent into the chapel to them after he had propounded the matter for which he sent for them. Great reasoning they had before they would undertake to be competent judges without general consent of their brethren, yet in the end taking it upon them they heard Balwearie and his brother Robert, and Kinnaird, and thereon "decerninge" Spott, Colonel Boyd and others to have made the agreement between Bothwell and the Papist Earls, they have condemned them excommunicated and are to intimate the same in all their kirks. Great defence was made for Spott by the best of the ministry.

The King is now at Linlithgow to go to Dunfermline, as I hear, and to be here about Thursday next, and the Queen also. Soon after it is looked that the motion for the change of the young Prince shall be renewed, or else some pursuit be made against the advice given to the same; for all parties come in their strength to this Convention. I hear that some men have already gone from Angus MacConnell, Donald Gorme and others to the aid of the rebels in Ireland. But the truth thereof I expect from young Lawers (Junior) as soon as his messenger returns.

I do not hear that the King made any speech to the ministers of the motion anent the young [Prince], perhaps because this excommunication was "hardlier" agreed to than he looked for, in regard of Spott and his purgation of himself by his pamphlet cast in to have stayed his sentence.

On Thursday last Cuthbert Hume of the Reidheuch (Readheugh) upon some quarrel with James Ritchinson, a saddler of this town, meeting in Leith, has given Ritchinson many sore strokes; wherewith it being suspected that Ritchinson was slain, Cuthbert was taken and put in Leith Tolbooth, and brought up to this Tolbooth by the bailies the same afternoon, and not without great threatenings of the craftsmen, who in rage would have slain him, and they rest still partly malcontent at Cuthbert. This day the King has, by Mr. Hart, commanded the town to forbear to execute Cuthbert in case Ritchinson die, until they know more of his pleasure. "Allwaies," I think Ritchinson will escape, and the worst of the malcontentment thereby to the Humes is past. Now by two several persons coming out of France it is certified that Bothwell is there well received, and thereby many fears here are taken away. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "George Nycolson. Edinburgh 3 Maij, Westminster x ejusdem, 1595."

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533. Mr. David Foulis to Robert Bowes.

I send these few lines, whereby you shall know that matters here are in a peaceable form. Yet the jealousy betwixt the Chancellor and Mar continues "in augmenting." If the King has not a special regard thereto it will not fail to breed "sturt [annoyance] and cummer." The Queen is very sick in Linlithgow, where his Majesty is also. They should both have been at "Annas" Murray's bridal with Lord Glamis if her Majesty's disease had not intervened.

Captain Andrew Gray, returning to France by England, carries letters to the King of France to give no countenance to Bothwell, and "siklyk" to the Duke of Guise. But he has no further in commision but the simple delivery of these letters. We look daily for your return here with full satisfaction to his Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* D. Foulis.

1 *p. Addressed. Red wax seal. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. David Foules. Edinburgh v° Maij, Grenewich xi Junij, 1595."

May 8.

534. Roger Aston to Robert Bowes.

Since my last I have attended the King in his hunting and hawking, some time at Stirling, Dunfermline and last at Linlithgow, "casting" to keep the day here appointed. Although the King, I dare swear, has had no other mind but of his pastime, yet it appears others are not idle. The Chancellor being appointed to have been here has excused himself by the Secretary in that he cannot keep the day appointed. But the King will receive no excuses, but granted him two days longer. Upon which occasion the King stayed by the way and is not to be here till to-morrow. He was to be here on Wednesday the 7th, but he stayed till Friday the 9th. The Queen should have been here yesternight, but the weather was so foul that she could not cross the ferry. She is to be here this day. I am informed she is at this time purposed to renew her old proposition concerning the Prince, and says they who would hinder her in that neither love the King, herself nor the Prince. This is reported to Mar, who is coming to this town well accompanied. He depends only on the King in this matter. It appears "me" [*sic*] are not idle; and to blow the bellows the better, this contract of marriage between Lord Glamis and "Annes" Murray has bred a greater jealousy than before. The matter was drawn on by Mar and his friends, [and] concluded before the Master was made acquainted. Thereafter, his opinion being sought, [he] most willingly granted to all that was done. Whereupon there was a meeting appointed in St. Johnstone both of my lord's friends and "hores" [? hers], where the Master should have been, but in place of himself he sent his letter. The marriage is presently to be solemnized in Stirling. The Master's intention was to have married his nephew upon Cessford's sister, which drew on a great friendship between him, Buccleuch, Cessford and all that faction. The Chancellor seems not to deal, and yet is in as deep as the rest. His excuse in not coming is judged that he would be absent when the matter aforesaid should be spoken of. Knowing the King's mind, [he] would not "seme" to deal in the matter. Whether this course go forward or not, I cannot yet tell. It is "in hed," and the Queen is brought to this town to that end. Yet I am of opinion they will not "touch of thatt string." It is so far "desliking" to the King that he cannot hear of it, but says they would cut his throat that devise it. The Master of Glamis foresees that this marriage is likely to be his overthrow, for he has had the handling of the living these eighteen years.

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He has taken good parts of it to himself, all which he is to answer for, which will be hard to do. Also it is looked that Lord Glamis and the Earl of Crawford shall agree, which will be no small danger to him. You know, ere he fall he will set all on fire; yet I doubt not but all these matters shall settle well enough, for the King's disposition is to have quietness that he may have hunting and hawking, which are his chief delights. Seeing we are quit of our Papist lords and of Bothwell I do not think there will be any violent course entered against him, and yet the nature of these people is such that ere they fell themselves they would put all "on siex and seven." The King attends word to hear how the French King "takes" with Bothwell. He is not of mind that the King will give him his presence, for if he does he says he shall lose a heart that always honoured him.

Mr. John Colville has attended at Stirling and Linlithgow to have got the King's presence, but as yet he cannot attain to it. They are not busier on the one side but he is as busy on the other, which makes such a jealousy between the Chancellor and Mar that I fear it shall breed some mischief ere all be done. There is another "platt" laid, which will set all on fire if it goes forward. The Duke gave over the earldom of Bothwell to Buccleuch and Cessford. He has come to perfect age and may revoke all he has done. It is purposed that he will do this—which will cast all loose. I doubt not but the King will foresee all these dangers and prevent them in time. His chief care is to have quietness. He and the ministers agreed never so well. There was some difficulty in Stirling for the excommunication of Spott, Gight and Colonel Boyd. But in the end the King prevailed, for all the wisest ministers and best learned were of his opinion. The matter was sufficiently proved and so it passed forward. We daily expect the Colonel's return. Orkney is put in hope his suit there will take effect. The Colonel's answer is uncertain, yet he is in better hope than he was. It is certified hither that it rests much in her Majesty's hands and that the States have sent to crave her opinion. The commission granted to Orkney for the staying of Englishmen's goods is "semly" discharged. Edinburgh. [*Unsigned.*]

3 *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Address in the same hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Edinburgh viii° Maij, Westminster xiiii° ejusdem, 1595."

May 8. **535.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

For your information anent the excommunication of Spott, Gight and Boyd I enclose a letter from Mr. David Lindsay and the note of the cause of the same. The King is to be here to-morrow, and not before, for the Chancellor cannot be here before, as the Secretary, who has gone to the King, accounts, and wherewith the King bears but indifferently. Some say the King intends to put order to the false coiners, to his own affairs, and to the Highlands, which already are so quiet that the poor people pray for him and his labours, whereas they were wont to exclaim "of" the oppressions suffered against them. Atholl rests still in Canongate, a free warder, because he has given no surety as he offered. The Duke is to go to Inverness to hold justice-courts. This day her Majesty is to be here, and intends to renew her former motion. Mar "is foresene" thereof, as I hear, and has met with his friends at St. Johnstone and had conference about that turn, albeit they meant to have met with the Master of Glamis about the agreement of him and his nephew, a matter not a little likely to cause trouble here and to further and hasten the displeasures between the Chancellor and Mar, for the Master is prevented

1595. from his purpose, and others also [are] displeased. In these broken causes I see no reconciler of power. What the King may do I know not. But the Church in Scotland wish that you were "in place" to do good. If these things progress in these fashions I expect nothing but mighty troubles, both the Chancellor and Mar accounting themselves secure and "to have advantage of others," and so there is no yielding amongst them. Mar is to be here "strong," and I cannot say what [will] fall out now if the Chancellor comes, albeit I look that things "shall still yet passe over."

Of Huntly, Errol and Bothwell being abroad I look you have heard. Young Lawers (Junior) advertises that the Highlands intend some surprise against the Isle of Man, and therefore please cause regard to be given lest it be so attempted. He also looks that they shall seek boats on Clyde, and if they do he will warn me to stay it by the King's warrant. "Allwaies" in Scotland (Ter.) England (Pa.) will find more friends than the rebels can, if once they were laboured by sufficient means. Mr. John Colville expects what he has written for and so does Murray, whereon they will presently repair to England, Mr. John Colville to do her Majesty service. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Some names in cipher deciphered. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

First enclosure with the same.

(Mr. David Lindsay to Robert Bowes.)

On 30th April his Majesty caused the greatest part of the Presbyteries of Edinburgh and Stirling and divers commissioners of sundry parts to convene in Stirling for the excommunication of Spott, Gight and Boyd. The first day the reasoning was in his Majesty's own presence anent the witnesses, especially if *socii criminis* might be admitted in the ecclesiastical judgment. After long reasoning it was concluded that in treason, heresy, witchcraft, piracy and secret murder they might be witnesses; otherwise those crimes could not be tried, "for famous personis war not maid privie to thame." But it was agreed that Papists should not be received. After this conclusion three witnesses were produced, to wit, Balwearie, young Kinnaird of the Carse, and Robert Scott, who were all present at the meeting of the Earls in Menmuir, and, being sworn both for telling the truth and for their religion, uniformly "deponit" that the three before named persons were present with the Earls, and chiefly James Douglas brought them together to agree, and was at the making of the band, "ane mellar [an agent] in all thair turnis." The next day we convened at "tene houres," and his Majesty remained with us till six at night. We heard very free reasoning. All courtiers were removed. His Majesty "schew" that he desired all men both to reason and vote as conscience should move them, for he would burden no man against his conscience. In the beginning there were some hot speeches betwixt his Majesty and Mr. Andrew Melvill, Moderator, "bot withine schortt calmit." We reasoned chiefly upon three points. The first, if Kinnaird's testimony should "have place," being but of late "junit [joined] with religione," but it was agreed he should be received *cum nota*. The next, if the persons might be excommunicated without citations. This was very long debated, and at last the act of our General Assembly [was] alleged, which ordains summary excommunication to proceed without citation. This ended that point. The last was, what the things proven by the witnesses and divers notorious treasons whereof some of them were convicted in Parliament and others fugitives,

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merited. All voted "excommunicatione"; and shortly thereafter the said persons were excommunicated "in the face of the Assemblie." The next day his Majesty came to Linlithgow, where we of the Presbytery of Edinburgh accompanied him. Both Mr. Robert Bruce and I had long conference with him by the way, desiring that he should be careful to keep the present quietness and to make fast his estate by observation of laws, taking the example from your country and Denmark. His answer was he "myndis" so to do, and would give a proof thereof in this Convention. He has commanded Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Patrick Galloway and me to "attend upone it," that we may "propone" articles concerning the Kirk and estate. The "purpois of mislyking," whereof I wrote before, continues. I have dealt with his Majesty anent the same. He would be very glad if you were here to "deill into it," for he considers that no man is meet to deal in that "turne" except either an ambassador or else the Kirk, and presently he "myndis" to employ some of us to travail with both the parties at their coming to Edinburgh. This excommunication was "cassine in" to have divided his Majesty and the Kirk, but God has caused it to succeed better and work the contrary effect. We have reasonable quietness in all parts. Leith, 6th May. *Signed:* David Lyndsey.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(Cause of the excommunication of James Douglas, William Gordon and Colonel Boyd.)

James Douglas, sometime of Spott, for meddling to draw Bothwell to the agreement with the Papist Earls and for being at Menmuir at the making of the band between them, together with his treasonable attempts against the King's person at the Abbey, Falkland and at Leith.

William Gordon, elder, of Gight, for his concurrency with the Papist Earls, chiefly at Menmuir, in perfecting of that band between Bothwell and the Papist Earls, with his being in the field with Huntly against the Earl of Argyll, the King's lieutenant, his being at Donibristle at the slaughter of the Earl of Murray, and his many other murders and homicides.

Colonel Boyd, for his "travailing of th'agreament" between Bothwell and the said excommunicated Papist Earls, and his being at Menmuir at the agreement, together with his being in arms at the raid at Leith, and for his infamous life preceding, and his departing with Bothwell out of the country.

½ *p. In George Nicolson's hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolsone. The inclosed in his letter toching th'excommunycations. Edinburgh viij° Maii. Westminster xiiij° ejusdem, 1595."

May 10. **536.** LAUCHLANE MACLEAN OF DUART TO ROBERT BOWES.

I perceive by your letter of 10th April to John Auchinross that you have received his letter [No. 497], and I understand your lordship looks speedily to be employed "into" Scotland, then to enter into such course with me as shall be thought most convenient for the common cause. In the meantime you desire that the people and force purposing to pass out of Scotland to the aid of the rebels in Ireland should be restrained. For answer, all that my servant has written is most true, and of late my neighbours, to wit, Donald Gorme MacConnell and Angus MacConnell, have received advancement in silver and silver work from the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell for taking up of men for

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1595. their service. Therewith they have provided 4000 men, and "nochttheless" may not leave this country. Daily they send to have greater security of my peace than they have and to augment their former offers through this new "ressait" [of silver from Tyrone]. But, having no liking of their way, I have "continewit [*i.e.* put off] tyme" with them, looking for your doing herein, and this to my own "disproffeit" as yet; for through their provision of a force and number of men, uncertain of their convening the same, I have with me daily 600 men in garrison besides my captains and special friends in readiness with their forces, which puts them in doubt of me and makes them to fear,—"quhairthrow" they are stayed as yet.

This much I have done, having respect of my honour and duty, and respecting yours, and that by the same your Princess may get good, true service done against her rebels in Ireland. For not only would these Scottishmen be stayed, but also there would be a "substancious" force by her "moyan" directed from Scotland to pursue her rebels in Ireland "on this ane syid," and her other army and force to pursue them on the other side at that same time. Which being done, that part of Ireland which is the mother and sustainer of all her rebels there shall be subdued and made to crave her mercy; and without the same all her doings and pursuit of them on the one side will not serve the turn. Argyll's force with mine, and my own presence there, is meet. I understand that by your doing and "moyan" her Grace may obtain of his lordship force to this effect, albeit that O'Donnell has written making offers to him for his assistance. This rebellious doing of the Earl has been "in dewysing" these divers years past, whereof I am advertised by one who is privy therewith, the circumstance whereof I omit till further occasion.

I am advertised that the Deputy of Ireland has written to Angus MacConnell, "quha vill ressaif guid answer and [*i.e.* if] he vill schaw ane outvart guid-vill to him." Since I have made you privy of my doings, and refuse the good offers of Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorm under commission from Tyrone, and have put myself to expense in staying of them, let me not lose commodity here without obtaining profit of her grace. If you come to Scotland, on your advertisement my servant shall be directed to you with my commission, fully instructed to absolve any doubt and with your lordship to set down the order and course for accomplishing of her Grace's service. Duart. *Signed:* Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

1 *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Loughlane M'Lane. Dowarde x° Maij, London xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

May 10. **537.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

I received your letter of 10th April, which I presented to my master, as you may perceive by his letter to you. He has hitherto done his part, although the same is to his charges, besides refusal of gain and commodity, [and] he minds to continue your assister in that action, the form whereof would first be seen by reasoning and the course set down in order; and as my master will be "imployit to service" he should accordingly "haif [reward] for the samyn," which as yet he cannot name. We are advertised by those who are privy with the Earl that he has "ane hie course in hand," and unless he be prevented with a great loss, and fall by [reason of] this enterprise, he will make great trouble for her Grace. Especially it was thought "he sould haif continewit tym quhill [procrastinated until] hir departing this varld." As your lordship desires, I shall be "lawfull" and diligent that this good

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⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Jhon Achenrosse. Doward x° Maij, London xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

May 11. **538.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

Angus MacConnell sent two of his sons to his lands of the Glens in Ireland with the most and special number of his men, who " persewit " [harried] the nearest land to Carrickfergus, and, being followed, their men have received some " skaith of na effect." Angus will say that this is done " by " [without] his counsel or consent, and that he knew nothing thereof. The truth of the honest man is known, and he will write to the Deputy of Ireland (as my master in his letter makes mention), because he " thinkis him nocht now sa suir " in Scotland as he thought himself to have been at the passage of his sons to Ireland. If matters be well followed out by your lordship's " moyan " her Majesty may (for " vairing * thairon ") have good, true service done, and your lordship be esteemed a good instrument herein. We hear also that Captain Thornton, accompanied with some ships from Dublin, has come to those north coasts of Ireland, which is well done; and that Tyrone has slain a noble and special man of her Majesty's in Ireland to make his doing manifest. Duart. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros, servitour to M'Clayn of Doward.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Jhon Achenrosse. Doward xi° Maij, London xxi° eiusdem, 1595."

May 15. **539.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Friday last the King came hither, and Mar came well accompanied, yet the Chancellor did not come till Monday last, and also very well accompanied. Mar and he shook hands and spoke friendly together, and on Tuesday Mar departed well pleased, telling some of his friends that all went well. No motion was renewed anent the young Prince. But I understand that because that motion was altogether disliked by the King and by most here, there is an intention not so directly to take the Prince out of Mar's custody, but to move that three others of the nobility may be joined in that charge with Mar, " and upon great caution and their landes." This is, I hear, now the course intended, but I were better to be silent, seeing so many changes in their purposes. Most here did not look for such quietness at this time.

The Duke has ridden to a horse-race to Buccleuch and Cessford, so that yet it seems the King will not agree that he shall revoke his resignation of Bothwell's living into their hands, yet the Douglases, I assure you, intend on fit opportunity to suit for Angus's living. Lord Hume is with the Duke and likely to be " put at " by the Kirk for not performing of the things he subscribed long ago. Next month the General Assembly is to be kept at Montrose. This Convention has taken good order for Highland matters; something is done for coining, for which the Lairds of Montquhany † (Monwhomy) and Balcasky ‡ (Bakarsky) have fled, and one Thomas Tailor, returned to London, and sundry are suspected—a matter of no small moment to increase the King's livings if the advantage be taken. But it is not likely to be, and matters concerning the King's affairs are referred to the lords of the Exchequer. The ministers were well heard.

* To *wair, ware, war*: to lay out, expend. (Jamieson's *Dictionary*, new edition.)
† Michael Balfour. ‡ John Strang.

James VI.

1595. Lord Glamis is to be married on 1st June at Stirling, at which marriage the King and Queen are to be. Lady Morton had trysted Mar and the Master of Glamis to have "disjuned" [dined] here with her for the purpose of moving Mar to a kindness with the Master for the Master's ease with Lord Glamis. Mar came, but not the Master, so that nothing is molified between him and his nephew. The Master and Tullibardine (68) have had quiet conference, but are at no agreement as yet. On Saturday the King rides to Linlithgow with purpose not to return [for] a good while. "The Sessions are sitten down," my Lord Chancellor ruling all, and he and his wife in greater favour than ever they were in displeasure with the Queen. Monsieur de Vestrée is now to come hither as ambassador from France, as I hear. From Ireland I hear nothing. Angus MacConnell has gone thither, but not to assist the rebels, but for his "perticular" and plea about lands, and he is offering the King all duties and seeking remission. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xv° Maij, London xxi° ejusdem, 1595." *Names partly in cipher deciphered. Red wax seal.*

May 16. **540.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

There has been a continual expectation of some great matter to occur at this time of Convention, but although there be secret practices and jealousies, yet the King's disposition is so far against any alteration of the present estate that no man dare move any matter "atending" thereto. Neither is there any appearance that the Queen will deal any further concerning the Prince, chiefly in respect of the King's resolute mind in that behalf. Mar has returned well satisfied in all his desires, and also has given good contentment to the King concerning the MacFarlanes and other highlandmen under his commandment. The Chancellor and he "gave good countenanes to otheres, every one seming to lyke of other." What is in their hearts God knows. I am of opinion it is rather "entertened" by evil instruments than any cause "worthy" among themselves.

The Chancellor is here and has the chief guiding of Court and Session. The Queen and he are "vere grett." The King "reposes" his chief affairs "to" the Prior of Blantyre, who takes great pains. You know the man. The chief causes handled at this time are the order-taking with the Highlands and the false-coiners, who have done great hurt in this country. The chief doer was an Englishman [who], as they confess, dwells in London and calls himself Taylor (Teler). He has been [here] two years. He has returned. The King is to take his progress and is minded to hunt and hawk this summer. He departs within these two days to Linlithgow, where he will remain till the bridal, in Stirling on 1st June, [and] thereafter [goes] to Falkland. There is no other appearance but we shall have good quietness for a while. The Queen continually "enqueres of your retorne" and of her Majesty's good estate, and with all reverence shows her affectionate goodwill to her Highness and does not at any time suffer anything to pass that may touch her Majesty. I know this by experience, and therefore I am the bolder to write it. I am earnestly desired by the Queen to get her Majesty's picture for her. I have undertaken for it. I earnestly desire you to be a "mene" that her Highness would let her picture be drawn.

Word has come here from Denmark that Huntly has landed in those parts and passed unknown to Lubeck. Mr. John Colville is suiting to be employed in France to "procoure" against Bothwell. I am of opinion

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1595

the Chancellor will not let him have any employment as long as he can. The Laird of Wemyss labours for him. He has not as yet had the King's presence. Angus MacConnell is suiting his peace and offers pledges and satisfaction to the King for his lands in the Isles. Within these three days I heard the King speaking of sundry purposes concerning the Papist lords. "Among otheres," he said he was made to understand there was an assurance given to them under her Majesty's own hand, which would be produced. I stood to the defence of that, desiring it might be sent for and produced, or otherwise there was great wrong done to her Highness. If you return you shall be sufficiently informed [so] that her Highness may not be slandered in so unjust a cause, but that the authors may be known as they are. I am to depart with the King. Edinburgh. [*Unsigned.*]

2⅓ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed in the same hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Edinburgh xvj° Maii, London xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

May 16. **541.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Even now at my going to the sermon I met the messenger, sent to MacLean, with these letters to you and one to myself. I perceive you are written unto at such length that I need not write, but refer you to the said letters [Nos. 536, 537, 538], for sending whereof I return, trusting that they shall come to you with my others, written yesternight. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

¼ *p. Holograph, also address.* "To the right worshipful my very good master Ro. Bowes esquier Threasurer of Barwick for her Majesties speciall services. Edinbr. at 9 in the morne. Geo. Nicolson." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xvi° Maij, London xxi° ejusdem, 1595." *Red wax seal.*

May 17. **542.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 158 [under date May 16].

There were great bruits of mighty alterations at this late Convention, but now I see nothing outwardly but quietness, albeit the private bruits are not quenched. Mar rode home on the 13th. The Chancellor remains here because the Session is "sett doun." His Majesty "myndis to Lythgo," on the 19th thence to Stirling to the marriage of Glamis, where her Majesty also will be present. The displeasure betwixt Dunipace and Garden is likely to make a great illwill betwixt him and Mar, the success [*i.e.* result] whereof, if it be not prevented, I fear [will] be very tragical. Whithersoever his Highness goes I shall attend to make my ordinary intelligence. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1 *p. Holograph, also address: Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Mr. Jhon Colvill. Edinburgh xvii Maij,* London xx ejusdem, 1595."

May 17. **543.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 159.

I have seen your opinion "toward" my coming up, and find myself "strated" [curbed], for the King, being earnest to have Bothwell (N.) sought out and challenged in foreign parts, charges me mightily to undertake that service as the only thing whereby I can please him. On the other part, the opinion

* The date in the letter seems to have been altered, and has been read as 16 May by the editor of the *Letters*.

1595. there being "contrarius," I am marvellously perplexed. Yet since the counsel from thence is a command, I will travail to see if, without offending the King, I may shift that service or at least delay it. My intention was in that service to have served the Queen of England (Audin) with great intelligence; for, going upon a negotiation from another prince to sundry princes where none of yours has much credit or access, I supposed my travail should be as fruitful to the Queen of England's service as to the other, wherein also I mean very uprightly. Since, however, you see I have no "thinking" but [such] as comes from her Majesty, let me in haste by the next [letter] understand the particular causes why my "upgoing" is misliked, and in the meantime, seeing my estate is at this Whit Sunday such as I have written sundry times, I beseech you to deal for my relief, especially that in the matter wherein I have his Majesty's goodwill her Majesty may be moved to take that upon her Highness "and to alleg it as alredy payid."* For there are so many here to beg "at" his Majesty that, unless he be certified that my debt is already paid, I shall not fail to be disappointed and it will fall into the hands of those who never will think nor speak well of that estate. I beseech above all that I may be "keped" in the good grace of Sir Robert Cecil and that all things be secret. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—If the "writtis" to Francis Tennant be not away, pray return them. The copy of the commission to search Bothwell in any Christian nation where he may be found I shall send with the next letter, whereby you will see the King's earnestness to have him either imprisoned or delivered.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y.Y.Y. The inclosed in his letter dated Edinburgh xvij° May,† London xxj° ejusdem, 1595." *Partly in cipher. No fly-leaf or address.*

May 18. **544.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 275–276.

All things are quiet and his Majesty "voyid" of all business. I was and am so pressed to this journey and men are so earnest upon the pursuit of Bothwell, fearing that he find too much favour where he is, that I was forced, especially by Wemyss, to use many indirect means, which are not [to] be written. But of them and many other things you shall specially know by Archibald Primrose, who is to be there. His fidelity and love there you know, and he is acquainted with all my proceedings "except only one of Y [the writer, Colville] his meaning to *nuperrime* [England]." If I get no relief at this Whit Sunday I am "soir wrakkit"; and for his Majesty's recommendations for me, I let him know nothing "bot thai ar and wilbe satefeid thair" [in England].

His gentle nature is such that he cannot refuse, even if it were to give one thing twenty times, so that no one can have good here except him that has credit with them that are to pay anything to him. *Signed* "Y."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. Jhon Colvile. xviii° Maij. Grenewich xxv ejusdem, 1595." *Some names in cipher deciphered.*

May 19. **545.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Mr. John Colville is persuaded by your advice to "put over" his employment at this time, albeit he "perrilleth" his credit thereby with the King, hoping that, seeing he stays by advice from England from "pursueng" his

* See Nos. 478, 479.
† The date in the letter has been altered from 16 to 17.

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1595.

own money assigned to him by the King, he shall be the better considered in that assignment, and have it partly paid and partly reserved for him. He prays you and Sir Robert Cecil to give your help against Whit Sunday for some part thereof for him, for which cause a friend is to be employed. He hopes for this favour, the better to enable him in the service and relieve himself of his needs. If he had gone to Nos [France], his service "wold have kythed [disclosed] the self" if there be any secrets to be discovered there, as some think there are. "Allwaies" the proofs had already are arguments good enough that to his power he is for her Majesty's service.

On Saturday last the King rode to Linlithgow. This day he goes to Callendar to dinner, and so to Stirling this night. Some say that the marriage of Lord Glamis is to be at Gask, Tullibardine's house, to-morrow, and that the King rides thither to-morrow; and I hear that Agnes Murray intends to handle the matter so that her marriage shall rather make peace than any troubles, and that for this cause she is a dealer with the Queen, Mar, the Master of Glamis and others for making well of all things. Yet I perceive the Chancellor and Secretary are not very certain of the time of this marriage. They both heartily commend themselves to you. This night the Duke's horse was conveyed down the street with three trumpets and with the shot of cannon out of the castle in honour of his winning of the race. All here are so quiet that only for "convoy" of these other letters to you I address these presents. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—To-morrow Father Myreton (Morton) is to be examined.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xix Maij, Grenewich xxv° ejusdem, 1595." *Some names in cipher deciphered.*

May 21. **546.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO MR. JOHN COLVILLE.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 277; said to be from Campbell of Lawers.

This is to advertise you that young Lawers fell sick in the Isles, which was the cause that we have been so long hearing from him. Now he is "conwalest" and is returning with certainty of all matters there, and assures me for all the bruits past that never one has gone over to Ireland, and MacConnell has some purpose to go over to see some lands of his own there; but no number. "Alway sertefie" that neither he nor any other shall pass over but young Lawers shall advertise timely, as was promised. Donald Gorme and some others had some "speiking" of the Isle of Man, as I advertised you before, and they warned many boats upon the water of Clyde. But young Lawers stayed them when he passed by Glasgow. I can write no further till he come. Stirling. [*Unsigned.*]

½ *p. In the hand of John Auchinross. Addressed:* "To Y." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Ache[nross] to Mr. John Colvill."

May 22. **547.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This day the Chancellor told me that two Jesuits were come into this realm, the one called Seaton, in the north, and the other called Cecil (Cicell), in the west, with store of gold. [The Chancellor] required me to give you advertisement thereof to the end you may cause the two Jesuits in England to be examined concerning these two, Seaton and Cecil, that the best course might be taken to prevent their practices here. The Chancellor is very frank to do his best; and withal he prays speedy despatch hither of the other deposi-

1595. tions of these Jesuits for their better light anent these men and Myreton (Morton). He has also his hearty commendations to you, as his good lady and the Secretary have also; and for discharge of my duty I advertise your worship hereof, and also pray you to cause these examinations to be sent hither; for Sir John Carmichael and the ministers also advise the same.

The Council here, understanding of some matters meet to be regarded for the quietness of the Borders, have written for Herries, Buccleuch, Cessford and Johnstone, and yesterday they sent word to the King of their order therein. They purpose either to take such order as may be surety to preserve quietness or else to stay those borderers here. Some think this matter to have some other drift, for here is such jealousy between the two factions that "nothinge don by ether want censuring [lacks criticism] to their dyvers likinges." Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xxii° Maij, Westminster ultimo eiusdem, 1595."

May 23. **548.** [DR. MACARTNEY] TO ROBERT BOWES.

The agents for the Catholic lords are many, busy and privy here at this time, some with the Duke of Lennox, some with the Chancellor, and others with the King. They crave that their wives and bairns shall not be troubled in their absence "be law nor by law" [by law or contrary to law]. There is an obscure matter "conjonit" with this that I cannot perceive "be na inquisition." In the west of Scotland the Abbot of Newabbey is "estemit as an oracle" (and that greater than he was wont to be either by confession or saying of M[ass]) because of late he has "conjurit" an evil spirit from a young maid in Galloway. Angus "haldis on" as he did in the old fashion, as I advertised last, and neither King nor Duke "takis thoght thareof." An advocate of Paris, called Mr. William Bannatyne (Ballantyne), Scottishman, is here. He has been cited before the Kirk; but is willing to depart again, as I hear, of himself. He is the more dreaded because he was a negotiator before from [the Duke of] Guise. But I assure you there is nothing for the present in his "bulget" but for safety of his own person. Yet Mr. Dickson has lately directed his uncle, Robert Dickson, to Paris to Mons. de l'Aubespin for a "casket" of his wherein are contained many secret devices of England, domestic and foreign, with a description of all the "depis" of the havens in England, the number of the parishes and the men that they may furnish on horse and foot. He awaits only the return of his messenger before he departs. He has been dealing with the King himself, with the Chancellor and another courtier of credence to have some "viatic." But the King refuses *simpliciter*, affirming that "he hes it not"; and to Dickson's solicitor he has said that he is not worthy, because before he was an agent for the lords and now has become their enemy and is over privy with the ministers. "To the interpretation of these maters I refer me." Edinburgh. *Signed with a trefoil leaf.*

Postscript.—There is "a new admittit chirurgien" to the King of France, called Mr. Lowe, Scottishman, who was servant to Dickson when he was in England. This man has "blokkit" [planned] the matter of the casket and brought it to perfection.

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Addressed by the trefoil leaf cipher. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Tertius. Edenburgh, 23 Maii, Westminster ultimo ejusdem, 1595."

James VI.
1595.
May 27.

549. Mr. John Colville to Robert Bowes.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 160.

Albeit the last Convention dissolved, by outward show, in peaceable manner, yet in effect it will prove that former emulations are not quenched, whereof I will write no more till I "try forder." His Majesty was at Falkland, and this day has returned to Stirling. On the 28th her Majesty goes thither also, and on the 1st June "beis" the marriage of Glamis and Mistress Agnes [Murray], which has again quickened the emulations aforesaid, the Master thinking (albeit most unjustly) that Mar has practised that "allia" to his prejudice. The 28th is assigned for the Wardens and chief barons of the Borders to appear at Edinburgh before the Council for settling of matters which are likely to grow to some disorder by reason of sundry deadly feuds there, as betwixt Buccleuch and Armstrongs of Gingills (Ginglis), [and] betwixt Johnstone and young Maxwell, who now begins to haunt the fields. But his Majesty will not be present. All the aforesaid "myndis" to come very well accompanied.

Sundry barons of East Teviotdale, as Littledean (Litillden), Fernihirst, Greenhead (Greinheid), Hunthill [and] Hundalie (Huntdelie), misliking the greatness of Cessford and Buccleuch, have offered their service under his Majesty to the Duke and Mar, promising to be a counterpoise to the said two lairds, being protected in case they should presume to "ower highe matteris." This is "*in fieri non in esse.*" As it succeeds my next shall show. By a letter from Mr. John Archibald * you will know the Irish matters; and in like manner by one from the Laird of Wemyss you may see how I am pressed to this journey, wherein, albeit I remain in my former resolution, yet since one will be employed thither for privy conference with her Majesty and dealing in sundry affairs it is well to be advised whether it be best that service fall on your friend or foe. As to my "particular," the King thinks that I have "sped in part or whole"; and you may be well assured if any of my "unfreindis" be employed I shall be disappointed. Therefore "advys weill heiron," for I have no thought but such as comes from the Queen of England. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—Mr. Primrose, having "ado" for himself there, will at length shew things which I cannot write. We marvel that we do not hear of James Colville.

2¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. xxvij° Maii. London 2° Junii, 1595."

May 27 and 28.

550. George Nicolson to Robert Bowes.

Yesternight Mr. John Colville gave me these letters to you. He is well pleased to stay upon your advice and takes it in good part, resting wholly at her Majesty's service. He makes many excuses, and thereby has prevented his employment hitherto, but he is still pressed thereunto. Yet he esteems your advice as a rule to follow in anything as long as he lives. He has gone by appointment of his chief and advice of Sir George Hume to the King, who will press him forward, as is thought. Yet assure yourself he will follow your advice if possibly he can. This day the King has gone from Falkland to Stirling, and has sent Mr. Aston to pray the Queen to come to Stirling with him; whereto she agrees, looking to receive answer to her letter to the King to-morrow, and to go for Stirling on Thursday or Friday next. The ministers, Mr. Robert Bruce and Mr. David [Lindsay], were with her this afternoon,

* See page 654 *n*.

1595. and Mr. Robert has openly advised her to follow the King only and to obey him and his courses to avoid suspicion of both parties, the Chancellor and Mar; which she says [she] will do, and go to Stirling as he has required. The banquet of Lord Glamis's marriage is to be on Sunday next with great triumph (after the fashion of the country) at Stirling. The Duke has changed the Queen (E.) "their mynde" (*sic*) and drawn "them" to favour Mar again and go to where Mar is; and the Duke has gone before, looking that the Queen shall follow. The Chancellor is something moved hereat, and some think Buccleuch is travailing to alter the Queen (S.) "their new resolution." But what will follow I cannot tell. The Chancellor has ridden home for two or three days, but Buccleuch is here still. Yesterday, in the forenoon, he came hither. The Council demanded when he had any meetings with England. He said "not this longe tyme." They asked what was the cause. He said he was the first that gave justice since his entry to Liddisdale, and he also gave the last justice. "Allwaies" the Council said that in regard that there were no complaints by England they could not deny it. Nevertheless they charged him to keep good rule and peace with England. I understand that lately some of the Armstrongs banished into England have taken horse and men of Buccleuch and ransomed the men. If it be true, as the Wardens can best tell, it is time to take care of the West Borders lest there grow more troubles.

Lord Herries wrote to the Council that some of Johnstone's pledges were returned and some so little worth that the country could not be ruled without better surety herein. Johnstone is to come to give better security, and Herries is also to come before 15th June to give pledges for Maxwell and himself and their dependers. This the Council do to preserve quietness, which the King would most gladly have preserved.

By one Turnbull, newly come from Ireland, it is reported to Mr. Robert Bruce that Tyrone is "planely" in the fields with 2000 men, and takes all the "vivers" [provisions] he can get from the Lord Deputy; that he has made great spoils; and that he makes reckoning that if he stands till Lammas the whole country will yield to him, as also that he cannot want [*i.e.* lack] aid from Spain, albeit before he bore no love to Spain. But from young Lawers I hear nothing but that he is sick. Argyll has gone home and discorded, as Mr. Bruce hears, with Mr. George Erskine. What Argyll is doing I cannot learn. Mr. Bruce prays God the delay does not hurt. [*In the margin:* "I had had good intelligence from Norlace out of Ireland, but that passages as [*l.* ar] stopped by the rebells, as he writeth, for he wrote to that effect, but cannot gitt his letters convoyed or answere."] There are great speeches here of the gold "commed to Spain" and of the Spanish preparations. What it [may] work I know not. But the good doubt the worst and wish that regard were given to stop the worst. You know what will prevent all motions being made here—"contentment to the King and some frendes"; and less will please the King at her Majesty's hands than at any others', because he would "bynde" with none so heartily as with her Majesty. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—The dearth is so extreme here that the ministers have ordained a moderation of diet every Sunday "till the cornes come of the earthe." Mr. Aston telling me he would also write, I have therefore stayed mine till now for his letters. 28th May, "at 11 howres."

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xxviii° Maij, London secundo Junij, 1595." *Some names in cipher deciphered.*

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1595.
May 28.

551. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

This day I came to this town, directed from the King to hasten the Queen's coming to Stirling, where he meets her to solemnize the banquet. Although the marriage is already done the banquet "houldes." Notwithstanding the King has since his departing from this town passed his time in hunting and hawking, not having mind for any other purposes, at my coming here I find the minds of men occupied with change of Court; but in what manner, except by the Queen, they cannot tell. The Queen is not minded, as far as I can see, to do anything that may offend the King. Although I know her affection is withdrawn in part from the house of Mar and she would be content to have her son out of their hands, yet she is content rather to obey the King's will than her own affection, till some other occasion intervenes. I see the jealousies conceived in this estate rather to increase than diminish. The chief blame of all is laid upon Mr. John Colville. The one faction is chiefly "holden up" and countenanced by Buccleuch and Cessford, who are all in all with the Chancellor and Master of Glamis. The Queen and the Chancellor were never so great. These lords are persuaded that there is nothing meant to them but their disgrace. These things are entertained by such as blow the bellows to set all on fire. Mar and that faction think that they are stirrers up of the Queen, and for that cause the King is the more earnest to draw her out of this town. The King's desire is to be quiet, but the ambition of this time is such that they cannot live without "alterrationes."

I conferred with the Queen of such things as were committed to my charge, chiefly concerning her removal, for which I find she had no liking but only to obey the King. This in time will no doubt breed some mischief or other. From Stirling the King is minded to take the Queen to Falkland and there to remain till the latter end of summer. It was once determined the Queen should have made a progress to the Merse and Teviotdale, but that is altered. By all appearances she is with child, yet she denies it. The Prince is but weak and tender. It appears the change of his nurse has done him great hurt. There is no other thing here to write of. Holyroodhouse. [*Unsigned.*]

Postscript.—On going to close my letter Colonel Stewart landed in Leith and passed presently to the King. I hear by such as have come home with him that "he is come no sped ether off the marreg nor avansment of any monne," but had leave to bear his own charge, which was not "youest" * before. Captain Andrew Gray is on his despatch to France [with] the commission that Mr. John Colville would have had, to deal against Bothwell. He comes through England.

2 *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Hollyrod xxviij Maii, London secundo Junii, 1595."

May 30.

552. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I have attended [*i.e.* awaited] the Queen's "remove" to Linlithgow, which has been so "crosit" that it has been in great question whether she would go or not. Yet the earnest persuasion of such as are here for the King, both ministers, councillors and others, has prevailed so far that this day she removes. Buccleuch and Cessford are in this town very strong. There is no other appearance but the fire will break out presently if the King does

* used, customary.

1595. not wisely foresee it. The Queen speaks more plainly than before and will not cease till she has her son. But I know the King will alter that purpose. It is looked some mischief will fall out here presently; and Mr. John Colville on the one side, and your old friend Nicoll of Cairncross on the other, get the blame of all. In haste, going to Linlithgow. Holyroodhouse. [*Unsigned.*]

Postscript.—The Queen "opondes" herself against Mar and speaks plain language. The King is altogether for Mar. We have two mighty factions. What will be the end God knows.

1 *p. In Roger Aston's hand. Also Address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Hollyrod 30 Maii, Grenewich vj° Junii, 1595."

May 30. **553.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Speaking yesterday with Buccleuch he shewed me that the Armstrongs of the Gingills (Chingles) and Logan (being banished this country and reset among the Grahams in England) have lately come in and taken sundry horses from himself and friends, for which he could get no redress but words, albeit he has written to Thomas Carleton in the absence of my lord. By reason thereof he says he cannot long stay his friends and dependers from "repairing" [redressing] themselves, and would join with them himself but that he would not offend her Majesty, whose good opinion he will not lose, if anyway he can retain it; and for this cause, hoping that your return will be shortly and that by your means these things will be helped, he is resolved to do his best to stay his friends from such courses until your return. As to his raids and actions in Tynedale, he trusted they would not offend her Majesty, being done upon feud and no way in contempt of her Majesty, country or subjects, whose good constructions in those behalfs he would be glad to deserve. This much in effect he said to me; which I impart to your worship to the end that you may use it as appertains and for my discharge, whatsoever follows. Wiser [men] than myself expect no good to spring out of these dealings between Lord Scrope and him unless it be the better looked to.

On Tuesday Colonel Stewart came hither and that day he went to the Queen and wrote to the Chancellor, and is this day gone with the Queen to Stirling. I hear no speeches of his "spede," either for the King or the Earl of Orkney for a wife. What he gives [as] the cause I know not; but I saw a letter written from the parts he was in almost blaming his carriage of matters. But I hear he finds something abroad meet to be regarded at home in England. But I have not spoken with him, and therefore cannot tell what they are. Mr. John Colville, upon your advice, has almost drawn himself from [his mission]; and now one of my acquaintances [*In the margin:* Captain Andrew Gray] is in question to be employed, "but I thinck not tho." Yet, go who please, they will not be to her Majesty as Mr. Colville would have been.

Yesterday the Chancellor and Sir Robert Ker came hither well accompanied, and this day the Queen has ridden to Linlithgow for Stirling to-morrow, and, as is thought, "well furtherly with child." Whereas the Duke had drawn the Queen to agree with Mar and to go thither, and departed thither himself, looking for no change of mind in the Queen, yet the Chancellor, as it is said, fearing that inconveniences might follow thereon, had Buccleuch to travail to stay the Queen. He indeed had almost done it, and Cessford also joins for the stay of the Queen. It was so doubtful that some were almost looking for present troubles thereby, seeing the King had so earnestly written for the Queen and that Sir George Hume was here to bring the King forward. [*In*

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1595. *the margin:* It was "in head" that the Queen should have stayed and the King been called hither, "but the perill sene, it is left."] But some of the Kirk and others well disposed dealt both with the Queen and Chancellor plainly therein; and now she has gone, but with full resolution not to stay, and to insist for the young Prince in all earnestness. She has "a good back" and strong assisters, so that unless the King prevents the worst, changes the Queen's mind and be wise, he will have troubles enough, and too soon. For there is already plotting on both sides for the lives of petty dealers seen to be "of best spreitis," as Mr. Colville and Nicol Cairncross, who commends himself to you. [*In the margin:* Call him "Grand."] If the Queen had not gone, Orkney, Sir George Hume and others had this day ridden to the King and left the Queen, whereon then the matter had begun. Now, as it is, it may "stay"; but "of hard eaven," I warrant you. For this and other causes you are wished for here by the Kirk and all good men, but with contentment to the King. Sir George Hume says that the King will "chide fast" whensoever he sees you, and so will he too. He [Hume] says he wrote to you, but he sees it is rejected, and says that if you had written but once to him he would have written often to you again. In merry sort he told me this, praying me to "do" his heartiest commendations to you. If he had not assured me that S. (the Queen) would this day ride, I had given you alarm yesterday of her stay. [Neither] the Chancellor nor Cessford would have returned till this day but for * the Queen's stay, and yet the sight of the inconveniences made the Chancellor change his mind. But Buccleuch and Cessford were almost ready to have avouched their advice for her stay. Thus I write at length in this dangerous matter which may calm and grow null in time, or prolong for some time, praying your worship to keep the same secret as appertains; and I shall still know the secrets between Mr. Colville and Nicoll Cairncross (Grand). Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xxx° Maij, Grenewich vi° ejusdem, 1595." *Red wax seal. Partly in cipher deciphered.*

June 1. **554.** [DR. MACARTNEY] TO ROBERT BOWES.

I find that by the Catholic faction now "resuscitat" the King's mind is likely to be alienated from England. Great preparations are "devysing for thair peax," but they cannot yet find out "a condigne *quomodo.*" The man whom I wrote of last is presently "upon the poynt of his jurnay" towards Flanders. Edinburgh. *Signed with a trefoil leaf.*

¼ *p. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "(Trefoil cipher) Edenburgh primo Junii, Grenewich ix° ejusdem, 1595."

June 2. **555.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Friday the Queen fell sick as she was riding to Linlithgow, yet she held her journey, and on Saturday she sent for the King, as by Mr. Aston's note to me you may perceive. Whereon the King came that night to her, and is yet there. She is so great with child, some say, that they blame those who moved her to that journey. Nicholas Cairncross (Grand) assures me she returns hither as soon as she can, and that Mar will yield to her motion if she insists still therein; which that party will do if the advice of Buccleuch and

* *i.e.* except to work for.

James VI.
1595. that party be followed ; and to comfort the Queen it is thought the King will also yield thereto. Thus the Chancellor's party are in great assurance of their purposes. What Mar is in I cannot tell, yet I hear that he will agree that, when the King or Queen come to where the young Prince is, he will yield that place to them, but on their departure enter into it again ; and so from time to time. But as to this castle, Mar will not leave it ; neither, say some, will the King otherwise agree. Having nothing from Mr. John Colville, I refer that party's purpose to his advertisements, which shall be speedily sent. These matters are dangerous, and your presence was never more required here by the good than now, which they say will now be if her Majesty continues her good favour towards the country. Yet without contentment to the King you will do little good, I hear. I have sent her Majesty's safe-conduct to Stirling to Murray, from whom I have yet no word. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—After the writing hereof, Lord St. Colme, uncle to Murray, told me that the Earl had received her Majesty's safe-conduct. He stays for the marriage of his aunt to Lord Lovat, and thereafter will repair to England, so that it will be ten days yet ere he goes from hence.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes :* " Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh 2° Junij, Grenewich ix° ejusdem, 1595." *Names partly in cipher deciphered.*

June 3. **556.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen remains still sick at Linlithgow, and, as the common bruit goes here, " is parted with childe " by reason of her journey. But so far as I can learn there is no such matter. Now she is well amending, yet purposed either to return hither, according to the Chancellor's " platt," or to stay yonder, but not to go to Stirling. The King has been very sorrowful for her sickness and careful to comfort her, and some think she takes advantage thereof to move him to her purpose.

On Monday last Mar came from Stirling to the King and returned that night. They had long conference together wherein (I hear) Mar declared to the King that his Majesty moved him to take charge of the young Prince, that he himself never sought for it, and that the King should commit it to any at his pleasure, with goodwill. To which the King replied in great anger, willing him to speak no more thereof, and assuring him that he should still have that charge, whoever said " na." Mar said they had banded for his life without any offence on his part. The King said it could not be true, wishing him to trust no such thing. Mar said it was true, and prayed the King to ask Lord Hamilton whether such a band was presented to him to subscribe or no (and which Hamilton refused). He said that he would therefore be on his guard and let them see that he had as many and as good friends as they had, and that if the King would give him leave he would chase those out of Scotland who had so banded for his life. To which the King said " no, he wold do it him self." Having thus conferred, Mar has gone with good contentment, and on Tuesday, as they say quietly to me, the King sent Sir George Hume to tell the Chancellor that in these courses neither Buccleuch nor Cessford should save his head if he were a dealer therein [*In the margin :* Buccleuch and Cessford have returned home again] ; and the same day a very strait charge was sent to the Master of Glamis to pay the 5000*l.* which he borrowed of the Exchequer (Extougher), and also order was given for commanding of him to ward over the water, all to remove him from this place as a man suspected to be the chief deviser and haster of these apparent troubles. Yet I

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1595. hear this day that the charge of his appointment to ward is stayed, and that the King does not mean to " put at " the Chancellor, but that he has comfort also from the King. So the King may defer or pacify these troubles, and I think he will do so, unless by accidental meetings some mischief fall out, which I look for, I assure you. I hear Mar has sent the Chancellor word that, seeing he bands to take his life, he will do what he can to get his. Thus, if all be true, this estate is subject to present troubles. [*In the margin:* The Laird of Wemyss commends him to you.]

Colonel Stewart, for certain, has brought nothing to the King, and he is sore " straited " at present, so that I now perceive her Majesty's favour will be much rested upon and the welcomer when and if it comes. Yesterday Captain Andrew Gray set forward, as I hear, with his despatch to pass through England for foreign parts with no great errand but to look to Bothwell's doings abroad. The gentleman is " of great frendship " here, and, going the King's errands, there is no doubt here but that he will be careful to give good testimony by his behaviour of his honest course to clear all former suspicion of him.

The depositions of Lawe (Lawis) and the other Jesuit are earnestly looked and wished for to be sent hither for the help of trying out of all matters anent Father Myreton (Morton) and these two men last come in, Seaton and Cecil, over whom great suspicion is taken, albeit Cecil was here before, " judged to have ben thrust in of pollicie to trye out matters."

Young Lawers sent Mr. John A.* to inform me that he hears that Argyll is drawn by persuasion of Angus MacConnell and by some about himself, bribed for the purpose, to intend to send out a number of such men as will voluntarily go into Ireland under the charge of Duncan Campbell of Danna and others in hope to receive great commodity by them, and young Lawers will keep watch if this purpose holds, when they gather and go, what number and of what quality they shall be of, and where they shall land; and make true advertisement thereof; and on your return, if you please, he will go in person into Ireland and prevent their landing; and this he may the better do because Argyll and his friends are not yet agreed, and his friends do not like such course in him, as Mr. John A. assures me. Further, seeing young Lawers and he " kepe dealingis still thus," and young Lawers has let MacCondochy have land of his own and gotten him also land of Glenlyon to keep him for the service that he shall appoint him in these causes, and by which he has stayed him from going hitherto, young Lawers trusts that this shall be considered reasonably to him, as also his further dealings, or else that you will not further look for any more dealings therein at his hands, but plainly give him leave to trouble himself no further therein. Argyll and his wife have gone into their country, but [there is] no discord with Mr. George Erskine. It is confirmed here that Tyrone accounts if he can by any means hold out till Michaelmas he will have the whole country yield to them. But I cannot assure it for truth. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* " Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh v° Junij, Grenewich xi° ejusdem, 1595.

June 6. **557.** JAMES COLVILLE OF EASTER WEMYSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter from James [*sic*] Colville and give thanks for your pains taken for me. But because you wrote nothing concerning the King, it seems to me that he will not receive such contentment as he looks for and

* Auchinross or Archibald.

1595. believes he merits. You will do well to "hauld it in memorie." For news here of late, the demand of the Prince begins to kindle, and it is hard to judge what may fall out, for there is a number banded against Mar, which band Hamilton refused, and showed to Mar. Mar is highly moved, and the King says he is also. Seeing they go that way to work, he assures him that whoever meddles in that shall have his disfavour. Mar "myndis" no more to be so used but to let his enemies know what he may do. The Queen is sick in Linlithgow, where his Majesty remains. Edinburgh. *Signed:* James Colville of Est Weimes.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Larde of Wemes. Edinburgh vj° Junij, Grenewich xi° ejusdem, 1595."

June 6. **558.** DUNCAN MACDOUGALL TO JOHN CUNNINGHAM.

Forasmuch as I have heard that you were "the last day" in Argyle speaking with MacLean of the Isles, I marvel that you "wald" not advertise me of your being there and of your news, for I wrote to you sundry times at your being from home. I am most content "of" your welfare and of your good voyage, as I have heard. Write to me of your news, and of the estate of the Kirk in these days. As to your "selver," I grant you want the same "witht the langest," for silver is very scant to be had in this country. Nevertheless you shall receive from this bearer 40*l* "money," and anything that you want you shall be "thankfullie payitt therof schortlie." I have heard you have brought home certain bows and I desire you to write to me how I may have one dozen or two of them. Write to me the price of the dozen of them, and if I think them reasonable for me I will buy two dozen from you.

As to news in these parts, the "haile men" of the north Isles are gathered together and they will be this night in the Sound of Mull, passing forward where Angus [MacConnell] is, for they are a great army. Angus was in Bute (Bouith) the last day, and Argyll sent the Provost of Kilmun (Kilmowne) to desire him and the rest of the Clan Donald to come to an appointment with him and MacLean. But Angus gave but a "sleicht" answer and "ewill vordis" to the Provest "and said that he would never with his will appoint with Argyll or MacLean; but let them do for themselves," and he would do for himself. The Provost and Angus "cast" out in such a form that they appointed a day of combat "hand for hand." They have sworn to meet and fight together "at the singular combait," on Tuesday next in Skipness (Skeipneishe). Argyll's "haile cunterie and boundis" are warned to be present, and both the Clan Donalds, south and north, will be there, "all that thai may mak." Truly there is great appearance of trouble betwixt the Campbells and the Clan Donalds. I hope MacLean will prevent that the Clan Donald will "gett the waie." If you brought home "ony bonie smal thing that ye think for me out of Ingland, send me the sam and I sall send yowe ane better thing in the commone * therof." Commend me to your "bedfallowe." Dunolly (Dunollycht). *Signed:* Duncan M'Dougall off Dunollycht.

Postcript.—"The barnes commendis thame to yow. I pray you commend me hartlie to the ministeris. Send me your discharge upoun the resett of this."

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* "To his treu frend John Cunninghame, burges in Edinburgh." *Endorsed:* "MacKowle of Lorne. Copie of his letter to Jo. Cuningham. Dunnowycht vi° Julij, London 18 ejusdem, 1595."

* In discharge thereof.

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1595.
June 7.

559. ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Matters here are so uncertain that no man can set down a perfect course to be followed forth. For this present there are two factions, " the thred neutrales." For the factions, there is one in Edinburgh and another in Stirling. The course of those in Edinburgh is to get the Prince out of the Earl of Mar's hand, who prepares himself against them by making himself strong by his friendship, [so] that when it shall come to the utmost he thinks to double out his course against all whatsoever, and to " stike " with that he has. On the other side they are persuaded that by the credit of the Queen she will draw the Prince and castle of Edinburgh out of his hand.

The King is " forsene " of all these courses, but because there is no mention made of these matters directly to himself, he seems to misken [*i.e.* be ignorant of] all, and yet is not idle to prevent the plot-layers from any alteration ; for that is the thing he cannot abide to hear, but says plainly whosoever would be movers of any alteration, chiefly for the removing of the Prince, seek nothing but the cutting of his throat and he will esteem them greater enemies to him than Bothwell. Such as depend upon the Queen are fully persuaded they shall come to their intent. Although the Queen has a special misliking of Mar and would have her son from him, yet there are so many perils that I am of opinion she will not be able to attain to her intent. For, first, the King is fully resolved that the Prince is to abide where he is. Next, Mar provides for the worst. This town is " fol " that the Prince shall be presently removed to the castle of Edinburgh. But no such matter [is] either moved to the King or meant by him. The King pressed the Queen to have met him at Stirling, which she had no liking of, yet to show her obedience, " being evel desspost," she took journey and by the way was constrained to stay at Linlithgow. Not being able to travel she sent word to the King, who came " att the post." Since that time they have both remained there. The Queen never stirred out of her bed since she came thither. The bruit is up and down the country " she is parted with child." But there is no such matter. How these matters will fall out I know not. Whether my labours have been taken in the right sense or not I know not, but I have had no other intent but to serve her Majesty faithfully. I fear that I am " crost " by some malicious ill-willers, or else I am assured I had received some comfort to have relieved my weak estate. " Alwayes " I am resolved (whether there be consideration or not) to discharge the duty of an honest man to my sovereign and country. Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

2½ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Roger Aston. Edinburgh vij° Junii, Grenewich xiiij ejusdem, 1595."

June 7.

560. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

The Queen remains still sick in her bed at Linlithgow and the King with her, giving her all the comfort he can. Some say (but not I) that she is awaiting the opportunity thereof to move him to agree to her intention anent the young Prince and this castle, which she may not move unless she finds him in some extraordinary good mood. " Allwaies " she will never give over travailing in that point. Yet it is thought that if she were any time from this company, who are suspected to be her chief onsetters to requite the Earl of Mar for his intention to have wrought the displacing of the officers of estate and give him something else to do, she might change her mind, and for that purpose, if she had gone to Stirling, she would have been persuaded to stay some time there. As soon as God gives [her] health, the King will persuade

1595. her to go and lie at Stirling, for the Queen's faction is master here and banding, as I hear, to make themselves strong, having first had "in purpose" to have moved the Duke to have taken the keeping of the Prince and this castle, and now moving Orkney, from whom they might afterwards take the charge better than from Mar, and also of purpose thereby to cast suspicions and discords between them and Mar. Mar is warned, I hear, and has now betaken himself to band and make himself strong as well as they, and will get friends enough, the rather because the King is seen to hold the "platt" for removing of the Prince to be treasonable and danger to his person; and Mar is not resolved to let them go "unquit of a common [*i.e.* unrequited] for shooting at him" and his life; which is denied by the Chancellor and the rest, who think, if there were such a band, that nevertheless it should pass Mar's power to "try" it. So these two parties will hardly meet in peace, I assure you. The Kirk dislike it and would gladly have the worst prevented, yet they dare not meddle between them. Sundry great men are yet holding off as neutrals, saying they will lean to no factions, but follow the King. Thus they forbear to travail to do good, and yet in the end they will be drawn to the one party or the other if this matter comes to extremity. The Kirk and all good men wish you here for "attoning" of these parties. The King, who has most power and in whom both parties have hope,—Mar to keep him in the mind he is in, the other to get his mind altered,—takes no order as yet nor outward knowledge of these displeasures, seeming not to believe these things, whether by reason they are so hard that he list not venture to deal in them, or for what cause else, I know not.

I have spoken with Mr. George Erskine, who has but newly returned from my lord [Argyll]. He shews me that Donald Gorme and sundry others had forces at sea on the 5th instant, and he expects that they are "at some purpose" ere now. He speaks as if Argyll had no dealings that way, but stands yet clear, and that the rebels seek but to win time. I cannot tell what to think till word [comes] from MacLean or Auchinross. The depositions of the Jesuits are daily desired, and your intelligencers and others look also to hear from you. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1⅓ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh vii° Junij, Grenewich xiiij° ejusdem, 1595."

June 13. **561.** [Dr. Macartney] to Robert Bowes.

If either Cecil or Seton had come to Scotland be assured I would have got knowledge ere now; and to be better resolved "I askit my lord Seytoun for Cecile, bot he is not, and a brother of Seytons in whome he trustis muche bot he knawis no thing," so that by these appearances none of them is here. Indeed, Fyvie is expected, "for so hes Mr. William Bannatyne advocat in Pareis tauld me, wha is reddie upoun his returne to thais partis." If Dickson's uncle shall come into Scotland *cum sacco parato* I shall be vigilant. But I fear they shall meet at some other part.

I remember an old proposition of mine (the "oblivioun" whereof was imputed to Christopher "Ship" [Sheperson]) about two rugs, one orange, the other incarnate red. I trow there may be good commodity for their transporting by ship among great confluence of Scottish merchants resorting to London. Besides all this I have lost my knife that I got of you at departing.

What other pleasure "on the auld maner" can be performed by me shall

James VI.
1595. nowise be forgotten from time to time. Edinburgh. *Signed with a trefoil leaf.*

¾ *p. Addressed by cipher. Endorsed by Robert Bowes*: (Cipher) "Weathouris. Edenburgh xiii° Junij, Grenewich xix° ejusdem, 1595."

June 14. **562.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday I asked the Chancellor if he had any certainty of Cecil's being in this country, and where he was. He assured me that he was here with Angus, but he knows not where he is now. Neither can I learn other ways anything of him than as the Chancellor told me, who still expects the confession of Lawe (Lawis) for their better light in those things here. Dr. MacCartney (Tertius) says neither Seton nor Cecil is here. Yet they may well be here, for Errol, I think, has not gone, but keeps very quiet, as does Angus, and these persons may be with them. I assure you they are in comfort. Huntly has written with his own hand from the Jesuit College in Antwerp giving comfort to his friends here that all will be well with them. I hope to get a copy of the letter. It is in the hands of those that Huntly would not have it in.

Mr. Dickson * has taken his leave of the King, to whom he "made motion" of his service done to the King's mother and requiring his consideration thereof, and had the Chancellor as a speaker for him. But, as I hear, the King answered, "The devil a penny. Let him gange to Bowes and the mynisters,"—accounting as if he had been your man and theirs in revealing things to you and them. So Mr. Dickson † has gone from hence with purpose to serve abroad. Yet I cannot see that he is furnished with money for his journey to France, as he intends, so as yet I cannot deal with him anent the casket, wherein I hear he will do what he can, and were not to be doubted if he had money to go about it.

I still remember to hasten John Cunningham; and he promises very shortly to go to MacLean and with speed return his answer. He had gone ere now but that he expects that MacLean shall come into Argyle, and thereon he intends to go thither to him. This estate is uncertain. On Sunday last the Master of Glamis was at Linlithgow and had good countenance from the King, yet "was gently demaunded" the 5000*l.* In all these dealings he is "the butt that the King shooteth at," albeit he is so backed by the whole officers of estate, Lord Hume, and the two Lairds and his other friends that the King cannot yet cast him with ease. He had long conference with the Queen and returned well contented, looking that she shall in time prevail to get this castle and the Prince into the hands of some of that side; and for this purpose the Chancellor intends to go this day or to-morrow to Linlithgow to persuade the King's return hither for his affairs, trusting, if he were here, that the Queen should prevail. But the King intends to go to Stirling as soon as the Queen is well (as now she is almost), or else to remain at Linlithgow or go to Fife to keep the Queen from the company of those who move her to this motion. None dare deal with him therein, "but thrust it into the Queen's heele," who attends opportunity. You will see it will be assayed as a reasonable and meet way that there be motion made that Mar shall have fellow-assisters for the keeping of the Prince, and all to dispossess him by little and little. If other means do not prevail this will be assayed; and if this does not serve they intend harder means, accounting themselves strong enough. On the other side, Mar means by like means to encounter them,

* *In the margin:* F. A "false knave" called Diksone is mentioned in *Hatfield Papers*, part iv, 205.
† *In the margin:* Tertius; *which is also given as cipher for MacCartney, above.*

1595. and surely he has the King's favour, and so has the Chancellor in particular; between whom the King will make the best or prevent the worst. I think this matter will lie over for some time, but quicken with more danger than ever. The ministers have fair words on both sides and are mightily dealt with. But they keep free, purposing to make choice upon sight of their actions, looking verily that if it comes to extremity the one side shall draw in the Papist lords and wreck all, marvelling that her Majesty sends none hither, in these dangerous times, when there are reports of 18 millions of gold "commed" home to Spain; of great armies and navies ready in Spain (for avoiding the discovery whereof some Scots ships are stayed in Spain till the King's fleet be at sea, as by now they account it to be); and of the comfort amongst the Papist lords' friends at this present. "Allwaies" if her Majesty sends, it will little prevail for her service unless the King's contentment comes withal. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* George Nycolson. Edenburgh xiiij° Junij, Grenewich xix ejusdem, 1595."

June 16. **563.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Her Majesty's sickness is interpreted as men like or dislike, but she is "convalesced." The ill-will betwixt the innocent Earl of Mar and others seems to be nothing quenched, his Majesty holding himself, to all appearance, very indifferent.

I have received all yours, especially one from my cousin of a very old date and open; but neither of us needs to be ashamed who sees our writing. I am ashamed to write any more "in my particular," but my deserving shall ever speak more than my tongue or pen in that behalf, yet my great necessity, being held "abak" [from the embassy],* makes me importune, and you may easily consider if the man who shall be employed be my friend. If I myself had been employed I needed not other recommendation. Therefore I look for this favour that, in part or all, my former recommendation may be admitted by her Majesty. However it be, I have laid that ground which I can not alter for any disaster. Stirling. *Unsigned.*

1⅓ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "John Colvill. Sterling 16 Junii, Grenewich xix° [?] ejusdem, 1595." *Parts obliterated by ink.*

June 17. **564.** ROGER ASTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

The King is resolved not to alter any matter of estate either concerning the Prince or any other thing. The Queen is mending very well. She has made no motion to the King as yet concerning the Prince, neither will she, as far as I can perceive. The King is in such rage that such news is in the country that I believe that motion will not be made again. The Queen bears a great grudge against Mar and would not give him her presence. He was here on Saturday very well received by his Majesty. The King is "mynded" to take away all jealousies between the Chancellor and him, that all things may proceed in good quietness, and such as are suspected to be stirrers-up of sedition shall be commanded to remain at home. Linlithgow. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Roger Aston, Nycolson. Lithgw xviij° Junij, Grenewich xxiiij ejusdem, 1595."

* The page is badly smudged here by a blot.

James VI.
1595.
June 18.

565. WILLIAM CRICHTON TO JAMES TYRIE.

Pax Christi. Reverende in Christo pater: postremas dedi ad vestram reverentiam Treveris in principio Junii, ubi fui ut comitem Huntleum et P. Gordonum convenirem, cum quibus venit comes Errollius. Scripsi tunc ad patrem nostrum. Verum est omnia fuisse generalia: ad magis specialia destendetur, sed hac vice fieri non potest. Per proximum intelliget quid et ad quid velint 102. Heri venimus huc et non potuimus cogitare de negotiis ut par esset. 106 est in hac urbe pro negotiis quibusdam suis particularibus, et venit in hanc urbem, sed secreto et propter negotia quedam sua particularia. Hic 106 gemma est naturalium præcipua. Venit huc ex Scotia post aliorum discessum junior baro de Purye Ogilbie, qui Italiam cogitat ut ex proximis intelliget reverentia vestra. Baro de Sacher hinc infra 6 dies est in Scotiam migraturus. 105 heret diu anti [*sic*] inibitur consilium et quid expediat aut petendum videatur consilio 105 et 106 et aliorum expertorum isthuc brevi mittetur; et hec de publicis. Satis abunde intellexi ex literis reverentiæ vestræ quid de seminarii negotiis fiat et quid sit collectum et quid speretur. Accepimus 60 scutos [?] collectos Bononiæ quibus adjunxit reverentia vestra alios 40 sc. quibus facta est summa 100 sc. Prius accepi 100 sc. ex redditibus seminarii. Per has postremas reverentiæ vestræ accepi literas cambii 240 sc. collectorum in Sicilia. Accepi quoque 56 sc. collectos Mediolani per patrem Joannem Laurini. De spe recuperandi 300 Ubertini, et alios 300 Cardinalis [?] a Sancta Severina opera patris Bruno, gaudeo. Servient hi aurei ad domum quam emimus reficiendam et instruendam suppellectile. Solus d. Thomas Cheyneus videtur per precipuas Italiæ urbes idoneus qui mittatur. Postea poterit cogitari an expediat ut in Hispaniam mittatur. Prius erit instandum apud illustrissimum Cardinalem Cajetanum ut ad Patriarcham scribat ut obtineat quæ potest, si non ex episcopis saltem ex spoliis defunctorum ecclesiasticorum poterit nos juvare, sunt enim in Hispania ditissima singulis annis. Verum est rationem debere reddi suæ sanctitati et cameræ apostolicæ. Mittam ad dominum Hieronymum Garcio [?] rationes. Sed modo non possum quia sunt Bruxellis. Ego jam ter misi rationes Missipotanas et bis signatas manu Chevalii. In Januario 1593 Pater Murdo mihi dixit fassos plus satis fuisse illis solutum et se nobis debere aliquid reddere nihil amplius illis solvat d. Hieronymus. Ego enim tenebo rationes cum illis et ostendam eos plus accepisse quam debebatur. Habent adhuc magnam partem suppellectilis seminarii quam commodarunt suis convictoribus, et postquam usi sunt stragulis, linteaminibus et culcitris jam 7 aut 8 annis, dicunt parum valere, et ita nobis solvunt. Sed agemus ratione cum illis. Interim reverentia vestra suaviter hoc poterit illis scribere.

Jam dudum accepimus literas pro abbate sancti Bertini Audomaropoli, sed nihil nobis dedit. In his partibus nihil eleemosinæ est sperandum, ita sunt omnia afflicta bello. Doleo d. Thomam Tyrium ita affligi morbo, sed nunc vix expedit ut in Scotiam eat donec melior occasio elucescat. Pater Morton male tractatur in Scotia et periclitatur de vita, in vinculis detinetur, et urgent ministri ut ei adhibeatur oculeum et alia tormenta. Dicunt reginam Angliæ obtulisse multa millia ut occideretur, ea sola ratione inducta ut illa morte summus pontifex deponat omnem spem quam conceperat de rege Scotiæ et ab eo tollat omne auxilium pontificis.

Anglus qui hinc in Scotiam profectus est in Februario ultimo fuit captus et Londinum ductus una cum magistro Davide Law nostrate, de quo nihil habemus certi. Descenderant in partibus septentrionalibus Angliæ et illic capti. Multum laborarunt mecum dominus de Sachar, dominus de Purie et Philippus de Aiala de pace inter Bruce et me componenda postquam emomuit et

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1595. fecit quecunque potuit mala. Ego me submisi illorum judiciis. Solo metu nobilium quos gravissime libellis famosis et calumniis offendit fingit pœnitentiam. Sed finis probabit quid de eo fiet.

Quod scripsi de obedientia et licentia ut ego eam in Scotiam non fuit quod . . . . aut cupiam ire aut occasionem videam presentem, sed quia ex Hispania aliquoties fuerit scriptum expedire ut ego irem si occasio daretur quam dixerunt imminere. Sed ego lubenter hic manerem donec res aliquem haberent progressum, quia jam ego non possum sustinere labores quos solebam, quamvis sim paratus in istis laboribus mori, et nihil formidare aut recusare adversi. Non sunt res dispositæ ut nobiles Angli eant in Scotiam, sed si parata essent omnia multum juvarent causam communem.

Scribam ad patrem Gordonum juniorem. Habet hic fratrem cum comite Huntleo. Pater Christi studet casibus conscientiæ Audomaropoli. Pater Georgius Elphingston ibit Lovanium ubi superintendet seminario quod illuc transferetur. Omnes tam patres societatis quam nostratium unanimis est sententia seminarium melius esse Lovanii quam Duaci, et est res certa sine ulla comparatione. Venerunt alii duo ad seminarium, saltem video quod statim seminarii impensis vivunt. Sunt magistri in philosophia Scotica, sed iterum sunt hoc anno incepturi cursum, videlicet magister Franciscus Douglas, frater comitis de Angus, et magister Morison Domblanensis. Ut aliqui sint Romæ robusti et eminentis ingenii qui disputent et specimen dent ingenii est bonum, sed de novo seminario instituendo in contraria sententia sunt reverendes patres principalis pater Oliverius, quibus ego assentior propter causas quas alias scripsi. Sunt in Scotia idonei qui veniant ad seminarium, sed unde alentur? Vivere spe et contrahere debita, et vitam trahere et languere in eis sustentandis, esset mihi mors. Duodecim hic habebimus hoc anno; si modus esset eos nutriendi haberemus bene 20 aut 30. Omnino non expedit ut magister Archibaldus Hamylton eat in Scotiam. Vix possunt in ea vivere juvenes incogniti; quo grandevus magni nomini si posset aliqua pensis pro illo isthic obtineri esset bene Lovanii et nobis gratissimus donec melior occasio oriretur.

Magister Marcus Ker vobis erit isthic gravis et omnino illi erit contrarius aer. Romanus [?] est vir querelus, et cui difficulter satisfit. Nolit laborare sed vivere in quiete. Fuit vicarius pastoris Lugdunensis, ubi omnia illi abunde suppetebantur. Sed velit esse canonicus et vivere sine labore. Tantus amor sui illi oberit et aliis non proderit. Est tamen vir bonus et prudens. Misit ad nos pater Robertus Abircrombye nepotem reverentiæ vestræ Thomam Lyon . . . quasi cæcum ut visum recuperaret, quod sine miraculo fieri non potest. Est bonus juvenis sed ad omnia inutilis non minus quam prorsus caecus. Propter constantiam in fide catholica pater ejus eum domo exclusit jam aliquot abhinc annis. Frater ejus major natu, qui uxorem duxit ac domum habet propriam, non potest eum nutrire: nihil habet nec scit quo se vertat. Velit ire ad reverentiam vestram, sed non expedit. Ego curo ut medicus adhibeat suam artem in purgationibus et cauterio. Sed parum proderunt nisi ad nova tormenta et expensas faciendas. Si solum nutriendus hoc fit minoribus expensis in Scotia quam alibi, quare illi consulo ut redeat in Scotiam, et illi dabimus viaticum, et fortasse juvabimus aliis mediis saltem ut juvetur a comitibus de Angus et Errol quam charitatem compensabimus erga eorum fratres. Nam Errolius huc evocabit duos ejus fratres. In causa communi et fine satis convenit inter 105 et 106 et aliis 102, sed in mediis parum quia 105 velit aliquas preeminentias et nolit communibus consiliis subjici et facile mutat consilia, quod alii ferre non possunt. Velint enim esse equales, et 341 cum 105 est ejusdem opinionis et ingenii quod 106 et aliis 102 displicet. Non sum opinionis quod expediat 341 ire 464. Sed post

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1595. consilia habita cum aliis scribam clarius; aliud non occurrit. Antwerp. *Signed:* G. Creyhton.

Postscript.—Placeat reverentiae vestrae significare 181, 105 et 106 ac 102 brevi ad eum missuros aliquem alicujus authoritatis, qui referrent res magni momenti, et nobis ex 415 est scriptum quod 38 multum laborabit ne 181 det auxilium 100 nisi conjunctum cum suo, quod non esset promittendum donec veniret is quem 102 mittent et rationes rerum.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph, also address:* "Reverendo in Christo patri, patri Jacobo Tyrio assistenti societatis Jesu, Romae." *Wafer signet.*

June 18. **566.** WILLIAM CRICHTON TO JAMES TYRIE.

I wrote to you last at the beginning of June from Trier, where I went to meet Huntly and Father Gordon, with whom came Errol. I wrote then to our Father. It is true that everything was in general terms to be amplified in detail, but for the present that is not possible. By the next 102 will learn what and to what they wish. Yesterday we came here and were not able to discuss business, as might be fitting. 106 is here secretly on his own private business. This 106 is a gem of the first water. The young Laird of Pury Ogilvie came here from Scotland after the departure of the others. He is thinking of Italy as you shall learn from the next [letter]. Lord Sanquhar [Sacher] will depart for Scotland within six days. [Refers to the doings of 105 and 106.] So much for public business. I have learned clearly from your letters what is being done about the seminary affairs, how much is collected and what is hoped. We have received 60 scuti collected at Bologna, to which you have added another 40, raising the total to 100. I have before received 100 scuti from the revenues of the seminary. By your last I received letters of exchange of 240 scuti collected in Sicily. I have also received 56 scuti collected at Milan by Father John Laurini. I rejoice at the hope of recovering 300 Ubertini and other 300 Cardinalis, thanks to Father Bruno. These sums will serve for putting in order the house which we have bought and for constructing furniture (*instruendam suppellectile*). Only dom. Thomas Cheyne seems suitable to send through the chief towns of Italy. Afterwards one may decide whether it is expedient to send him to Spain. First one must importune Cardinal Cajetan to write to the Patriarch that he may obtain what is possible; if he cannot help us out of episcopal incomes, at least out of the spoils of deceased prelates, for there are great riches in Spain in any year (*sunt enim in Hispania ditissima singulis annis*), but an account ought to be rendered to the Pope and the Apostolic Camera. I shall send accounts to dom. Hieronymus Garcio [?], but I am not able because they are at Brussels. I have three times already sent accounts to Missipontani and twice signed with the hand of Chevali. In January 1593 Father Murdo confessed that more than enough had been paid to them and that they ought to restore something to us. Don. Hieronymus pays nothing more to them. I shall not hold accounts with them and shall show that they have received more than their due. They have hitherto a great part of the furniture of the seminary, which they have made over to their mess-mates, and after they have used the blankets, sheets and pillows for seven or eight years they say that they are little worth, and they pay us accordingly. But we will settle the account with them. Meanwhile you can write this to them tactfully (*suaviter*). A long time ago we have received letters for the Abbot of St. Bertin's at St. Omer, but he has given us nothing. No charity is to be hoped for in these

1595. parts which are everywhere suffering from the war. I regret that Thomas Tyrie is ill, but it is scarcely expedient for him to go to Scotland until better opportunity offers. Father Morton is badly treated in Scotland. His life is endangered, he is kept in chains, and the ministers press that the boot and other tortures be applied. They say that the Queen of England has offered many thousands that he should be put to death for the sole reason that thereby the Pope would lose the whole hope which he had conceived of the King of Scotland. The Englishman who set out for Scotland last February was captured and taken to London with Mr. David Law, our colleague, of whom we have no certain knowledge. They had landed in the north of England and were captured there. Sanquhar, Pury [Ogilvie] and Philip de Aiala have worked hard to make peace between Bruce and me, after he had done me all the ill he could. I have submitted to the decision of their judges: he feigns penitence solely through fear of the nobility whom he has gravely calumniated. But the end will show what will come of it.

What I have written about obedience and licence to go to Scotland was not because I desire to go or see present occasion, but because they have written repeatedly from Spain that I should go if occasion offered (which, they said, was imminent). But I would gladly remain [*manerem*] here until matters have advanced somewhat, because I am not now able to sustain the labours that I once was, although I am ready to die in these labours, and to fear and refuse no hardships. The time is not ripe for English noblemen to go to Scotland, but if everything was ready they would much help the common cause.

I shall write to Father Gordon, junior. His brother is here with Huntly. Father Christie [?] studies cases of conscience at St. Omer. Father George Elphinstone will go to Louvain as superintendent of the seminary which was transferred thither. It is the unanimous opinion that it is incomparably better for the seminary to be at Louvain than at Douai. Other two came to the seminary, Francis Douglas, brother of Angus, and Mr. Morison of Dunblane. They are masters of philosophy in Scotland but are to begin their course afresh this year. It is good that at Rome there are others of strong and outstanding intellect, who hold discourses and give proof of their intellect. But as for setting up a new seminary, the reverend fathers and especially Father Oliverius are of another opinion with whom I agree for the reasons which I have written elsewhere.*

In Scotland there are suitable people to come to a seminary, but how are they to be maintained? It were death to be sent to live on hope, contract debts, and languish in sustaining themselves. We have 12 here this year. If we had means of supporting them we might have 20 or 30. It is certainly not advisable for Mr. Archibald Hamilton to go to Scotland. Young men can scarcely live there unrecognized. If some pension could be obtained for him, he would do well at Louvain and be most acceptable to us till a better occasion arise. Mr. Mark Ker will be a burden to you here, and the air will be altogether against him. Romanus is a quarrelsome man,† and is difficult to satisfy. He does not want to work but to live quietly. He was vicar of the pastor at Leyden where everything was abundantly supplied to him. But he wanted to be a canon and to live without working. Such great love of himself is prejudicial to him and does not help others. Nevertheless he is a good man and a prudent. Father Robert Abercromby sent to us your kinsman [*nepotem*]

* The contraction read *principalis* seems unintelligible unless thus intended.
† The word read *Romanus* is crushed in the margin, so that the reading is doubtful.

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1595. Thomas Lyon, who was nearly blind, to recover his sight, which could not be done short of a miracle. He is a good young man but entirely useless in everything, as if quite blind.

On account of his constancy in the Catholic faith his father turned him out some years ago. His elder brother, who is married and has his own house, cannot maintain him. He has nothing, and knows not where to turn. He wishes to go to you, but it is not advisable. I shall see that a doctor gives him purgings and cauterisings, but it will lead to little except new tortures and added expense. If it were only his maintenance it could be done at less cost in Scotland than elsewhere, so I advise him to return there and we will give him a viaticum, and perhaps help him in other ways, at least that he may have assistance from Angus and Errol, whose charity we shall compensate in respect to their brothers, for Errol will summon hither his two brothers. [There are quarrels and emulations among the party]. 105 wishes certain pre-eminences and does not wish to be subjected to common councils and easily changes his plans, which the others cannot suffer. [References to 341, 105, 106, 102 and 464.] *

I shall write more plainly after taking counsel with others. Antwerp. *Signed:* Gs. [Guillelmus] Creytton.

Postscript.—Placeat reverentiae vestrae significare 181, 105 et 106 ac 102 brevi ad eum missuros aliquem alicujus authoritatis, qui referent res magni momenti, et nobis ex 415 est scriptum quod 38 multum laborabit ne 181 det auxilium 100 nisi conjunctum cum suo, quod non esset promittendum donec veniret is quem 102 mittent et rationes rerum.

$2\frac{3}{4}$ *pp. Holograph. Addressed:* "Reverendo in Christo Patri P. Jacobo Tyrio assistenti Societatis Jesu, Romae." *Wafer signet.*

June 18. **567.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Saturday last Mar was at Linlithgow and had very good assurance of the King, who asked him what needed he to fear? When the Queen sought the Chancellor's disgrace he preserved him in grace, and he would also preserve Mar notwithstanding any devices to the contrary. So he returned with good countenance after very long conference with the King. But he got no presence of the Queen. On Sunday last the Chancellor rode to Linlithgow and cleared himself with the little conference he had with the King, showing his Majesty that as he was advanced [by] and always followed him, so he would still, whatsoever any should say to the contrary. So the King intends the preservation of the Chancellor and Mar as most fit for his service. But with the Queen the Chancellor had long conference, by which it is thought she wants no new advice to leave this matter for this time, unless she finds opportunity at the King's hands by his own motion, because the King holds the devisers hereof as odious as Bothwell to him, and so some think will "kiethe" [declare himself] against Buccleuch and the Master of Glamis, as practisers thereof, as soon as he can have means to do it. But that side, some say, is provided for the worst, and Mar [is] not sleeping. I cannot foretell the end of this matter; here is such practising on both sides and the King so loth to overthrow either of the chief parties. Yet though for this present it is, as it were, calmed in hope of the King's mediation, "looke for no other but the next

* The concluding paragraph is cryptic, and further complicated by the use of cipher. The postscript also is cryptic for the same reason. It refers to the sending of someone of authority to report a matter of great moment, and to the actions of 38, 181, 100, and 102.

1595. renewing thereof wilbe in fyer in dede"; for, when he sees his own time and advantage, Buccleuch thinks that he will have amends "of those that have thrust into the Kingis eares that matter which maketh the King so offended with him." The Queen has not yet found opportunity, neither dare deal with the King anent the young Prince. The next course they have will be the association of others with Mar in that charge to do their turn.

Here are wonderful rumours of the greatness of Tyrone's forces in Ireland and of their prevailing, which, if it be not true, is to encourage the islanders to assist them. [*In the margin:* "Junior sendis me worde."] Angus MacConnell has received money to assist them, and yet it is said that some for the Queen have so dealt with him that he intends to let his forces steal to her aid and that he himself will be with Tyrone because of the money received. "Allwaies" upon John Cunningham's return from MacLean I shall know more. A little would have done good service for her Majesty "by meanes" here. But how things now stand I cannot tell; but I shall learn what I can at Stirling, whither I ride this day.

This day Sir George [Hume] has promised me that his Majesty will faithfully deal with her Majesty anent the stay of any from this place, and Sir George will take care thereof. I think the King will go to Stirling this day. From the Borders I hear nothing that is good, but great rumours of an unfriendly meeting between our borderers and them. Many "longe weapons" and other provisions are sent from hence to Buccleuch, Cessford and Johnstone. In the conclusion of a book in England called "Rich. his Farewell," printed by V. S. for Thomas Adams at the "Signe of the White Lyon," in Paul's Churchyard, 1594, such matter is noted that the King is not well pleased thereat, so that "one greif comes in th'end of an other." It would please the King, some think, that some order were taken therewith. He says little, but thinks more. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "George Nycolson. Edinburgh xviij° Junij, Grenewich xxiiij ejusdem, 1595."

June 19. **568.** JAMES HUDSON TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

The Lord Sanquhar of Scotland, who has been long in Rome and most parts of Italy, and in very truth a confirmed Papist, has sent to desire me to procure him a passport to be sent to him at Campveere (the Camphire). The merchant who brought me this request says his chiefest reason to pass this way is to yield her Majesty satisfaction touching reports made to her [that] he has used the company of Jesuits and seminaries and all the arch-papist traffickers beyond the seas, with whom I know he has been very familiar, and also has in manner "altogither" been entertained and maintained by them. "Patter" [Father] Crichton who was prisoner in the Tower here is his kinsman and of his house, and Father Tyrie is "of his greatt frendship," and it is now a year since he wrote to me for the like matter, wherewith I acquainted Lord Burghley. It rests to be considered whether he shall have passage granted or not, and whether by his coming this way anything may be gathered from him; or if he shall be advertised by me or not either of a grant or a "reffues." If you signify to me your pleasure, I shall obey.

The Laird of Logie commends his service to you in a letter to me, and writes that because Bothwell is rejected by the French King he is sent for by Huntly and is to join with him and Errol and to abide the coming of the Spanish armies; also that he willed Mr. Archibald Douglas to inform your

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1595. honour that if it be her Majesty's pleasure he would deal with Huntly and Errol to deliver them from Spanish hopes and advise them to seek her gracious favour in all humility, and that she would intercede for them to their King. He seems to doubt that Mr. Archibald has not discharged this much on his part, and also upon what course he himself is likely to fall. He has passed to Holland with Mr. Andrew Hunter in his company. Thursday [19 June] in the morning. London. *Signed:* Ja. Hudson.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "24 Junij. Mr. James Hudson to my master."

June 20. **569.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

That which occupies the minds of men here is this emulation between the Queen and Mar, which gives occasion to such as would have changes and alterations to encourage themselves with their own conceits. The mark that is shot at is the keeping of the Prince, which the Queen thinks to possess. Because Mar stirred at the first motion and thereby prepared himself for the worst, the Queen since then has borne him a great evil-will. This is foreseen by the King with the daily bruits that come from Edinburgh that the Prince shall be transported thither. These have caused the King to send for some of the Council whom he most confides in, namely the Chancellor, the Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melville. Although the Chancellor is judged to be the plot-layer of this course, because there are great jealousies between him and Mar, yet he has declared his free opinion to the King in that point, laying before him the dangers that may ensue in case of any alteration of the present estate. His reasons were, first, he could not see any of the nobility either worthy or able to discharge that burden, and if any sought to have the Prince it was but for their own commodity. If the King would charge others with it, where were they to be had? [As] for the nobility, they were either young, or banished or not worthy of that charge. Therefore for the King's own surety and weal, and for the surety of the Prince and greatness of the realm he could not be in so sure a place as where he was. His reasons were, first, the nobleman was of an honourable house and such as had given great proof of their loyalty heretofore; the house where he was was strong and in "a good gere" [state of upkeep]; and, lastly, the Earl had all his friends about him, which might always be a strength both to the King and the Prince. This counsel was wonderfully well taken by the King, who was of the same opinion himself; and in this doing the Chancellor has won himself greater credit than ever he had. This conference was here on Sunday the 15th, whereupon the King sent for the Prior, who was here yesterday conferring with him at great length. The substance of all their conference contained two heads, the one concerning the Prince, the other the taking away of all jealousies between the Chancellor and Mar, as also to persuade the Queen of that purpose. The Prior conferred long with her, declaring his opinion freely, and yet found no other but that she was of mind to come to her intent. I would think this might happen if I knew not the King's resolution. In the meantime he entertains the Queen very lovingly and uses means to draw her off that course, preparing himself if she further insists. She, on the other part, entertains the King in all love and obedience, thinking thereby to come the sooner to her intent; and thus stand all matters here for the present. The King knows the ground layers of this course and yet bears with all, thinking [it] not meet time as yet to "chope" at them.

This day he goes to Stirling to see his son "whoo is to be spentt" within

1595. three or four days. The Queen will not be persuaded to go thither, but would rather be in Edinburgh or Falkland, where I think she shall meet the King within five or six days. Mar was here yesterday, but could not get presence of the Queen. The Prior of Blantyre is directed by the King to travail to take away all jealousy between the Chancellor and Mar, that there may be nothing among us but quietness. They are "in avising" whether the King shall send any this year to her Majesty or not. Some motion is made that Sir Robert Melville shall be sent.

The Earl of Caithness shall have his remission and peace [for] 10,000 marks. I doubt not but you hear better what has become of our Papist Earls than we do. We are advertised that Huntly is in Antwerp and Errol in Lübeck. I have received yours of the 5th instant, whereby I perceive you have moved for her Majesty's picture to be sent hither to the Queen. I pray you leave not to insist till the request be accomplished. I would be glad of your return if it might be for her Majesty's good service and your own credit. [He commends his services.] Linlithgow. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

Postscript.—The Earl of Atholl is in great danger of his life by sickness.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Roger Aston. Lyghquo xx° Junij, London xxvii° ejusdem, 1595."

June 22. **570.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Hearing of the coming home of our merchant, John Cunningham, my master has directed the boy, my servant, to him. As for present news in these parts there is none, except [that] the preparations for passing to the aid of Tyrone are in readiness, but as yet they dare not venture to leave Scotland through the want of security of my master's friendship. Many persuasions have been offered to him to go forward in their doing or to send with them his forces. All is continued [*i.e.* procrastinated] by him and will be till he hears of the answer to his letters and mine directed to Mr. Bowes. We marvel at the stay of that answer and think that the bearer has failed in his duty by not delivering the letters to you.

My master was written for divers times by the Earl of Argyll to repair to him, to the bounds of Argyle, but being occupied in his other "adois," specially attending on [*i.e.* watching] his neighbours and their preparation for this voyage, he could not go till now, when he is come to Argyll, leaving his captains and friends to attend on his neighbours till his return. Argyll, "heifing to do in Court," left command behind him to entertain MacLean well till his return. So he is passing his time "at hunting." Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

Postscript.—I came here to do some "turnes" of my own till the return of the Earl.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Nicolson and Robert Bowes:* "John Achinros. Dunberton 22, Edenburg 24, Junij 1595."

"Rec. in Geo. Nycolson's packet. Edenburgh 25 Junij, London 20 July, 1595."

June 23. **571.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Wednesday last I rode for Stirling. The next day I spoke with Argyll, persuading him not to be hasty to hearken [to] any offers of the rebels, but to show his goodwill to her Majesty, whose favour was better and more honourable for him, with such other reasons as I could use. Hereon he told

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1595. me that 2000 good men of Donald Gorme and others were ready in arms to pass into Ireland, whom he could not now stay by any commandment or force unless by wiles, which he would do his best to do for her Majesty's service and your request. He showed me that the rebels yet prevail, taking towns and castles, which they burn and utterly rase and pull down, that her Majesty's forces may thereafter have no safety or "harbory" by those strengths; [and] that "the second person in the feild" for her Majesty, undertaking to take Tyrone, rode out of the camp with only eighteen horse; whereon Tyrone, judging it had been some who would have spoken with him, rode out from his camp with nine horse; on meeting, the man of the English side "tooke Tyrone in armes," bade him be taken and offered to carry him to the English camp. The Earl resisted in such sort that both fell to the ground, and therewith the Earl "sticked" him; and his company, perceiving the matter, broke at our men and have overthrown many of ours and intend nothing but the depriving of her Majesty's authority there. "Allwaies" [nevertheless] Argyll promises his best to stay these men now going; but he cannot undertake to do it now that they are together in arms. They were ready and would have gone to the sea on the 5th, as I advertised, but that Donald Gorme and his "maughe" [brother-in-law], MacLeod Harris, fell out. Argyll tells me that MacCondochy has gone from him and intends to go to Ireland. The Earl sent for him, but he would not come till he gave assurance that he would not hurt or stay him. Whereupon he came to the Earl and received armour and other things "on" him, so that the Earl thought he had won him. But suddenly he sought to have some lands. The Earl not granting these, he departed without leave or farewell, insomuch that the Earl means, if he can get him, that he shall neither hurt us nor him. He is a most brave governor for the Highland service, and Argyll thinks these men "making over" have "tisted" him from the Earl to lead them. It may be young Lawers keeps him for his use. But that I know not, though I am sure they are very "inward" and kind together.

Yesterday Argyll and Mar (who, with his mother, commend themselves heartily to you, as the abbots [*In the margin:* "Cambiskinnell, Camskey"] and their friends at Stirling also do) and Lord Lovat came to Linlithgow to wait on the King to Stirling, whither he rode yesterday; and I also returned to Linlithgow to speak to the King in that matter, acquainting Argyll therewith and showing him that, albeit I would procure his Majesty's order to him, yet his help was also specially rested on, and he would receive thanks and see that her Majesty was a most thankful prince. [*In the margin:* Sir George Hume was not with the King, yet I found good Mr. Aston.]

On coming to Linlithgow I showed Mr. Aston that I was to speak [with] his Majesty in that cause, praying him to tell the King so, which he did very kindly, and was means that his Majesty of himself spoke to me, I standing off and forbearing to speak to him, as I perceived that he had no will to speak with me nor to regard that matter more than we regard his contentment, as by Mr. Aston I also perceived. Yet by good Mr. Aston's means the King of himself spoke to me. Wherein I broke the matter to him at length, requiring his order to Argyll and others who might stay those men. The King knew no such thing "he semed," saying Donald Gorme, Angus MacConnell and those men were his rebels, not at commandment, and Gorme claimed to be King of the Isles, showing me further that now that he had taken good order for repressing the "thift" of the highlanders some defaulters would still be going over, do what he could. For them I told his Majesty it was no great matter as long as the great forces preparing were stayed. Which he protested he would stay as far as he could, adding that he will ever do anything to pleasure

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1595. her Majesty, howsoever he be dealt with by her; and so I prayed him to speak [with] Argyll therein. Whereon he called on him, and so, we three [being] then together, spoke to him therein very forcibly. Argyll told him of the number and goodness of those who were ready, and under whom; and much reasoning they had how to stay them, being in arms together and not at the King's or Argyll's obedience.

The King said Lord Hamilton was suitor for the remission of Angus MacConnell and others of them, wishing Argyll to write or send them word that his Majesty will not pardon, but assist her Majesty in the pursuit of them, and that Argyll must do so too in case they go any way to trouble her Majesty. Argyll thinks that not the way, because they and our rebels little care now for her Majesty, the King or himself, except for their own advantage. So I saw them at their wits' end how to give assurance to me. Argyll said [that] not fear but wiles must do it, and he thought he should for some time by some wile yet stay them, which the King prayed him to do; and so, both of them promising to do their best, Argyll protesting it by his troth twice or thrice to me, I left them, both taking their horse for Stirling. These good words and care of theirs in this matter should be speedily acknowledged for their further encouragement, for they are very earnest therein; and the King, if he could, would have Donald Gorm's pride suppressed, and Argyll has Angus MacConnell in distrust for Huntly, and MacLean is an enemy to Tyrone. So there wants nothing here to make a party for her Majesty against her rebels but some money and the good dealing of some fit person to travail in this matter, which has been over long deferred already and will be too soon, I fear, past remedy in reasonable sort. Let not her Majesty think that nothing will do anything here, nor trust to friendship here before she be in covenant for it.

Argyll, upon raising of any matter against him (as oftentimes there has been), suppresses it in time by money, casting such bones amongst the parties intending his hurt that they "discorde" and leave his hurt, and yet he is never seen therein. Next week he goes to Argyle where MacLean is staying him, and whither John Cunningham will go and return answer to his trust. Mr. George Erskine will "remember" the Earl, but Argyll, I suspect, cannot do good but by MacLean. O'Donnell has frequent intelligence with Argyll and "labouris" him still. Mr. George tells me that now the rebels are besieging a town wherein sundry English bands are; that Tyrone sent for counsel to O'Neil, [and] that O'Neil said there were "ky" [cows] enough in his country for the Earl to live on, which he willed him not to spare, nor to leave till he had got the town; for he said, "Wynn that, wynn all." Tyrone has taken Newry (the Nury), but the castle holds out. He is 6000 good shot and pikes in pay and will be 16,000 strong within this month. He has long prepared for this war, training children as he does now with wood shaped like "peces" [guns] for lightness, and training them for shooting and giving pay for it. I demanded how he got it. It is answered he has enough and pays well and much beforehand. What with him and the men making from the Isles to him, "muche furnitures" are gone out of this country. Tyrone had lead long ago out of England, which he cast into "webbs" as if he would have covered a house, but it is converted into bullets. Some think some of the Papist lords are with him. He aspires to have an Irishman King of Ireland, himself or O'Neil, grudging, as it is said, that Englishmen should tyrannise over them; and some say this malcontentment is general amongst all the Irish, and that the old Irish blood are banded to help and free them therein; and this they make their quarrel.

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1595.

I hear that four great ships have been on the west coast of Ireland, [and] that some gentlemen in good numbers landed and sported themselves in O'Connor's (Connoyes) country (or such like name it has), and afterwards took ship and have sailed. These are suspected to have made Tyrone thus able to pay, and some say some of our great rebels, as Westmorland, are with him. "Allwaies" they make account to prevail, and are in great comfort. These things I hear. How true they are I know not. But I suspect some of them [are] too true. If I do not always write truth, yet I never write but as I hear; and you are to thank Mr George [Erskine]; and Adam Fullerton (Morlace) wishes well; and I will refuse no service in Ireland or elsewhere. I would serve with any party to be made in Scotland for her Majesty, having such "moyen" with those of Scotland; yet, if any were to be used, such as "have" the language of Ireland were best.

[As] for the Borders, all rumours are here now quenched, and the two lairds seem to honour her Majesty and be bent for peace. Neither are the nights yet of that length that the riders can do much hurt. The King is to return to Falkland on Tuesday; the Queen[is] then or the next day to be here. The Chancellor [is] pleasing the King and the King labouring for agreement between him and Mar, who will not agree with the Chancellor before trial be taken on the band which Mar has said is made for his hurt only and not by words for his life,* and which he will prove by way of combat by a "landed man" against the Chancellor or any of his fellows. Mar and Hamilton are neither in fair nor foul terms, but indifferent. [*In the margin:* Lord and Lady Hamilton are now courtiers, "and the King and Queen like them fearfull and not to be dealt with."] Hamilton will deal with neither nor cares for their displeasure. The King will not have the young Prince in any other hands, and the Queen had rather the devil kept him than those who have him, yet she dare not plainly deal in it because the King says if he were to die and could not speak it should be his last will and he would make it known by signs that Mar should still keep the young Prince; and the Chancellor pleases the King's humour therein. If the King can work reconciliation he will. But "the next wilbe worse." I know not yet who shall go up for the gratuity, or how. Sir Robert Melville is in hope. God forbid, but whoever goes Mr. Colville should be remembered. He is too true for her Majesty to be "cassen" for the King's purse and on his charge.

At Stirling I looked to have seen "a broken meting" between Montrose and Sir James Sandilands, the Sheriff of Ayr being for Sir James; but it was stayed by the Council. They were 2000 at least "on a syde." The coming in of Herries (whose son has married Lord Maxwell's sister against Herries's will) and of Johnston for their cautions is yet respited. Atholl is very sick and in danger. Lord Gray and the Constable of Dundee are near "entring into blude," but mediators are dealing to stay them. They are erecting more kirks here, but come but small speed. Many witches are taken and burnt in the Merse, some for mean, some for greater, matters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—All others to Mr. Aston's letters, which were sent hither when I was at Linlithgow, by reason whereof he wrote not of Ireland (Es.).

4¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Some names in cipher deciphered. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xxi° Junij, London xxvij° ejusdem, 1595."

* The meaning seems to be that the band was aimed at the "hurt" of Mar, but not expressly against his life.

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1595.
June 25.

572. JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

I enclose letters directed to me from MacLean and John Auchinross (Aiceinroiche). I have been to Argyle (Argayill) to speak with MacLean, as I promised. The time will be right meet, for Argyll and MacLean will be together, and I shall show MacLean the commission I had of Sir Robert and yourself, and shall haste his answer to you " in wreitt " along with my own letter. I would " weis " [advise] you to write your mind to MacLean and good counsel, which, I doubt not, will be heartily received and used. You may perceive by the last part of MacLean's letter that he craves Argyll's assistance, which is very needful; for these two being of one mind and purpose can do much in our Highlands. I shall do what lies in me for the furtherance of MacLean in all these turns. The sooner you make him yours the better, and also Argyll. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Cunynghame, burgeis in Edinburgh.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " John Conyngham. Edinburgh xxv° Junij, London secundo Julij, 1595."

Enclosure with the same.

(John Auchinross to John Cunningham.)

I have received your letter here in Dumbarton (Dunbertane) by the convoy of MacLean, my master, who directed me in some of his " adois." I am glad of your good return and of the honour and pleasure received by you in the parts where you were. Will God the same is but a beginning, as you shall know at meeting. My master willed me in his letter to haste my servant to you with this his other letter, [and] desired me to cause you to haste to him. He will be in Dunoon, or else Inveraray, Carrick or Ardkinglass. Presently [he] is " at the huntinge of Benbeby," passing his time till my lord's return.

As for the passing of Scottishmen to Ireland, great preparations are made to that effect, and through uncertainty of MacLean's favour are stayed as yet, which is to his great charges by holding of forces together. This he has done " for his auyn honestie " to Bowes and for his credit to Queen Elizabeth. We wrote to him [Bowes] " vith " your man MacIlreoch (M'Ilrewich) and desired him to deliver the same to George Nicolson. Therein we touched specially the " cures to meittinge." These men of the Isles have got much silver and silver work from Ireland, whereof my master would get " his large part," and much more, if he liked. All is " continewit " as yet awaiting answer. We marvel at the stay, and if your man has played his part in delivery. True it is that for all the expense her Majesty and her successors may expend in Ireland against their rebels, they shall never be " out of cummer " unless the rebels be pursued in the north of Ireland by Scottishmen. I refer this to further occasion, and my master has done his part by my persuasion and " conssait " [opinion] in this action, as he will shew you at meeting. Come by way of Glasgow, for you will find me there. I am forced to remain with Mr. Van there the time of this Justice Court, for he is clerk there and he makes me successor to him in all his affairs. I enter Glasgow with him on Monday night. My master is made privy hereof long before now, and is well content. " Mary, I man ansuer him quhen as he vill haif to do in principall caase," which is concluded. My commendations to George Nicolson if he be in Edinburgh: " and becaus I haif ane chalmer [room] of Mr. Van in Dunbertane quhilk I mak my auyn housse, vill requeist yow that I may haif of yow twa

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1595. broddis * to decoir the chalmer vith, the ane of the Kingis, the uthir of the guid counsall, vith ony uthir thing that ye think guid to vair [spend] on me in rememberance of yow," and, God willing, I shall remember thereon as I best may. The bearer will carry them with him. As to your "particular" to my master, I believe he has written to you thereanent. "Alvayes" at meeting you will end the same to your contentment. My commendations to your wife, bairns and brothers. Dumbarton, 22nd June 1595. *Signed:* Johne Achinros.

Postscript.—If you will haste here, you will overtake the Earl of Cassillis in your chief's house [Glencairn's] of Finlayston, for he came there last Friday late, and we look that matters will take effect now or never. The effect is most looked for.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "John Achinrosse to John Conyngham. Dinbertane xxij° Junij 1595. Received in Geo. Nycolsons packett. Edinburgh xxv° Junij, London secundo July, 1595."

On the back of the letter is written in John Auchinross's hand: "My maister in his vryitting to me ernistlie desyrit yow to bring him ane pair of guid plait sleifis quhilk he forzet in his letter to yow. Vaill [choose] thame lange."

June 25. **573.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

By MacLean's and John Auchinross's letters to John Cunningham, and by Cunningham's letters to you and to me, you may perceive the things certified that way. According to MacLean's advice I have sent word by Mr. George Erskine to Argyll to deal with MacLean in that matter, and Mr. George has promised me to move him accordingly at this meeting with MacLean, and also to learn the state of things. Mr. George can do much with the Earl and would be thanked at least for his favour. But none of them knows of the dealings with MacLean, and at John Cunningham's going I shall write to put Argyll in memory of his promise, letting him understand that, hearing he could do much with MacLean and that MacLean may do much to stay the islanders, I have thought the time proper for him to take order in those matters, and so pray his help as he has promised.

I perceive John Cunningham's commission does not extend so far as to move MacLean to any chargeable action for the stay of others than his own, yet I perceive MacLean intends to make England and Scotland "speake of" the passage of those men by him, upon such grounds that it shall not be seen that he does it any way for her Majesty's "perticular." As I advertised you at first he has his "perticular" against Tyrone, Angus MacConnell and the Clan Donald, yet very fair offers are made to win him to them for the advancement of Tyrone's affairs. Look not for full assurance of favour and service at any of their hands unless it be upon conditions to their liking. The men ready to go I look shall be stayed some eight or ten days for certain, and perchance till advertisement comes from you. That may stay them flatly, if thereby they see assurance of consideration to their liking. Otherwise I am afraid the other side will not want [*i.e.* lack] them, if money or lands will "compasse" Argyll and MacLean; for so they will have relief, retreat and safety at pleasure, and hardly shall her Majesty ever then get order of them.

As to young Lawers, I see no progress "as he begann," I suppose for want of consideration of his travail already taken; and MacCondochie is to go over,

* *Brod: board*; hence an escutcheon on which arms are blazoned; a picture. See Jamieson's *Dictionary.*

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1595. I hear, with very great credit. He might, if he would, do good; and for certain Lawers has especial interest in him and in Angus MacConnell's sons.

This estate stands as it did. The Queen came hither yesterday. The King [is] to stay at Stirling till Friday, then to go to Falkland, whither the Queen is to go to him, the King purposing to "agree" the Chancellor and Mar of purpose to join both for pursuit of Buccleuch, the Master of Glamis and others; wherein I do not see that the King will have assistance of the Chancellor, who is in inward friendship with them and does not speak of Mar as he has done but with the advice of Buccleuch and the Master for further mischief in the end to Mar. [*In the margin:* Atholl is now won to the Chancellor's party.] Yet I look not but that matter will calm for a time yet "renew in fiere." The King has deadly hatred to Buccleuch and Sir George Hume, as is thought; and [has] no great goodwill to Cessford. They look for hard storms unless the Queen and the Chancellor stay it. The Chancellor is in hope that the Queen shall prevail with the King, and Mar rests secure in assurance that the King shall be constant.

As to the Borders, here are daily such reports that England is entering to pursue Buccleuch, and he to enter England, and such provisions are made and sent to the Borders, and such musterings there, that, not knowing what they mean, I rest in fear that "of nothing these brutes can not rise." This much for my discharge therein, for I fear ill shall rise on the Borders.

The ministers are now at the General Assembly at Montrose (Monrosse), and Lord Hume "frequenteth the Kirk and ministeres here to satisfie them towardis him" and to prevent any matter being handled by the Assembly against him. Crawford is "agreing" Lord Gray and the Constable of Dundee. Cassillis, I think, shall marry Glencairn's daughter. Buccleuch has not been at his own house three nights this fortnight (as is said quietly) but abroad in unknown places with only one or two servants. No man knows his purpose or what he means. Yesterday, upon the quarrel between Dunipace and Garden, Dunipace has slain Forrester (Forster), one of the bailies of Stirling, as he was riding to Kirkliston for Stirling [*In the margin:* "This will make a stirre, I thinck"]; and on Sunday Cuthbert Hume, coming up the street, was assaulted by James Richinson (whom he had hurt before in Leith) and [by] the craftsmen who offered to break up doors and pull down houses for him, but, Cuthbert being in Mr. William Hart's, the matter was stayed with much ado, and the next day he departed this town homewards.

Erroll is "tryed" * to be out of the country by some ministers and the skipper that carried him, and Angus is again travailing to have the benefit the other Earls had and to depart. As to Seton and Cecil I hear no more than the Chancellor told me. If they be here they are marvellously quiet. Some of your friends affected that way cannot hear of them. It is said that for all the eighteen millions brought to Spain, the King is borrowing upon interest; he is so hasty till the bullion brought home be coined. [There is] too much talk here of his great forces, of the troubles in Ireland and of attempts on the Borders. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—The young Prince is "spayned." The Laird of Johnstone came hither yesternight and has gone this night, having given me no other caution than before, because Herries has not given his caution.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Some names in cipher, deciphered. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh xxv° Junij, London 2° July, 1595."

* *tryed*, pronounced after trial or investigation.

James VI. 1595. June 28.

574. Mr. John Colville to [Robert Bowes].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 161–162.

Because Mr. Archibald Primrose is even now on his journey, I remit all secrets and my own " particular " to him, only asking that it may be alleged that something is already furnished by your lordship there to merchants to whom I was " addetted " upon his Majesty's first recommendation. All things here are in suspicious quietness, for the ill-will betwixt Mar and the Chancellor increases much and cannot long continue without destruction of the one or other, and this slaughter on the 24th of David Forrester, who was Mar's servant, perpetrated at Kirkliston by Dunipace and young Airth, who are thought to be " foyisted " out to that work by the Queen, the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis and the rest, has set all on fire. His Majesty promises to assist and maintain Mar, if he will pursue them by order of law and justice and not seek revenge upon innocent persons. So I think Mar will first use form of law and then his power, as he did against Luss [Colquhoun]. But the secret of this and all shall come with my " gossep."

Young Lawers's advertisements are herewith sent, and Murray's letter.* His Majesty rides this day to Falkland and will not return hither till the middle of next month. By all appearance, although he studies to keep himself indifferent betwixt Mar and the Chancellor, he must shortly appear against the one and for the other. Stirling. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—Archibald knows my mind in all saving in one thing which I delivered to yourself at " our last departour," and that I would wish he nor any other know " bot sa many as we agreed on." The 4th instant is assigned to all Mar's friends at Stirling, viz., Lennox, Morton, Argyll, Tullibardine [and] Glamis (who I trust will be agreed with Crawford) and other inferior barons, to consult upon the revenge of this late slaughter, and perhaps there may be other consultation also.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. No address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Mr. John Colvill. Sterling 28 Junii, Grenewich vj^to^ Julii, 1595." *Names in cipher, deciphered.*

June 28.

575. Earl of Moray and Henry Stewart to Mr. John Colville.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 282–283.

To the end that neither we be thought inconstant nor you and George Nicolson over sudden (who by means of Mr. Bowes have procured for us so favourable a passport) we thought good to advertise you of the delay of our journey for the present. The causes moving us are, first, the advice of the Earls of Argyll, Marishal and Morton, and other friends, who think the time not proper for us to visit foreign countries; next, the time to choose our curators drawing near would force us to return, besides other reasons that we cannot write. We pray you therefore to be " meanis " to Mr. Bowes to hold us in the good favour and grace of her Majesty. Likewise we will to our power in all " lesum " manner follow out the good course our goodsire and predecessor was " into," and shall be grateful to Mr. Bowes, you and George Nicolson for your kindness. Doune. *Signed:* J. Murray. Hary Steuart, tutor.†

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Th'erle of Murray to Mr. Jhon Colvill. Downe, xxviii° Junij. Sent with Mr. John Colvills letter. Sterling 28 Junij, Grenewich, vi° Julij, 1595."

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* No. 575.

† Abbot of St. Colm's Inch.

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1595.
June 30.

576. MR. ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS TO BURGHLEY.

By this letter and enclosure you may understand that some part of the news received from the minister called Hunter, that met the Laird of Logie at Middelburg (Middilburhc), is not to be believed, specially the said Earl's disgrace and sickness. As to the "remainant," one of the captains of the said Earl's company, called Captain Forrester, is sent to the Low Country to give answer and to confer with Huntly and Errol, the Bishop of Ross and some of this country. He departed from Dieppe on Tuesday last, after he had sent some letters to Scotland, and rode towards Calais, where and at St. Omer I believe he shall be found for some time. As it will appear that his "derection" is of importance, I forbear to write anything thereof until such time as your lordship's leisure may serve, when I shall "attend to inpart" as far thereof as is known to me, and be glad to understand what answer I may give to this letter. *Signed:* A. Douglas.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "Ult. Junij 1595. Mr. Archinbald Douglas to my lord. With a letter of Earl Bothwels to him from Paris."

Enclosure with the same.

(Bothwell to Mr. Archibald Douglas.)

The good advice given at all times by your lordship has now induced me thereof to crave continuance, entreating that by you I may learn the estate "of theis countrayis ther" and how you wish me to "ouis [use] me and my affairis heir." I would also "beseik" your lordship if any of mine shall pass through England to employ your "moyen" for their safe and speedy despatch, and especially to such as shall bring my hounds and horses which are for his Majesty's use here, at his earnest request; or if you find they will be stayed, let me be "forsein" and I shall therewith acquaint his Highness, whose credit I doubt not shall be sufficient in a greater matter. Paris. 17th June, 1595. *Signed:* Bothuel.

½ *p. Holograph. Addressed.*

June 30.

577. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have heard, but in very great secret, that at Linlithgow the Queen, thinking she had the King in a good humour, told him that it was "opened" in Scotland, England and Denmark that she had sought to have the keeping of the young Prince, and that therefore it touched her honour and credit to have the same. The King replied that he regarded her honour and the safety of the Prince as much as she, and would, if he saw cause, yield to her, adding that he would satisfy any of this land, as she should please. But she earnestly dealt with the King to convene his nobles for their advice therein, with purpose to effect the plot that other noblemen might be joined with Mar in that charge. But he has utterly refused her motion and continues his promises to Mar. So this matter is "merveilouse secrett" and for the present dead in such manner that I cannot tell what it will come to in the end, or how long it will rest thus quiet. The Chancellor, the Master of Glamis and the two lairds are here, often and long with the Queen, some think still devising the pursuit of the motion for taking the young Prince out of Mar's hands.

The King came to Falkland on Saturday last, where he is expecting the Queen's coming to him. But some say she will excuse herself going thither that the King may come hither, where he may be more boldly dealt with

James VI.
1595. in the motion for the young Prince, the Queen's faction being masters here and the King at Stirling and Fife and other places that way.

Mar takes the slaughter of David Forrester (Forster) very heavily and has moved the King for justice therein. The King is very well pleased, praying Mar to follow no other course and promising to use his authority for the punishment of young Airth, Dunipace and the rest, and Mar intends to do so. Yet thinking that that slaughter was devised by his "unfrendes" either to dishonour him by passing it over or to bring him into mighty troubles with the Livingstones and Bruces, and seeing, as he thinks, that they are plotting this on purpose to bind the Livingstones and Bruces to the Chancellor's party (wherein the Master of Elphinstone is a great dealer here, some think upon device to make such troubles that the Papist lords may be taken in as fair players on the one side, or that these troubles may so occupy this estate that they may be free from any pursuit), Mar has the Duke, Argyll, Morton and sundry others of his friends to meet him at Stirling on Thursday next to advise for the pursuit of this slaughter. But what will be resolved I know not yet, neither can I say how this matter will end, though I fear it will very suddenly burst into bloody actions, for all sides are busy packing up all small feuds for their advantage, as by others you will afterwards know. Mar and Hamilton may agree inwardly, I hear, by this means, and presently they are in fair terms. As to the Borders, I have spoken with Buccleuch, who thinks himself evil used by the Gingills' (Chingles) * receipt in England, for on Friday night they came into Scotland and on Saturday burnt Erckilton,† a town of his, which he intends to revenge on them. But it seems to me that he will do nothing to "danger" the peace or offend her Majesty, for I assure him of justice at Lord Scrope's hands if he will "frendly" call for it. He and Cessford "have" their very hearty commendations to you. "I shall have good tyme nowe, and see if I can do good, and accordingly I shall advertise you"; and if matters be not ordered you will see much riding when the nights grow longer. "Lawe Liddisdale is to give up, I heare, with some of our borderers on the west."

I cannot certify for certain who shall be employed for the gratuity; but unless there be other errands than that, Mr. David Foulis or some other of that degree shall go for ease of charges. Lady Mar is delivered of a son. The Queen is to be here on Wednesday at the banquet of the marriage of young Pitfirrane (Pettferren) and the Laird of Blackbarony's (Blackbarronryes) daughter. John Cunningham has gone, and I have written to Argyll and look for good answer or discovery of further matter. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1⅔ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "George Nycolson. Edenburgh ultimo Junij, Grenewich vi° Julij, 1595."

June 30. **578.** JAMES FULLERTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

I have dealt with my eldest brother, a man of good credit and estimation in this country, for the passing of our letters to and fro. His name is John Fullerton, Laird of Dreghorn (Dregarne). He dwells six miles from Ayr and three from Irvine. If he chance to come to Edinburgh, and your master be there, I wish you to take some notice of him and entertain him kindly, and let the ambassador show him good countenance, and he will deserve it well, for he is well affected our way and in religion. He and I have agreed

* A family of Armstrongs. See indexes to *Calendar of Border Papers*, and this volume.
† Arkleton, in the parish of Ewes.

1595. to direct our letters to you or your master under the name of Mr. William Oliphant, which is a lawyer's name, that if men intercept them they may be thought to be instructions for the lawyer in matters of law.

Five ships and five pinnaces keep the coast of Ireland [so] that our men cannot pass and therefore some who were ready in Kintyre, not daring to venture, have returned again, and, as I think, are stayed this season. Donald Gorme and the MacLeod (M'Clyd) and Angus MacConnell all meet in Kintyre this week or next. Powder and bullets are daily to be conveyed thither; which course I wish were some way stopped.

I heard say since I left you that when I was in Edinburgh 1000 spears were carried towards the Border to Buccleuch. See if it is true. I like no such preparation. I heard this from a Border man. I can signify to you no news from Ireland. I received your letters and the ambassador's, but they were both opened before they came to my hands. Henceforward seal with hard wax and let me know your seal. Doubt not to write by this bearer. Ayr. *Signed:* Ja. Fullerton.

At the foot of the page, in Nicholson's hand: "Browne hill."

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Mr. James Foulerton. Ayre ultimo Junij, Edenburgh 11° Julij, 1595. Per Gilbert Hawe in Ayre."

July 2. **579.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 163.

Whereas his Majesty was to employ me in some service thither I am dissuaded to accept the same for such causes as the bearer * has to shew; whom I recommend to your honour as one who can inform you of the estate of our realm and all emulations among us, committing also some "specialiteis" to him which I durst not commit to paper or to any other. Therefore trust and use him as myself, for he is my *alter ego*. By him, again, I desire to know in what form I shall most to your pleasure follow out my intelligence, for I desire to be directed only by you, as one weaned from his own opinions. Lastly, since I have procured his Majesty's recommendation in a debt long owing, which will enable me to the service of her Majesty, I hope by your kindness to speed therein, since with less cost to her Majesty I cannot be helped. Stirling. *Signed:* Jo. Colville.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk:* "2 Julij 1595. Mr. Colvyll to my master."

July 4. **580.** LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DUART TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.†

I render most hearty thanks for the great favour shown to my merchant, John Cunningham, burgess of Edinburgh. I heard your commission wherein I have answered at length in my letter to Mr. Bowes, who will give you inspection thereof. Castle Carrick. *Signed:* Lauchlane McLane of Doward.

⅓ *p. In Auchinross's hand. Endorsed by Cecil:* "1 [*sic*] July 1595. Macklane to me."

July 4. **581.** LAUCHLAN MACLEAN TO ROBERT BOWES.†

I received your letter from John Cunningham, who has shown me how you convoyed him to Sir Robert Cecil, who with special favour at large conferred with him to such effect as he made known to me, understanding how

* Archibald Primrose, see No. 574, etc.

† Originally enclosed with No. 586.

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1595. my good-will and devotion have been embraced. He showed me also that Sir Robert let him understand that matters of trouble in Ireland were already taken up, and obedience offered to her Majesty, and nevertheless [Cecil] thought me worthy of thanks for my goodwill, and desired to know whom I might stay from passing to Ireland. For answer, I may stay myself, my friends and dependers in the Isles, and also none pertaining to the Earl of Argyll will pass there against my counsel. This much I may answer for. Through the conference that has passed betwixt us by "vritt" I have done more. [I] refused great offers from Donald Gorme MacConnell and Angus MacConnell, assisters of Tyrone, and sustained 600 men in garrison these three months for staying of them and to make them fear the wrack of their lands through leaving them. But seeing there appeared no need of me in her Highness's service since I was not employed therein as I looked for, I thought not good to put myself any longer to extraordinary expenses, have dissolved this force, and by the desire of my cousin, Argyll, am now come within his bounds, where I "attend on" his coming from Court. Meantime Donald Gorme MacConnell and Angus MacConnell, seeing that apparently I mean nothing but peace, are convening their forces to pass to Ireland, and mind [*i.e.* intend] to have in their company MacLeod Lewis [and] MacLeod Harris. These men are my friends and have been in my service against them [the MacConnells], but, being young men of high spirit, desirous to "acqwent thame" in wars and receiving great gains, they are persuaded to pass with them, seeing this voyage was not against me. Herein I am using all means by "craft and moyan" to stay them all or a great part of them, since it was the commission sent by John [Cunningham]. If they stay not, I shall make hasty advertisement to George Nicolson in such form that I, being employed by her Majesty, shall suddenly cause them to return home or else to lose by their passing to Ireland, and shall make the convoy that by her Majesty's servants the vessels that transport them to Ireland shall be broken there. For doing this it is necessary that three or four pinnaces with two ships well appointed should come on the coast of Ireland. [*In the margin, in Cecil's hand:* "The pynnaces to come to Castle Carick."] If I were her Majesty's "bund" servant I should take foresight to have these pinnaces here in Scotland near my place of Duart in order to give them a great "skaith," seeing that most of this force must pass near my place, of which I ever took my own advantage of them in time of trouble betwixt ourselves. I request you to "speik" Sir Robert hereanent and to inform me with expedition of the mind of her Majesty and Council in such sort that if I be employed in her service I may provide for the same, or otherwise that I may be "exonerit" honestly of what I have done only through zeal and favour to her service, by whose means I might receive favour of my own Prince. Also, I have a great misliking of Tyrone and his favourers, as John Auchinross wrote to you. By his letter and my own I have revealed my whole mind to you without any dissimulation, and know not by your letter of your receipt of mine. John Cunningham has shown me that George [Nicolson] has "spokin" the King and Argyll, who "at hame cuming" will communicate the matter to me, for as yet I keep all secret. Be so good as to present this other letter of thanksgiving to Sir Robert for the favour that he showed my merchant, and I am greatly indebted to you for your goodwill and friendly doing. I refer Sir Robert to this letter, and, as occasion offers, I am ready to follow out the course of good service to her Majesty. Castle Carrick. *Signed:* Lauchlane McLane off Doward.

1 *p. In hand of John Auchinross. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:* "1 [*sic*] Julij 1595. Macklane from Carickford to Mr. Bowes."

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582. Mr. John Colville to Robert Bowes.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 164.

This day convened at Stirling the Duke, Argyll, Morton, the Lairds of Tullibardine, Keir, Clackmannan, Kerse, Sauchie (Saquhy), Wemys, Polmais (Pomeis), Kilcreuch (Kilcruvch), Touch (Towch), Tulliallan (Tilliallen), Aldie (Ady), Cleish (Clesch), to the number of thirty barons at least. Mar expounded his cause to them anent the late murder of his servant, asking if they would assist him. All in one voice promised assistance to the hazard of life, land and all provided he would first seek the ordinary form of law against the malefactors; whereunto he agreed. They have appointed the 12th instant to bring the corpse from Linlithgow, where it lies, to this town for burial. The principals of the adverse party, namely [*i.e.* chiefly] Dunipace, begin to deny they knew the defunct was servant to Mar, affirming they did not know of his slaughter. Yet we hope they shall stay the burial "to thair power," because the corpse is to come through their bounds. Great mischief no doubt is at hand.

His Majesty lies at Falkland, which will be his residence till Lammas unless it be some odd times to see her Majesty and the Prince, who takes well with his weaning. I refer "specialiteis" to the coming of Mr. Archibald Primrose (Quondam). Stirling. *Signed:* Y.

1¼ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. Stirling v° Julii, London xj° ejusdem, 1595."

July 5.

583. George Nicolson to Robert Bowes.

Young Lawers is here and has told me that for certain 3000 are prepared to go out of the Isles to Tyrone, and will at one time or other go if they be not stayed; that Macondochy is tempted and prepared to go, and that, nevertheless, he can stay him or cause him to be for her Majesty's service. But, because it must be with some charge, he will not deal therein till he sees how he shall be relieved again otherwise than he has been for that which is already done. Yet he says that he shall keep watch of the time of their embarking and place of their landing, and advertise with speed until such time as he discharges himself of his promise by giving up of further dealing therein to Mr. Colville or me. MacLean (Pat), as I hear, has gone home, and the merchant [Cunningham] has gone thither to him, so that it will be the longer ere the merchant returns. Young Lawers says the chief [*i.e.* chief men] of the Islands are at convention in Cantyre and purpose, notwithstanding our ships, to get over some men to Tyrone and to do him some further service whereof after their resolution he will advertise. 6000 Spaniards are looked for among the rebels, who account all won if they can hold out till Michaelmas, or (some say) till Lammas. By James Fullerton's (Morlace) letter you will see the course "layde" with him.

On Tuesday I again spoke at great length with Buccleuch and offered him justice at Lord Scrope's hands, seeking to draw a kindness there. But I see no sign thereof, "suppose" [although] he protested he bore no malice to my lord's person. He protests very deeply to do nothing that might offend her Majesty or the country, and I found in plain terms that he accounts that no such actions shall be attempted in revenge for the wrongs done him or his people so far cast loose, but that at all times at her Majesty's pleasure he will repair the actions and stay and quiet his people, upon amends to him and his; a matter which he accounts shall be well taken at her Majesty's

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1595. hands, seeing otherwise he cannot, as he alleges, get justice. Yet Scrope by his letter has offered him justice. But the Laird holds his offers but words.

On Wednesday Buccleuch rode to the King, who told him that he heard there were evil and dangerous intentions for the breach of the peace between Scrope and him. Whereupon the Laird told him the case, seeking to have the King's allowance. But the King has commanded him to attempt nothing, but to be quiet; telling him that it shall be one of Mr. David Foulis's articles to procure him justice. Yesterday the Laird told me that in obedience to the King he would stay, and that he trusted Lord Scrope should by commandment of her Majesty do him justice, as he would not be beholden to him for it; so without a friendship between them I fear justice shall be but coldly administered in these bounds. I have done what I can, and more than I dare write, to prevent the worst there, which now, I thank God, is cared for by the King very kindly to the preservation of the amity.

The ministers have come from Montrose, where no great matters, Mr. Bruce says, were dealt in. Mr. Peter Young, Colluthy and young Laringston were there for the King. Sanquhar (46) has either quietly returned or is returning with money for the support of Papists and making of friends here, says Mr. Robert Bruce. But Huntly and Errol are away, so far as they can "try" [*i.e.* ascertain], and Angus is again seeking to have the benefit that the other two have and depart. The King is at Falkland and the Queen is still here. This afternoon she, the Chancellor, the Master of Glamis, Lord Hume, Buccleuch and Cessford were long together at secret conference.

Mar has his friends with him, and for the first thing, as I hear, they have agreed to prosecute by law and otherwise all those who were at "Davy" Forrester's (Forster) slaughter, but no others, and to carry him to Stirling to be buried, with his picture borne to show the cruelty of the murderers, which some say Livingstone, Fleming, Hamilton, the Bruces and others will not suffer. Some look for troubles about carrying of the course, but Captain Hamilton assures me in great secret that Lord Hamilton will not deal therein; and Mr. Robert [Bruce] says his brother writes to him that he was not at the slaughter, as is alleged. So I look for no troubles at the burial. Mar has vowed not to change some of his clothes till he have justice or amends on some of the murderers. I do not yet hear how they are resolved to deal in the matter with the Chancellor.

The "Pollonian" was at St. Andrews and there suspected and banished. Afterwards he came to Stirling, where he was examined and, for just causes in religion and practices, excommunicated, as the ministers here say; and this man at Newcastle is likely to be the same man. But from Stirling I must learn more certainly this man's case. Lord Gray and the Constable of Dundee are at assurance only for ten days, and likely to fall by the ears. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—I think the Queen shall go this week to the King, and the Council also, all for one inward purpose.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh v° Julij, London xj° ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

July 7. **584.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 164–165.

To-morrow Mar rides to Falkland, and is informed that the King will have him to "reconceill" with the Chancellor, and as anything worthy of writing falls out in this or the former matter of Forrester's burial I shall adver-

1595. tise. All particulars I refer to my gossip's arrival, who peremptorily begins his journey on the 8th instant. *Signed:* Y.

½ *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. vij° Julii, London xv° ejusdem, 1595." *No fly-leaf.*

July 7. **585.** [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Mr. George Ker and Lethington have passed to France by these seas. It never came to my knowledge till within 24 hours after they shipped, and that was by "the convoy of my familier in this toun"; and if I had been at home and you had been here we might have had as good a chance as before, for he has passed with the like errand and as ample as before. He shipped on 28th June.

The Chancellor offered to his nephew, before his departure, that he would give him sufficiency of lands and rent to live on if he would condescend to remain. But the other refused unless he would grant him all that he had right to. Sandeson sent me advertisement to send him some "grayth" that I had of his, but sent no letter at all, and yet with such tokens as I could not "misken." Some of that sort are here and others daily looked for. Their messengers are here sending their advertisements to [the Bishops of] Glasgow and Ross by Claud Russell and by Mr. William Bellenden, advocate in Paris, both resident here at this time. The old man that I wrote of before, who came here under colour of a physician, was a pr[iest] and is lately dead.

The Abbot of Newbattle [*l.* Newabbey] is in better reputation than ever he was. Herries and he were never more familiar together than now. Herries's son has taken away Maxwell's eldest daughter and is said to be secretly married by the Abbot. H [? Herries] is summoned to compear before the Council. The controversy betwixt Montrose and Sir James Sandilands is likely to be very shortly and well accorded, for the great men of the west have "comperit" upon it, viz. Argyll, Cassillis and many more. The subsidy of our islandmen daily increases "towart" Ireland, and unless order be taken with them in time they "ar advysit to misken thair awin naturall King." Lady Angus dwells now in Douglas. *Signed with a trefoil.**

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* (Cipher) 7 Julii, London xj° ejusdem, 1595."

July 8. **586.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday I spoke with Mr. George Erskine and understand that Angus MacConnell and other highlanders are in great numbers in arms to go for Ireland, and seek to persuade Argyll and MacLean, who stands fast with my lord. The Provost of Kilmun, sent by Argyll to Angus MacConnell to "try" their overtures, to know their purposes and persuade their stay for fourteen days till Argyll might return, received such proud answer from MacConnell and such "lightnen of my lord" that my lord has returned him to convene his people and forces and to "go upon" them with force, or else to cause them otherwise to acknowledge him, and he sent to MacLean to set on them by sea and to take their boats whilst his forces should be dealing with them by land. Mr. George makes account that this day they shall meet and enter into blood if they have not already gone to Ireland, or if they shall not acknowledge my lord better and stay his further pleasure (which without

* Bowes's symbol for MacCartney's name is deciphered in Vol. 56, No. 32.

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1595. doubt will be to stay them, says Mr. George, if my lord shall not receive the greater loss thereby). Thus I see nothing but their goodwill to her Majesty, if it be considered, which I assure you is looked for.

Argyll and his friends do not agree. What he does without their advice they do not further, and he does the like. Young Lawers, I perceive, will assure good service to her Majesty in Irish matters, on condition that he be considered. By every one of these intelligencers I hear that the men to go over look for great lands and living and to dwell in Ireland. MacLean's return is for the occasion aforesaid. Of the success of all things therein I shall advertise more fully on the merchant's return, he having gone to MacLean. Let not England (Pa.) think that there is any "perling" * with any but for the rebels 'advantage, or else plain men here are deceived. [*In the margin*: It is told me in secret that Tyrone will be content to come in upon Essex's word, but the rebels mean but to get advantage and win time thereby if it be true.]

Provisions of powder and other little necessaries still go over, and, as I hear, some men have 100*l.* sterling beforehand for this purpose. "Staie it I cannot devise." Some of the Kirk here advise me to procure proclamation for stay thereof, and upon that warrant they will make friends to deal therein. For this cause I was ready to go to the King, but Mr. Aston coming and having to return to the King to-morrow will deal therein and send the warrant to me, and I shall cause it to be proclaimed for that purpose and for the advertisement of the rebels and the world that the King stands on perfect amity and a full party with her Majesty against such traitors. Argyll has fallen sick.

This day Buccleuch sent for me, showing me a letter from Scrope offering him justice in very good words. He told me that he will stay the directions to be given to Mr. David Foulis in that behalf and send a servant of his own to deal with Scrope that the "Chingles" † may be banished and redress made for the faults committed since their receipt, that thereon they may proceed to further justice. He prayed me beforehand to signify the same to Lord Scrope, which I shall do as soon as I can, and I hope good shall come thereon between them.

As to Father Myreton, the Kirk intend to try if they can convict him of any criminal offence, otherwise they will not put him to trial to be acquitted for evil example and encouragement of others to come in hither. Wherein, when time serves to do good against such men, more will be found in this country, especially Englishmen, than you would think, and that about New Abbey, but no service can be done against them but by Englishmen, and that when nights are long. In which case I have no great understanding of the men. [*In the margin:* "Creue, Cecill, Skelton"]. Lord Sanquhar has this night come hither and will be questioned, but he will deny all. "Allwaies" by letters herewith you will know more in those cases. But in any case keep Mr. Robert Bruce's goodwill secret. I also leave the matter for the "cask" to Doctor MacCartney (trefoil cipher). [*Note in the margin, in Cecil's hand:* "This is a casket which one Dixon shold have broght over."] Colonel Stewart is to go to the Princes of the Empire, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, etc., to see if he can procure assurance for pay to be truly given to him and such as he shall "cary over" for the Emperor's service against the Turk. Upon assurance he will return and "cary" men from thence, he says, otherwise not. It seems to me that want of entertainment and "moyen" here forces him thereto. He sends his commendations.

As to this estate, the King is at Falkland still looking for the coming of

* *Perling*, ? parleying; to parle or parley, confer, talk.
† A family of Armstrongs. Cf. p. 267 *n*.

1595. the Queen, which is judged to be this week. This day Mar is with him, as the Chancellor is to be also very shortly, both to be dealt with by the King for reconciliation between them and for better help to the King to "put at" others. The burial of David Forrester is to be on Saturday. Some think the Livingstones will not suffer the corpse to be carried from Linlithgow through their bounds, and [that] Mar "wilbe 3000 gentlemen and ether do it or dy." Yet I look it shall pass over with quietness and come to [*i.e.* break out] again when advantage can be had. "Allwaies," upon the burial it will be seen what will become of that matter. I hear that yesterday Lord Hume and the two Lairds sent for their friends to be here on Friday next "in their geir," for what cause I cannot say. Except once last week, Sir George has not been with the King for some time, but for the most part here persuading the Queen to haste to the King. Mar's side judge him to be for the Chancellor, but he deals no further than with the King's directions in all things. Cessford has also been over at the King with only two men, and has had good countenance and has given the King good contentment. But it is strange to see things thus "pack over." Nevertheless I look for no good, but that the faction here or at Stirling shall shake hands with the Papist lords; and the Kirk suspect it also and therefore do not yet lean to either party.

Mr. David Foulis has his despatch and is shortly to go for London about money matters especially and for his brother's help. Because the King "oweth" his brother Thomas,* he sends him at Thomas's motion. You may well guess he will two ways seek silver, for the King's journey into the north, and his gratitude; but I am not sure and leave it to his own coming and report. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postcript.—At the closing up hereof late yesternight John Cunningham came hither with the enclosed letters to Sir Robert Cecil, yourself and me, and because I would have John to write also I stayed these till this day.† By him I perceive Mr. George Erskine's tale to be true, and further that the Provost of Kilmun and Angus MacConnell are to fight the single combat, for which all Argyle and all friends about Dumbarton are there. If the meeting holds they are likely to enter into blood, to the stay of their going to the rebels. MacLean, as I gave you word long ago, is as desirous to be revenged on Tyrone as any can be, and will venture for it, provided he may have her Majesty's assistance; and now Argyll is, I think, in such rage against Angus MacConnell that he will not leave his rage unsatisfied. So her Majesty by these two may have a sure party to serve, if need be, against her rebels, a matter so profitable to her that I must certify [it] with good commendation. Favour and reward to their contentment will much "advantage" her Majesty's services that way "at all occasions." MacLean has been already at charge. John Cunningham takes pains, and will still do, to "pleasure" her Majesty, Sir Robert Cecil and yourself.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "George Nycolson. Edinburgh viij° Julij, London xv° ejusdem, 1595."

July 9. **587.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I have for the most part been from Court upon my own affairs so that I had neither occasion nor commodity to write. Upon my coming to this town I found George Nicolson ready to direct his letters to you; whereupon I took occasion to write to "enterten my entelygenes with you."

* On 19th December 1594 there is note of a debt owing by the King to Mr. Thomas Foulis, goldsmith of Edinburgh. *Register of Privy Council*, v. 191.

† See Nos. 580, 581.

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1595. The King remains resolute, so that it is looked there will be no further dealing touching the Prince. There have been great bruits here of attempts to be committed by Buccleuch in England, and that by the daily drawing together of his forces, altogether against the King's knowledge. I, finding the matter likely to draw to some "unconvenyentt," let the King see the inconvenience that might grow by any extraordinary proceedings. Whereupon the King sent for Buccleuch, who was with him on Thursday the 3rd, and there received special commandment that neither he nor any of his should ride into England, notwithstanding any wrong done to them, before they were refused justice according to the laws of the Borders. For the better continuation of the peace the King has directed Mr. David Foulis to deal with her Majesty that justice may be ministered upon the West Borders. I believe her Majesty's subjects have as great cause to complain as Buccleuch has. It were requisite the truth were known on all sides, which may not be done without some of authority.

I find the King willing to preserve the long continued amity, and, as he said to me, it should not lie in the power of any particular man to break that which he had so carefully preserved. To-morrow I go to Court, from whence I shall presently send charges to all the towns in the west country that no "fornesing" shall pass to Ireland to her Majesty's rebels. Mar has all his friends convened in Stirling. His servant who was slain is likely to breed some inconvenience in that there is a great number of the Earl's friends participant of the fact, as the Master of Elphinston, the Lairds of Airth, Cures and Dunnipace. The dead corpse is lying in Linlithgow and is to be carried to Stirling on Saturday next, accompanied with all who will "doo" for Mar. It is looked that there will be 5000 men to carry him. Buccleuch and Cessford are in this town. They have sent for all their forces, to what end I can neither see nor learn, unless they fear the gathering of Mar. The Queen is here and is to go to Falkland within three or four days. She is not minded to press the King any further for the Prince. Mr. David Foulis is upon his despatch to her Majesty. Colonel Stewart is preparing himself for journey to receive commission to levy men to serve against the Turk. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Roger Aston. Edinburgh ix° Julij, London xv° ejusdem, 1595."

July 9. **588.** [DR. MACCARTNEY] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Mr. Dickson's uncle returned on the 7th instant, and as soon as I got knowledge I made him welcome at my own house and said that I was sorry that he had not spoken [to] his nephew before his departure. He answered that he knew well that his nephew would depart nowhere till he had spoken with him. To-morrow he is to pass over the water to speak [to] him. But whether he has brought anything to him he would confess nothing but a simple letter. Whereby I conjecture that he will desire his nephew to go himself, because he assures me that he will "mak over to France" again with all expedition, that he may be in Paris on 10th August at the farthest. Edinburgh. *Signed with a trefoil.*

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Addressed* (by cipher). *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Weather. Edenburgh ix° Julij, London xv° ejusdem."

July 9. **589.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

According to my promise I have been in Argyle at MacLean. Please receive a letter from him to Sir Robert [Cecil] with another to yourself, which

1595. will let you see MacLean's " mayne." I assure you that as her Majesty and her Council, Sir Robert and your lordship shall please to employ him, he will be ready, for I find him of good " mayne." He is doing what in him lies to stay Angus MacConnell, Donald Gorme and the two MacLeods, and he hopes to get the same done by one means or other; for by his " moyane " since I met with him in Argyle he has " pout ane trobeill " betwixt Argyll and Angus MacConnell, which will not hastily be taken away. A special friend of Argyll's was sent to Angus McConnell in commission to stay him and his friends from passing to Ireland, and [for] Angus to be ready to meet Argyll at his coming home to Argyle. The man who is sent is called the Provost of Kilmun. Angus gave him proud language, " and thair paisseitt leiss betuix thame " ; and upon that occasion a single combat betwixt the Provost and Angus was " tane in " to be fought at a part called Inch-Kenneth (Einchekeitoeneithe) with two-handed swords without armour, this last Tuesday. For keeping of this, 3000 men have passed out of Argyle with the Provost of Kilmun, and if Angus " keip nocht " they mean to wreck his country so far as they may reach. If Donald Gorme with the two MacLeods come to Angus it may well come to a great trouble among them, for they are looked for every day by Angus. The rest I refer to MacLean's letters. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Cunyghame, burgeis in Edinburgh.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* " John Conyngham. Edinburgh ix° Julij, London xv° ejusdem, 1595."

July 12. **590.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Yesterday I received your letter of the 4th, with letters to Argyll, MacLean, John Cunningham (Burre), etc.; and albeit by my last you will see MacLean's answer, showing that her Majesty need want no party against Tyrone, and [albeit you will] find by those letters contentment in much of that you write of, yet to procure double promise and further offers for that service I shall deliver all in good time; and for that cause, thinking to have found Argyll at Linlithgow with Mar (who drank and heartily commends himself to you), I rode thither this morning, and now this afternoon returned. Mr. Aston late yesternight sent me the King's proclamation prohibiting any provisions to pass to Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorme, and not naming her Majesty's rebels; therefore this morning I gave it to the Clerk of the Council's man to be substantially mended. Whereon I shall to-morrow or Monday send it to Roger for the King's hand, and immediately thereafter send it to be proclaimed, as appertains, and withal procure privy friends to write to fit men for the looking to the execution thereof; and doubt no want of diligence in me so far as power or my capacity may serve. I hope the highlanders are stayed, or if they are gone (as I do not think they are), I am sure it is with such quarrels on their backs that her Majesty may at easy rate have Argyll and MacLean to scourge them for their pains. By John Auchinross's letters you will see the combat held not on Angus's side. The rest [I refer] to Cunningham's letter and my next, hoping shortly to hear from good Mr. George Erskine (Plaine) further in these causes.

This day Mar, without the Duke, Argyll or Morton, and only with his own friends to the number of 600 horse, carried David Forrester's corpse from Linlithgow to Stirling with his picture as he was wounded carried between the tops of two spears, with my lord in his jack and all the company in warlike manner armed. As they came to Linlithgow they came in array, divided into three wards, looking, some say, that Buccleuch and Cessford would have

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1595. fought them, by reason that Mar was told that those two had against this time drawn their forces hither. But this is a secret which Mar will not know. Mr. John Colville was a chief guider and leader of these men, and I saw such "inwardenes" between him and Mar that, in regard of the irreconcilable malice between Mr. John and the Chancellor, I dare almost say there will be no agreement "come" between Mar and the Chancellor notwithstanding the King's travail. The King, intending this reconciliation, this week sent for both parties. Mar came but the Chancellor did not; whereat the King is something displeased. The Chancellor may do nothing without the allowance of Lord Hume, Buccleuch and Cessford for fear they prove greatest enemies, yet he "holdeth him self with their allowance as an indifferent person at occasion to qualifie thingis to their good by his creditt with B" (the King).

The Queen "is something craised," and therefore my lord of Orkney is persuading the King to come hither to her, and other ways the King has been moved thereto. Yet I do not hear when he will come. But "upon her Majestis healthe" some think she will go to him. The King and Mar understand (as I hear, I go no further) that the Queen fains to draw the King to where she is on purpose that he may either be persuaded or threatened by Hume, Buccleuch and Cessford to yield to her motion and to "possesse them" of the little Prince. For preventing thereof the King will not come to the Queen. In this the Chancellor is to be an indifferent person, the rather that he may always have credit with the King for that side's advantage in case in any way they should be "straited." They suspected Mar now to have had some enterprise and for that cause seem to have convened their friends with them. I see such suspicions and practices, if these things be true, that I look for nothing but troubles amongst them. The Kirk suspect some high matters and courses amongst them, but they can no way learn.

Lord Sanquhar has been before the ministry here, given them very fair words, and offered what caution they pleased to clear himself of all practices and dealings, confessing that Mr. William Crichton had indeed dealt with him, not by plain terms to deal against the quietness of this land or religion, but against her Majesty and England for the death of the King's mother—a matter which, Mr. Bruce perceives by him, the practising, traitorous Jesuits are upon. The King still "puttis at" the Master of Glamis for the 5000*l.* Scots. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—Mr. John Colville has his duty remembered to Sir Robert Cecil and yourself, and by Mr. David Foulis will shortly satisfy you towards him. He is altogether for her Majesty, and protests he will show it when he may do good.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xij° Julij, London xxiij° ejusdem, 1595."

July 13. **591.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter of 4th July. For answer I hope you have received letters from MacLean to Sir Robert [Cecil] and yourself, with a letter of my own. As I have written before, I will assure you that I find MacLean of a good "mayne" to do what service lies in him and his friends. Please receive two letters enclosed herewith; one from Macdougall (McCoill) of Lorne to me,* the other from John Auchinross. You will perceive by the same that MacLean has passed home to Mull (Moill). I know it is to do what he can to stay Donald

* Probably No. 558.

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Gorme and the two MacLeods, which he hopes to get done, and as he " dois " with them I shall get word from him and make you " forsein " with all diligence. You will also perceive that MacLean is to come to Argyll as soon as Argyll returns home; and as your wisdoms send me direction I shall spare no travail to go to MacLean, wherever he be, with any service or pleasure that in me lies. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Cunyghame, burgeis in Edinburgh.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* " John Conyngham. Edinburgh xiij° Julij, London xviij° ejusdem, 1595."

Enclosure with the same.

(John Auchinross to John Cunningham.)

My master took his way towards home from Carrick on Monday, the 7th, [and] directed me here on his " adois " to Glencairn, with whom I have spoken and am to speak on Saturday. I have directed my boy to the Earl of Argyll. My master, for the favour which he has to Mr. Bowes, has used great " moyan " (since the dissolving of the men that he had in garrison) to stay these Scottish men from Ireland. They have not as yet come by his bounds, and he has directed men to MacLeod Lewis and MacLeod Harris to move them to leave this voyage. If they do go to Ireland he (being employed) shall " keip " as he has written. He desires you to haste your " mien " to him; and remember the plate sleeves, with the rest to be sent with him. Have them made long in the arm. And remember my " tabill of the kinges," beginning at King Fergus, and send the same with your man. See it to my chamber, and you will think it well " vairit " [spent].

As soon as the forces come near his country he [MacLean] will haste word to me with surety of their intent, that I may make George Nicolson " foirsein " thereof. I will stay in these bounds until Argyll's return home " and on thir turnes," for he [MacLean] will come to Argyll at my lord's coming home. Angus MacConnell came not to fight as he promised. Commend me to your wife and George Nicolson (and request him to remember me to Mr. Bowes), and to John and William. Dumbarton, 9th July, 1595. *Signed:* Johnne Achinross.

1 *p. Holograph, also address:* " To my verry guid freind and brother Johnne Cunyghame, merchand, burges of Edinburgh." *Endorsed.* " John Achinross. Copie * of his letter to John Cuningham. Dunbarton ix° Julij, London 18° ejusdem, 1595."

July 14.

592. Mr. John Colville to Robert Bowes.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 165–167.

Thinking from day to day that Mr. Archibald Primrose would have entered his journey I abstained from writing largely, because I had committed to him that which with surety cannot be written. I think assuredly he shall be there within three days from now.

Things promised (whereunto God and you are my only witnesses) I desire to communicate only to such as we agreed upon. Mr. Primrose (Quondam) knows all my heart, and is my heart; but that I reserve, as my treasure, from him and all others. Our present estate is, on the 12th instant Mar with 500 or 600 gentlemen came to Linlithgow and brought away the corpse of the murdered person. Many " terrouris " were given, and Lord Hume, Cessford,

* But the letter is holograph in the characteristic hand of Auchinross.

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1595. Buccleuch, at Edinburgh, and Livingstone, Fleming and Elphinstone, our neighbours, warned and convened many friends, but, blessed be God, they were not seen. The murder of the man (the confidence, at least, that the murderers have to bear out that matter) was proved to come from the Queen, the Chancellor and Glamis, thinking thereby to disgrace Mar, for it would have furnished a great argument against him of weakness and inability to defend the young Prince, if he had not been able to bear out his just cause against so mean competitors. In the meantime the matter is at this point; the King is at Falkland and Mar has lately come from him, having his promise that he shall come to Stirling before he goes to Edinburgh. Yet Hume and Sir George Hume have been at him, and, as I hear, Sir George has gone again to persuade him to come to Edinburgh on behalf of the Queen, who is still thought to be diseased. If he comes to them their intention is, partly by fair means, and if it fail, with other subtleties (wherein the Chancellor and Lincluden, the principal blowers of the bellows underhand, will appear neutrals) to persuade him to take the young Prince from Mar. I remit my "particular" to Mr. Primrose, being sorry that the malice of my enemies forces me to importune those to whom I am already obliged more than my mean labours may merit. Stirling (London). *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—"Yow sall have thair anone H. (the Chancellour) his deputie, whose erand sall be no wers consideritt and the trew estat of this cuntrey (from such as will not desave yow) the better understud, that [*i.e.* if] Quondam (Mr. Primrose) be hard or [*i.e.* before] much be done with him.* Bot Quondam (Mr. Primrose) in werey secret maneir must be used. Yow knaw his honestie knawleg and love to Nuperrime (England)."

For young Lawers, do not think that he will tire, for by him you shall have the certainty of the Irish matters and he will continue as he has begun, for the assured hope he has of Mr. Bowes's honesty encourages him in such sort as your own servant can testify.

2⅓ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. xiiij Julii, London xxj ejusdem, 1595." *Names in cipher, deciphered.*

July 15. **593.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Mr Robert Bruce met with Mr. Dickson (Cask) at Montrose, and told him that I had something to propone to him, wishing him before his departure to speak with him and me about it. Whereon Mr. Dickson came hither, and on our proponing the matter by the very words of your letter he "at the first" undertook to do that matter (if there were such a matter), and also to do better and greater service there if you should procure his employment, which Mr. Robert Bruce accounts he will honestly perform. He has a very good opinion of the Kirk here. L'Aubespine is his dear friend, and Lowe was his servant. He prays passport to be got by you for his coming through England to receive instructions. This he requires in regard that the State of England thought evil of him and may do still unless you have showed his change of course. This passport he craves with speed, resting here only thereon.

Argyll is sick, decaying so fast without pain that some think he is be-

* This sentence has been misread and is unintelligible in the printed *Letters*. It is a warning not to attach implicit faith to the report of the Chancellor's deputy. The true state of Scotland will be better understood if Mr. Primrose (who will not deceive) be heard before much be done with the deputy.

1595. witched. In the matter of Ireland I have yet no further [news], saving that John Cunningham told me that MacLean said he would not seek to be employed by way of intrusion, but he would serve how and where her Majesty pleased against Tyrone in Ireland if she would direct and consider him, and I am sure "half heir" with some of her Majesty's men with him will make him do great service. He is mightily tempted with fair offers of money and gear to join with the men to go to Tyrone, but nothing will make him trust Angus MacConnell or forgive Tyrone. The sooner consideration be had of Argyll and MacLean the sooner will they take further dealing and be frank for her Majesty in this matter and more able. Upon word from Stirling you shall be advertised by writing of the matter here against the Polonian, who sure is an evil person.

Sanquhar has been with the King and offered to him to satisfy the Kirk and give bond that he should not traffic "nor had any suche dealingis committed to him." I hear that he would have come through England, there to have cleared himself of that suspicion, if he could have had passport, and that he would yet go thither to satisfy England and all men, if need were. The faction here are about to "agree" him and Johnstone, as Buccleuch has agreed with the Laird of Dalzell (Dyell) and sundry others at this time; all for strength and avoiding of hindrance to the great cause against Mar, as is thought. The Queen is still sickly and cannot well travel to the King. I hear that Dunipace is not yet satisfied with blood, but lies in wait for opportunity to displease Mar further. Some think he is set on by the Queen, the Chancellor and that side. Mar will surely prevail if the King stands and he escapes sudden mischief.

The party of Buccleuch and Cessford (I mean some belonging to them, I go no further) blame Mar that the King and Queen agree not, and say that he has spoken evil of the Queen, and they bear her in hand thereby that she is not well used, which causes her to hate Mar deadly and to embark in all matters against him. No good can come between the King and Queen till she be satisfied anent the Prince. Mar and the King agree exceeding well, and the rather because the Queen keeps still at the motion and will not obey and go to the King, but "feyneth for excuses." The Chancellor, being still held by the King for honest in these things, keeps himself still free of Mar lest Buccleuch and the others turn their displeasures also to him, albeit the King would have a friendship between the Chancellor and Mar. The Prior of Blantyre is employed, but prevails little. He is more for Mar than for the other, whom some hope the King will dislike by little and little. The Chancellor would bring the matter anent the Prince to a Council, but the King will not have it so. The Chancellor's party still continues strong here.

The King yesternight rode to Burleigh, where he stays till to-morrow, then he is to go to Stirling, and on Sunday to christen Mar's son. Thus much for these matters.

Even now I have received the proclamation amended and subscribed by his Majesty, which I shall get sealed and cause to be proclaimed in the best sort by Lyon Herald, if it may be. [*In the margin:* I have told Mr. Roger of it and prayed him to thank the King.] I sent it to be presented to the King by Mr. Roger or David Moysie (Moyses), or in their absence by George Murray of the Chamber. "As happes was," Roger and Davy were absent, and George presently "caryed" the footman I sent with it into the King's chamber, and the King very willingly subscribed it "at the first." For this favour the King should be thanked, to make him more frank in causes for her Majesty, and the taking knowledge of his favours by my information

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1595. may make me speed better in those causes. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Nicolson.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson, Edenburgh xv° Julij, London xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

July 15. **594.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I have been at Court. This last night I was directed to this town upon some particular directions of the King. I wrote to you on 17th June upon the King's resolution concerning the removing of the Prince, which he constantly confirms by his resolved dealing in that point, notwithstanding sundry practices to withdraw him from his former resolution.

On coming to this town, I find a plain resolution to divert the King from his intended course, by the Queen's "moyan" and credit. Thus they hope to accomplish things according to their intent by one of two ways, either by her loving and gentle behaviour or else by her earnest solicitation, seeking nothing but that which shall be thought convenient by the Estates, and thereupon shall desire that they may be convened, thinking thereby to make such means that it shall be carried away by number of votes. This is the course intended here, of all of which the King "is forsene," and therefore will in nowise come to this town, although there have been many devices to draw him hither. He is of mind to take away all occasions of suspicion between the Chancellor and Mar, and for that cause sent for the Prior of Blantyre, being at his own house in the country, to meet upon the 9th instant, at Falkland. How the matter was handled I know not; but the Prior received not his letter before the day appointed. That appointment did not hold by reason of the Prior's absence in respect he was the only dealer in that matter. The Chancellor excused himself and did not keep the day appointed. Whereupon the King has taken some suspicion that the Chancellor is farther upon this course than he looked for, notwithstanding his former counsel to the contrary. Mar kept the day appointed, accompanied with the Duke, Argyll and Morton, and they departed discontented at their disappointment. The King presently sent for the Prior, who on Saturday the 12th came to Falkland, where he conferred with the King at great length. The King confides greater trust in him at this time than any other, and in my opinion he is best worth.

The King has gone to Stirling to baptize Mar's son. From thence he returns to Falkland and brings the Earl with him, and has commanded the Chancellor to meet him there. I find by the Chancellor he has "no will of the matter," for he says what should need agreement where there is no feud. Nevertheless as the King pleases he will do, but on condition that he come upon his own guard, which he gives out rather to cast off the meeting, knowing the King will have no forces drawn together, but rather to have a quiet meeting. I am credibly informed he is under promise to the Queen and this faction here not to agree. I see the agreement will not be in effect. It may well be for fashion's sake and to content the King and not other ways. Lord Hume, Buccleuch and Cessford have had their forces here these five or six days. There have been sundry devices to draw the King hither, but seeing he could not be drawn they are returning home abiding the next occasion. There is imminent danger to the amity and religion and overthrow of the King if their intent take effect, as they are surely persuaded it will. No doubt it will be the overthrow of the King, and in his overthrow the other two perish. Look [at] the chief ringleaders of the plot, some Papists, some of no religion and others evil affected rather seeking to break the peace than to preserve it. If it had not been for the King himself

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it had been broken ere now. For my own part I write the simple truth out of duty to her Majesty without respect of any others. This far I will say and avow, if this King perish her Majesty will have want of him. If the King were countenanced by her Majesty, and if they saw here that she had a care of him, and if there were a warmer kind of dealing between them, they durst not attempt anything that might offend him. If their intent take effect the Papists will not " bvd " long away.

Mar has buried his man with a fewer . . .* than was looked he should have done. He discharged all his forces except 400 horse and 300 foot. The King looks that the Queen will meet him at Falkland next week. Lady Logie has returned out of Denmark. Your doctor, Mr. Morrison, has become a minister. Argyll is lying deadly sick in the New House. It is said he is bewitched. Edinburgh. *No signature. Foot of the page cut away.*

Postscript.—I have delivered the proclamation to George [Nicolson] to be proclaimed in all the west parts for the restraint of furnishing of Ireland.

3 *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed in the same hand :* " To my lord embaster." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes :* " Roger Aston. Edinburgh xv° Julii, London xxj° ejusdem, 1595."

[July 18.] **595.** PROCLAMATION BY JAMES VI.

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 223–224, under date, 18th June; inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. 258, under 18th June.

Warrant by James VI. charging his messengers and sheriffs that, inasmuch as Angus MacConnell of Dunnyveg and Glenns, and Donald Gorme of Sleat, with a number of rebellious inhabitants of the Isles, are minded to transport themselves to join with the rebels in Ireland, and that sundry inhabitants of Scotland daily furnish the said rebels of Ireland with victuals and munitions of war, they make open proclamation at the mercat crosses of Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, Renfrew, Dumbarton and other places needful inhibiting the lieges from furnishing so unlawful an enterprise or to afford the rebels any manner of comfort or support under pain of treason and of being themselves reputed as partakers and assisters.

1 *p. Draft. Undated.*

Another copy " Gevin undir our signet at Edinburgh the xviij day of July and of our regne the xxviij yere 1595."

Another copy. Dated as above.

July 19. **596.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Tuesday last, after the despatch of my letter, I went to the Chancellor praying his hand to the proclamation in the absence of the Secretary. The Chancellor read it and kept it, telling me that he would cause it to be passed by act of Council for the better strength thereof, which he has done accordingly, as John Andrews tells me. I cause John Andrews to send it to be proclaimed as appertains, without sight or sign to the messenger that it came any way but at the consideration of the King and Council, and for the King's service.

On Thursday Argyll (very well recovered in health so far as I can see) came hither about his affairs in the Exchequer, and yesterday morning I delivered your letter to him, who received it very kindly, and after he had read it told me that he had sent to stay Angus MacConnell but Angus gave but evil answer and lightened † his message insomuch that the Provost of Kilmun and

* Page decayed.

† *lighten*, in the sense of to slight or undervalue. Contemporary examples of this meaning are cited in the *New English Dictionary*, cf. No. 586, p. 632.

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1595. he appointed a single combat, which Angus did not hold, and for which the Earl had sent his forces; that Angus had since written confessing his rash oversight in making such answer to his messenger and offering amends to him; that Angus and Donald Gorme, as he hears, intend to invade MacLean; and that MacLeod of the Lewis, sister's son to MacLean, has come to aid him against Angus and Gorme. If this be true, he says there will be but few go over. "Allwaies" he says he intends to go shortly into Argyle for this service and to do his best therein. He has written to you, but he says he leaves special matter till your own return and commends himself heartily to you.

Mr. George Erskine tells me that they still write earnestly out of Ireland for MacCondochy to Argyll, not knowing that Argyll is "out with him." I, afar off, sought to feel from Mr. Erskine what would please Argyll, but he could not. "Allwaies" Mr. Erskine says that whatsoever her Majesty sends I, or such as you shall please, shall see it disposed for casting bones for her Majesty's service amongst those who are making for Ireland, as Argyll does for himself; for he is forced that way oftentime to break intended purposes against himself. He says Argyll would be appointed visitor * for his warrant to deal more severely for the stay of men and munition from Ireland, which I offered to procure and may do it, for the King is very frank for her Majesty therein. Yet Mr. Erskine thinks it would be deemed to come from Argyll and would therefore have you write for it. The rest [I refer] to the letters of Mr. George, James Cunningham and John Auchinross.

On Thursday St. Colme and the Laird of Cluny (Crichton) had "put out" and sought the Laird of Invermerky (Innes), a great baron in the north and one of the chief at the slaughter of Murray, and sought him in this town, where the Provost took him. The King upon understanding thereof gave warrant to this town to give him an assize. This day he and his servant were beheaded. MacIntosh, who was to marry his son to this gentleman's daughter, trysted him hither and both he and Angus Williamson are marvellously malcontent at his death.†

Great suspicion is taken here of the meanings of the two Lairds anent the Borders, some thinking they have attempts in hand there. But I assure you they say "no" to me, protesting still to do nothing that may offend her Majesty or country. Buccleuch has been again with the King about some lands of Crichton recovered from him by "Watty" Ker (Keir), yet assured to him, as he took it, by the King. He had good words and countenance and has not yet returned, but [is] over the water still with only one man. Sir George Hume has heard something concerning some attempts which they intend, and purposes quietly to warn the King thereof. But use this as a secret, for I verily believe they will be quiet yet.

As to this estate, the King is at Stirling, whither Argyll returns this night to the baptism of Mar's son. He would have the Queen come to him to Falkland, but she is sick and has written to him to come to her if it be but for twenty-four hours; otherwise she would go to him how sick soever she were, "suppose" [*i.e.* even if] she should never be well after. The King looked for the Chancellor to have come to Falkland for agreement with Mar. He returned answer saying he knew no quarrels between him and Mar, so that he needed not to go for that cause; and if there were quarrels he would come with his friends for his safety. With [this] answer the King seemed not contented, directing again Blantyre [to cause] ‡ him to go thither on Tuesday next for

* Cf. No. 598.
† See *Historie of King James the Sext*, 347–348.
‡ Page decayed.

1595. this cause. Whereupon the Chancellor sent Sir Robert Melville to the King to try the King's mind and to excuse him that he could not come. Whereon some think the King will yield *pro forma* to try their intentions, and nevertheless stand constant to Mar. But the Sessions being shortly to break up and the Chancellor's side to return, it is agreed, I hear, that the Queen shall for this present obey the King till better occasion. But they are in so many resolutions that I cannot tell whether it shall hold or not; and it is meant that in this "vacantcy" [vacation of Session], when the Chancellor, Buccleuch and Cessford cannot have occasions here, the King will change the Queen's mind or otherwise yield for policy. Lord Hume, through Sir George, is brought to think what he is doing and intends to go to the King on Monday to know his pleasure and to follow him only. Sir George tells me all will "pack up well." But another says "no," and I look for nothing more than sudden attempts against some of these persons. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Georg Nycolson. Edinburgh xix° Julij, London xxvj° ejusdem, 1595."

July 19. **597.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

Please receive enclosed herein a letter with another "teikkat" from John Auchinross (Aiceinroiche) to me. I know that MacLean is "theingin [thinking] lang" for word from your lordship, which I hope you have sent ere now. The sooner he is made yours the better. As I get word, I shall let George [Nicolson] be "foirsein," and shall employ all my service to the furtherance of that good cause; with recommendation of service to Sir Robert Cecil. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Cunyghame, burgeis in Edinburgh.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "John Conyngham. Edinburgh xix° Julij, London xxvi° ejusdem 1595."

Enclosure with the same.

(John Auchinross to John Cunningham.)

I wrote a letter to you on the 6th.* The Laird of Bullnill enclosed therein an English testoon (testane) for buying a fine belt of Flanders red leather "to" the lady. If you have got it send it to me with the bearer, if you do not send your man here shortly. Remember my master's plate sleeves and for me the "brod" of the kings from Fergus. Argyll's only stay is to get his turns done in Court, as promised. He is to return shortly to Argyle, when my master is to be sent for by him. I hear that the men of the north Isles are come south to Islay, making to Ireland, for new silver—over 500 *lib.* sterling—has come to them from the Earl. This is most true, and Mr. Norreys, the Queen's general that was in Flanders,† is slain by the Earl. This general was well known by sundry merchants here, [and] esteemed to be a "very braw man." I hear that MacLeod Lewis came to MacLean to Duart (Doward), and what is betwixt them I know not. "Mary," it appears that MacLean has some hope to stay them, or a great part of them; for it was concluded betwixt us that he would not write to me until he knew assuredly of their passing to Ireland, and although they came to the coast of Mull he would not write

* His last letter here recorded is dated 9th July.

† Sir Henry Norreys, formerly General in the Low Countries, was sent to Ireland in March 1595 with a company of soldiers from Brittany. See references in *Calendar of Irish Papers.* This report of his death is untrue.

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until he knew assuredly of their mind, and then advertisement would come here to be shown to George [Nicolson]. I look daily for word from him. Dumbarton, 16th July 1595. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

Postscript.—Were it not that my master had seen himself "to haif coist" by the holding of 600 men in garrison, and was not employed, as he thought, in further service, these forces durst not "meyn" [venture] to Ireland; and also his foresight in wars should serve the Queen's turn in Ireland. She shall never be revenged "of" her rebellious persons without the service of Scotsmen in these parts. My master has lost by refusal of most part of what came from the Earl, and by holding six hundred men three months. I hear that, notwithstanding all that they have received from the Earl, they are "in commonyng" with others, fearing my master * and also fearing the Earl's loss. But this vantage † new received by him "may gar thame keip." Ask George if he knows anything of a message sent by Angus MacConnell, and write thereof to me.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "John Achinros to John Conyngham. Dimbarton xvi° Julij, 1595."

July 19. **598.** MR. GEORGE ERSKINE TO ROBERT BOWES.

My late acquaintance with your servitor, George Nicolson, begun and continued by the delivery of your lordship's letters to my master and the receipt of their answer, has "motioned" betwixt us at sundry times conferences touching the state of Ireland by which I communicate intelligences to him. He has earnestly dealt with me to write to your lordship my "basse" [humble] opinion in these particulars. I resisted long, but now at last overcome by his suits, I deliver to your lordship two points specially to be respected: the first that by entreaty with his Majesty and my master the islanders of Scotland be restrained,—which may only be done in such form as I have at length declared to Nicolson; the next, that my master be appointed by his Majesty "visitour", as admiral of our west seas, to take order that no "furnitour" of munition or victuals be transported to the aid of her Majesty's rebels. This only in my opinion "sall proffeit," although it be more difficult than it might have been in time past, and the longer it be delayed the harder shall it be. Edinburgh. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. George Areskyn. Edenburgh xix° July, London xxvi° ejusdem, 1595."

July 19. **599.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 167–168.

On the 17th his Majesty came to Stirling albeit great instance was made to him at Falkland to come first to Edinburgh. On Sunday the 20th Mar's

* There was a long feud between MacLean of Duart and the Macdonalds, and his enemies had some ground to fear MacLean. The quarrel burst out in 1585 through an act of treachery; and violence was met with violence, in which not even the sanctity of family ties was respected. In 1587, through the efforts of the Crown a truce was reached, but it was soon broken by MacLean, regardless of the hostages whom he had given for his good faith. For a while thereafter the two clans "did continually vex one another with slaughters and outrages, to the destruction almost of their countries and people." Allies were brought in on both sides, to the inevitable extension of the feud. "The disastrous consequences of a dispute between two powerful clans in the South Isles came thus to be felt throughout the whole extent of the Hebrides; and it became necessary for the Government to take immediate steps for the suppression of such alarming disorders." Their efforts, however, were neither particularly successful nor very honourable. (See Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands*, 230-244.)

† Probably the reported victory over Norreys.

1595. young son "beis" baptized, where his Grace "beis gossep," * and so on Tuesday or Monday he minds to [go to] Falkland, where her Majesty is appointed to meet him if her health will permit. But there is no great appearance that she is either willing or able to go thither, the place being more uncommodious than Holyroodhouse for persons diseased; and upon his Grace going to Edinburgh or her Majesty's coming to him depends the hope of such as be inclined the one and other way. Albeit there is no difference or contrariety among themselves, yet according to the variety of our "ingyns" [dispositions] grounded on our own particulars we are in "contrar" and different opinions as to the charge of the Prince, wherein we hear for certain that his Grace will have no change.

The late murder quickens matters, for the authors thereof think by such as hate Mar to bear out their turn. Yet the odiousness of the crime and exclaiming of the ministry, who next Sunday at the churches of Stirling, Airth, Falkirk and Linlithgow are to proceed to admonition against the young Lairds of Airth and Dunipace and their accomplices, put them to great thinking how to colour and disguise the matter, and Mar proceeds only as his Majesty commands in pursuit of the criminals and in all other action, thinking thereby to win his process against both the one and the other. Many things which I cannot write herein I have committed to Mr. Archibald Primrose, and of things fallen out since his departure I have written to him in cipher, which in his absence you may "stryik wp" and he will decipher at his coming, especially that Mar has command of the King to disobey, if he [the King] does anything at the Chancellor's or the Queen's desire to his prejudice for taking from him any service that he has. This Mar has, "signed and commandit to him expresslie," but if it be known he is undone. Stirling. *Signed:* Y.

Postscript.—Of Invermarky's apprehension at Edinburgh by St. Colme and Cluny your lordship has heard ere now, and with him one who was bitterest against poor Murray. A commission was granted this day here for their execution. Argyll "is convalesced" and young Lawers will omit no good office when occasion requires, and he desires no credit if he be not first advertiser of any enterprise that can come from the Isles or islandmen.

2½ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y.Y.Y. Serling xix° Julii, London xxvj° ejusdem, 1595."

July 19. **600.** EARL OF ARGYLL TO ROBERT BOWES.

I received your letter from George Nicolson, whereby I perceive the continuance of the rebellion in Ireland, which I have learnt more clearly by intelligences from these parts, and which are confirmed by the preparations of our islesmen to pass there for Tyrone's aid. I have endeavoured to stay their passage, but the jealousies which they have conceived of my intentions make the same more difficult. Nevertheless I shall use all diligence to hinder the same, and according as I shall be "resolvit" what my travails may bring forth you shall be advertised. Edinburgh. *Signed:* A. Argyll.

¼ *p. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.* "Th' Erle of Argile. Edinburgh xx° Julij, London xxvj° ejusdem, 1595."

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* *gossip:* one related by a religious tie; *i.e.* godfather. See Jamieson's *Dictionary.*

James VI.
1595.
July 22.

601. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

Being commanded by my master to remain here in Dumbarton, which is near "the Hiland" and not far from Court, rather than in Court, for making him advertisement as our "moyan" there gives occasion, he made me "foirsein" of news, as I wrote to George [Nicolson], who will "acquent" you therewith. While writing, I received two letters from you, one to MacLean and one to me; and I render you humble service for your goodwill towards me.

These Scottishmen are passed to Ireland on the 18th or 19th, and of truth Donald Gorm MacConnell has "vrakit" [ruined] his land in holding these forces together to the number of 2500 besides 500 furnished by Angus MacConnell, which met them when they came south. Angus has sent his eldest son with them, so the conductors of this company are he, Donald Gorm MacConnell, MacLeod Lewis and MacLeod Harris. But during the time that my master held but 600 men together, none of them durst presume to pass to Ireland; and albeit the compelling of them to turn will be more dangerous (being convened together) and more "sumpteous" [costly] than the staying of their convening, yet my master, if employed, will compel them shortly [to] seek for return to Scotland, as he has written to you from Carrick in Argyle. Not only will he make them to return, but he will venture himself and his friends to make Tyrone beg mercy of her Majesty. I perceive that when you wrote you had not received our said letters from Carrick. My master has made me privy in all his "adois" that appertained to a servant to know. I have taken the boldness, therefore, to "unclois" your letter to him, wherein you desire to know if he will proceed in accomplishment of service, and that he "certifie the aggrement in the executioun" thereof, also when and where he would have things sent to him, which shall be done with expedition. I am privy with his answer, as if I were with him. I know he is ready to proceed against Tyrone and all his assisters, and will not fail to serve her Majesty as truly as any that serve her as captain or man of war in any rank. Yet he has such honour and honesty that he can crave no man's gear. But if her Majesty and Council will like to "propyne" [give a present] and advance him honourably, I know well that they shall think the same well bestowed, and his service shall give them occasion to esteem him as an honourable man worthy to be acknowledged all his days. His expectation is to a higher honour and matter than a present sum of money, which he "man vair [must spend] on guid fallowes." Yet such turns can not be done without money. If his service is "lyikit of," he is to enter in band under conditions with her Majesty. I moved him to extraordinary charges through holding six hundred men together three months. If he had not dissolved them, none in these parts durst "meyn" for Ireland. Plain hunger made them leave Scotland, and receiving of new money from Tyrone with promise of more at their landing in Ireland has moved them thereto. This enterprise of the Earl is not small, although the same be not known to your Council as yet, as [it would be] if my master were in conference with you.

If I were near Sir Robert and you, I could "absolve" you of any doubt or question you could propone to us on our part in this action, could make known to you how these turns should be followed out on this side, and let you see how to make Tyrone and his confederates perish; for I am acquainted with all that my master or any other can do on this part against the Earl. You shall find my master's "foirsicht and bauldnes in manheid" to do much in this action. As you find the matter of importance, spare not my "travell," for upon advertisement to my master I shall be at you in haste, having the conduct of

1595. one of your sure servants. Assure yourself, my master is not idle. He has "ane vork virkand" * in their company, for he has made them to suspect others, and also they fear him, which moves their council to take purpose on hand sometime one way and sometime another. They know not what to do or begin, he has put them in "sik ane feir and doutt vith utheris." I can promise nothing by this work. Seeing all their victual and furnishing spent, they made sail from Scotland on the 18th or 19th instant. If you seek for me there, keep the same very quiet that none know thereof except my master and George [Nicolson]. I think in a month or thereby I may pass there and return again. Further, if you desire my master's service, the same must proceed by contract and appointment, "astricting" him on the one side and your honours on the other, wherein, as your worships will desire, he will send his full commission with me to "condiscend" on such heads as at meeting shall be thought meet, and as I shall receive your part subscribed I shall according to the same return his part to you. This was meant by him in his first letter, when he offered to send me to your lordship. Where he wrote that he should send me to you (if you came to our Court, as then you thought), the meaning was to confer and conclude with you in those turns. I received a friendly letter from George [Nicolson] conform to your information. Let Sir Robert have inspection of this letter, with my duty remembered. Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johne Achinros.

1½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Wafer signet of MacLean. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "John Achinross. Dinbarton xxij° Julij, Grenewich xxx° ejusdem, 1595."

July 22. **602.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

After the writing of the other letter, having received a mass of letters from John Cunningham wherein were "closit" letters from Mr. Bowes to MacLean and me, and your own letter and "tiequet" also to me, I assure you my master is constant and ready to do her Majesty service. I moved him to have 600 men in garrison for three months at his own charges [*etc.* as in former letters], but, not being employed as he prepared himself for, he dissolved this sober company, and others seeing him to prepare for quietness have now passed to Ireland. Their stay the said three months has wrecked their country in such manner that if my master had continued in holding of his 600 men together "the ane of thame had eittin the uther." But seeing they have gone forward to Ireland to the number of 3000 men without powder or lead, for my master "hes convoyit" that from them, it is harder and more dangerous for us to cause them return than to make them stay at home before their passing by us. Yet my master will make them return home if he be employed, which he cannot do without "melling" with and harrying their lands. Then they will be forced "to seik for Scotland," every man to save his own house and dwelling. For all or most of the company are householders, who will respect little their profit in Ireland "besyid" [compared to] their loss in Scotland. This must be dangerous to my master, yet I know he will not leave that which he has begun. If he be employed, direct in all haste to Dowart a little ship, well appointed, with 50 or three-score men therein besides mariners. Let them have letters from Sir Robert and Mr. Bowes to my master. At their arriving there, wherever my master is I shall command the Captain of Dowart to convoy their servant and the writings to him. He shall have this command of my

* A work working, *i.e.* a design at work.

James VI.
1595. master. I have been so privy with him these sixteen years past that I "unclosit" Mr. Bowes's letter [*etc.* as in the foregoing].

As to the accomplishment of service, my master will not seek gear, for that is not his honour, which he esteems more than gear. Yet if her Majesty and Council will "propyne" him [*etc.* as in the foregoing], I assure you he is apt and meet for the turn, ready to seek Tyrone's wreck, and would seek to have the same though he were her Grace's subject. His "moyan" and "convoy" are so perfect in this that he doubts not to make the Earl and his assisters beg mercy and pardon of her Majesty, and if I were in conference with your master I should let him know the secret thereof and how to have the turn done. My master has conceived such a hatred against the Earl through his cruel murdering of Hew O'Neil and Art O'Neil, his cousins, that all the gold in Ireland will not make him favour him. We have refused great offers. If those two gentlemen had been living they would have been her Majesty's subjects. We have two sons of theirs in Scotland, and, if my master live, the same two boys shall make the Earl "to haif to do" in Ireland, for having assistance they will get favour and friends there. As you write, it is good that strait proclamation from his Highness be proclaimed in Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Irvine, Ayr, Kirkcudbright, Bute "callit" Rothesay [and] Dunoon in Argyle, commanding that none within the said burghs or in any part adjacent to them "tak on hand" to travel to the bounds of Ireland, Kintyre or Isles of Scotland, under the pain of death and "tinsall" [loss] of lands and goods; for they cannot travel into those bounds without taking "furnising" to them. Indeed the Earl is furnished, as I hear, by some of Glasgow. It is true that Tyrone troubles your state in Ireland; also that the Clandonnell show their goodwill to disobey and to "misknow" our King's Majesty, which is well done by them; for after my master chased and "dang" [drove] them out of their own bounds to Court, after they had murdered his friends at a banquet and had taken himself prisoner, they "be moyan" escaped and but for fear of him they would do great trouble in Scotland. If our King and your Queen have good counsel herein it is nothing to make them humble themselves like slaves; for, seeing my master without help of King or any other friend (except God only) "dang the Clandonill to Court" and banished them their own land, it is no "prattik" * for a King with his help to make them obey him. And when my master came in at the desire of his Highness (as he was given to understand) after that he "put thame in befoir him," he was worse handled, and his Grace's letter served him for nothing, because the same wanted the Chancellor's "handvritt."

My master shall know by your letter your goodwill in his "adois," and you shall find him constant and ready to perform all which I have "pennit" in this and the other letters directed to your master. For as he has a great envy and malice "at" the Earl and his assisters, he has a singular favour to your master, who, God willing, shall be worthy of thanks at his Prince's hands for "convoying" of such an honourable servant to her service. His letter to my master shall be "at" him with diligence, for presently the boy who came here with the news of their passing to Ireland is directed back there. They are not without fear of my master, and, truly, need and newly received gains moved them to go forward. Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Jo. Achinros. Donbarton 22, Edinburgh 24, July 1595. Per Jo. Achinros his servant."

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* *practik:* stratagem; trick. See Jamieson's *Dictionary.*

James VI.
1595. July 22.

603. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

According to my master's promise to "mak yow foirsein" of the passing of this Scottish company to Ireland, he desired me to "mak yow foirsein" hereof, and you to make Mr. Bowes acquainted with the same in haste. On Friday, 11th July, there came by sea, by [*i.e.* past] our place of Duart, the number of 2500 men, and in passing MacLeod Lewis and the principal friends of MacLeod Harris came on land and spoke [with] MacLean in Duart, to excuse themselves for their passing to Ireland with Donald Gorme MacConnell. The only cause thereof was their receipt of great gains which came to Scotland from Tyrone, and seeing the voyage was no way to hurt MacLean they thought good to take commodity and profit when offered, and assured MacLean that whenever he shall "haif to do" against the Clan Donald that they shall be found ready in his service, as they have been before.

This company passed south to Angus MacConnell, who could furnish no more than 500 men or thereby, whom he has sent with his eldest son. We understand they are but few in number beyond 3000 men. In all this company there is neither powder nor lead, because my master took the same by the way from their furnisher and compelled him to take payment for the same. The Earl has lately sent them 300 *li.* sterling and has promised them 600 *li.* at landing, whereof 300 *li.* in armour, clothes and horses. As my master wrote of late, if the Queen and Council will employ him, he will speedily make them seek return to Scotland. If her Majesty desires his service and makes the Earl of Argyll to be her friend (for they will both be on one side in all their doings), he doubts not to make Tyrone crave mercy.

We are informed that the Earl has slain a "trym" gentleman of her Majesty named General Norreys, who has served in the wars of Flanders, and that he is well furnished for these wars having been preparing for them the space of seven years past. He once thought never to "mell" therewith until Spaniards would come to help him, or until occasion were offered by the death of her Majesty; and as my master in his first letter to Mr. Bowes showed that though they could not well meet to confer together themselves, yet by me your master shall know the very secret and "moyan" of the service which shall make the Earl to perish in his high attempt. Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

Postscript.—As you have to do, write to me, for I remain here on my master's "adois" in Court; and I stay also on the return of Argyll. Our "moyan" among them still is to trouble their council and plans. As I hear success thereof you shall be made participant of the same. It is necessary that these two letters to you be directed to Mr. Bowes for informing him of such things as I could not "comprehend" [include] in his. Hasten these to him, and if any come from him I will be here for their receipt. Our "brother Johnne" [Cunningham] in his writings is ever earnest in this action on hand. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Jo. Achnros. Dunberton 22, Edinburgh 24, July 1595." Per Jo. Achinros his servant. Retorne this back."

July 22.

604. MR. GEORGE ERSKINE TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

At Argyll's coming to this town from Edinburgh last Sunday at even, new advertisements came from Argyle "bearing for veritye the northern iylesmen incumming," and their joining with Angus MacConnell in Islay

James VI.
1595. eight days since. They may remain in Islay for some days more. Their numbers are great, but the particular numbers as yet not known to us. They intend certainly to pass to Ireland. No "moyen" that my master has used but has come to their ears, whereby they are become so suspicious that he cannot hinder their passage. Moreover, they have got some intelligence of his friendship with her Majesty of England. In time coming every way shall be difficult to use against them. Now it sufficiently appears what over long delay has brought to pass. If at first matters had been so "dressit" with these people, they had never entered so far on their journey. In these extremities speedy remedies are to be used, and in my opinion this especially —that with diligence some ships be directed to the Island of Rathlin, and doubtless before 10th August they shall find the islesmen in their passage. They have no vessels except twenty-six or thirty galleys, lightly furnished, with some smaller vessels. The ordinance of your ships shall so dismay them if once you enter in fight that without all doubt they will return. Use diligence to cause them be set forth, if it be thought expedient. Stirling. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Mr. Geo. Erskynn. Stirling, Edenburgh, 22nd July 1595. Per Tho. Erskyn, Argile servant." *And by Robert Bowes:* "Received att Grenewich 28 July 1595."

July 23. **605.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter of the 15th and shall do as you have directed, as by Junior's (young Lawers) and "their" letters shall be certified to you. Yesternight I received the enclosed letter,* of such importance as seems to me ought to be regarded with all speed. Junior tells me also of the twenty-six galleys at sea for Ireland or Argyle, but as yet he is not certain, and therefore I have presumed to make this hasty despatch thereof.

As to this estate, the King gave but hard words to Sir Robert Melville of the Chancellor and still calls for the Chancellor to come to him for agreement with Mar, but he stiffly refuses to come. George Douglas being sent with the Queen's letter to the King, as I wrote, has not yet returned. "Allwaies" the Queen intends, if the King does not come to her, to go to Falkland to him. I expect that within some ten days these matters will come to ripeness. Lord Hume has not yet come, but councils are daily held here with the Queen and that side, and the like "is with the King and Marr." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—The proclamation is gone and will be proclaimed this week.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

July 23. **606.** ELIZABETH TO THE EARL OF ARGYLL.

Vol. liii. p. 10. Printed in *Hist. MSS. Commis. Report* vi, p. 611.

We cannot forbear to acknowledge by our own letters your great care of such things as Mr. Bowes has of late recommended to you, thereby to assure you that such is our contentment to find you the successor of your father's love to our estate as well as the inheritor of his fortune that we are more and more desirous to understand from you how we might gratify you. Your actions have confirmed to the world not only your constancy to your sovereign in

* The letter of George Erskine which Nicolson received on 22nd July, and which mentions the twenty-six galleys referred to above.

time of greatest trial, but also your judgment in discerning clearly how dishonourable it would be for any man of noble blood to yield the least countenance to base and malicious rebels. Let these lines serve for this time, and for some other particular give faith to Mr. Bowes. And where we understand that your cousin, MacLean, is much at your devotion, and one of power and commandment in those isles of the north, we desire that he may find by you how well you are disposed towards us, which we know will much direct his courses, and for which we will be most ready to requite him. This we recommend to you the more because we are informed that the King did deal with you for the same in the presence of our servants. Greenwich.

1 *p. Copy. In the hand of Sir Robert Cecil's clerk. At the top:* "A letter from her Majestie to the Erle of Argile."

July 24. **607.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Yesterday I delivered the tokens to young Lawers (Junior) and Mr. John Arch[ibald], whom hereafter you may call Filius, for so he wishes to be called. They thank her Majesty and you, and now will be diligent enough to deserve better. I enclose their letter. Even "very nowe" I received these advertisements from John Auchinross and made John Cunningham acquainted therewith; wherein also he writes and is ready to do his best. I will not comment on those matters, but you may perceive that, as through want of a "covenantall agreament" the beginnings have not been stopped, so will not the progress of the islander traitors be withstood without feeling as well as hearing her Majesty's bounty to Argyll and MacLean, the fittest men for that service, and who upon conditions will do as they have been directed by her Majesty or you, and faithfully perform or perish. It seems you plainly mistake his place, credit and degree fit for this matter, that you "eaven him with 20 *li.*" But I shall use the better words to content him, and doubt not but I shall keep these men's goodwill to her Majesty, with this which is sent. I have a man ready to go to Kirkcudbright (Kirkowbrey) to give warning, if I can, to the Captain of Man, of the purpose of these savage people, and you may also cause him to be warned and advised to "use some stratagisme to recompence them with."

As to this estate, the King, I think, is this night, and not before, at Falkland. The Queen is here, and on Saturday peremptorily is to go to the King, who was almost ready to have come hither, but for the causes of the people here. This side are daily at council and change of courses upon every advertisement, and are to be to-morrow again for this cause. The Chancellor will not go to the King, but is dealing for more friends. Livingstone and Fleming are here, and Dunipace and young Airth not a little "made on." Lord Hamilton is here very strong about an action anent Sir John Chapell and the daughter and heir to the same, called Hamilton, against John Hume of Carelside [Carrollsyde], in which Lord Hamilton had a decreet of the Lords of Session and is now called again, to his grief. You will see that ten days will discover many matters here for the ending or entering into blood for these causes. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—I also send you Mr. Patrick Simpson's answer anent the Polonian. . . . ilding has advertised me that my lord has . . . one Manington, and sent me a passport made from hence for his safety to try the truth. But the . . . is counterfeit in the name of the Provost and bailies . . . so that Manington is a knave. As I wrote when

James VI.
1595. . . . serves towards Martinmas, service may be done in the west . . . that way the traitors traffic.* Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph. No fly-leaf or address.*

Enclosure with the preceding.

(Mr. Patrick Simpson to Mr. Walter Balcanqual.†)

The Polonian has been excommunicated for Papistry. We found him very wilful, malicious and ignorant, and in matters controverted betwixt the Papists and us an obstinate defender of their opinions but very ignorant of their reasons. After his excommunication he went to the Papist lords in the north, and at his return he came secretly by night to Stirling, where he was apprehended and put in the Tolbooth by the magistrates. After diligent searching of his coffers we found a letter from some Papists, whether Jesuits or others I can not tell. "Alwayes" by it I understood that intelligence passes betwixt him and other Papists concerning their own affairs, and that they counted more of him than he was worthy, "beiing in knawledge ane verie ass and ane idiott." We might have put him to great trouble by sending the said letter to his Majesty, because it contained a great commendation of Bothwell, at whose hands the Papist writers of the letter in Latin had found no small courtesy. But at the earnest request of his wife and friends, and upon their promise that he should leave the country, we proceeded no further against him. This letter I have sent to you that, if you perceive anything in it whereby the cause of Christ may be advanced, you may use it as you think good. Stirling, 19th July 1595. *Signed:* P. Symsoun.

½ *p. Holograph, also address:* "To his verie weilbeiloved brother and fellow labourer in the wark of Chryst, Mr. Walter Bacanquell, minister of Chryst his Evangell at Edinburgh."

Written on the back in Nicolson's hand: "In any case retorne this letter and that within it written in Laten with spede, for so Mr. Water requireth."

July 24. **608.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 168–170.

On the 25th his Majesty removes to Falkland, where he minds to remain till after Lammas, and about 8th August to return here, and then to go to Inchmurrin to his hunting. Great persuasions are made to draw him to Edinburgh, partly to see her Majesty, who is thought to be diseased, [and] partly the Council insisting that he should sit with them once before their vacation (which is at hand) for ordering of all things till their next meeting. But I do not hear that he minds to go thither, but rather that both her Highness and the Council should come to him, and I think at length her grace will make the "first obedience."

If the King come to Edinburgh they think either by "slicht or mycht" to persuade him against Mar, *etc.*

The Chancellor speaks much to Mar's praise with the King, but underhand to the Queen he has sworn and signed that he will never agree with him, so if the King presses appointment betwixt them he will "decypher" himself anon. As I wrote before, Mar has assurance by "writ" to disobey if the King

* Decayed, or cut away in the binding.

† Bound separately, as Vol. 56, No. 48 under date 19 July, but the postscript of the preceding letter shows that it was sent to Bowes as an enclosure.

fall into the hands of those who shall force him to do anything to Mar's prejudice. But this is very secret.

This matter of Dunipace will haste a mischief, for about the 24th August Mar charges him and his accomplices to underly the law, and both pursuers and defenders will appear with all their friends. Airth and Dunipace think to have Elphinstone, Fleming, Livingston, Hume, Cessford, Buccleuch, the Council and Session [as] their friends, and the Queen also. Mar shall be no less than 2000 gentlemen, who are already in "catologe," with the favour of Edinburgh and such assurance of the King's goodwill as word and writ can make. This is certain. The ministry also have begun to proceed against the said murderers with their "censures."

Here are presently some commissioners from the last General Assembly at Montrose, to report to his Majesty things concluded there and to require his consent in some matters touching the benefit of the Church, which cannot otherwise take effect. The Goodman of Monimusk and Mr. Richard Douglas are here dealing both with his Majesty and commissioners for Angus, who offers to find caution to subscribe and never to swerve again. Some, courtiers and ministers both, pity him, but "diversly," the ministers thinking him the least malicious Papist of all and not blotted with murders, as Huntly is. The courtiers would have him received as a preparative for bloody Huntly. I have also written at large to Mr. Archibald Primrose, by whom you will know all which is here omitted. Stirling. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—The Queen is not as they pretend to be, which the King begins to perceive. If there were no more but that, it were enough to make mischief enough.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill. Sterling xxiiij° July, Grenewich primo Augusti, 1595."

July 24. **609.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 170.

This morning his Majesty, hearing that sundry have convened at Edinburgh with intention to "intend" some change, has taken a manful resolution that he will go thither this same day to see what they mean; so let my letters go through, but send this therewith. All the rest contained in my former, God willing, shall hold, especially the warrant given to Mar in case his "unfrendis" cause the King to do anything against his heart. Send all away in haste. This is an hour after the "dait" of my former this same 24th of July, 1595. *Unsigned.*

½ *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To my trest freind Georg Nicolsone." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Colvill to Georg Nycolson. Sterling 24 July 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

July 24. **609a.** JOHN ARCHIBALD * TO ROBERT BOWES.

Late advertisement has come here from the borders of Kintyre to Junior (young Lawers) and me that the "haill navie" of the islesmen had remained upon that coast the space of three days or thereby, and now last Monday, 21st July, they passed by sea to the Isle of Man and, according as their success is there, their purpose afterwards is towards the parts of Ireland. Their

* In Thorpe's *Calendar* John Archibald is confused here, and elsewhere, with John Auchinross; but they are two distinct persons. John Archibald is "Filius," resident in Edinburgh ("here") at the date of this letter; John Auchinross is "Fluour," resident at Dumbarton.

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1595. number is certified to be 2400 or thereby. Their vessels are about six score, small and large. The " haill principallis of the Iyllis " are in this army, to wit, Donald Gorm, MacLeod of Harris, MacLeod of Lewis, Captain of Clanranald (Glenronnald) with another clan, called Clan Ian (Claneane), which are " ane disordowrit kynd of peipill."

Angus MacConnell has not passed there himself, but has sent 500 men or thereby under his son. His remaining behind is thought to be for entreating peace with MacLean; and, if this takes effect, they are both to follow this army into Ireland with their forces and that with expedition.

Nevertheless " moyan " shall be made whereby that peace shall not take effect until your lordship be made duly advertised, and in the meantime Angus " sall nocht schoirtlie profeit in that eirand." If this so be, the army that are already passed away are to return back from Ireland with diligence.

Angus MacConnell has likewise sent for MacCondochy (M'Konndoquhy) to be in readiness to pass with him. But young Lawers, who has lately received your token (of 100 angels), has gone to him for staying of his journey. If he pass there, it shall be to do good offices and service in what[soever] form you please [to] set down; and before he take journey you shall be duly advertised of his embarking, his number and place of landing. The islesmen already gone confide altogether in their vessels, so that they intend to land in some " strait part " of the country where, as said is, their intention is not to remain if Angus MacConnell and MacLean do not follow.

When this army passed by these lowland parts Argyll passed homeward, thinking they would invade his country by reason of their number; which now is known was not their intention. I have received your small token of 50 crowns; yet the assurance I learn from your letter to George [Nicolson] shall make me do such honour and service in this errand that you shall have proof to count me as worthy as any that ever has been employed by your lordship. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Filius.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address:* " To my lord Bowes." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Mr. John Archbald. Edenburgh xxiiij° July, Grenewich xxx ejusdem, 1595."

July 24. **610.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

Please to receive letters from John Auchinross to yourself and to George [Nicolson], whereby you will perceive that Donald Gorm with his company has come to Angus MacConnell. In my opinion they are bound rather " upoun " the Isle of Man than Ireland at this time. As ever, I only wish MacLean were bound in duty to the Queen's service; and the sooner the better. I hear that Argyll is shortly bound home from Court. As soon as he comes to Argyle he will send for MacLean. It is needful that you be " at pointt " with him before they meet, for I assure you that it must be MacLean and his friends who must take service upon them to do our matters. Come what will, I shall be ready as it shall please Sir Robert [Cecil] and your lordship to employ me. Edinburgh.

⅔ *p. Holograph, also address:* " To my guid lord and meist speciale my lord Bowes, imbassetour." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " John Conyngham. Edenburgh xxiiij° July, Grenewich xxx° ejusdem, 1595."

[After July 24.] **611.** LAIRD OF EASTER WEMYSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have looked long for performance of promises, desiring you to let me have my " uter ansur " that I be no longer " frustrat." His Majesty came to this

1595. town on 24th [July], unlooked for by any. He has shown his mind, especially towards Mar, little to the contentment of the Chancellor and his associates. He commanded the Master of Glamis not to come near, but Lord Hume brought him to his Majesty, who was "scarly contentit." He would have agreement, but I see no great appearance.

I wrote to you to deliver 63*l.* to James Hudson. Advertise me if you have not done this, and at least see that the bond "forfalt not" until I have your answer, for I am at a point to deliver the silver to an English merchant, and abide only your answer. The delay of promises makes me to stay some of what I promised to you, for there was never anyone "haid mair caus to plaint." *Signed:* Est Vemes.

¾ *p. Holograph, also address. Undated. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Larde of Wemes. Received London, v° Augusti 1595."

July 25. **612.** MR. GEORGE ERSKINE TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

On Wednesday the 23rd Argyll came to this country, where we have found upon our borders the army of the Irishmen threatening to invade us, for now they have got intelligence of the friendship betwixt him and her Majesty. But his country-people were so prepared and in arms that as yet they have not made any invasion. They are on this side of the Mull of Kintyre at an island called Arran (Awing.) Advertisement is come this day to my lord that they dare not invade his country, but will first go to the Isle of Man and spoil it, or to Ireland to crave aid of O'Neil for my master's invasion, because he is friend to her Majesty. But I fear that rather they will invade the Isle of Man; therefore advertise Lord Scrope and others near the West Borders to cause ships to be directed for support of that island or I fear it will come too late. Their army is of 4000 men of war and more. Haste advertisement in time to England, for I assure you there is need. Carrick. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

Postscript.—I may not come to the Lowlands myself. Therefore advertise me as you think expedient. My master is likely to bring upon himself a dangerous war for respect of her Majesty's "particular." But if she had provided in time for this there had been no danger. Now, the "nixt best" is to be sought, that if this storm were spent no further should happen.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Mr. Geo. Erskin. Carrict 25, Edenburgh 29, July 1595. Per Ro. Erskin of Edenburgh."

July 26. **613.** [MR. JOHN COLVILLE] TO [GEORGE NICOLSON].

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 283.

You may perceive ere now that the King, with his will, shall not do as the Chancellor and that crew would, and I think the Master of Glamis is discharged, and it may be the King is already away. By all appearance Mar will prevail with him, for he has much assurance, as I wrote before; and at their departure the King said that if he for any "persuasion of accident" suffered the young Prince to go out of his hands till he were fifteen years old he should have his malediction. The letter you sent me is from "Standfaist," making mention that he has persuaded more of Bothwell's company to his effect against the said Bothwell.

¾ *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To 5 servand." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Y. Y. Y. Sterling, 26 July 1595."

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614. GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

It is still confirmed that the islanders are at sea, some say for Ireland, spoiling the coast of Scotland on their way. For safety of Argyle the Earl has ridden there with great diligence, so that Mr. George Erskine (Plaine) has not yet his token, which I wish were better, as also that Argyll were dealt with with certainty. I hear that Donald Gorme came on land in Argyle and asked where my lord was; that it was answered that he was in the Low-land about his "adois"; that Donald told the Captain of the Clan Allister that if he had been within 30 miles he would have gone to visit him with 24, and willed the Captain to commend him and his service to my lord and to show him that he was so far for Ireland. So no doubt my lord is still tempted by many with fair offers, and therefore his consideration is over-long delayed and left upon hope. But this [I leave] to wiser consideration. [*In the margin, in Nicolson's hand:* "Filius (Mr. Jo. Archbald). Content 10 (Argyll) and Pat (Macklayne) with spede, and command their services."] John Auchin-ross (Fluour), to whom I have sent his token, reports that these men have sent two boats, with the best wares they have, to Ayr or Irvine (Urwyne) to "make mony on" or exchange for powder, lead and other necessaries; and I have acquainted Mr. Aston therewith that he may cause some courtier to take the benefit thereof to his own gains; for there is good store of good gear in the boats, and they are the King's rebels, whose escheats any who could get them may have. I have sent to Man, I hope in time, if my letters get passage at Kirkcudbright. [*In the margin, in Nicolson's hand:* "Sir James Sandelandis will answer to take them if it be so, for so he sayeth Mr. Aston sett him on work."]

On Thursday, late in the evening, the King came hither unexpectedly upon Sir Robert Melville's letter, certifying that the Queen was sick, and that he had "tryed" [proved] it so by the Mistress of Ochiltree and sundry other gentlewomen, "suppose" [although] the King had in great anger told Sir Robert that it was said she feigned the same that she might draw him hither for some purposes. At the King's coming Buccleuch and Cessford were with the Queen, but did not stay then.

Lord Hamilton having ended his action, and meaning yesterday to depart, sent to the King to know whether he should stay and wait on him or not, freely offering his service as the King should appoint. The King gave him thanks and leave to go home, which he did. The King took order that night that none save such as he should send for should come to him unless they came alone. Yesterday he sent for the Chancellor, the Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melville. But Buccleuch and Cessford "tooke it evill" they were not also called for. The King also sent for Mr. Robert Bruce, who at first was out of the town, and for Mr. David Lindsay and others, to whom he has said that he has some matters to propone to them and for which he will have them with him on the 15th or 16th of next month. His chiefest travails here are to comfort the Queen and to dissuade her from her former intention, which she most earnestly insists on, and wherein great grief grows between both, for they are both resolute, neither of them yielding. Yesternight the two lairds went down to the King to his supper but had no good countenance of him.

Buccleuch was late out yesternight with the Queen. This day the Chancellor and the rest, either by themselves or their commissioners, are at council, and it is "ones" [in the first place] agreed to stay the King, and thereon by proclamation to charge Mar to come within forty-eight hours, and upon his

1595. coming in to take the Prince and the two places from him, and upon his refusal to proclaim him traitor and pursue him by a lieutenant with all rigour. But the King is this day to go away, some think warned of it.

The Queen is in the plot and has promised to keep the King till 10 o'clock and great appearance there is hereof, for their dependers are quietly appointed to arm, but yet they are at council and may change their course, as three especial times they have done of late. [*In the margin, in Nicolson's hand:* "51 (the Chancelour) disswades, sayeng yet he is and wilbe theirs. 69 (Buckleugh) is earnest, fearing not to gitt so good opportunitie."] However it be, the good men and wise think the end will be strange, and marvel that her Majesty, in love of the King and Kirk here, has not some one of account here, like yourself, to look to these dangers and care for the King and Kirk.

Lord Livingstone is "agreing" Fleming and Drumelzier (Drummolier), and it is concluded before the Chancellor; so it is evident these agreements are "of highe courses." Dunipace and young Airth make no doubt but to hold out against Mar, especially by the "back" they have of this side "and all upon the factioun of the Queen (E.)." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—Seeing this thus in working I stayed these to see the end. The Chancellor has so dissuaded the enterprise by message to the Master of Glamis, Buccleuch, etc., that they have not put it in execution, for the King has gone after long debating the cause with the Prior of Blantyre, Sir George Hume, Sir Robert Melville and the Chancellor, who protests to be for the King. The Prior has told Roger Aston and willed him to tell the King that he has got great honour by coming to the Queen and standing so constantly to his resolution that his continuance therein will break the party of the Chancellor; and has told him that the Chancellor should be shortly tried to see if he will "performe with the King" to make amends and to stay this labour of theirs. Some of that side, as Buccleuch, look that they shall be warded as soon as the King shall be at Falkland, and I hear they are sorry they have omitted this opportunity. The Master of Glamis is commanded [out] of the town already, and they are "at new resolutions to be taken." The King has gone to Falkland. The Chancellor and the two Lairds left him at the gate and returned to the Queen. All these things I write as I hear—not for truth. Therefore let them be kept secret and measured by the sequel.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh xxvj° July, Grenewich primo Augusti, 1595.' *Names in cipher, deciphered.*

July 26. **615.** [ROGER ASTON] TO [ROBERT BOWES].

By this I confirm all I wrote before and tell how this matter goes on. On Thursday, the 25th, the King came to this town on advertisements of the Queen's sickness and to despatch some other affairs. His sudden coming was conjectured diversely, everyone as they would have it. Some thought "there was wone," * for all they desire was but to have the King here. The Queen has given a new . . . † "sett" in two ways: first, by earnest solicitation and next by tears. The King has bidden all and has given [g]reat reasons why he stands upon his former resolution. He begins to stir all the matter and so see further into it than before. His conclusion is noways

* ? their [end] was won.
† Page decayed and margin cut off in the binding.

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1595. to yield to that course. The Chancellor has discovered himself more than before, whereupon the King has used harder speeches to him.

I see the plot is great, and yet if the King continues as he has yet done all will be well. The [par]ties are strong in this town, abiding to see what the Queen may do. The chief strength of this faction is Lord Hume, the Master of Glamis, Cessford and Buccleuch; and for evil of the Earl of Mar there are drawn hither Livingstone, Fleming, the Master of Elphinstone (Elveston), Airth and Dunipace, who is now in another course than you have seen him.

This day the King has gone to Falkland. If the Queen may travel she will go thither, but I do not look she shall stir . . .* She has conceived so great an indignation against Mar that it will breed great mischief ere all be done, if his Majesty does not foresee it all in time. These factions and practices no doubt will breed a peril to the King, the religion and amity, as I have written before. The time is here very dangerous. I wish you here, but not except you come with good encouragement to the King and contentment to good men. Holyroodhouse. *Unsigned.*

1½ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. No fly-leaf or address.*

July 29. **616.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 170.

Yesterday Mar rode to the Gask, a house of Tullibardine's, where his Majesty is presently, and will remain some three or four days. From thence [the King goes] to Falkland again to the buck hunting for fourteen days, where her Majesty shall meet him, and so they both come to this town. When the Queen comes to Stirling they are like to remain there longer than is looked for.

Mar's day of law "holdis fordoart" on 19th August. How courageously his Majesty behaved himself there, contrary [to] all their expectation, you know better than I. This much in haste. I expect next week to send you some more news, and I trust by now Mr. Archibald Primrose "be at his wittis end." Stirling. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—At the closing up hereof I received your note. You may be assured the King's heart is tied to Mar, for Mar shall prove honest always, and if any be among us meaning truly to England it shall be Mar. You see that apparently I have taken the best course in following Mar.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To 5, his servand." *Endorsed by Bowes:* "Y. Y. Y. To 5 servant. Sterling 29 July, 1595."

July 30. **617.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I enclose letters touching "Ireland causes" that you may judge by them rather than by my writing thereof, and may certify accordingly, that such order may be taken as shall be thought meetest. As yet, you see, no certainty comes of the purposes of the islanders, but as soon as they be discovered you shall be advertised. I hear that her Majesty's ships on that coast much terrify them. If there be ships there, it were, in my opinion, a great advantage if they had intelligence with friends here.

Hearing Scrope is absent, I have this day written to Mr. Carleton to give warning to the Isle of Man to be upon their guard to withstand the islanders. I wrote by Kirkcudbright to the Captain of the Isle of Man on Thursday last

* Page decayed and margin cut off in the binding.

1595. (which I hope has got passage to him), and I omit no means in my power to do good in this matter, seeming daily of more and more importance.

In Scotland the factions are "att great hight." Albeit the King before his departure gave good words to the Queen and put them in hope of yielding to her motion, seeming to be content that that matter should come to the vote and consideration of the Council, and whereon the Queen will go to him on Tuesday next or sooner in hope thereof, yet the Chancellor's side very well espy that he is altogether for Mar, as he is indeed; and they have made themselves "on a great frendship," viz., the Chancellor, Hamilton, Hume, Fleming, Livingstone, Buccleuch, Cessford, the Master of Glamis, and sundry others, who are all in one course. Daily councils are holden and sundry and changeable courses still concluded. Blantyre has gone in fear of displeasure. Thomas Erskine, Michael Elphinstone and others were meant to have been removed by the Chancellor's side because they are seen [to be] great dealers for Mar; and it is still confirmed that it was meant, as I before wrote, that the King should have been stayed.

The Queen will never give over the motion, nor will the King ever yield. Both have great encouragement to stand fast to their resolutions, so that there is no appearance of anything but the mightiest mischiefs. The time is proper for her Majesty now both to do the King good and to make friends in Scotland, as wise men here say. Nothing but agreement (whereof I see no appearance) can stay these things from sudden and fearful attempts. If Mar escapes and the King stands, all will be his. But I still look for sudden accidents. Mr. Robert Bruce is to go to the King within two or three days, where he looks the King will plainly seek his advice. Mr. Bruce fears evil but will persuade the best. I write plain. "Trie" and keep secret for God's cause.

As to the estate here, all is quiet. The King is at Gask, shortly to return to Falkland, whither her Majesty is to go to him some day next week. On 19th August Mar has his day of law for the slaughter of David Forrester. At this day of law it is likely there will be a beginning of troubles, for the friends of the parties pursued will assist and bear them out to keep them from condemnation, and they will be very strong, and so will Mar be. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—To-morrow "the Sessions breake up," and thereupon the Chancellor and the rest depart home. But at the day of law all the strength of that side will come in with Dunipace and young Airth against Mar unless the King stays them, as is thought he will by committing the lairds [Cessford and Buccleugh] and Glamis to ward, which [they] say they will not submit themselves to unless it be to their own friends' houses. But this I leave to the sequel, "for it may be and not be" for anything I hear. Here is very hard news out of France, but better known to your worship than here, I hope.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Georg Nycolson. Edenburgh 30 Julij, London v° Augusti, 1595." *Names in cipher deciphered.*

July 31. **618.** Mr. George Erskine to George Nicolson.

Since my last letter from Carrick my master has received surer and more certain advertisements of the islesmen's proceedings, of their counsels and "avysementis." After they had brought their whole forces about the Mull of Kintyre to an island called Arran (Awing), six miles on this side of the Mull, with intention to assail my master's countries, they "of new" took counsel, wherein, according to the diversities of their opinions, "dyverslye" they re-

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1595. solved upon three especial points: first, to assail my master's countries and not to leave any enemies behind; secondly, until their return to leave the same and presently to assail [the Isle of] Man. The third [was] to follow their first intention to pass into Ireland for the Earl's support. This last was followed, and for these respects they durst not invade my master's country, knowing his forces to be greater and able to abide longer together than theirs, and to be so near neighbours to them that it was thought expedient first to execute some other exploit, and, if that succeeded, with supplies from Ireland to enter into war with my master's countries, hoping to obtain support from the Earl by reason that it is "almaist throuchly knawen" of the friendship betwixt my master and her Majesty, and because he has not given aid to the Earl. They did not follow their intention against Man, "only hinderit by tempest," so they took journey on Tuesday, 22nd July, from Arran (Awing) towards Ireland, "and directit to Loche Foile."

They were five score sail, of which there were nearly fifty galleys. The number of their men was near 5000. Since their passing to Ireland the storms are so great in these parts that no word is come of their arrival, or of any action. All things were in such state before my master's coming to his country that he could by no "faire, indirect meane" hinder their passing, they being already on their journey, so he took purpose to cut off by open force such as were following them. For the same effect he "directit to" MacLean, who "omittit na gud occasion." He assailed the Captain of Clan Ranald's camp of 700 men, took the Captain, stripped his men and sent them home, taking ten or twelve galleys with other smaller "sailles." This was done by MacLean, having my master's force with him, on the same days when their greater forces passed to Ireland. The islesmen at their parting from Arran directed to my master a proud letter mentioning their return to entreat with him for an advantageous appointment. This is all that has passed "thir dayes bygayne." Only one thing is now to be "looked into"—that some means be found to withdraw these men from Ireland and to hinder their passing there any more, which is much harder to do than it would have been to hinder their conventions and first meetings in the beginning of last winter, when her Majesty wrote to my master, "giff solidly and with effect it had bein followed." But now the next is to be sought and advice followed with better expedition. Dunoon. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Mr. Geo. Erskyn. Dunune ultimo July, Edenburgh 4 August, 1595. By Mr. Danyell Chamers."

July 31. **619.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

By my last I advertised you of our present estate, and although I know you are sufficiently informed of all the particularities of the plot intended, yet in case there be anything omitted which as yet has not come to your knowledge, I have thought good by this to set down the same and circumstances of all. First, the beginning of all proceeded upon the agreement between the Queen and the Chancellor, which was wrought by Buccleuch and Cessford. The "mentt" [attempt] to alter the officers of estate made that agreement. The Master of Glamis, perceiving himself to be "put att," set all his wits awork. First [he] fell in with the Chancellor and then entered into a great league with Buccleuch and Cessford, [and] "having the Lord Houme his ryghtt hand" set others awork, whose credit he thought better at the Queen's hand than his own, whereby to give Mar some other thing to think of than changing the officers of estate. For the better performance of this work he persuaded

1595. the Chancellor that the course intended against the officers was meant against him as well as the rest. Thereupon he made all his " moyan " to keep a fast foot however the world went, and so the agreement was made, and shortly after the motion was made by the Queen for the Prince's removing. It appears the Chancellor was privy from the first, yet to avoid all suspicion, knowing the King to be of another resolution and fearing himself to be suspected, when his opinion was craved he seemed to be as earnest in that matter as the King himself. Whereupon the King was thoroughly satisfied, commending his upright dealing and wise counsel. By doing this the Chancellor thought to keep his credit with both. But as soon as the Queen got knowledge of his counsel to the King she accused him of his former promise, and also such as he had got himself in friendship with began to suspect him. Whereupon he gave further promise, thinking the Queen by her earnest persuasion should obtain her intent and thereby he should keep his credit with both.

The King, beginning to have some suspicion, thought he could not discover the matter better than to appoint a day of meeting between the Chancellor and Mar at Falkland, the Prior of Blantyre being appointed to deal in the matter between them on the day appointed, but the letter to the Prior did not come to him till the day he should have been in Falkland. Whereupon the Chancellor took occasion to stay, alleging he could not come without the Prior. Mar came according to the appointment, and finding he was disappointed " toke it as a skorne." Upon the receipt of the King's letter the Prior came to the King to exonerate himself, declaring he was not advertised till the day he should have been there. So this first appointment broke. Thereafter the King passed to Stirling, consulting with the Prior upon a new meeting between the Chancellor and Mar in Falkland thirteen days thereafter, at the King's returning from Stirling.

The Chancellor, understanding the resolution, found himself " at " a strait, either displeasing the King if he did not come, or bringing himself into displeasure with the Queen and his confederates if he did come. Whereupon, to colour the matter, he desired to come accompanied with his friends, thinking thereby to come with such force that he might command all, or else [that] by convocation of forces the King would be constrained to dissolve the meeting. This proceeded. The King being in Stirling, all their wits were laid together [to devise] how he might be drawn to Edinburgh. No way could be better devised than to send " the doctores of fesike " to assure him of the Queen's sickness, as also Sir George Hume's confirmation, who was in Edinburgh, as he alleged, upon some affairs in law. But the truth is his remaining there was at the Queen's desire to draw the King thither.

The King upon these advertisements and for sundry other respects,—first, in that their whole forces and friendship were there, and next in that they accounted all their own if they might once attain his presence—to give a proof of his love to his wife set aside all occasion of suspicion, jealousy or pleasures and presently came to Edinburgh, where, as I thought, we found the Queen very merry and well disposed, with great tokens of love between the King and her. There was great conjecturing in the town of his sudden coming (for many believed he would not have come), but chiefly in that he discharged all men from his presence but such as he sent for.

That night the Queen insisted very earnestly in her suit and thought to have obtained her intent. The King, perceiving that she was purposed to follow out the matter, took it in a " more heyger [higher] sortt " than before and gave her this answer, " My hartt, I am sorry you should be persuaded to move me to thatt wich wil be the destrocsion of me and my blod." Whereupon

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1595. the Queen fell to tears and so left off that purpose. The next day the King sent for the Chancellor, the Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melville. After long conference with them he conferred with the Chancellor alone, by whose language he gathered that he " was forther entred into the matter " than he believed, and thereupon used some hard language to him, saying, " If any thinke I am forther sobgett to my wife then with reson I oughtt to be, the[y] are butt treteres and souch as wold seme to desoner me " ; and that night passed from him in some passion. The next morning the Prior of Blantyre and Sir Robert Melville were directed to him with a sharp message from the King. Whereupon he yielded himself to all obedience, and desired that he might speak with his Majesty ; and thereupon he was sent for, conferring a long time before the Prior, Sir Robert and Sir George Hume, yielding to the King all obedience, refusing all factions and yielding himself only to his Majesty's will ; and thus the King and he " sondertt " [parted].

There have been high purposes " in hed " at this time, for when they saw the Queen could not by her credit attain to their intent they took consultation to put hand to work, first, to stay the King against his will, and next to make a sacrifice of such as they thought enemies to their cause, as the Prior, Thomas Erskine (Asken), Michael Elphinstone. My part had been in the " pott " with the rest. This is more than is discovered to the King. His coming to Edinburgh at this time has brought him into great reputation ; first, in that he came so slenderly accompanied at the time they were strongest, and next, that he stood stoutly to his resolution against so sore assaults. The Earl of Orkney, I doubt not, thinks himself behind hand, for since his purpose failed in Flanders he has waited here, hoping to have had the Prince and the Castle of Edinburgh. Although he dissembled the matter with the King he was as deep in as the rest. I see nothing but that those whom the King most trusts soonest deceive him, looking rather to their own particular than the honour and preservation of him who has preserved them. Except the Prior of Blantyre I find not one who gave the King faithful counsel at this time. Sir Robert is a good man, but he is loth to offend any. All things are settled for the present, and the Queen goes to Falkland where she will remain till the King's return from his hunting in the west country at the latter end of September. They parted very lovingly, and she has promised to follow his will in all things. I believe she will insist no further in the matter seeing the King is too far bent against it.

The King has sent for Mar to meet him at the Gask, where they are now making merry. From thence the King comes to Falkland to meet the Queen. Till our coming to Edinburgh I doubt not but all will be quiet. But then I fear we shall enter into one mischief or other. The rancour is so rooted in men's hearts that it is unreconcilable till some of them destroy " otheres." I fear nothing but the bringing in of the Papists again, which will " perrel " the King and the good cause. Men here for revenge of their particulars will bring in the devil ere their cause perish. Upon the King's departing out of Edinburgh he left the Prior there upon some particular affairs he had committed to his charge. The King was no sooner away than the Prior's death was practised, alleging they could never attain to their purpose " exsep he were awaye." This was known to the Chancellor, who gave the Prior secret advertisement to depart from the town. Thereupon the Prior removed his lodging and kept himself quiet a day or two, [and] thereafter withdrew from the town and has now gone to his own house. He sent for me to meet him at Linlithgow ; which I did, and received some directions to the King. From thence I came to this town to despatch this letter to you. I am now going to Falkland to discharge my commission to the King, and purpose to remain there a while to behold

1595. the state of matters, and thereafter to give you advertisement as occasion serves.

The Prior passed from me to meet with Mar. How these matters will fall out I know not. By appearance there is likely to be mischief enough if they that are honest, upright and religious may not have place to serve their master truly.

I am surely informed that these great borderers are purposed to break the Borders and thereby to drive the King to satisfy them in their desire, or else to bring him into such trouble that without them he cannot be served. Seeing his intention is altogether to have quietness, their intent is to give him trouble if they may. Their violent course begins to be more " volgatt " [divulged] than it was, so that I know it will be plainly discovered to the King. What course he will then take I know not. I hear the Chancellor begins " to cast aboutt," finding fault with their violent courses. If it were not to serve her Majesty I should not abide long here, for no honest man can be sure of his life. Edinburgh. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—After I had " enclost " this other packet and thought to have sent it by a garrison man, fearing the worst I thought it better to employ William Hume, and to send it by Sir John Selby's convoy, to whom I wrote to send my letters either to you or Sir Robert Cecil. Since the closing of my packet there has been a secret council between the Master of Glamis, Lord Hume, Cessford and Buccleuch, and for conclusion they have sworn " every one to take partt with other " and to be ready when the Master shall think good either with their counsel or forces. The Master has this day employed William Hume to get him some horsemen to serve him. I know he has written to Aberdour to get him a horse or two. There is nothing looked for here but misery and mischief now. I would think meetest that her Majesty take some care, and that either yourself or some of credit were here. But none can do good but yourself, therefore I pray you to bring comfort to this King, for if he perish all hope of quietness is gone. He does not see his own peril, " nor none dare dele betwne the barke and trye " [tree]. You know my meaning.

9 *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed in the same hand :* " To my lord embaster." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes :* " Roger Aston." Edinburgh ultimo July, Grenewich vij° Augusti, 1595.

August 1. **620.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

This is " to schow yow of " a letter I have written to you from this burgh on 31st July by one named George Johnson, dwelling near the Kirk of Strathbrock (Straithbrok), who promised to give it to John Cunningham on Monday next, for to John all is directed. This former letter must be sent to your master, to make our friends there acquainted with our doing, and to " curage " them, for my master is not idle. By your deliverance to my servant I have received " threttie fyif *lib.* peces of gold." By chance I was speaking in this town with a friend of mine dwelling in Glasgow, named Robert Rowat, merchant and bailie of Glasgow, and through some late " conseit " [plan] conceived since the directing of the former letter I was " speirand " [enquiring] for someone going to Edinburgh. This friend of mine having in his company one who appeared to me to be of your nation, I demanded of him whether he knew you, and how soon he was to repair to where you were. He answered that with expedition he was to visit you and that he was well acquainted with you, [so] I took the more boldness to write to you.

Your proclamation of staying of furnishing to the rebels and their assisters is well done. " Mary " it is most true that Tyrone has [men] in this

James VI.
1595. town at this Lammas fair, and his servants, dwellers in Strabane (Traybane) in Ireland, are continually in Glasgow and furnish him with all merchandise that is desired. One of them is named "Patrik Conuchur," servant to John Ba, a great merchant of Strabane, born "of" the English part of Ireland; [others are] John and William Wilson, brothers, and another is with them, whose name I have not got. Use hasty "moyan" to take them before they go home with furnishing; for, albeit the command was given that none should transport them from Glasgow, assure yourself that they and their goods shall be transported by sundry men that dwell not in burgh, for there are men that travel to Ireland from Arran, Bute and sundry other parts. The taking of these men will terrify all others, and if they be not taken and warded the proclamation serves for nothing. The taking and warding of them until further trial be had is very necessary, for there are sundry others in Glasgow that for gains will furnish the Earl's merchants, yet transport nothing themselves for fear of the proclamation. If I were once in speaking with your master and yourself, busy service would be done in these lowland and highland parts of Scotland, for I can not be idle when anything touches my master or when he "hes to do." When we meet, as you desire, we shall have quiet doing of our own without others. These men are going home with furnishing. If charge be sent to take these men, write "Connuchur, servand to Johnne Ba in Traybane in Yreland"—without surname (for I am in doubt whether they call him Patrick Connuchur or not, but at least "he is Connuchur to surname")—and "John Villsoun and Villiam Vilsoun, merchandis thair"; and cause take the other man that is in company with them, but these are the principals. On Monday next seek John Cunningham for the letter delivered to George Johnson in Strathbrock. He will be in Edinburgh on Monday selling horses "at viij or ix houris affoir nune." Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johne Achinros.

Postscript.—Let charge be sent to the bailies of Glasgow to apprehend the gear as well as the men. They will get favour, but others will "schaw me of" the same hereafter. None knows my dealing in this action, and I would be unknown as long as possible. *Wafer signet.*

1 *p. Addressed. Wafer signet of MacLean. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "John Achenros. Dunberton 1 August, Edinburgh 2 ejusdem, 1595. Per William Milburne."

August 1. **621.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

Yesternight very late I received your packet of 24th July with her Majesty's letter to Argyll, and yours to his lordship, MacLean and others, all which shall diligently be disposed as you have directed. The person I sent to Kirkcudbright (Kirkowbray) found there a boat of Man, to "whom" the letter is delivered to warn that place. But they of the boat told him that the islanders had been already offering to land, but retired by reason that the people there were ready for them. It seems also that for this time they shall be forced to retire. But in regard of such contrary bruits I can write nothing with certainty. For convoy of this packet of Mr. Aston's I chiefly address these presents to you, seeing nothing here but appearance of great troubles, which surely will serve the Papist Earls' turn. Buccleuch, Cessford and the Master of Glamis hold themselves in as evil a case as they can be in at the King's hands, especially Buccleuch. The Chancellor seems weary and would be held indifferent, but he cannot nor will not leave them. But they all and the rest certified in my last have made a great friendship (I dare not

1595. nor can say "bande," whatever I suspect) for backing the Queen's faction, and some who see themselves marked to be for the King, in fear of the worst keep out of the way of Buccleuch and Cessford. These things will cause more dearness and love to be between the King and Mar, who sure will prevail if he prevent sudden attempts and if the King stand. Mr. John Colville will then rise, and is in comfort thereof, as I hear.

I heard that Buccleuch said that his goods were stolen again, and therefore he would send to the King to discharge himself of his promise to him and thereon "repaire himself." Thereupon I went and spoke to him, who has agreed to send his own servant to my lord [Scrope] for justice within two or three days. Whereon I cannot perceive but he will either enter into action of friendship and frank justice with Scrope, or else his people will run loose. Yet I look he will "temper" these things and regard that at this time he has other ways enough in hand. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—The Chancellor and the lairds and all will sooner leave this place now that "the Sessions" are ended, so matters may, perhaps, "put over" yet awhile.

1 *p. Holograph. No address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Edenburgh primo Augusti, Grenewich vii° ejusdem, 1595."

Aug. 2. **622.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, pp. 171–173.

My meaning was to have spent some days in the country on my private business, but I see matters go on so quickly and so many new and different occasions, that I am forced to leave all to wait on this service. I have written how courageously his Majesty behaved himself in Edinburgh, especially to the Master of Glamis and the Chancellor, in such sort that I think Glamis shall not see his face hastily. But the Chancellor "at th' intry," fearing nothing that the King had been for Mar, entered into proud speeches, comparing himself with Mar. The King answered (after he had "remembred" the Chancellor that he was but a cadet of a mean house) that, if he should vaunt his preferments, Mar had a dozen following him of as good rank; and so at length asked whether he would be specially for him or the Queen, saying, though he would love and entertain the Queen as became him, yet he would have none "to stear thame to any doing" * without his special command, especially him who was his creature. Upon this the Chancellor said he was only the King's servant, but the King, notwithstanding, would have him plainly to renounce all other private doing with the Queen and that fellowship. Whereupon the Chancellor desired leisure till the next day; and so on the morning he came, offering himself to be most willing to renounce all friendship that might offend the King, and presently to discharge himself with the Queen, Glamis and the rest. "But," said he, "it sall not be sa good for your *quatuor* (service) that this be done presentlie, because it is best to leif thame when I have knawin all thair intentions." So by this sleight he pleased the King. Whether he will fulfil it or not, God knows. *Sed lupum auribus tenet;* for if he reveals all the Queen may justly reproach him, because he and Glamis steered them to all this business; if he does it not, the King will think him an abuser. But I think he will rather satisfy the King and make steppingstones of his fellowship. Now upon the King's hope to have this conspiracy revealed by him, and one part of them to accuse the other, he has thought good that Mar shall stay the pursuit of his enemies till this be ended first.

* He would allow none to undertake any enterprise.

James VI.
1595. So the " dyat " of the 19th hereof will not hold till new consultation be had thereon, and for another reason mentioned in Mr. Primrose's letter which, with all written to him, he will impart to your lordship; for what I forget in the one is in the other letter.

Blantyre, Michael Elphinstone and Thomas Erskine have well escaped at his Majesty's last being in Edinburgh, and since he went away the Prior * was forced privately to leave the town for fear of their practices, and the Chancellor was his advertiser. So if they who are at Edinburgh knew the Chancellor's part they would think him a fine man. The Prior is presently here with Mar since he escaped the last danger.

His Majesty begins his buck-hunting on the 7th at Falkland. About the 20th he comes to this town to that game, from thence to Inchmurrin, and from that to Hamilton, and then here again. The Queen, I think, will " fra " [after] they come here remain for a good season. The islandmen have all dissolved, and young Lawers would have gone to them were it not that his marriage is to be on the 5th.

3 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* " To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Mr. John Colvill," *etc. Some names in cipher, deciphered.*

Aug. 4. **623.** JOHN CUNNINGHAM TO ROBERT BOWES.

I enclose letters from John Auchinross (Acheinroiche) to me and George Nicolson, which letters will show you that MacLean has begun as he promised to me to do. I will assure your lordship that MacLean will be found faithful, true and honest in what he takes in hand, and, as I wrote in my last letter, the sooner that he be remembered with a token the better. Let the token be sent to George Nicolson and I shall convey it myself to him to Mull.

Assure Sir Robert [Cecil] that I shall be ready [to do] all service as it shall please him and you to employ me. Further, I have written away this same day to MacLean " seik heidis " as George Nicolson has given me in direction, first, to have him made " forsein " that some of her Majesty's ships are " comein to hes boundis," and, if he can hear of them, to acquaint himself with them. The next is about the receipt of his token, where he desires to have it delivered. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Jhone Cunyghame, burgeis in Edinburgh.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* Grenwich, 10 August.

First enclosure with the same.

(John Auchinross to John Cunningham.)

MacLean has taken by honest and bold onset and a pretty feat of war the whole Clan Ranald, MacIan of Ardmuich † and sundry others to the number of nine hundred or thereby. This he did in the Callow of Mull where they took rest in the night. It is a little island " na space " from the mainland of Mull, and is a very good harbour for ships. He is now " cummir[it] " with the taking of order, with their warding in his castles and " strenthis," and with putting of guards on them to make them to take ease in patience. None are detained but those of the principals whom he "lyikit of" worst. Other principals are put to liberty upon their oaths and promises, with caution " ilk ane for uthir," and

* This name is interpreted to denote Argyll by the editor of Colville's *Letters*, but the word is here used as the ordinary designation of the Prior of Blantyre, as is clear from p. 663.

† MacIan of Ardnamurchan.

James VI.
1595. the rest are "put hame." Their vessels and galleys, which are of great value to my master, are "stayit."

We know that Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorme will rage at this doing; but for all their number and force convened together these [prisoners] must rest where my master shall think good till he be further advised. These men were following the rest to Ireland, but this year they must remain in Scotland. If my master be employed, the persons you wit of will esteem him honest and worthy [*etc.* as in following enclosure]. He doubts not "to help the turn" in Ireland as well as in Scotland, and this much he has begun for his part, which is no small matter. "As he gettis ane meitting sa sall he follow." I have written this other letter to George [Nicolson], which you shall deliver to him that he may make his master "foirsein" hereof, whereof he will be glad. Our King should "lyik of" my master the better and esteem this as good service. I think he will be shortly in Argyle, for my lord has written for him, but the "ordour putting" to these men stays him. I received your letter from my man and so do according thereto when he comes. I shall also remember "on our speiking" at departing. Commendations to your wife and bairns. Dumbarton July 31st, 1595. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

¾ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Wafer signet.*

Second enclosure with the same.

(John Auchinross to George Nicolson.)

I received your letter and thank you for the entertainment my man had from you and for your goodwill offered, as you shall know by my next letter, which now I postpone through uncertainty of your receipt thereof. By the receipt of your master's letter and the commission directed therewith by Sir Robert Cecil with John Cunningham, my master found himself desired to do further for the stay of the Scotsmen from Ireland. Being at that time unable to stay them, he therefore offered the next remedy—to compel them to return to Scotland. After the passing south of a great number of them (as I wrote to you), he convened 300 of his "fyne" men to remain with him in household and guard, one hundred of them in armour of coat of mail, as we use, with two-handed swords and iron head-pieces, another hundred of "fyirmen," and a hundred of bowmen. In this time there "restit" [remained] to our knowledge 900 [men] with many principals to follow on the rest. These came forward and by the way late in the evening took landing on a little isle called "the Callow" on the coast of our great isle of Mull, there to rest the night time, being weary all the day by sea. My master, hearing of their landing, took purpose to pursue them in the morning and to use "sik craft and hardie convoy as he ducht," first to be master of their vessels (which were galleys, birlings and boats), and then "to haif na dout of" [to make sure of] themselves—for if any defence should be offered, all his men would convene to their pursuit. As he devised, so God of His mighty power has "concludit," and all the said number [have been] taken captives, of whom the principals are—the Captain of Clan Ranald and three of his father's brothers, the Laird of Knoydart, the Laird of Ardmuich, Donald Gorme's brother and many gentlemen.* He has committed them to ward in his castles "as lyikit him," and has spared no irons to "inuis" [accustom] them the better to take ease in patience. He has ferried the rest out of his land to the mainland nearest their dwellings. I knew that this was to be enterprised and also other turns that are in hand, but would

* See Tytler's *History of Scotland.*

James VI.
1595. not write boldly thereof, but only that my master was " bissie," as now is seen and heard. I believe you will hear of [this] in Court to our honour, [but] you shall " misknow the same." My master is acquainted with these pretty onsets, finding " vantage " without respect to number, for divers times he played this dance here against his enemies. I assure you that these men that are in captivity are the most " douttit " [feared] and able men in the Isles. Let your master and Sir Robert comfort themselves with this good luck done by a valiant man of war and a man of honour in the beginning of her Majesty's service, and as she and her Council like to employ him he shall show goodwill to accomplish all that ever he wrote.

As I wrote before, these matters being of great importance should be " condiscendit on and concludit be vritt," which my master looks for. The rest of her Majesty's " unfreindis " here and assisters of Tyrone and O'Donnell will rage against my master, but because of the good success of this " veyaige " (such special men being " in handis ") and of our own ability they must perforce oversee all that is done here in Scotland ; and, if our service be desired in Ireland, must " oursie us to do the vrak of the Erle and of O'Donill also." This morning's work (" this mornyng veyaige ") shall prevent Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorme and their assisters from rendering any service or comfort for all the goods received from Tyrone and O'Donnell, and so the desire of Sir Robert and your master " is obtemperit."

The proclamation was proclaimed here for the staying of all furnishing from these persons. *As you hear in Court of the allowance and miscontentment hereof, make me acquainted therewith. We regard not [these opinions], except only his Highness's good countenance to us ; for those that are " in handis " must remain where they are ; and I think his Majesty should esteem this as good service. Send this letter to your master for their further information. Dumbarton 31st July, 1595. *Signed :* Johnne Achinros.

1⅓ *pp. Addressed. Wafer signet of MacLean. Endorsed by George Nicolson :* " John Achenros. Dunberton ultimo July, Edenburgh 4 August, 1595. Per John Cuningham.

Aug. 4. **624.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Now " the Sessions " are ended and the Chancellor, the two lairds and the rest returned to their own houses, saving the Master of Glamis who, in regard that Lord Glamis and he are not now friends and that Crawford and he are at feud, thinks it not good to repair home amongst them, except in sure sort, and therefore he yet stays here, for what other purpose I know not. The Queen is to ride to-morrow or Tuesday to Falkland to the King, who this week begins his hunting there ; from whence he goes to hunt at Stirling, Inchmurrin and Hamilton.

Yesterday the Kirk began their fast, which holds and is very straightly looked to in this town this whole week. The reasons thereof are these causes, as they plainly declare in pulpit, viz., the division of this land into two factions almost to the parting of the King and Queen, if it were possible, as they hope it is not, but assuredly, if God prevent it not in mercy, to the bringing in to the one or other side of the Papist lords, to the danger of religion and trouble of the country in greatest sort ; the great preparation of the great enemy,

* The structure of this sentence is involved. " As ye heir in court the allowance and miscont[ent]ment heirof mak me acqwentit thairvith, quhilk ve regaird nocht only his hienes guid and princlie countenance to us being except for thayis quha ar in handis man rest quhair thay ar, and I think his Majestie sould esteym of this as of guid serwice."

1595. the Spaniard; and the extreme dearth here and appearance of the increase thereof through the continual rains; with sundry other causes of the vices of this land.

It stands very hard between the King and the Queen, "suppose [although] they make faire shewes." The King would have the Queen to leave the motion, especially not to hearken to Buccleuch's advice, nor yet to Glamis, Cessford or any others that so advise. But finding it not prevail, the King intends after the Queen is with them to keep them a good while from such company, and so by little and little to win them. But it will be in vain, for the Queen goes not but upon counsel of Buccleuch's side and to advance their purpose. The Chancellor seems indifferent and for the King, and does petty offices that way. But I hear that albeit he has not been at "every of th'other of his parties counsells" himself, yet he had his commissioner with them, and upon occasion of letters Mr. Foulis has sent the Secretary to the King to hold the Chancellor in favour and to do that side also pleasure. Buccleuch, Cessford and Glamis hold themselves in as evil a case with the King as can be, and if the Queen does not prevail for them, then they intend to enter into hard course against Mar or to surprise the King and "make them do their turne." That side have especial men in readiness for some course "upon advantage." I pray God to bless the King, for if Mar perish he cannot but fall into their hands. "Allwaies" [nevertheless], I assure myself Mar shall prevail and Mr. Colville grow great and be found thankful to her Majesty, and freely and frankly for her service.

I return you good news and a good beginning in MacLean. Let him be assisted and he will do more than is judged against Tyrone and O'Donnell. You may perceive he would have the favour of the King, and further agreement for further service, which he will deserve. For these causes, as also for this estate, I am not enabled to deal. But some of account and authority to deal herein should be employed, and it would please the good to see her Majesty continue her former care over this land. On Saturday, when I was ready to ride to Argyle, I received advertisement that these letters were coming. For the sending of them to you I stayed here till now, "being" to ride with her Majesty's letter and yours to do what I can, as upon my return on Saturday your worship shall further hear. In haste. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—If you were here in good credit from her Majesty we should make the plough draw freely every way for her service. MacLean shall have word of the token and of your directions both by me and John Cunningham, and we shall procure answer, which will be according [to] the present state of things. I shall see John Auchinross at Dumbarton, God willing. John Cunningham says it will "pleasure" MacLean that the token be delivered, and the sooner the better. I have many irons in the fire "which troubleth, na almost overchardgeth, me to looke to."

1¾ *pp. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* Grenewich 10 August.

Aug. 4. **625.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

After the directing of my last, I understood from Mr. George Erskine's letter, which I have but this night received (for which I have stayed this day), that the enterprise by MacLean is valiantly done, but the army of those people yet consists of 4000 very good men, most of them good "shott"; and but some 700 or 900 are taken. Above 3000 of them are gone forward, so that now the next course to take will be for forcing of their speedy return, which

James VI.
1595. will " muche stand in my lord of Argile and M'Layne," for they must do it, and it is meet to be regarded in time. Whilst they rode near the coast of Argyle there was great watch for them. But they sent to Argyll to excuse their lying there and to crave his goodwill; whereto the Earl has given " the referringe answer," so that the chief of these, " being " to leave their forces with Tyrone and themselves to return, intend at their return to deal with my lord for his allowance and help for them and Tyrone and to offer great offers to him. In the meantime he " resteth " to see how her Majesty will deal with him and consider him, since he refuses [their offers] for her cause, and has sent to know his Majesty's advice and pleasure what to do, accounting that if he cast them off they shall still keep him in troubles; and yet in his heart he hates them and Tyrone, and if he shall entertain friendship with them, being his Majesty's rebels, he shall incur the King's displeasure. So I see it is time to make him sure, and he has been overlong left loose and unbound to her Majesty.

These things, not set down in Mr. George's letter, I have from a person employed therein from the Earl to the King. As yet I cannot say what contentment is in her Majesty's letter to the Earl, but both the King and he should speedily be acknowledged, and a little in comparison of so great a matter would do good and keep all still for her Majesty. MacLean will surely take his token in good part, and will be the frankest man against Tyrone that I can hear of, for he will venture life and all he has, and I perceive he hopes that by her Majesty's help he shall live to be revenged on him. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

1 *p. Holograph. Also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* Grenewich, 10 August.

Aug. 6. **626.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I have been at the King in Falkland, where I have discharged some commission given to me by the Prior, but in such sort as I might keep myself unsuspected by the contrary faction. What I durst not say myself I put others awork that might better bear out the burden. The King is altogether ignorant of these violent courses that have been intended, and therefore matters pass over unpunished. The King and the Chancellor parted in these terms: the Chancellor has undertaken to advertise the King upon his life of any practice that is to be intended, whereupon the King reposes himself and gives the less credit to others. No man dare deal plainly with him, chiefly in such matters as concern the Queen, and that makes him to have the less intelligence. The matter begins to be more divulged in such sort that all men speak of it. Mr. John Davidson spoke plain language on Friday last. Mr. Patrick Galloway has been something plainer with the King than others durst be for fear of the Queen. Whereupon the King has sent to the Chancellor to understand the truth of all matters. But I know he will not be plain, for he dare not offend the Queen and such as brought him into her favour. He is at this time in great strait, for if the King get matter against him (as there is, if the truth were known) it will be his overthrow. He " houldis in " with both and thinks to stand, and so does Sir Robert Melville, " whoe ples on both handes." He spoils all, for the King has great trust in him, and when his counsel is sought he seems to pacify all with temporising, not letting the King know the substance of matters or the peril of his own estate or the violent courses intended; so that his peril shall come on before he shall be " forsene." Such as are earnest and known faithful to him are " bosted " from him and in peril of their lives.

1595. The Queen has told the King that Thomas Erskine and Michael Elphinstone are not her friends and therefore would have had them away. For the Prior, she says plainly he is " the crosser of her tornes " and she would have obtained her intent but for him. This is the misery of this time. The King bears so great affection for her that no man dare deal with him in what concerns her, and so he " perrels " both himself and such as love him. Because I have been here with Mr. William Hume and am surer this letter will be safely delivered to Sir John Selby, I have written the plainer. The Queen goes over the water this day with great difficulty. For this time I cannot see there will be anything done. The guiders of all are gone home. Lord Hume is at Court to see how all things go there. The King is going on progress to the west country. He has sent for the Prior to meet him at Stirling. His intention is at the Queen's coming to Falkland to send for Mar and there to agree all matters. But I look not that it shall be accomplished. I see no other but there will be a faction for the King and another for the Queen. If any matters fall out that I dare not write myself I shall cause George [Nicolson] to write them. The troubles are now begun again between the Maxwells (Maxfildes) and the Johnstones (Gonstones). Johnstone has taken the house of Ross pertaining to Drumlanrig. Bassendean. *Unsigned.*

$2\frac{2}{3}$ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes :* " Roger Aston. Bassendyne vj^{to} Augusti, Grenewich xiij° ejusdem, 1595."

Aug. 6. **627.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

The Earl of Angus is imprisoned within the Castle of Lochleven. The Earl of Morton " requyris " to be caution for him that he shall be a good subject to the King in time coming and that he shall make satisfaction to the Kirk for his bygone offence under a great " pecuniall sowme," and the answer hereto is referred to a Convention to be holden at Stirling for this cause.

The Chancellor and Treasurer have devised this petition for Angus to make their party strong on the Borders, because the strongest party of his manrent is on this side of Scotland. This country is now constantly divided into two factions, one for the King and another for the Queen, and all the parishes of Scotland now presently celebrate a fast for amendment of this apparent danger. It began on 1st August and must endure till the 10th, and all men attend for a great change.

The King has withdrawn the Queen to Falkland, first by request and then by " boste " [threat]. She passed from Edinburgh on Tuesday last. The Laird of Johnstone has sent the Goodman of Kirktoun to the Queen on Monday, the 4th, desiring her to travail with the King that commandment may be given to the Maxwells to make no incursions against Johnstone, and he attended all the way on the Queen's journey and gave to her a goodly hackney. The town of Geneva is " belayd " by the Duke of Savoy to the number of 12,000 men.

$\frac{2}{3}$ *p. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk :* " 6 Aug. 1595. Advertisement from Scotland. E. Angus imprisoned in the Castle of Loghlevin."

Aug. 7. **628.** ARGYLL TO ROBERT BOWES.*

I received her Majesty's letter together with your own, by which I find a greater favour of her Majesty than my " travells " have merited. The islesmen

* Nos. 628, 629, were enclosed with No. 633.

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1595. are passed to Ireland. The impossibility to stay them I have made known to George Nicolson—how I used myself for that purpose, and how little I prevailed—also every particular that is expedient to be done for drawing them back and dissolving of their forces. Dunoon. *Signed:* Ar. Argyll.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Faded.*

Aug. 7. **629.** ARGYLL TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

I give your Highness all humble thanks for such great favour and goodwill mentioned in your letters and will endeavour to merit the same by all dutiful services, specially in employing myself against the rebels of Ireland, and, according to your desire, shall not only use MacLean but all my other friends and my whole "moyen" to effectuate the same. Dunoon. *Signed:* Ar. Argyll.

½ *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk. Wafer signet. Faded.*

Aug. 7. **630.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 173.

Receiving the enclosed from young Lawers (Junior) yesternight late, I thought good to haste it up, wishing to know what he or I shall do further in that matter. It is thought that her Majesty went yesternight to Falkland, "for so wes hir diat peremptorly." * The great numbers convened at Edinburgh are "skaled," awaiting some better occasion; but they are divided, for the Chancellor has sold the rest. Betwixt him and the Queen a new strife is like to fall, for the Queen now affirms he steered them to all this late "inquietnes." But the Chancellor washes his hands as Pilate did, and trusts to make stepping-stones of the rest, especially of the Master of Glamis.

The day of law will not hold till the King may be in Edinburgh, which cannot be till the Queen is well settled, which is a principal thing we muse upon. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—I have received yours of the 23rd, for which I thank you. The highlandmen cannot be yet landed, and they are but a naked, disordered company. Gilbert Mestertoun is to be there [at London] one of these days from Mar, and with him I mind to write, but generally.

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Aug. 9. **631.** JOHN ARCHIBALD TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

I have learned from MacLean that there is no such thing as any "debait" [quarrel] between Angus MacConnell and him [which] can be composed, but MacLean's only intention is to take advantage with diligence of Angus, his country and friends. At the directing hereof he is certified that some English ships have convened with the navy of the Isles, by which all the islesmen that were to resort towards Ireland are defeated. If this be, MacLean is of intention that they shall find no favour with him as they come back to their own countries.

Message is lately come from Ireland for MacCondochy's (M'Koundocheis) repairing there. For this cause I am upon my journey towards him that by the advice of young Lawers we may deal with him in what good office he will please her Majesty at his passing there, and as we resolve Mr. Bowes shall be

* *i.e.* the date peremptorily fixed for her journey.

1595. speedily advertised. MacCondochy shall be moved to follow his counsel, and shall stay in the country till he learn the same. If any new army of highlandmen or islesmen pass over again in respect of this late defeat, you shall be duly advertised that like advantage may be taken of them as of the others. Stirling. *Signed:* Filius.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* "Mr. John Archbald to Geo. Nycolson. Sterling viij° Augusti, London xvj° ejusdem, 1595."

Aug. 9. **632.** MR. ALEXANDER DICKSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your courteous letter. Your loving regard and friendly endeavour on my behalf are no new thing to me. I have known it well, and for my part have followed it as I might. Neither need I deduce it here to you, whether in truth and heart I have professed the friendship. Yourself, some others, my whole proceeding and present condition are witnesses with me of my intent; and as for proof, whereof you wrote, the lack has not been mine. I have attended upon your motion and others' advice, and their answer. The pleasure of her Majesty and my affection to serve your state have drawn with them all my other thoughts to the great hindrance and interruption of my other interests. Neither wanted I in the meantime other thing to think upon if I had pleased to give myself thereunto. "Alwayis" at last you offer the means, whereby you pretend that I shall yield a sufficient testimony of my goodwill and power to do good offices, advising me therewithal to make it known there [*i.e.* at London] by such means as I think best whether any such writings as are sought to be got by my labours are in the hands of any person with my privity and knowledge, and that therein I bestow my endeavour for the possession thereof; upon the performance whereof (with my readiness to proceed in the affairs) very thankful and seasonable regard will be given to me, like as in due time you shall make further known to me. I accept the condition, shall clear the matter and presently perform it; only [I am] sorry in this, that it has not pleased you to make the assay "in a gretter importance." Know, then, that after I had travailed in the studies of the schools (which I then esteemed as Plato his *Deum*, except [that] they were fashioned to the civil life) my genius and youth inclined me much to the knowledge of the affairs of the North. So when I was in your country I "gave me" to follow my Lord of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney and divers other persons of honour, courtiers for the time. I liked much for the same cause to be "acquent" with strangers and ambassadors, which was the ground of my resort to De l'Aubespine. Thus inclined and thus acquainted, I sought to have all such discourses (published or unpublished) as might advance my knowledge of the times that I lived in. There were relations made by the ambassadors of Venice, of the Court of France, England, Spain, Germany (Almaine) and other countries adjacent. There were instructions to Sir Thomas Smith, employed by her Majesty in France, and some of his negotiations there. There was a written copy of his "Republic," which was not then come to light; a dialogue of his anent the marriage of her Majesty; a discourse of Sir Philip Sidney anent the marriage with the brother of France; a letter of his to his brother anent the use and end of travelling; his answer and challenge to the pretended scholar of Cambridge in defence of his uncle; a discourse done by one Norton, as I was informed, entitled *The Five Periods of the Fire*; revelations of the state of England; certain tables of the whole genealogy and branches of the house and Earl of Normandy; the Duke of Norfolk's process; a discourse of the Chancery; some

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1595. scrolls concerning the Duchy of Lancaster; a report of the musters of all the shires of England; a scroll of the charges her Majesty is at for entertainment and furniture of some strengths within the realm, as the Tower, Dover, Berwick and others; a minute of her Majesty's ships, their number, names and charge. These are the writings, and only these; this is the casket which is pretended to be in the hands of De l'Aubespine, wherein I affirm in the presence of God and on "the perrel never to have the purchase of her Majesty's favour" (which I were not wise to forfeit, as the time now runs, for many interests wherewith even yourself, as I wrote before, have not yet been acquainted) that to my privity and knowledge there is no other kind or piece of "wreit," save only a copy of the pretended scholar of Cambridge's letter, with my own answer thereto, done by the advice and order of my lord and his nephew, Sir Philip. Now, if you believe me, all service is done, for if there be no other thing in it than I alleged—and so, nothing of the nature, quality and weight that have apparently been "instructed" by them who gave information thereof—it follows to think no more of it, as a thing of no importance. If, otherwise, you believe me not in this, how will you believe me when I have brought it to you out of France, for when it comes into my hands I might accord and fashion it as I have here alleged. The only means, then, to clear the matter, if I must still not be believed, is that you pen a letter from me to De l'Aubespine, which I shall subscribe, to be sent as from me by the diligence of one of your own. But how shall you be warranted that I have not forewarned him of such a letter and willed him to confirm the casket as I here pretend; so difficult a thing it is to employ the man whom you will not believe. But you must believe me if you use me, and for my own part I affect not otherwise to be used by any. This being thus, methinks I see the approach of a new assay, and I required to decipher a packet pretended to have been intercepted here by Mr. Asheby before his return from here to the Court. It is of truth that since I came into this country I never had any kind of intelligence by word or writ with any manner of man in England or any other of her Majesty's territories; neither while I was in that country did I ever (whatsoever my enemies suggested to the contrary) traffic or deal with any person in any kind of thing concerning the state or any member, place or circumstance thereof; neither was I ever privy or had liking of any intelligences, purposes, drifts or deeds, directly or indirectly intended against the prince, estate, religion or public peace of the realm. I loved and honoured the poor Queen,* and in that love I hated and abhorred them, as much as any, whose counsels and courses brought her to the end which of necessity was to ensue thereupon. Of my behaviour and where I embarked after I returned into this country I dissembled nothing to you at other times, like as I presume you will bear me witness with some other honest men as to the form and manner of my retreat and of the sincerity and good intent thereof.

Now for the packet. Mr. Asheby, informed belike, but falsely informed, that I had some intelligence at London, suborned a goldsmith here at Edinburgh to pretend a going to London and to offer to carry my packet. The matter was discovered to me. A packet was made for his troth; he had a "scorne" and the other had his recompense; and this is the very simple truth thereof. You see how plainly I deal in everything, and that, if her Majesty and Council use me, there merits "no more gradation in this kynd of essayis." Since my intention has always been, and is, to proceed in this course with all sincerity, I pray that, as I have long "attendit," either I shall be used or licensed to follow

* Mary Queen of Scots.

1595. my own affairs, which will occasion me to go beyond sea within this month. Errol. *Signed:* Alexander Dicson.

2 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Aug. 10. **633.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

On Tuesday last I rode to Glasgow, and on Wednesday night I came to Dunoon where Argyll and the most of his friends were in bed, but I was well received and made much of by such as were up. On Thursday, after his lordship's rising, I delivered her Majesty's letter, which he kindly received, and also your own. After reading them he told me he was much indebted to you for showing his goodwill to her Majesty, and rested at her service, protesting that he would promise and perform whatsoever he could, showing me that the islesmen prepared to go had all gone to Ireland, but he heard nothing of them since their going, saving 700 or 800 whom MacLean had taken and stayed. Before their going they wrote to him "having" their service to him and signifying that they were come to the coast [of] Argyle "to take their pastyme and pleasure" and would gladly have seen him if he had been in those parts, and that from thence they would go to Ireland and soon after return, wishing that on their return they might see and confer with him. At their being near Mull, before they came to Argyll's coast, they sent MacLeod of the Lewis, sister's son of MacLean, as MacLeod of Harris is also, to MacLean to persuade his aid or "oversight" at least. But MacLean not only drew him to agree to leave them and to go from them with his forces, but also learned their whole intentions and counsels: and they, perceiving that MacLeod had not prevailed with MacLean, took suspicion of him and carried him captive with them, so that he and his forces should not leave them. So far as Argyll perceives of their counsels by MacLean (having had but letters from him, leaving especial matters to their meeting, when MacLean will come within eight or ten days), "their nowe going" is to agree with Tyrone that they may have their parts of such lands as shall be won from her Majesty to plant their friends on, to accord an agreement for mutual aid in all extremities and against all persons, and thereafter to assist Tyrone for his establishment and afterwards to have his help for their establishment in the Isles. MacLean by letter assures Argyll that they intend not to see him even although they write so, and Argyll will not see them, but take his advantage as he may. They could not be stayed now, because they were convened in arms, and in that case will not dissolve without some action.

My lord used sundry means to stay them, especially by MacLean, who trysted them in the Sound of Mull and would have persuaded their stay for some time to have dissolved them "ones," * but did not prevail, Donald Gorme showing his company that Tyrone had written to him that he was advertised by a friend with the Deputy that there was kindness between her Majesty and Argyll and that Argyll had promised to stay all his own and such others as he could; and Gorme said to them "it manifestis it self to be true," for Argyll had not suffered any yet to go over, but indirectly sought their stay, and apparently MacLean's persuasion was to that end. [So they] concluded [to take] their passage over, intending to have assaulted Man (but the wind served not at that time), and to have entered my lord's bounds. I saw Dunoon had been fortified to resist them, and I heard and am sure that all the country was under warning and watches kept.

* *ones: once:* once for all.

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After the " diett " [date] of their return be known, Argyll would have her Majesty's ships advertised to wait and take advantage of them. He accounts Rathlin, or thereby westward, the meetest place for the ships to lie for them. His galleys and boats are preparing, and MacLean will have another " cast " at them on their return, which they think will be within one month. But " missinge sure advantage to defeit them in dede," I perceive Argyll will keep himself and MacLean, if he can, indifferent under hope to be won to them, the better to effect their purposes, for they will overthrow them if they can.

On their return my lord would have some solid course to be taken to dissolve them, which, as far as he can, he will do. But money must do it, I see, and must . . .* certify, leaving it to better consideration. [*In the margin :* " My lord doth his owne turnes by mony and is in very good healthe I can assure you."]

After " disjune " [breakfast] Argyll told me that there was a banished man come out of Tyrone's camp to Dunoon, with whom he had not spoken, but who had told some of his servants that Tyrone would fight our men with some of his army upon the coming of the islanders, for Tyrone says still he will not yet venture all on a day ; for if they be overthrown or scattered once, God have mercy on them, he says, for they will never meet again, and therefore [he] will not fight till he may do it with spare forces. For the Queen, he says, if she lose all can send as many more, but he cannot do so. Argyll conceives by reports that the Lord Deputy " hathe foule play amonge them," both by Tyrone's privy friends giving advertisements of his secrets and also because the great men of the country do not personally countenance his service, but are quietly sending some of their people to Tyrone, who still triumphs.

The combat between the Provost of Kilmun and Angus MacConnell should have been with six more on either side, and for surety of fair play Argyll had caused 2000 to be with the Provost, but they dissolved seeing Angus not to keep his tryst. Soon after Angus and his friends came and called for and offered the combat.

I have delivered the token, 20*l.* sterling, to Mr. George Erskine, who is contented and gives thanks, and I have entered into an inward course with him, praying you to return all his former letters and all others which he shall afterwards write ; and he wi[shes] under warrant of sight of her Majesty's letter to visit our ships if he comes near them, and shall have matter worthy their knowledge. I enclose my lord's letters [of] answer to her Majesty's and yours. [Nos. 628, 629.] At my return through Dumbarton I left your letter, mine and John Cunningham's with John Auchinross (Fluour) to be sent to MacLean. He told me that he heard that Captains Thornton and Bigge h[ad] met and sunk, near the Isle of Rathlin, thirteen of the islesmen's galleys and taken only one man, who by swimming held himself above the water ; and, learning by him that they were going to Tyrone and were the hindmost of all the rest who had spoiled Clandeboy's (Clanobwy) country and had gone with the spoils to the isle of Copeland (Coiplan), they made presently to the isle and there have with shot broken their galleys and boats, and by advice from Carrickfergus (Craggfargus) have taken the principals and given the rest leave to repair their vessels and return upon promise that they serve as her Majesty pleases. Auchinross hopes that they are overthrown and fully stayed, and in joy thereof we drank wine freely. There we heard that the Spanish galleys had burnt Penzance (Pinsand) and two or three other

* Page destroyed along the margin.

1595. towns at the Land's End, in Cornwall, and made cruel spoils of all they could get. I trust I have again fully certified Mr. Aston that he and Sir James Sandilands may have the benefit of the men of Strabane (Traibaine) as something will be done now, when the Duke's countenance when he sits in justice ayre at Glasgow may help the matter.

John Auchinross says the only way to " wrack " Tyrone is to pursue him in the north with a force of Scottish islesmen, and that MacLean will undertake this on condition that he may have 500 or 600 good soldiers of her Majesty's with him, and certain ships to keep his galleys that he may pursue Tyrone on one side and the Lord Deputy on the other, and he " looketh " many of Tyrone's company shall come to him ; and if Captain Thornton has got his victory MacLean may go presently to Ireland, otherwise he can [not ?] leave Scotland till he has some surety of the islesmen by pledges to Argyll or himself, which (as " of himself " and not for her Majesty's service) he will persuade Argyll to seek for and help him to them. Argyll does not know that her Majesty has intelligence with MacLean, nor that MacLean has his purpose to seek the subjection of these men for her service, albeit her Majesty's letter does, as it were, touch and persuade MacLean's employment therein. MacLean does not care plainly to enter into action for her Majesty [? except] upon surety there, or yet of the King and Argyll ; and surely he can do much. John Auchinross accounts the charge to be but small, saying MacLean will almost endure his own charge and find our men beef enough [in order] " to have suche a partie and doinge against Tyrone." MacLean is to be dealt with at Glencairn's house by Blantyre for a course for helping the King to his duties out of the Isles and Kintyre and will set it forward little to these islanders' profit ; and with regard of her Majesty's service I am like to see him quietly there and hear further, and so [shall] advertise to you. The matter is of such importance and will be of more if Spaniards go to them (as it is said they are daily looked for), that some that had power " to condition at the rebounde of the ball, for her Majesty's advantage," might do much good here in this matter. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

3 *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Aug. 11. **634.** MONEY FOR JAMES VI.

Mandate under the Privy Seal of England to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer to pay to David Foulis (Fowles), esquire, Clerk of the Chamber to the King of Scotland, or to such as he shall assign, 3000*l.* to be by the said David conveyed to the King or disposed of as the King by his letters has authorised him.

$\frac{1}{3}$ *p. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.*

Aug. 15. **635.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

To accompany and convey the other letters to you I write the things following as I am given to understand them, viz. : the King and Queen are lovingly together now at Falkland. The King is to go to Stirling to-morrow and so to his buck hunting in Lennox and Clydesdale, and afterwards to return to the Queen to St. Johnstone, there to receive the communion together. The Queen first goes to Sir Robert Melville's house, and Rothes's house and other places before she goes to St. Johnstone. Mar and she have spoken by the

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1595. King's means. At first she was very sharp with Mar, but in the end gave him good countenance.

Mr. Patrick Galloway in his sermon was " occasioned " to teach of the duties of man and wife towards each other, and spoke so persuasively for the keeping of their duties therein that the Queen spoke and conferred with him and gave good ear to his advice and promises to follow the same, and has said that she will have him with her. The King caused Mr. David Lindsay to travail with the Queen to see what he could " try out of them " ; whereupon Mr. David and the Queen had long conference, and in the end the Queen said " Lett 4 (The King) be plaine with E. (the Queen) and E. should be plaine with 4," which Mr. David Lindsay " shewed " to the King, causing him to receive the same even then out of the Queen's own mouth. Whereupon there was good and kind countenance and behaviour between them, both of them agreeing to satisfy the other ; so that Mr. David looks that ere this the King knows who has persuaded the Queen to these former courses, and the Queen, who has moved the King to the strangeness with her ; and that some will be found to have dealt doubly and dangerously with them both. The King intends by little and little to draw the Queen to where Mar is, and there to stay her from these parts and the company of Buccleuch, Cessford and the rest. Mr. David holds the Chancellor to be very honest between both parties and to be for the Queen ; but whatsoever he does, it is with consent and leave of the Master of Glamis, Buccleuch and Cessford, who, if they should know him to do otherwise, would be his greatest enemies and most dangerous, as I conceive. Mark whether you ever see him give up with those men or no, " but still directlie or indirectlie do for them."

Lord Hume has promised to follow the King and is presently with him, so that it is held that the Queen's faction is breaking. Nevertheless some think that as the King intends by policy to win the Queen, so the Queen intends to win the King for the advantage of that side ; and I pray God that this prove not too true [and] that " in these faire flowers there prove not yet sharp prickis."

As to the slaughter of David Forrester, Mar, I think, shall give assurance and keep in fair terms with such of the Livingstones and Bruces as were not executioners of David's murder ; the murderers are to be banished the country by their own friends, and that matter shall, I trust, calm, and thereby Mar be the freer to do his other great affairs for the King, towards whom he is most honest [as] the King thinks and most good men say.

The King, hearing that Mr. Walter Balcanqual (Balquhanquill) has in pulpit spoken as if Captain James Stewart had been at Court and were to be brought in again, is offended and intends to cause him to give up his author [*i.e.* name his authority]. But by former notes you know Mar will not deal with Captain James. Mr. David Black of St. Andrews, having preached some things of the late Queen of Scots' contempt of the Word and of the punishment that God laid upon her for it, making her end a spectacle to the world, the Laird of Burleigh, being in displeasure with the town, " delated " Mr. Black to the King as having called the Queen a whore and a murderer ; whereon the King was at first marvellously offended, and by reason of hard reasoning with Mr. Andrew Melville his anger was the more. Yet Mr. David Lindsay and Mr. James Balfour and other commissioners for the Kirk (being with the King to give him advice for the choosing of two ministers instead of Mr. John Craig, being old and now almost past teaching, and of John Duncanson, appointed to wait on the young Prince's Court at Stirling, and which yet is deferred) have taken examination of the matter and pacified his Majesty, being much

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furthered by Mr. George Hume ; and Mr. Black is hereafter to be more circumspect in his words and Mr. Melville more reverent in his reasoning with the King, and Burleigh taught to be more wary in his information, " suppose " [even if] some say he now informed but the truth.

Angus's friends are dealing for his bringing in " and satisfieng of the King the Duke for his goodwill, wherein they offer, I heare, 2000 crowenes, and with the Kirk " [*sic*], and it is thought in the end he shall prevail. But I persuade myself the King will also have her Majesty's allowance thereof before full agreement thereto, for still more and more he becomes more frank and frank for her Majesty's causes here. Upon my letters to Mr. Aston and his dealing with the King, his Majesty has written earnestly to Argyll for Irish matters and given commission to Mr. Aston to arrest and take the benefit of the men of Strabane in Glasgow, of whom I have also given advertisement into Ireland, that if they be missed here they may be hit there. The King was very glad to hear that our ship had hit upon his rebellious islanders.

After the King's return to St. Johnstone he and the Queen will go to Falkland and there stay some time, and after that they are both to go to Stirling. The King, as by the minute enclosed you may perceive, is to go to Dumfries for taking order with his Borders, which are far out of order, for Johnstone has surprised a house of Drumlanrig's and defaced it, and the Maxwells and he are entering into troubles. Edinburgh. *Signed :* George Nicolson.

Postscript.—I do not touch upon the matters certified by Mr. Robert Bruce, but leave them to his own to you, praying you to return his again in any case, for you know he loves and prays for her Majesty's estate and will never leave anything undone that may profit the same ; as also the rest of them pray for her Majesty much to my comfort, therefore I would that still their goodwill should be quiet and secret and nothing arise by us to their hurt.

2⅛ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Enclosure with the preceding.

(Proclamation of James VI.*)

Printed in *Register of Privy Council*, v. 228–229 ; inventoried in *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, ii. 258.

Proclamation for a muster at Dumfries on 20th October to attend the King for taking measures for the preservation of peace on the Borders ; inasmuch as some pledges promised by broken men for their good behaviour have not come in, and others have gone home from their place of ward. 24th July, Edinburgh.

Copy. Small strip of paper. Endorsed by Nicolson : " Proclamation for the kingis jorney to the bordors." " Mynute of the procla[ma]cion for the Kingis rode, 20 Octobris next. Bot it is not like to h[o]ld."

Aug. 15. **636.** ROGER ASTON TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my last I have been employed to the Chancellor upon some privy affairs of the King's, chiefly to understand of him what knowledge he had or whether he was privy to any course to have been attempted either against the King or any other at his last being in Edinburgh, as also what was the

* This document is bound separately as vol. 56, No. 69; but it is clearly the " minute " enclosed by Nicolson in the preceding letter.

James VI.
1595. conclusion of the Master of Glamis, Hume, Buccleuch and Cessford after the King's coming out of the town. The Chancellor seemed to deny he knew of any such thing, but I know it was rather for fear than any other " wayes." He has undertaken upon his life and credit that nothing shall be attempted but the King shall be " forsene " of it in due time. Our great storms have become calmer than they were. Our great champions have gone home. The Queen has come to Falkland and seems to be very obedient to the King and promises never to meddle with any thing that does not stand with his good liking. There was never greater appearance of love between them than at this time, and " she hath promest fer " [? far, or fair].

On Sunday last Mr. Patrick Galloway preached before the King and Queen in Falkland, having for his ordinary text the creation of women out of the side of man. He handled the matter in such sort that he plainly set down the duty of a woman to her husband in very wise and loving sort, keeping the Word for his warrant. After noon the Queen sent for him and conferred with him at great length. He dealt both freely and plainly with her, which she took in very good part and has promised to follow his counsel, and has desired that he may be continually with her.

The King understands it is but the practice of such as care not how the world goes that has moved the Queen to these courses of the Prince. She says the cause of her earnest suit was that she thought she should not be crossed by any subject, but that she had as much credit as might countervail any; and she now says, " Seing it is the King's wil, I am vere wele contentt," and so has left off that purpose and is willing to go to Stirling or where the King pleases. Mar and she are very well reconciled by all appearances. She was " something hard " in the beginning, seeming rather to do it for the King's pleasure than any goodwill to him. Since then it is better and better. Some will say all this is but policy, and that it is the counsel of such as were in the former practice that the Queen should yield to the King's will and thereby the better attain to her purpose, seeing the peril was great to attain to it by any other means. Their violent courses were refused by sundry of their confederates, chiefly the Chancellor, who thereupon grew into some suspicion with them; yet he handles the matter so that he keeps credit with both.

All things are now quiet. Lord Hume is in Court attending as watchman to the Queen with others joined in that commission; also there are others attending Hume to keep him sure, knowing his nature to be inconstant, although the Master of Glamis has confidence in him. The King does not understand the substance of all, neither does any deal freely with him since the Prior's departing. For the avoiding of all inconveniences the King is determined that the Queen shall remain where he is himself, that others shall not have such access as they have had. At his return from the west country he goes to St. Johnstone and there receives the communion. From thence he and the Queen go to Stirling for a while, and then to Linlithgow, where they will remain most part of the winter. As the King has to do he will come to Edinburgh and return to the Queen, so that by this there shall not be access to practise. This course is " led " by the King and none knows of it but myself and one other.

Advertisement is come that a pinnace of her Majesty's has overthrown Angus MacConnell's men, whereat the King rejoices as much as if Bothwell were there. There has been at the King within these four days a servant of Argyll declaring that he has stayed sundry of the islanders from going to Ireland. Whether it be true or not, I know not. But this I know: upon his advertisement the King wrote a loving letter to him and gave him great

James VI.
1595. thanks and granted him a suit which he was before refused. It was a tack of the herring customs, which Ardkinglass had before.

George Nicolson wrote me for the obtaining of a commission to stay certain furnishing of her Majesty's rebels out of Glasgow. I have obtained the commission accordingly and am minded to put it in execution at the King's coming to Dumbarton. I have purchased a commandment to the Duke to see the said commission "efectuatt," as he is going thither to hold ayre court, where I shall be for that effect.

Some information has been made here that Mr. David Black, minister of St. Andrews, had exclaimed against the King's mother, "bringging her in for an exampel" [in] that, being reproved by Mr. Knox (Knokes), she contemned the Word, for which she was banished and died miserably. Upon this he was sent for "with" one of the ministers. The matter is so handled that they have all departed good friends and the King is very well satisfied. To-morrow the King goes to Stirling, and from thence to Dumbarton.

Mr. David Foulis has written home that he is very well used by her Majesty and in good hope to accomplish all things to his contentment. I came this day from Court on some affairs of my own. To-morrow I meet the King at Stirling. There has been a constant bruit that Captain James Stewart had come to Court, as was said by Mr. Walter Balcanqual (Macankel) in the pulpit; but no such matter is either thought or meant.

Lady Logie has come out of Denmark and she brought the Queen a commission from her mother, to obey the King's will in all things, as she would have her blessing. It seems this and other things shall work effect. In short time it will appear. I am in good hope that all matters shall succeed well, and yet many are doubtful. If her Majesty and the King sort well others will be the lother to deal. Here is nothing to be hoped for but only in himself. Edinburgh. *Unsigned: but bottom of the page cut away.*

4¾ *pp. In Roger Aston's hand. Addressed in the same hand. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Aug. 18. **637.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 174.

Yesternight his Majesty came hither from Falkland accompanied with the Duke, Mar and Hume. He remains here till the 20th, then goes to Inchmurrin and Hamilton and returns here about the beginning of next month. The Queen has promised to come to Stirling, but so unwillingly that I doubt thereof. Yet nothing will be done in trial of the last matter till they come thither, and Hume and Linclouden are busy to have all composed and "mitigat."

The Master of Glamis went out of Edinburgh on the 14th or 15th and sent one to Hume to see if the King would suffer him to see him in his by-going; which was refused.

Cessford has "gevin wp" with the Abbot of Melrose and is to lead certain teinds pertaining to him and his father, the Earl of Morton, which will also make a great stir, and we think it will put Hume and Cessford by the ears; for it is thought that Morton will desire all his friendship except the Master of Glamis—that is to say, the Duke, Argyll, Mar, Hume, Lindsay, Rothes—to give up in like manner with Cessford. If this be, you know what may ensue. *Unsigned.*

1 *p. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

James VI.
1595.
Aug. 20.

638. Mr. John Colville to Robert Bowes.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 175.

This unseasonable weather stays his Majesty here two days more. But his journey "holdis out" on the 22nd to Inchmurrin, then to Hamilton and back here about 3rd or 4th September. The Chancellor is ordered to meet the King at Hamilton for revealing all promised, which if he "schift" or delay more the King will take offensively, inasmuch as yesternight he said (but privately) that he should be dis-chancellored if he used subterfuges.

I think that Hamilton and Mar shall enter into sure friendship, for Hamilton's son was here for that same effect, and I am like again to fall into credit with Hamilton. Mar spoke with the Queen at the King's earnest request—but it was so "coldlie" that it has done more ill than good. Sir George Hume and Sir Robert Melville think to labour a reconciliation betwixt Mar and the Chancellor, but I think it will not be.

Orkney is now at Lindores upon his journey home, repenting that he has spent so much time and substance in vain. The Queen is there also, wherewith the King is nothing content. Mr. Primrose can tell more of this than can be written. [There is] nothing but lurking hatred, disguised with cunning dissimulation, betwixt the King and Queen, each intending by sleight to overcome the other.

The Duke is in Glasgow holding Justice Court, which will breed him great unkindness, as ordinarily such things have done. Mr. David Foulis has written home that he is "crossed thair." It were good to learn what he meant. There will be a great stir this harvest betwixt the Abbot of Melrose and Cessford about the leading of some teinds there. Stirling. *Unsigned.*

1½ *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Names in cipher deciphered.*

Aug. 20.

639. Roger Aston to George Nicolson.

The overthrow of the highlandmen is confirmed by the Earl of Argyll. The manner of their overthrow,—they foregathered with a merchant ship laden with wine, who gave them four or five tuns to pass away with the rest. That night they drank freely. The merchant passing from them met with some of her Majesty's ships and gave them knowledge where the highlandmen were. In the morning they got "a waking." They have slain many of them and drove them to a little isle, where they landed. But the island being little and wanting covert they slew them there out of their ships, as well as on the water. Such as escaped unslain they have given as pledges to the Deputy. MacLeod Harris landed with his folks and was charged by a company of horse. He was driven back to his boats and many of his men slain. The King is very sorry there were any pledges taken, and that all were not put to the sword. The weather here is such that no man may stir out of a house; which has stayed the King here two days longer than he meant. This day I follow the Duke to Glasgow about the business you wot of. Stirling. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1*p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Aug. 20.

640. James VI. to Elizabeth.

At the supplication of the complainer, our subject, George Pedie, we desire you that now at last, seeing that by his poverty and age he is not able to remain in further process, you would give command that he may have reason-

1595. able redress of his goods wrongfully taken by your subjects; as we have not denied equity to sundry of yours. Holyroodhouse. *Signed:* James R.

⅓ *p. Broadsheet. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk.*

Aug. 22. **641.** LAUCHLAN MACLEAN OF DOWART TO ROBERT BOWES.

I have received your letter to which John Auchinross made answer in his letter [No. 602]. Being desired by my cousin, Argyll, to repair to him at Dunoon, I appointed Auchinross to meet me there, and he had received from George Nicolson your letter of 24th July from Greenwich. For the honourable token that her Majesty has commanded should be sent to me I render my duty of humble service. John Cunningham "schew" me that the token should be 1000 crowns. Let them be sent to George Nicolson, whom I perceive to be careful and diligent in the affairs committed to him, and when he makes me "foirsein" thereof, they shall be received by myself or John. I did light on eight or nine hundred that were following the rest, stayed them and yet have some of them. You may perceive from this letter from Angus MacConnell (which you shall receive) that they were of mind to "persew" the Isle of Man, therefore he wrote to John MacIan (M'Eane) of Ardnamurchan (Ardinwich)—who may command 200 men of his own—to follow him; and wrote also to other commanders of the rest that were to follow, whom I stayed. The bearer of this [Angus's] letter was apprehended in his going to MacIan of Ardnamurchan by one of mine and brought to me. Your captains on the coast of Ireland could never have better advantage than they had of our Scotsmen after their "heirschip" south of Carrickfergus and return to Coiplan Isles with the plunder. They might have broken all their galleys and made them all to perish in that isle; yet they spared their lives and have received but four servants in pledges whereas indeed they would have rendered principals if desired, such was their danger. Some that were there have shown me the same. It is most true that after the rendering of their pledges they are bound by writ to Tyrone's service and have received largely of his gear, even more than was promised before their going over. Angus MacConnell received 400*l.* sterling more than the rest, with six horses "that is in cuming," only to move the rest forward in this action.

After all, MacLeod Lewis's men "buik" him, for he had there 800 of his own, and neither Angus MacConnell nor Donald Gorm commands as many of his own. These men would not suffer their master to remain, where through "thair in camp was lyiklie to slay utheris." In the end MacLeod Lewis has returned home to Scotland, for he was at Douart since my coming here, and has sent his special servants to me. Angus MacConnell and Donald Gorm are also returned home, and Angus, thinking shame that "materis ar nocht keipit to the Erle," has sent his son, named Angus, with 600 men. Well I know that three hundred are better than the six hundred, for there remained with him not a hundred of his father's men.

As Auchinross wrote that I made "moyan" among them in their going to Ireland, so now the same is come to perfection by MacLeod Lewis. Angus MacConnell's son will return shortly, for the work is in hand to move that company to "skaill." MacLeod Lewis by my "moyan" and my "melling" with their men have moved them to return, and not the pinnace and pledges made to your captains, of little foresight, as appears, for they [the islesmen] might easily obtain better men of yours than those whom your captains have, and thereby relieve their own men and serve against you. Yet I would they were not delivered without my counsel, for, although the men be "sobir" [inconsiderable], the shame is great to our Scottishmen to lose them. It is "in

James VI.
1595. handis " that Argyll shall have pledges of all them that passed to Ireland, whereanent I once used such " moyan " that pledges were offered to him, which through " unskillit doing " he " oursaw." We must enter to our former " convoy and moyan " to have pledges of them all, wherein I shall spare neither gair nor craft.

MacLeod Harris, in some wrath with the Clandonald and with Donald Gorm and Angus MacConnell, has remained with O'Donnell with 600 men, who are better than any thousand the Earl has. It may chance that if these men come home I may make them serve you against him. Tyrone is presently to pursue your lands on the one side and O'Donnell on the other. They think to harm you much by this way. If my opinion be followed Tyrone and O'Donnell shall be pursued on both sides, to wit, by your Irish force on the one side, and by Argyll's and mine, with myself present, on this side. I wish that you would move Argyll to furnish 2000 men. I shall furnish other 2000 and I would have six or eight hundred of your " fyirmen " with hagbuts and 400 pike-men. If I were once landed in Ireland with this company, having three or four ships to keep our galleys, I hope in God the Earl should lose that name before our return. If you think " to follow out ane doing " against the Earl, your own coming to Scotland is very necessary for taking order hereanent, for we shall lack no goodwill to make her Majesty's service go forward, and shall not spare the venturing of ourself and friends therein.

Your presence is most necessary that you might " speik " Argyll herein, for I understand that he will do much " for " your request. Also I have two young boys, the sons of my cousins that were cruelly murdered by Tyrone, and if they of Ireland once knew that I had landed there, I " tak opinioun " that sundry of them would leave him and assist me " in his contrair." I know that there are sundry gentlemen who follow him against their will.

I send my duty of humble service to her Majesty and commendations to Sir Robert Cecil. Let me know of anything in Scotland that may pleasure Sir Robert, or I shall think that you dissimulate with me. I am here in Argyle at pastime and hunting with the Earl. I have respect to other kind of hunting than this present hunting of deer. As you have begun to pledge your credit for me therein I desire you to insist that I shall serve her Majesty in Ireland and do her service there as " trew as ony he that serves her." Garvie in Argyle. *Signed:* Lauchlane M'Lane off Doward.

Postscript.—Your presence here is very necessary, for by your " moyan " and mine Argyll would follow our counsel in this action. I think the token shall be sent to George [Nicolson] shortly. If you would have me send someone to you for it, upon your advertisement I shall send John [Auchinross].

1⅔ *pp. In the hand of John Auchinross. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Wafer signet.*

Aug. 22. **642.** JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

Since my first letter I have been careful and diligent in the affairs committed to me, and shall not fail to continue to the final end of the action in hand. I perceive by your former [letter] to my master that John Cunningham " did mistak Sir Robertis speiking and did use ane uthir speiche " before my master than was committed to him. Of truth he spoke according as my master wrote, [No. 581] " quhairin necligentlye he hes procedit." My master had opinion that it was " uthirvayes nor he spak " when he saw his neighbours make for Ireland. We were not idle in causing of return, and are presently working turns for the weal of the cause. Your presence here would do much, therefore

1595. consider the same, as the Council think the matter of weight. You know well the Earl * is not idle. Garvie in Argyle. *Signed:* Johne Achinros.

⅓ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Wafer signet.*

Aug. 22. **643.** JOHN ARCHIBALD TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

Late advertisement has come that Angus MacConnell has retired from Ireland with the loss of the most part of his best men. The occasion for his sudden return is not so much the loss that he has sustained as that certain conditions that were promised to him by O'Donnell and O'Neill he did not find perfected when he came there. Argyll has lately by letter acquainted the King that Angus has come home to his own country, and is presently in determination to invade MacConnell's country if he does not condescend to such conditions as are to be " proponit " to him, and especially for repairing of some injuries done to his friends. MacCondochy is lately sent for by direction sent to him in Angus MacConnell's company. " Alwayis " he is stayed by young Lawers (Junior) as yet, and shall stay until he learn of Mr. Bowes's mind.

The sons of Sorley Boy are these that most specially conduct Donald Gorme and his company in Ireland, and by whose advice he does all his turns there. " Junior " is presently in Angus MacConnell's country and will shortly advertise me of Angus's whole proceedings together with the certainty of Donald Gorm's return. Stirling. *Signed:* Filius.

Postscript.—About Monday next you shall learn of " Junior's " advertisement and proceeding.

1 *p. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes:* " Mr. John Archbalde to George Nycolson. Dalling [*sic*] xxii° Aug. 1595."

Aug. 22. **644.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO ROBERT BOWES.

As yet I hear nothing from Argyll or MacLean further than Mr. George Erskine wrote to me, which in my last, of the 19th, I sent to you.† I hear that on the 16th MacLean came to where I had been with Argyll, and I having gone from there he followed me. I look still to hear of his " dyatt " and to see him at Glencairn's house ; yet it is not good to defer things, but with speed to give Argyll and MacLean comfort and good deed, for the matters of Ireland are said here to be but beginning to trouble the estate of England. The King is glad of the news which I certified before, and is sorry that they of Angus MacConnell's party were no better rewarded, as by Roger Aston's letter you may perceive. [No. 639.]

There is speech here now that the King of Spain has another fleet coming home with more treasure and more forces to be sent abroad, and that there is a stay of all ships in Spain for keeping close the King's purposes. Mr. Robert Bruce is advertised that the King of Spain has directed Huntly and Errol especially, and others of that faction, to return to Scotland either upon agreement with the King and Kirk upon any condition whatsoever or by force if other ways they cannot. Otherwise, the King of Spain says they can do him no pleasure. Huntly and Errol even in places where they are seem to reject all overtures and offers from Spain, and to rest on the hope of favour from the King and Kirk here in case of their good behaviour to the estate of

* In Thorpe's *Calendar*, this is taken to refer to Argyll. But quite probably it is Tyrone whose activity—a matter of weight—necessitates the presence of Bowes in Scotland.

† This letter is not here preserved. Erskine alludes to it in No. 645.

James VI.
1595. Scotland according to their bonds and promise at departure. But all is feigned, the better to establish them in Scotland for the King of Spain's advantage and for the receipt of his forces, which Mr. Bruce thinks shall come this year.

Forbes has written to another of the Kirk signifying that (" for suche like platt ") some are to be employed out of the bounds of Huntly and Errol to the King and Kirk for Huntly and Errol, and wishing the Kirk not to suffer their return to be granted; and " sure " the Kirk will never agree that they shall return. The King, it is thought, shall be won with their fair offers, but if he does it I am deceived, provided that her Majesty do any thing for him (not as importuned but of her own accord and love); I mean if any consideration be had of his charges against the Papist Earls. I write something plainly. But I protest my duty leads me to this, thinking it at this time a matter of no small moment, if these things be true, as I cannot say but they may be.

The King is still at Stirling, but is shortly to go hunting. Mar for certain is now most dear to him and I look that Mr. John Colville shall be shortly able to do good service to her Majesty. I find he has best knowledge now of things here, for he knows what Mar does and also has intelligence of the Chancellor's actions.

The Chancellor is sick, as I hear, and some say thereby will be excused from satisfying the King's turn anent the leaving of the Master of Glamis, Cessford and Buccleuch and discovery of their intentions, which the King means to punish if found to have been evil. Some say that the side of the Chancellor are preparing for favour in England if they be " straited." But if that be, you will know better than they that say so.

As concerning the receiving of Captain James [Stewart], there is no such matter meant in Court; neither will Angus's suit be heard, which now is hushed again. Cessford and Melrose (Morton's son) are likely to disagree, which will do Mar good. The Master of Glamis is at home, and sought to have spoken with the King, and lay at Newhouse awaiting thereon when the King was at Falkland; but, finding that the King was not very willing " thereof," he has gone home. Some say he had contentment by message from the King. The Queen is now, I think, at St. Johnstone and thereabouts, and some say that she is not going to Stirling for all this. All other things must needs yet stand quiet, but how long I know not. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo. Nicolson.

Postscript.—In any case let the least matters I write as well as the greatest be kept secret.

1¾ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

Aug. 24. **645.** Mr. George Erskine to Robert Bowes.

Since my last the Clandonald are come home and MacLeod of Lewis. MacLeod has passed home by persuasion of my lord [Argyll] and has left the Clandonald. MacLeod of Harris (the Heariche) is still in Ireland in great anger for revenge, if possible, for such scathe and dishonour as he has gotten. Sixteen gentlemen of his house, two or three of them very special gentlemen, are slain " to him " in an encounter. Argyll's messenger is returned, without availing to withdraw MacLeod of Harris from these parts. He and his whole people are so stirred to anger by their last dishonour that they have vowed never to leave Ireland if it be not repaired to their contentment.

This people is of all the islesmen the most courageous and of best spirit; of his chiefest men there remain only 800. Now, I think the 600*l.* I mentioned in my last letter shall not be necessary in that behalf, in respect that MacLeod

1595. of Harris is not yet returned to Argyll's devotion; but send with diligence what her Majesty thinks good to bestow on MacLean, MacIan, the Captain of Clanranald and such others as he has already devoted to his obedience.

MacLean has been here these eight days bygone with Argyll. As yet they have resolved on no solid course. Both the chieftains of the Clandonald are in Islay. They have given pledges to the captains of her Majesty's ships, but they "pas" [? panse, think] not of their pledges. If they take purpose hereafter to stir, their natures are such, and so naughty of themselves, that they account not of men's lives.

The Clandonald has directed anew to Argyll, desiring a meeting, which he means to satisfy only for staying them from further enterprise "off" Ireland. If they will not stay he proposes to make war against them, and presently is to lay grounds with MacLean and the Captain of Clanranald (who is to be at him within two or three days) for that effect, provided her Majesty bear the best part of the charges, which is but reasonable.

There is amongst the islesmen great grudge and regret for the loss of their two ships and many counsels how to redress their dishonour. Of their greatest secrets I hope within few days to be participant. Now a most proper occasion is offered to disburden her Majesty of these islesmen's further doing against Ireland and should be embraced. A little "travell" and expense now will do more than twenty times as much at another time. I hope the last experience may make her Majesty wise enough, for it shall not be possible to Argyll to dissolve their council and forces if again they assemble themselves. We have abstracted one of their number—MacLeod of Lewis—and we doubt not that, if he find some commodity by Argyll such as he had of the Clandonald, he shall become soundly for him and enemy to them. Also, we have assured friends already—MacLean, Captain of Clanranald, MacKinnon, MacNeill of Barra, MacLean of Lochbuy, and (we believe) MacIan, to whom Argyll is to promise contentment from her Majesty, for they are people that love only their own profit, without which they are no ways sure. It is his intention to cause them make war upon the Clandonald with his own assistance. Already he has put between them and the Clandonald suspicions and jealousies, which we foster daily, as the importance of our business requires. If her Majesty will abstract these people from further passing into Ireland, let money be sent with diligence according to the importance of these affairs. But if she believe that she is sufficiently assured by the Clandonald's pledges (which, I certify you, they little respect), let me be advertised with all possible diligence, that Argyll may not continue in making of great expenses upon what is already well enough settled. For, if she only entertain him with words and put him alone to make the charges of her affairs, when at any time coming she shall have to do with his friendship perhaps it will not be so ready as at present. I will expect answer with diligence, for I suppose no solid course shall be followed until it be known what "moyen" her Majesty will give to prosecute this business. Roseneath. *Signed:* George Areskyn.

2½ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by George Nicolson:* "Mr. Geo. Erskyn. Rosened 24 August, Edenburgh 1 Sept., 1595. Per Ro. Erskin. This was sent to me when I was gon to the King, and I founde it at my returne." *Faded.*

Aug. 24. **646.** MR. JOHN COLVILLE TO ROBERT BOWES.

Printed in Colville's *Letters*, p. 176. On the 22nd his Majesty rode to Inchmurrin. On the 23rd he "beis" in Hamilton and remains till 3rd or 4th September, then returns to this town,

James VI.
1595. and then to Falkland. I think there shall be much ado to bring the Queen to Stirling, and the King will go first to them to Falkland, but "determinatlie" all stays till the Queen comes to Stirling. Heart burning enough increases betwixt the King and Queen though both dissemble marvellously, and there lack not wicked ones to blow the bellows, especially the Chancellor, who has advertised the King that nothing "spillis" [? corrupts] the Queen but Edinburgh, and therefore wishes him to hold them out of Edinburgh. By this ruse he pleases the King and causes the Queen to think that Mar has given this counsel, the more to irritate her against Mar.

On the 22nd the Chancellor sent one here desiring that the King would not call "on" him till he came to Falkland, which is with great difficulty granted. If he makes any more delay or be not plain at his coming, as he has promised, the King affirms to dis-chancellor him, as I wrote before. Of the act "fraudfullie" deleted in favour of Cessford and a new command given for inserting again thereof I have written at length to Mr. Archibald Primrose. The lords and lairds suspected for the late murder are to give in offers to Mar, thinking thereby to mitigate matters. There is appearance of a good friendship to be made betwixt the Duke, Hamilton and Mar, which is a matter that I labour much "into." There was appearance at his Majesty's going out of this town of a trouble betwixt Lord Glamis and the Master, for which cause one Walter Neice was sent to charge the Master to render the house of Glamis to the young lord. But this day we hear that the Master has received him within the house kindly, and so they are likely to agree. There is yet nothing done for Angus, for though the Church favours him because he is thought the most innocent Papist of all, yet, lest his favour be a preparative to Huntly, I think he shall receive no condition at all. Stirling. *Unsigned.*

Postscript.—This winter the King minds not to "haunt" much in Edinburgh, but at Stirling, Linlithgow and Falkland.

2 *pp. In Mr. John Colville's hand. Addressed in the same hand:* "To 5." *Endorsed by Robert Bowes. Most of the endorsement is torn off.*

Aug. 25. **647.** QUEEN ANNE TO ELIZABETH.

Being touched with a pitiful regard towards the miserable condition of this poor, aged man, "damnefyed" and impoverished twice by the piracy and "receate" of your subjects and twice by your own ships (as is specified in his complaint), we beseech you that by your strait commandment he may have redress of his losses with speed, in respect that after his eight years' suit his decaying strength will not permit him to await upon longer process. Holyrood-house. *Signed:* Anna R.

1½ *pp. Addressed. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk. Red wax seal; blue silk fastening.*

Aug. 25. **648.** GEORGE NICOLSON TO [ROBERT BOWES].

This day I received your letter of the 18th, with her Majesty's to the King, for the delivery whereof I shall ride towards him to-morrow, and the next day hope to be with his Majesty at Inchmurrin or Dumbarton and deliver it in manner and with such declaration of the need of order to be given to Border causes as you have directed, and wherein, even although the time be unproper and troublesome to his Majesty, I doubt not but he will take present order, for of his own nature he dislikes such "thifte" and misrule. It is well that this care is taken to prevent the worst, otherwise as the nights increased so apparently would theft and disorders. "Allwaies" you may see how needful

James VI.
1595. it is that some of account were here for Border and Irish matters and the causes of this estate, and to look to the proceedings of the Papist Earls.

I hear that the most of the islesmen are indeed broken and returned, saving the tutor of MacLeod of Harris, who is in hope to revenge his losses and that the men taken by our ships were not the chief persons, but the meanest of their companies. So it is thought our men are deceived and have no sure hold of them. Young Lawers's marriage keeps him from this service, but he will now again attend it. What Mr. John Archibald writes I leave to his own letter. But it seems to me that these matters are too long deferred with words and require more haste.

As to this estate, it will rest as it did till the King's return. The Chancellor is well again, the Secretary tells me. The Maxwells, Drumlanrig and their whole friends are suiting to "lay of" Buccleuch from partying Johnstone, and how it will go between Morton and Cessford about the tithe of Langmerston, I know not. But I hear Morton, thinking much that the Chancellor has discharged Cessford's bond by act of Council given for Andrew Ker of Newhall (without Morton's privity and to the casting loose of Andrew to the taking up of that tithe from him), has given up kindness with the Chancellor. All other things I leave to the others herewith from Mr. Colville, who, I see, will "ones be on foote again." Edinburgh. *Signed:* Geo Nicolson.

Postscript.—I beseech you to consider that I cannot look to these troubles likely to arise here, and get me discharged.

1 *p. Holograph. No fly-leaf, address or endorsement.*

[1595.] Aug. 25. **649.** NEWS FROM SCOTLAND.

"From Edinburgh the 25 of August."

The Queen and Mar are agreed *de novo* that the Prince shall not be transported from Mar's custody unless the three Estates of the realm allow thereof. Angus shall be banished from Scotland. He shall pay to Lodovic, Duke of Lennox, 3000 French crowns, whereupon his children shall be restored to his lands and he shall have the just half of the rent for his lifetime. Captain Gray has returned from France with a "literall" answer * to the King. I have spoken [to] him myself, and he says that a French ambassador shall be directed to Scotland shortly. When this letter is delivered to the Secretary I shall advertise the contents.

The King has directed an . . . ed that Buccleuch shall be banished. The . . . and Lord Hume are afraid at this . . . secretly spoken that new . . . fficer . . . to the Borders. All help is refused to Johnstone. The ministers are now presently . . . Mar dissuading him to introduce the [Chan]cellor, James Stewart, in Court, for now they preach publicly that he will pervert *omnia divina et humana*. But in the meantime he is very privy with the King.

The Lord Chancellor is sick of "the fevar terse," as he gives out, and therefore he passes daily from place to place in divers companies, "of policie" that in case the King should send some sudden charge against him it shall not be known at an instant where he may be found. Lord Hume these ten days bygone does the like. It is supposed that the King shall not go to Hamilton at this time in respect of the aforesaid matters.

1 *p. In a Scottish hand. Endorsed by Burghley's clerk:* "Advises out of Scotland." *Edge decayed.*

* An answer by letter.

James VI.
1595.
Aug. 26.

650. ROGER ASTON TO GEORGE NICOLSON.

I have been in Glasgow, where I caused to be apprehended the two men you gave me the names of, viz., William Wilson and John Wilson, with John Ba, the factor of Strabane in Ireland. Afterwards they were examined by the Prior of Blantyre and the Laird of Minto (Mentoo), Provost of the town, the Duke being present. They confessed there was some wine and "accavity" * to be transported to Strabane and that it was already in a boat. Whereupon I seized the boat and arrested the goods. All I found was but two hogsheads of wine and some "acarity." The factor confessed he thought to have transported powder and halberts and other "fornesing," but finding the King's proclamation to the contrary durst not hazard.

I caused the man to give in surety that he would not transport any kind of provision. The Provost of the town, with all the honest men, has promised nothing shall be transported from thence. I have sufficient surety both of the men of the town who trafficked with him and also of the man himself to be answerable [that] they shall not transport any forbidden goods, nor any thing to any of her Majesty's rebels. Seeing that town stands chiefly by the trade of Ireland we have bidden them to transport their wares either to Dublin (Deueling), Waterford, Limerick (Lembricke) or any other town where her Majesty's good subjects dwell. The King is at present in Inchmurrin hunting. I am here in Cardonald (Cardonnel) with the Prior making merry. We look for the King here within three or four days after his coming out of the Isle [of Inchmurrin]. From hence he goes to Hamilton and so to Stirling about the 4th of September. No other thing here but hunting and hawking. Cardonald. *Signed:* Roger Aston.

1¼ *pp. Holograph, also address. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk.*

Aug. 29.

651. JOHN AUCHINROSS TO ROBERT BOWES.

MacLean has been received by his Majesty of Scotland on Tuesday the 28th in the presence of Argyll and Mar, with many other noblemen. George Nicolson was present, and if there be "ane going fordvart" on your part against Tyrone, MacLean assures you that, if he be "desyrit" in her Majesty's service, he shall make the trouble and wars in Ireland to have no continuance after your meeting with him. In his name spare not to pledge your credit for his true service. As the same has been "quyetlie usit be him," [so] in the presence of her Majesty's rebels he will "profess him hir servand." Dumbarton. *Signed:* Johnne Achinros.

½ *p. Addressed. Endorsed by Robert Bowes.*

[Aug. ?.]

652. MONEY RECEIVED BY JAMES VI. FROM ELIZABETH.

The King of Scots has received

In *anno* 1592, 2000 *li.*
In *anno* 1593, 2000 *li.* } 10,000 *li.*
In *anno* 1594, 6000 *li.*

which is after 3000 *li.* a year and 1000 *li.* over.

"Yf nowe in *anno* 1595 he have 2000 *li.*, then hath he had in iiij^{er} yeres 4000 *li.*, which is but 3000 *li.* a yere."

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* *accavity: acqua vitæ*, brandy.

APPENDIX.

ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

James VI. 1593. July 7.

On 2nd and 5th July I received your letters of 27th and 30th June, with a packet addressed by Sir Robert Melvill to the Secretary here, which were delivered immediately according to their directions. By your lordship's last I perceive that her Majesty desires to be certified how two sums paid to my hands for the King of Scots have been expended: first, in the 23rd year of her Majesty's reign [1581–2], 3000*l.*, and next, in the 24th year following, 1000*l.* Albeit I remember well that other sums have come, yet at present I cannot call to perfect memory the certainty of the sums received, the times of delivery and the manner of defray of the same; and the true account of all the particularities therein I before drew and delivered to my servant, Cristopher Sheperson, to be presented to your lordship. I have now directed Sheperson (presently at Berwick assisting Mr. Clopton to make the pay there) to search out and bring to me those accounts, which I shall send by him with all the expedition I can. I remember that I paid at the time mentioned for the maintenance of a guard then kept about the King 1000*l.* or 2000 marks, as by the acquittance in Sheperson's hands will appear. The rest I must refer to the view of the account mentioned, the double whereof I have not in this place.

The bruit of great assemblies of noblemen in tumultuous sort (as appears to have come to your lordship's hearing) has hitherto not been known further than I have certified of the assembly of Hamilton and Argyll for the day of law of Ardkinglass and of the accident fallen out betwixt their companies meeting at the Canongate, which is appeased, as before I have advertised. The common voice spread that Captain James Stewart shall become Chancellor has been grounded upon the plot of some courtiers, in which gap I drove a thorn. Some would have made me think that I should see Captain James in the streets this day and received at Court, which has failed, and, as I hear, the course for this Captain is to be turned into an accusation in Parliament against the Chancellor, which many suppose to be given out rather with practice to stay the Chancellor's return than with hope of good success against him in Parliament. Thus much in answer to your lordship's two letters.

The changes in that state are so frequent and sudden that oftentimes many things certified by my letters are changed before my letters can be delivered at Berwick. It was ordained and looked that sundry noblemen and councillors should have given their presence at this Convention, appointed for preparing of the affairs to be treated in the next Parliament. But as yet there are come only Athol, Ochiltree and Forbes, and now few other noblemen are appointed to be here before Monday next, the 9th, by which the preparations for the Parliament beginning [Tuesday] * next are very slender. The reconciliations betwixt the Duke with other courtiers and the Chancellor have been still stayed, chiefly by the absence of Lord Hume, lately returned from the north to the Court and now departed to his own house, and now of Mar and the the Master of Glamis, daily looked for but without any certainty of the time of

* *Monday* in transcript.

1593. their coming. Sundry courtiers (as I hear) confidently affirm that the Parliament shall be prorogued (which shall agree best with their desires), and I find many wise and of good experience think that it cannot hold conveniently at the day limited, being now within three or four days, yet the King plainly assures me that it shall proceed without any adjournment and with good effects, for the furtherance whereof the ministry travail earnestly with the King and noblemen and have appointed a general fast in this town.

I am informed that the determination in Parliament in the progress of the attainders and forfeitures of Angus, Huntly, Errol and other rebels depends wholly on the success of Sir Robert Melvill's affairs, and that the malicious seek the prorogation of this Parliament for the benefit of the rebels, labouring tooth and nail to allure the King to cast away all hope of Sir Robert's prosperous journey for the King's satisfaction; all which I wholly leave to your wise deliberation and counsel. The Chancellor by the King's advice has consented to the Queen's demand for the assurance of his lands in Musselburgh for her dowry. Thereon the King hastes to draw the Chancellor to be present at this Parliament. But many blocks in the passage are not yet removed.

I have heard that very lately the Stewarts have conferred for a general band to be made amongst them, and that they intend to bar the Chancellor's entry. I have been warned that Atholl shall be assayed to join in this association, wherein I have not spared to give my advice to him to beware to enter into and bind himself to any faction. I find the Stewarts having such interest in Atholl (being a Stewart) that I dare not give assurance of his resolution. The Duke has liberally offered to me, for her Majesty, not only his good devotion and all profitable office to her Majesty and for the preservation of the amity betwixt these two realms, but also his uttermost service and power for the maintenance of religion and the welfare of the King and this country, without affection to Huntly, his brother-in-law, or any other suspected. He has renewed this motion, shewing great earnestness therein, therefore I thought it my duty to present this to her Majesty's knowledge and pray direction by letter, that may be showed if necessary.

The special mediators of Angus, Huntly and Errol are presently here, intending to labour to the Kirk to accept their submission, that their suits to the King and Parliament may receive the more favour, and Huntly has sent to Patrick Murray certain articles to be solicited to the King and Parliament. I enclose a copy of these articles, got secretly and brought to me. I have been advertised that a rabble of thieves of Kintyre, Argyle and the Isle of Arran, to the number of 500 men, are gathered together purposing to invade the Isle of Man. Whereof, for the present, I have given notice to Lord Scrope that he may warn the Captain of the Isle of Man.

Besides the King's commission to Mr. William Orde and his letter to the King of Spain for the advancement of Orde's errand, there were found on him five letters addressed to one of the Session, not named, and to four merchants of this town. The contents of the letters rested most in compliments, always referring credit to the bearer, who by the King's order has given caution to answer to all charges against him, and passes without strait examination. The others, which were taken in the ship with his clothes, were papers for his own remembrance and are of small consequence. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—By act of Council, resolved this day, the Parliament shall begin on the 10th instant, notwithstanding that the appearance thereat shall be very small; in regard whereof it is intended to spend five or six days in the lightest matters, and by new variances falling betwixt the ambassadors for Denmark

James VI.
1593. and the Chancellor in the manner of the assurances made to the Queen, the Chancellor is not likely to be present on the first day of the Parliament. It is feared that troubles shall arise at this assembly gathered in this disorder, whereof the Chancellor seeks to be clear in the eyes of the world, or at least himself in safety.

Harl. MSS. 4648. *p.* 129. *See Calendar, p.* 116, *No.* 85.

July 10. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

This day I received a packet of letters addressed by Sir Robert Melvill to me, and signed and warranted by your lordship for convoy by post. In it there was one letter to the Secretary, one to young Sir Robert Melvill, two to Andrew Melvill and one to myself. By these it is understood that Sir Robert has had favourable audience of her Majesty and conference with some of her Privy Council, and that he attends for answer; which (as he writes) he hopes shall be for the King's good contentment, a matter no less "looked" than heartily prayed for here for the common benefit of the common causes; the regard whereof (chiefly in view of the present confusion in this estate and deemed remediable only by his good success in England) I wholly refer to wise advice and consideration; and for my own part I must turn me shortly to defend my services now condemned and noted to be cast down like good milk with the foot of an unruly cow.

The King, with few noblemen and many commissioners for barons and burghs, was at the Tolbooth this Tuesday, the 10th instant, first, to begin the Parliament at the day prescribed, and next, to fence and put it over until Saturday. In the meantime the King and this assembly intend to make choice of the Lords of the Articles and to prepare all things to be presented to this Parliament, especially for the attainders and forfeitures of Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindoun, and of such as were present at Murray's death. I am informed that Mr. David Macgill, the King's chief Advocate, has casten in some doubt, affirming that the summons (meaning the probation of the crimes objected) against Angus, Huntly, Errol and Auchindounis not sufficiently proved and apparent for the Parliament to proceed to forfeiture. [*In the margin:* Mr. David in some sort denies this matter. It is growing warm and I shall kindle it more, as your lordship shall shortly understand.] But Mr. David Skene, the other Advocate, maintains the summons to be very sufficient, and some others learned are of his opinion. The King seems to be greatly perplexed, purposing to call to-morrow others of the Session to decide the question, saying that in his own person he has omitted nothing, and that he trusts that the lords and commissioners will concur and proceed with him agreeable to duty and justice. On this point the success of the Parliament will depend, and I have heard that the offenders are in good comfort therein, yet the King shows himself very forward for the allowance of the sufficiency of the summons, and the well affected are not void of hope that the same shall be done in this Parliament; wherein your Lordship shall shortly have advertisement. For the preservation of the peace amongst the noblemen come hither the King had granted commission to sundry ministers here to take general assurance in writing of the lords by their subscription to the draft of the assurance devised. The commissioners, moving the Duke, Athol and some others for their assent and subscription to the assurances, found dilatory answers. Whereupon the King called for and received in the Tolbooth the several promises of all the noblemen assembled, professing openly there to keep the peace during this Parliament for themselves and their followers, so far as they can; and the

James VI.

1593. town of Edinburgh has taken very good order herein, so that there is better hope Parliament shall be quiet, unless it shall be troubled with accidents not now expected, or altered by the practice and craft of the malicious awaiting to take advantage of anything.

The King in his oration in the Tolbooth checked as well some lords and councillors licensed to depart and who returned not at the day appointed, as also others departing without his privity or leave and who tarried beyond due times, leaving him slenderly accompanied, so that he could not provide for the good progress of matters as behoved. He concluded (as I hear) with a request to them to amend this fault with good diligence for the expedition of the causes to be tried in Parliament, especially for the trials and forfeitures. It is told me that the friends and solicitors of the parties charged in these treasons have set up all their sails, purposing to stand upon the insufficiency of the probation of their summons and after excuses given for default of appearance of the persons summoned will tender large offers for their acquittance, wherein they trust to find friendship, especially among the assembly of the noblemen, for the greater part of the commissioners for the barons and burghs are looked to be against them.

It is told me that the Master of Elphinstone, the Lairds of Bouchan, Findlater and Pitlurg are soliciting the cause of the three Earls; that for the managing of the secret affairs Balquhan and Findlater are chiefly employed, who had laid their posts for the speedy convoy of letters and messages betwixt the Earls and them; that for the expedition of intelligence Huntly has lately come into Fife; that he had sent hither Troupe with letters and blanks, and Troupe having lately returned with letters and report Huntly departed northwards and passed the water of Spey; that Huntly still standing on his innocency (and saying that he is not "in case of" Angus and Errol) offers to endure imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and that for the surety thereof Pitlurg shall presently enter into and remain in ward until he comes and relieves him, and that if he make default that then both Pitlurg's head shall be stricken off and also Huntly shall be declared traitor and lose life, lands and all he possesses; that Huntly will obey and follow from henceforth the King's pleasure, upon pain of death and forfeitures; that he will with all submission and sincerity satisfy the Church, and thereon remove all Jesuits and Papists from him and exhibit the bodies of the Jesuits in the north; that for these open offices Pitlurg has commission; and some having interest in him made me think that he would have dealt with me this day in the name of the three Earls, offering to her Majesty very large overtures with hostages or any other assurances. But, his coming being delayed, I think his mind is changed, peradventure upon fresh suspicion conceived this day that Sir Robert Melvill shall not bring hasty contentment to the King or this estate.

After many chops and changes in the assurances to be made to the Queen by the Chancellor, he has offered to the King (as I am informed) to give his simple blank to assure to the Queen all such possessions, and in such manner as the Queen and ambassadors for Denmark will call for. The portions and quality of the parcels demanded of him were almost accorded, but the ambassadors stand to have assurances conveyed in form used in Denmark only. These impediments are removed by the Chancellor's last offer, and thereby the King has resolved both to give contentment to the Queen and the ambassadors and also to hasten Blantyre, Lincluden and North Berwick to accomplish the agreement betwixt the Chancellor and the Duke, Mar, Hume and the Master of Glamis, that the Chancellor may be here on Friday or Saturday at the farthest. Lord Hume has committed himself and his cause

James VI.
1593. to the King's "censure." Mar and the Master appear inclined to do the same; the Duke as yet standeth out. Whereupon the King hath said he will remove from him such as will not conform to his will in this behalf. Further, the King in open Session advised with the Lords for the "expedience" of the Chancellor's return and presence at this Parliament and hath thereon received their opinion approving the Chancellor's return to his office and his service in Parliament to be necessary. Albeit the King is thus determined to draw the Chancellor to him, yet his coming without perfect agreement of the parties interested will endanger him, as it is thought.

The rascal sort of Argyle, Kintyre and Arran had lately gathered and prepared sundry "lungfads" [*In the margin:* birlins] or boats, purposing to have spoiled the Isle of Man. But advertisement being given thereof by my means to some friends there, they have found their purpose discovered. So the greatest part of them withdrew from the others, and the rest entering the lungfads took a prey on the coast and retired to their dwelling places.

It has been confidently given out lately (with what crafty intent I know not) that Colonel Semple carried in John Scott's ship of Leith from Spain to Newhaven in France, embarked at Newhaven and arrived in the water of Clyde in the west with great plenty of gold and assurance that 6000 Spaniards should be sent to the three Earls with all expedition. But after enquiry I find that Semple has not touched any parts thereabout.

It is ordained by act of Council that Captain James Stewart shall not "kyth" himself or be seen until the end of Parliament. The King has assigned a Council to the Queen, viz., the Prior Pluscardy, President of the Session, Blantyre, Mr. John Lindsay, Mr. James Elphinstone, Mr. Thomas Hamilton. Sir James Melvill, being before assigned, is not named. And I am informed that the King is now wholly carried with the advice of this new Council likely to stay the coming of the Chancellor to this Parliament and do other things of great importance and scan curiously on the present entertainment given to Sir Robert Melvill in England, whereby I find some wise and well affected here very doubtful of happy success and speedy reformation or avoiding of the confusion now reigning in this estate, and that the progress in Parliament shall not be resolute before it shall be known here how Sir Robert proceedeth and succeedeth in England. Albeit the proclamation is published against the casting forth of any infamous libels, yet lately one libel with one letter directed to the King and closely sealed has been cast out, charging the noblemen in Court with most horrible practices against religion, the King and ministers. These are suppressed, agreeable to the proclamation, and not worthy to be specified. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—Noblemen presently at Court and in Edinburgh: the Duke, Lord Hamilton, Argyll, Atholl, Morton, Mar. Lords Hume, Ochiltree, Lindsay, Sinclair, Spynie. Master of Glamis. Please to remember her Majesty to commend Mr. James Murray to Sir Robert Melvill, that he and his cause may be recommended to the King's good consideration, agreeable to her Majesty's former motions. I have been driven to stay the despatch of these presents after they were ready, that therewith I might send the King's letter to Sir Robert Melvill.

Harl. MSS. 4648, *p.* 132. *See Calendar p.* 118, *No.* 86.

July 14. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

The Parliament to begin this Saturday is fenced and put over till Monday next. The assembly of the nobility here gathered are very small, and suspected

James VI.
1593. to be doubtfully disposed in the forfeiture or attainders of Angus, Huntly and Errol; wherein Hamilton, Atholl, Lindsay and Forbes plainly declare their readiness to attaint them, and Hamilton hearing of the coldness in the Council refused to come to it, notwithstanding that he was twice sent for. None of the noblemen last sent for by the King's earnest letter have obeyed the same. It is meant that the assurances to the Queen for her dower shall be the first matter executed by this Parliament, for the expedition whereof the ambassadors for Denmark delivered yesterday the King's letters to the lords here for the confirmation of the assurances. The forfeiture of these Earls shall be next brought in question.

Because it is generally conceived that the King and lords are so far carried with the King's Advocate's opinion that the summons and libel against the Earls was not by law sufficiently proved, and that thereby they could not be lawfully forfeited by this Parliament, it was deliberated what should be done therein, and whether this Parliament should be continued or not. In which behalf the Master of Glamis, Blantyre and Lincluden were sent to confer with the ministers for their advice, and chiefly to give them satisfaction in the course to be resolved. Thereupon I repaired to the King, moving him earnestly to give commission to four or more fit persons, well affected and free from suspicion, to call on the Advocate for a view of the summons, libel and process laid against these persons and their parties, that thereon it might be known what errors or insufficiencies could be found in form or matter, to the intent that all defaults might be orderly and in season reformed, that thereon the Parliament might lawfully proceed to forfeit the offenders, and I might in best time advertise her Majesty of the King's own mind and resolution herein.

The King answered that he had already provided that all the defaults in form or substance of this cause should be examined, and the whole process in form is perfect and without any error. But the Advocate thinks that the probation of the summons and libel declaring the treasons cannot be sufficiently proved by any evidence or matter known to him, whereby the lords (as appears to him) cannot be persuaded to consent to the forfeitures upon such insufficient proof. To this I did not only lay before him the opinion of the learned here against the Advocate and the authority of a Parliament to try the same and pronounce the law by their only censures, but also opened the Advocate's fault in prejudicing the King and Parliament directly against his duty and office, and haply it may be the Advocate shall be called to answer this before the whole Parliament, as already I put it into some of their heads that he deserveth to be so dealt with.

The King reasoned much of the order and power of the Parliament in Scotland, finding it always to be ruled in trial of facts by the sufficiency of the proof of the matters alleged and given in evidence, and that he doubted the evidence given in this case should be found very slender to induce the Parliament to forfeit the parties. He also defended the Advocate's part and doing herein, and further said that if it might be found good in law yet it ought to be considered whether it were convenient for him to proceed to the forfeitures: wherein he had been earnestly advised by noblemen of his Council to beware to embark himself in the waters through which he could not pass; and thereon he entered into long discourse, namely in two causes. The first, that without her Majesty's support his power sufficeth not to execute the forfeiture of these noblemen and punish their faults agreeable to the act of Parliament to be ordained against them. In this he said that by Sir Robert Melvill's letters he findeth very favourable entertainment given to him but little hope of good success in his request, either for this support to be employed for this use,

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1593.

or yet for the banishing of Bothwell furth of England [and added that the noblemen of his Council]* wished him to try what he could trust unto before he entered into great troubles and lose such friends as he might retain. In a point of the advice given to stay these forfeitures by Parliament I cast open his former promises to her Majesty and his realm, the inconvenience arising through the occasions justly moving her Majesty, to receive assurance by this action proved the sincerity of his will to prosecute these great causes without affection to any party, and the evil and subtle minds of Councillors seeking to undermine the amity betwixt the Crowns, wherein he should be condemned in case the forfeitures should be stayed. I have been informed that he hath been counselled earnestly to attend what course the French King would take with the Catholics, and with what success Sir Robert would return, before he would prick his noblemen over far, and thereby lose help of friends for uncertainties, and that this Court is sharply bent against England so far as they dare discover themselves therein: which I recommend to wise and timely consideration.

Secondly, in very warm passion he recounted her Majesty manifold to bar the receipt and entertainment of Bothwell in England against treaties, and far otherwise than he hath done to her Majesty by delivery of O'Ruark and all her Highness's other demands. He alleged that, notwithstanding all the promises and proclamations passed, yet Bothwell is kept in Northumberland openly and to be put forth to hunt for his life. He recited many particularities, proving Bothwell's receipt in England by the allowance of her Majesty or Council; that he and John Colville had lately received gold, setting down the portions, at whose hands and by whose commandment; that therewith Bothwell furnished himself with horses,—and he seemed to have very inward intelligence in these things; and that a Scottish man, purposely employed and sent to Bothwell to sound him and discover his estate, had revealed these things as from Bothwell's mouth and upon sight of his estate, and it is suspected and likely that advertisement is given him by England. He said that the Scottish man, speaking with Bothwell, persuaded him to seek the King's favour, and for some time to spend his time in foreign parts; whereupon Bothwell answered that while he lived thus without the King's favour his pains were greater than though he were roasting and soaking by fire, yet he might not leave her Majesty's liberality for uncertainties. I omit to write all things spoken, and my power sufficeth not to satisfy him, therefore I leave all to her Majesty's wise consideration.

After long reasoning and debate I departed from the King with distrust of good progress in the attainders of these Earls by Parliament. For repair whereof I dealt with some noblemen, lawyers and others well affected; and afterwards the ministers, doing the like, came to and moved the King so far that yesternight very late it was enacted by Council that on Monday next the Parliament shall begin and proceed certainly, and that the noblemen and others summoned for these conspiracies with Spain shall be forfeited. Nevertheless the doom shall be suspended and left to be proclaimed at the King's pleasure.

That you may see seasonably the condition of this estate and upon what ground the doom and judgment of the attainders is suspended, therefore I have written and sent with greater expedition, praying that I may be timely directed what to do farther for the advancement of her Majesty's service here. My estate and case have long since failed to perform the duties requisite, and for which I have been careful and ready, howsoever I and my silly services

* Omitted in transcript.

James VI.
1593. have been construed; and now my body and health do not suffice to carry far this burden.

The Chancellor, hearing of the disposition of this assembly and Court and doubting that little shall be done in this Parliament, does not haste to Court lest the ill issue of matters be, without cause, laid on his shoulders. But if he shall find hope of success and be called by the King, then his peril shall not stay his access to his sovereign. Friends are dealing to reconcile quietly the Chancellor and Master of Glamis, who findeth himself not so regarded with the Duke and others as he looked for, in regard that the Duke thinketh that for him he leaveth Crawford, Montrose, Glencairn and others of greater value than the Master. Patrick Hering is returned here from Flanders. I am informed that he brought some letters from Mr. William Creighton, but hitherto I cannot learn any certainty thereof. Angus, Huntly, Errol and other friends here have been lately highly comforted and many rumours run in this country of Colonel Semple, as before I have certified, and of the being on the seas of a Spanish fleet for Scotland. Hitherto I find not such evident matters of truth as I suspect cunning practice of Papists in both realms, and as these will be more easy to be discovered by good intelligence to your lordship than I can espy the same, so I leave them (with advertisement only so far as I can learn) to your lordship's good consideration and trial. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Harl. MSS. 4648, *p.* 125. *See Calendar, p.* 121, *No.* 87.

July 16. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

Since the despatch of my others, I have received your letter of the 9th. In the first part of your letter I have partly certified my knowledge by my last, letting your lordship understand that here have been great rumours of Spanish ships on the west coast, yet so far as I could learn no fleet or ships of Spain have been or are on the west seas or near the West Isles, and this is confirmed by such as have lately come hither from Kintyre and Argyle.

Huntly and the rest triumph as by the following will appear. They have fallen from the pursuit of their former offers to me, trusting now wholly on the King, drawn to mislike and in a manner to cast up with England. The parties offering the motion to me have been lately with me, seeming to be willing to proceed effectually in the matter, yet I find no trust kept with me, for the chief persons concredited with the managing of these matters have not come to me, as was promised, and presently they do nothing without the advice and privity of such as impart the same to the King. I hereby find my dealings with them to be full of danger, knowing that whatsoever I shall conclude with them shall be speedily and wholly revealed, and that the same will deeply wound and discourage the well affected, who are not negligent to provide some timely remedy in these perilous diseases, and therefore I sail so betwixt these two tides that I may recover such port and haven as shall be found best and directed to me; wherein I desire further order and direction.

It is not known here as yet that Sir Robert Melvill had the second audience of her Majesty, as your lordship writes. In Court it is verily looked that he shall return with small success in his errand, especially for Bothwell and her Majesty's support against the rebels; upon which matters the occasion of this sudden sliding from her Majesty is chiefly grounded and maintained, and the well affected have lately wished that she had given better contentment that the mouths of the enemies of the amity might have been stopped, the King left without excuse, and good men at advantage to do more freely for their

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1593. redress; the recovery of all which benefits in the present condition of the case I leave to wise advice and consideration.

The last part of your lordship's letter, touching the disposition of the H,* is overmuch expected and desired in Court, which is highly comforted with hope, and much depends on that change. This much to answer the contents of your letter.

The King and the noblemen here assembled and prparing to ride this day to the Tolbooth to begin the Parliament were greatly troubled in the order for carriage of the honours before the King, for the Duke, pressed by the King to carry the crown (which Angus, now summoned to answer for his treasons, challenged by his tenure), refused to do the office, in regard (as is thought) that Hamilton, thinking that office some blemish in his estate and case, had at the former Parliament denied, and presently showed himself unwilling, to accept it; whereas the Duke, [who] accounts his estate nothing inferior to Hamilton, made courtesy to obey the King in this appointment. In the absence of Huntly using to carry the sceptre, Argyll was appointed to bear it, notwithstanding that he was accustomed to bear the sword as Lord Chief Justice of Scotland, and therefore the sword was given to Atholl, who refused it directly, alleging that he would not so much that day honour his enemy the Earl of Huntly or be deputy to Argyll. Wherein he was so resolute that the King was greatly grieved, and thereupon Atholl retired to his lodging. Hamilton likewise came not to the Court by occasion of pain in his thigh, but waited the King's coming at the Tolbooth.

These matters mightily wrought in the King and Court, staying their coming to the Tolbooth from the appointed hour of 10 in the forenoon till near 3 in the afternoon, in which time the Council assembled and were once of purpose to have adjourned the Parliament. But looking to have satisfied herein the ambassadors of Denmark, who called for the execution and confirmation of the assurance for the Queen's dowry (the Queen then being quietly passed into the city to see the solemnities), and the King (as I have heard) saying that he would not lose both England and Denmark together, therefore it was resolved that the Parliament should proceed to confirm the assurance for the Queen. And albeit that on the 12th instant it was enacted by the Council and also promised by the King that Angus, Huntly and Errol should be forfeited by this Parliament, and that nevertheless the doom should be suspended or pronounced at the King's pleasure, yet now it is resolved (as I am credibly informed by many of quality) that no forfeiture shall proceed in this Parliament [against these Earls] † or their complices, and that the Parliament shall be running and continued till October next; which resolution is like to take effect, giving me thereby occasion to write in this haste and to pray speedy advertisement what course I shall now take in this untimely alteration and appearance of breach of the amity grown on the ground last touched.

That I may give your lordship more large and perfect certificates what effects proceed on this sudden welter, therefore I retain Christopher Sheperson for some few days, purposing to send him with full report in all these things. At length it was accorded at Court that the Duke should carry the crown, Argyll the sceptre and Morton the sword. In which manner the King, thus accompanied by the Duke, Argyll, Morton and Mar, the Lords Hume, Lindsay, Sinclair, Ochiltree, Forbes, Urquhart (being Mr. Alexander Seton, now lately chosen President of the Session) and Spynie, came to the Tolbooth, where the

* Or ff. A contraction; reading doubtful.
† Omitted in the transcript.

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1593. Lord President supplied the place of the Chancellor, still absent. The Duke and Hamilton did not agree for the superiority of their place, and thereon the Duke was placed on the bench on the King's right hand, betwixt the King and the lords spiritual, and Hamilton took his place on the left hand, on the bench above the lords temporal. After the King's oration declaring the causes of the Parliament they made choice of the Lords of the Articles, appointing the number to be the Duke, Hamilton, two earls and four lords for the nobility, four bishops and four abbots for the Church, eight for the barons and eight for the burgesses; and so returned to the city. Edinburgh. *Signed:* Robert Bowes.

Postscript.—It is told me by an honest and credible person that Angus, Huntly and Errol have been lately at Dalkeith, and are now remaining in this town or Canongate. The words and actions in Court are (as I hear) very insolent against England, which, they say, will take all hard measure before they cast up with Scotland, and that this opinion is deeply imprinted in the courtiers, whereupon it is meant that offers shall be made for the Earls, on which they think England will not withstand. Myself, the ministers, this burgh, and some others, are deeply charged to seek the destruction of the nobility.

Harl. MSS. 4648, *p.* 123. *See Calendar, p.* 123, *No.* 88.

July 30. ROBERT BOWES TO BURGHLEY.

By my last letters I have received your two letters of 18th and 19th instant, and have given advertisement of my doings. Since, I have received her Majesty's letter touching my revocation, and your lordship's other two, of 20th and 22nd instant, and also had audience of the King in part of those letters and in other matters mentioned to him. And because I understand that (during my travail here and expectation of further resolution for the course of government upon this late change) some of this realm and of England (most privy to the affairs in Court) have largely and lately certified the same and occurrences here to her Majesty with more certainty than I can give, in regard that the stream is now drawn from me and serves these others, and that the King will write to her Majesty with his own hand very speedily (wherewith he has not acquainted me), therefore I have not hasted these presents, but refer the full declaration of all things to Christopher Sheperson, my servant.

At my audience I recounted many things unpleasant to him, as well in the memory of his late promises to her Majesty and other things passed with danger to the amity and hurt to myself, as also in the slow performance of his promises and the strange course seen in this last Parliament. Because I did not know certainly how he had " disgested " the sudden coming and submission of Bothwell, therefore I forebore to stir him further with this prick, which, methought, moved him, as Sheperson will open more at length.

After opening to him what sums of money her Majesty had delivered to Sir Robert Melvill for him, with the great favours in all his errands and particular entertainment to his ambassador, I assured him of the continuance of her Majesty's kind disposition to him, and that at this time he should have experience of her special love if he pleased to call for and use the same. This ground laid, I sought to understand sincerely how he accepted this manner of access and humiliation of Bothwell, whether he thought his person any way captivate or his mind troubled thereby, and what he desires to be done by her Majesty for his best contentment in the same. Wherein I spared not to promise secrecy and to offer her Majesty's speedy support.

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1593. The King accepted these with great thanks, seeming in his discourse to take in good part her Majesty's good will already showed to him in Sir Robert Melvill's present negotiation, allowing (as appeared to me) that Sir Robert had mistaken the treaties, as your lordship has noted, and that thereby her Majesty's answers were the more reasonable in those parts touching aid and men to be given against his rebels, and that Englishmen offending in Scotland should be delivered not otherwise than by the rules of treaties and Marches. After, he declared at great length the manner of Bothwell's access and submission to him, with all things spoken and done by himself and passed betwixt him and Bothwell.

The four articles promised by Bothwell were these :

1. That Bothwell should depart and remain from the King's presence until he should be called to his trial, which he hath performed, being already departed from Court with purpose to pass to Berwick and perhaps further into England.

2. That he shall abide trial by assize on 10th August next for witchcraft. For this the King has written for many noblemen to furnish the number of eight earls and seven barons for the trial. But the King being loth to call together so great assembly, and the Earl being pleased that any indifferent person shall pass and be admitted on this trial, it is likely therefore that some inferior barons shall be received to complete the assize.

3. That no officer or servant presently serving the King shall be displaced or any officer placed before the premises be accomplished. It is likely therefore that the change of officers and servants shall be deferred for some season, and that the Chancellor, Master of Glamis and Sir George Hume shall be first removed, and I am told that others will follow.

4. That Bothwell after his trial and clearing by assize shall depart unto and remain in such realm and place as the King shall prescribe to him, which is thought shall be done with all favour if he shall please the King in all these articles.

In this the King seems to approve more the part of Bothwell than the doings of his bringers in. Whereupon I inclined to persuade that albeit the manner and matter in the persons of subjects is not void of blame (as the King noted), yet I laid open how fair occasion it offers to needful and timely reformation by gathering and knitting together of a wise Council ; which advice, methought, savoured nothing well with the King, saying it was neither true nor honourable for him to make change of Council whilst he was in this case and before the promises were fully performed unto him. After I had finished with the King he stayed me to speak with Bothwell, who confirmed the King's declaration for the manner of his access, submission and actions, together with the King's grace given to him in sort as the King had showed. He appears resolute to perform the promises to the King, professing therewithal devotion and services to her Majesty, whom he purposes to see, thank and serve, as by himself will be (I think) shortly witnessed. I offered to him the former advice presented to the King for the union of fit persons to serve in the reformation of the government and for strengthening the company presently about the King. But he did not seem to embrace it as I meant it, notwithstanding that I let him know that the manner thereof might be formed and exhibited by fit persons for the King's honour and his standing. The rest of this fellowship (desiring hitherto the advancement and rule of the Stewarts) likewise dislike my motion, which has not proceeded only from my own brain but is allowed by wise and well affected, who think verily that by this sudden change good occasion is offered to prevent extreme inconveniences and draw on the reformation desired. But they and I tremble as yet to behold this present course in Court, opposed

by strong adversaries, as time will manifest, and not so timely and strongly fortified as necessity requires.

Mr. John Colville has renewed the ancient friendship betwixt him and me, with frank offer of all thankful offices to her Majesty. I find the burden of these businesses lying on his shoulders and himself ready and careful to labour under the same for the benefit of the cause. Wherein, as I showed myself not able to give him the aid requisite, so I wished her Majesty to supply his pains by some fit person in my place, whom this company and he had found to be best acquainted with their minds and apt to advance their designs.

The ambassadors for Denmark (understanding how I had proceeded with the King on this alteration and being ready to return with the next wind) desired to be satisfied by the King and Council in writing whether the King was privy to Bothwell's coming to him; whether the King had pardoned his faults, and upon what conditions; and whether he thought himself detained anything against his will and pleasure. For the satisfaction of the ambassadors, the King, in the Tolbooth, openly before his Council declared to them that he knew nothing of Bothwell's coming to him before he saw him in his chamber, and that he pardoned him with condition that he shall perform the articles promised. He has acquainted them with the articles, and pronounces plainly that he was not detained in any sort against his will, as by his presence in that place and many other ways might be seen. The ambassadors desired the Councillors and lords present to declare likewise their knowledge in the four articles presented to them; wherein the Lords and Council had confirmed the King's declaration, and all these [are] put in writing and delivered to the ambassadors for the satisfaction of the King, Queen and Council of Denmark. Bothwell has added his letter for the more credit and contentment therein.

Sundry in this company strive greatly to draw in Captain James Stewart, against which the Kirk and many burghs set themselves, and the drawing in of James is feared to hazard great troubles, yet divers of his kith and kin press it mightily. The most of the old Council have left the Court, as Morton, Mar, Hume, Master of Glamis, Blantyre, Seton, Comptroller, Chancellor, Sir John Carmichael and Sir George Hume. Glamis, hearing that he should be charged to leave this town, departed to prevent it. It is looked that some of their places shall be possessed by others, if they return not in time. Crawford shall be called to Court, and some think the Castle of Edinburgh shall be gotten out of Mar's hands for him, in regard that the King was pleased at the last vacation that Crawford should have had it before Mar, who will not willingly leave it.

I am credibly informed that Angus has made means for his peace to some new courtiers, and that he shall be received if he first satisfy the Kirk, which he is now willing to do, and that Errol is likely to be received in like manner. It is thought that the King's affection to Huntly is not yet abated. Some told me that Huntly was at Aberdour before the Parliament, where William Troupe passed from Court to him, and that these three Earls were sometime kept in this Castle during the Parliament, wherein I can give no assurance.

These present lords and courtiers have levied and entertained a guard of 100 foot and 50 horse at their own charge, for the King, having once denied to suffer any guard about him, will not be at the charge thereof. The King is resolved to pass to and recreate himself some time at Falkland. It is thought that many things shall be dressed for the establishment of this Court and company, or else attempted against them.

Upon the offers of Angus and the rest to satisfy the Kirk, they may be called on to give assurance for the preservation of the amity between the two

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1593. realms ; which course, if her Majesty shall like, I shall upon direction press the same. Albeit that at the time of the address of your last letter, of the 22nd, I perceive that you had not then received advertisement of this change by Bothwell's submission, yet I have dealt again with the parties to allure vj. iiii. Chanus [Huntly] to renew their former offers to me, wherein I shall win and retain them in the best sort I can, praying speedy direction upon the sight of the present condition of this state. Your lordship will think it needless to be troubled with my answers to the parts of your letters touching Bothwell and all his causes, which are now buried by his entry and receipt into Court. In all the residue of the contents of your two last letters which I have not touched by these presents I shall give satisfaction by Sheperson, whom I shall hasten with the speed I can. He has been delayed beyond due time by accidents to myself. Edinburgh. *Signed :* Robert Bowes.

Harl. MSS. 4648, *p.* 152. *See Calendar, p.* 134, *No.* 103.

Aug. 5. BOTHWELL TO HENRY LOCK.

To yield her Majesty most humble thanks for the favours extended to me during my Prince's displeasure, and offering in my behalf (in due acknowledgement of my faithfulness therefor) the present accomplishment of whatsoever heretofore I have offered or may further be devised for the maintenance of religion and strengthening of the present amity.

To the effect to let her Majesty know the truth of my present estate with the concurrence of such noblemen offered by me, and most of them confirming it by oath and hand given to yourself, who are ready to follow forth any such course as I shall intend or enter into with her Majesty, which being by them with me avowed chiefly to her Highness's good and service (but above all unto our Prince's good and surety) I trust her Highness's opinion of the acceptance thereof, and speedy direction for the use, and if our hearty intentions be therein duly accepted and regarded. The noblemen present who undertook for me were the Duke, Atholl, Mar, Ochiltree, Spynie. The absent were Argyll, Crawford, Montrose.

To let her know that we are not only such as to whom she may in honour give a gracious ear unto in respect of our present actions and proceeding, which shall be authorised by our sovereign, but also for that neither in power is any in Scotland in her wise judgment to be preferred before us, or for loyalty to be hoped for, or any be better friends than ourselves, being most of us of the religion, and in faction opposed to the grand enemies of religion and estate, to wit, Huntly, Maxwell and Hume, and also ready by writ under our hands (if she only give commission to receive it) and by my son's pledge as before I offered to confirm the same.

In respect whereof, if she please to like of our proceedings herein, we crave for the better settling of our course to send some testimony speedily under her hand, with whom and how she will please to deal, and how far she will for the present enabling of us be drawn to impart of her princely liberality, which, though in respect of her late bounty to our sovereign will seem hard to furnish us great sums, considering the loss in bestowing the one (or rather thereby enarming of her enemies) and the short time we shall charge her, to rid her Majesty of perpetual care and distrust of all foreign practices or bordering encumbrances, may we hope easily be obtained [*In the margin :* 4000*l.*], to stretch to a maintenance of some small forces for a few months, which what proportion will stretch unto yourself can by our conference inform. And whatever be done therein, you are so to handle things that her Majesty

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1593. may keep this our proceeding secret from the King, lest our purpose being revealed to our adversaries our designs be impeached.

You may assure our constant purpose, God willing, having her aid presently, and constant amity hereafter according to our deserts, not only a three months' space so to chastise the Spanish party, as either Scotland shall not contain them or their livings be so clipped as they shall not be able to prevail in anything, but also the frontiers be so strictly looked into, that we will undertake as good satisfaction and speedy justice in these parts as in any other of both realms, that there shall not henceforth need any fear of Spanish forces or practices, since our instruments shall be in those parts to inform us of their purposes, and we be able to withstand any Christian army though all Scots Catholics concurred with them, until her Highness were sufficiently provided for them. Further, you will make known how far indeed had been proceeded in for the Spanish course, in what terms and by whom, according as *quatuor* (Chisholm) informed, wherein Melland's (the Chancellor's) part will appear as you know.

You must crave that if, for satisfaction of some of our party and to the King's content, the Church being in sort so offended* therewith, we be compelled to reside † in Court and use James Stewart, limiting his power and course as we assure we will, that her Majesty will not take it in evil part, but rather by her letters show her allowance thereof, since you know how far he has vowed to her Majesty's service.

That presently after my trial, being 10th August next, having then my friends in a readiness to proceed to a Parliament and so to action, that her Majesty will return you speedily with a full resolution of all these particulars and such further advice as she would wish us unto, holding my former assured and ever vowed faith by that our intended course notified, of the particulars whereof you can particularly inform her Highness.

Concerning *quatuor*, remembered [*sic*] that he might be despatched with expedition, and a letter written unto me, which I may shew to the ministry to entreat for him by reason you looked for secret and good service at his hands. The token from *ving* (the Queen) fellow promised [*sic*] shall be sent with the first, which Simplex (Colville) had taken in hand. Prosecute therefore that matter as if you had received it out of his own hand.

To remember to move her Highness concerning shipping for the Isles, as also to procure a means for a message to her Majesty which I may accomplish myself.

Touching things to be done at Parliament, which I wish either to be kept secret or not intended. Bothwell.

Harl. MSS. 4648, *p.* 157. *See Calendar, p.* 138, *No.* 107.

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* *sic*, but ? *the Church being satisfied therewith ;* cf. the fragmentary original, p. 138.
† *receive* in the original.

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